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President: Mr. Nasrollah ENTEZAM (Iran).

Temporary President: General Carlos P. RÓMULO
(Philippines).

Opening of the fifth session of the General Assembly

1. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: I declare open the first meeting of the fifth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

STATEMENT BY GENERAL CARLOS P. RÓMULO,
PRESIDENT OF THE FOURTH SESSION

2. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: Fellow representatives, I welcome you to this fifth session of the General Assembly.

3. Custom has decreed that the outgoing President of the General Assembly should present an extended report on the world situation as a background for the tasks of the current session. I shall break with that custom, for no words of mine can possibly add to the terrible eloquence of recent events. Heretofore, despite many fears, we have come together hopefully to build for peace. Today we are gathered at a desperate hour to save the peace of the world.

4. Men will hang upon the words we speak here. Yet experience will have taught them that mere words are a cruel mockery while men are dying for the sake of peace and the United Nations. They have a right to expect more, much more than words. Not by what we say but by what we do here shall their anxiety be allayed and their faith restored.

5. The present session is the political equivalent of the military action which the United Nations forces are carrying out in Korea. The victory of those forces will eliminate the gravest challenge yet hurled against the authority of the United Nations. In anticipation of

victory, the General Assembly is now called upon to establish that authority on the solid foundation of the moral force of world opinion backed by adequate military power. We have the means to do this by a creative constitutional act within the framework of the Charter.

6. The Assembly's practically unlimited power of debate can be transmuted into effective action in moments of crisis whenever the organ having primary responsibility for dealing with them is paralyzed. Though there have been precedents for such development of the power of the General Assembly, the greatest of them now actually confronts this body.

The printed Official Records of the fifth session of the General Assembly are being published in fascicule form, that is, the record of each meeting will be issued separately as soon as possible. These will be so produced that they may eventually be bound into volumes, by organ and session. Pagination will therefore be continuous throughout each series of fascicules representing the records of a single body, and at the end of the session there will be issued, for each series, a prefatory fascicule containing a title page, table of contents, list of members attending, initial agenda, and other prefatory material. This prefatory fascicule should be placed in front of the record of the opening meeting, before binding. For ease of recognition the fascicules of the opening and closing meetings will be clearly identified as such in the masthead.

After the close of the session, sets of fascicules, collated and bound, will be placed on sale for the general public.

This Assembly, often described in the past as a mere international debating society, has the chance to grow into a virtual parliament of man. It has the chance to save the United Nations and the peace of the world. Let us pray to almighty God to grant us the vision and the courage to discharge this awesome responsibility.

Minute of silent meditation

7. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: I invite the representatives to rise and observe one minute of silence dedicated to prayer or meditation.

The representatives stood in silence.

Question of the representation of China in the United Nations

8. Sir Benegal N. RAU (India): My delegation has given notice of a draft resolution, copies of which have, I believe, already been circulated to all Members of the United Nations. The draft resolution [A/1365] reads as follows:

"The General Assembly,

"Noting that the Republic of China is a Member of the United Nations and of various organs thereof,

"Considering that the obligations of a Member under the Charter of the United Nations cannot be carried out except by a government which, with a reasonable expectancy of permanence, actually exercises control over the territory of that Member and commands the obedience of its people,

"Recognizing that the Central Government of the People's Republic of China is the only such government functioning in the Republic of China as now constituted,

"Decides that the aforesaid Central Government through its Head, or its Minister for Foreign Affairs, or its accredited representatives, as the case may be, shall be entitled to represent the Republic of China in the General Assembly and

"Recommends that the other organs of the United Nations adopt similar resolutions."

9. I am well aware that it is unusual, not to say unprecedented, for the General Assembly to deal with a resolution at so early a stage, but the circumstances are also unprecedented.

10. I understand that two sets of credentials have been received from two different authorities in respect of the Republic of China. As you all know, we have to appoint at the beginning of each session a Credentials Committee to examine the credentials of the representatives and to report without delay. I emphasize the words "without delay" as showing that questions relating to credentials are regarded as urgent matters. The two sets of credentials which I have just mentioned will thus go before the Credentials Committee, which will have to report to the General Assembly the result of its examination, but the question involved in this particular case is of unusual and perhaps unprecedented difficulty.

11. Which of the two governments claiming to represent the Republic of China is the government entitled

to issue credentials? This is a question which has been engaging the attention of various organs of the United Nations for the last eight or nine months without receiving a final answer, and it is not to be expected that the Credentials Committee would be able to answer it. In all probability the Credentials Committee would report that this important and difficult question had arisen and then leave it to the General Assembly to decide under rule 29 of our rules of procedure.

12. Here, then, is a question which, unless we deal with it at once, will in all probability come before us in the very near future in connexion with the report of the Credentials Committee. I venture to suggest that the General Assembly should deal with the matter at once, or at least when the report of the Credentials Committee is before us, but not later because, as I have said, the question is one relating to credentials — that is to say, whether the credentials emanate from the proper source, from the right government — and should, therefore, be disposed of without delay. In the view of my delegation it should be dealt with as early as possible and a decision arrived at while the atmosphere of the General Assembly is calm and the temperature not too high. Experience has shown that the temperature is apt to rise with the progress of the session, and then a decision on the merits becomes very difficult. I leave it to the President to decide, either as a point of order or, if he prefers, after taking the sense of the General Assembly, whether the draft resolution is to be discussed and voted upon at once, that is to say, in advance of the report of the Credentials Committee, or whether it is to be disposed of in connexion with that report. I shall speak on the merits of the draft resolution in due course after this preliminary point has been settled.

13. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: The representative of India has raised a question which bears a certain relationship to the organizational steps which the General Assembly takes during the early part of its session. Although it appears to the Chair proper that such a question should be raised at this time, the introduction of a draft resolution of this character at the first meeting of a session raises a procedural problem which is not specifically covered in the rules of procedure. Indeed, the situation which has given rise to the presentation of the Indian draft resolution is one on which the rules of procedure give no specific guidance. I believe, therefore, that it would be inappropriate for the President to make any ruling upon the application to be given to the rules of procedure in the present circumstances.

14. I wish to point out, however, that the General Assembly is the master of its own procedure, and I therefore invite the Assembly to consider what procedure it wishes to adopt with regard to the proposal which has just been made by the representative of India.

15. Mr. VYSHINSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): The delegation of the Soviet Union has authorized me to speak, before the General Assembly proceeds to its regular work, on the question raised here by the representative of India, Sir Benegal N. Rau. The USSR delegation deems it necessary to raise two points within the framework of this question.

16. The first point concerns the presence here in the General Assembly of the representative of the Kuomintang group, purporting to represent China.

17. The second point concerns the need to invite to the present session of the General Assembly a representative of the People's Republic of China.

18. I should like to begin with the first point. It is indisputably in the vital interest of all States Members of the United Nations that the General Assembly should be correctly constituted, that the plenum of the General Assembly should consist of persons who are entitled to represent their respective countries, and do not represent some sort of group, particularly one which has lost its real significance, as is the case in the so-called Chinese question. Only a State Member of the United Nations is entitled to appoint its representatives to the Organization and to provide them with the necessary credentials. This is clearly provided for under rule 27 of the General Assembly's rules of procedure which, as I venture to recall, states that "the credentials shall be issued either by the head of the State or government or by the Minister for Foreign Affairs".

19. This rule gives expression to a postulate which admits of no dispute and which is determined by such important basic principles of the United Nations as the principle of the sovereign equality of all States Members of the United Nations, the principle of their political independence and, lastly, the principle of non-intervention by the United Nations in the essentially domestic affairs of a State.

20. These principles are universally accepted in international law and the General Assembly must be guided by them in determining its relations with the delegations of each country or State. The faithful and unconditional observance of these principles here is, in the view of the Government of the USSR and its delegation, a vital condition for the success of the United Nations and a fundamental duty of all its Members. It is therefore inadmissible that the General Assembly should be attended by persons who do not represent their country, who belong to the remnants of a political régime which has been overthrown in the country.

21. However, an attempt is being made to place China into just such a position, a great country with almost 500 million inhabitants, who have shaken off the reactionary Kuomintang régime and have set up their own people's republic. It is quite indisputable that the remnants of the Kuomintang group have not the slightest political, legal or moral right to represent China.

22. In its communication to the Secretary-General of our Organization, the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China rightly pointed out that circumstance and demanded the removal of the Kuomintang representative from the General Assembly. The USSR delegation, on its Government's instructions, wishes to state that it fully supports the demand of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China.

23. The Soviet Union delegation, for its part, is submitting a proposal for the exclusion of the representative of the Kuomintang from the General Assembly, as

having no right to represent China, the sole legal, authorized and sovereign representative of which is the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China.

24. In accordance with the foregoing, the USSR delegation submits to the General Assembly for adoption a draft resolution [A/1369] which consists literally of two and a half lines and reads:

"The General Assembly :

"Decides that the representatives of the Kuomintang group cannot take part in the work of the General Assembly and its organs because they are not the representatives of China."

25. This is, in my opinion, the first point which the General Assembly ought to settle in connexion with the draft resolution already submitted by the Indian delegation, and in view of the actual situation which has arisen with respect to China, a Member of the United Nations and a permanent member of the Security Council—that most important organ which has been entrusted with full responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. I ask that this proposal should be considered.

26. I should like to add a few words more. Sir Benegal Rau—of course he did not yet have the USSR proposal in mind, but his own has a direct bearing on it—pointed out that the proposal he had submitted was without precedent. I do not think that this fact should in any way impede the solution of this question. The Temporary President was quite right in saying that the General Assembly was master of the situation. If the rules of procedure are silent on some particular point this cannot, in any circumstances, serve as a reason for leaving the question raised by the USSR delegation and the Indian delegation unconsidered.

27. Sir Benegal Rau raised the question of inviting a representative of the Chinese Government; I shall ask the General Assembly to be allowed to make a separate statement on that point, after the first point has been examined.

28. As I have said, the first point is that the General Assembly must be legally constituted, which means that there must be no persons in it who have no right to represent their country, to claim a representation to which they also have no legal or moral right.

29. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: The draft resolution of the Soviet Union will be circulated.

30. Mr. KARDELJ (Yugoslavia) (*translated from Russian*): The Yugoslav delegation, true to the position which it has always taken, very strongly supports the Indian delegation's proposal for inviting the People's Republic of China to take its place in the United Nations. I shall not enter into a discussion of the obvious right of the Government of the People's Republic of China to this place, since in my opinion that is clearly brought out in the Indian draft resolution.

31. It is self-evident that to recognize as the government of China a political group which in reality does not hold power in that country is both illegal and politically inexpedient. It is really tantamount to preventing

a great State like China from taking part in the work of the United Nations. I particularly wish, however, to dwell on the specific political aspect of this question.

32. There can hardly be any doubt that the delegation of the People's Republic of China must take its place in the United Nations. The real difference of opinion bears on whether this should occur now or later.

33. To postpone the matter is to link up the question of China's representation with all the other controversial questions of the day and hence to aggravate the whole international situation. On the other hand, to solve this problem would, in present circumstances, constitute one of the first real signs that nations are willing to seek the road to peace, to lighten the atmosphere of imminent war which hangs over the world today, and—most important—it would strengthen the United Nations, revive men's faith in it as the peacemaker of the world and encourage their hopes of peace. To leave the question of the representation of China unsolved, however, may provide a basis for attack upon the United Nations and may help to weaken the Organization still further.

34. The Yugoslav delegation's position on this question is, of course, entirely independent of its attitude towards the foreign policy of the Government of the People's Republic of China or its policy with regard to Yugoslavia. As I have already emphasized, my delegation holds the view, in the first place, that every Member Nation of the United Nations should be represented by a government which is actually in power; moreover, it is concerned with the concrete task of the strengthening of peace throughout the world. On both those grounds the delegation of the People's Republic of China should at once be invited to take part in the work of the United Nations.

35. For all these reasons, the Yugoslav delegation supports the Indian proposal that the Indian draft resolution should be examined without delay.

36. Mr. TSIANG (China): Since it is the set purpose of certain delegations to force upon the United Nations the puppet régime of Peiping, my delegation is ready to meet the challenge and to meet it as early as possible in this session of the General Assembly.

37. I represent the only legal government in China. My Government is based on a Constitution passed by the representatives of the Chinese people only three years ago. My Government is headed by a President elected by the representatives of the Chinese people. The political responsibility of the Government resides in a legislature elected by the representatives of the Chinese people. To this legislature the executive is responsible.

38. The representative of the Soviet Union referred to my Government as that of the Kuomintang group. That description is grossly inaccurate. My Government is a coalition government. It has within its ranks three political parties. The so-called Kuomintang means the people's party. It is the largest single political party in the Government. The representative of the Soviet Union called this Kuomintang reactionary. Well, this Kuomintang was founded by Sun Yat-sen. It stands for democracy. It stands for people's livelihood, or what is more commonly called in western countries welfare. It stands for nationalism, that is, national independence.

39. This challenge, this slanderous imputation of reaction has been used time and again. At the third session of the General Assembly, held in Paris in 1948, Mr. Vyshinsky used that very word to characterize my Government, and I challenged him at that time to have an international investigation into that problem. I said then¹ that if the United Nations constituted a commission to investigate the degree of reaction in the different countries of the world, my Government would be glad to accept the judgment of such a commission. Furthermore, I stated that I should be glad to accept certain standards in favour of the USSR. I said, for one thing, that if such a commission found that the number of people who had lost their lives because of their political opinions was only one man in the Soviet Union to one in China during the previous twenty-five years, I should gladly acknowledge my Government to be reactionary.

40. Is not the observation of human rights one of the most important standards of progress or reaction in this world? It was this government that instituted in China the first national health service. I do not need to go into details, but I should like to call the attention of the General Assembly to the fact that, during the eight long years of war with Japan, this national health service prevented any outbreak of epidemics in my country. My Government was the first government in the history of China during the last thousand years to promote agriculture, to organize a Ministry of Agriculture. The scientific work promoted by my Government made it possible for the farmers of China to cultivate new varieties of rice and wheat which increased the yield of the farms by 11 to 13 per cent.

41. On the eve of the Second World War, when we all—the free nations of the world—combined to fight against aggression, even USSR newspapers, such as *Pravda* and *Izvestia*, regarded my Government as the only government in China which could possibly lead the Chinese people to meet the aggression of Japan.

42. This draft resolution states that the puppet régime should occupy the seat of China in the United Nations. Let us consider the puppet régime. The Chinese Communist Party was organized in 1921. Its very first meeting of organization had the participation and direction of the Third International. Its first constitution provided that the Chinese Communist Party must accept the directives of the Third International. During the last twenty-nine years of its existence, that party has not deviated once from the line laid down by Moscow. There was a time when the Chinese communists denounced Hitler as a mad dog. Then, suddenly, Hitler became a decent fellow, and then again, suddenly, Hitler became a mad dog. All the zigzags of world policy decreed by Moscow were faithfully followed by this party.

43. Last year, at the fourth session of the General Assembly, on behalf of my Government, I placed an item on the agenda called: "Threats to the political independence and territorial integrity of China and to the peace of the Far East, resulting from Soviet violations of the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Alliance of 14 August 1945, and from Soviet violations of the Charter of the United Nations."

44. On that occasion I told the First Committee of the General Assembly about the origin of this puppet régime

¹ See the verbatim record of the 197th meeting of the First Committee.

in Peiping.² I shall not recapitulate that story. Briefly, it is the following. The Soviet army of occupation in Manchuria prevented my Government from re-establishing its authority in Manchuria. That army of occupation denied to us the use of the chief port of Dairen for the movement of troops. It hampered our use of the railways; it limited air transport. At the same time, it provided all the facilities for the movement of communist troops into that important region. Then the Soviet army of occupation turned over to that insurrectionary force the arms left there by the Japanese. That is the origin of this puppet régime in Peiping. What that régime stands for in world affairs is, or should be, very well known to the General Assembly.

45. Let me tell you what that régime itself said it stood for in international affairs. On 16 July 1949, when the so-called Sino-Soviet Friendship Associations were started in China, the communist commander-in-chief, Chu Teh, said the following:

"It can be easily seen that the victory of the Chinese people's democratic revolution is inseparable from the friendly aid of the Soviet Union. If the Soviet Union had not existed, there would have been no victory of an anti-fascist Second World War under the leadership of the Soviet Union. If there had been no such development as the unprecedented growth since 1944 of the world democratic peace front under the leadership of the Soviet Union, the rapid and quick victory of the Chinese revolution as it is today would have been impossible. Even if we were to succeed, it would have been impossible to consolidate our gains. Is this not clear?"

46. What the boss of the puppet régime, Mao Tse-tung, said on 1 July 1949 on this subject was the following:

"It is to be the policy of the Chinese communists to unite in a common struggle with those nations of the world who treat us on the basis of equality with the peoples of all countries. This is to ally with the Soviet Union, with the new democratic countries of Europe and to ally with the proletariat and masses of the people in other countries to form an international united front.

"The forty years' experience of Sun Yat-sen and twenty-eight years' experience of the Communist Party have made us firmly believe that in order to win victory and to consolidate victory we must lean to one side. The experience of forty years and twenty-eight years shows that without exception the Chinese people either lean to the side of imperialism or to the side of socialism. To sit on the fence is impossible. A third road does not exist. We oppose a Chiang Kai-shek reactionary clique which leans to the side of imperialism. We also oppose the illusion of a third road, not only in China, but also in the world. Without exception, one either leans to the side of imperialism or to the side of socialism. Neutrality is the camouflage and the third road does not exist."

Then he went on to say:

"Internationally, we belong to the anti-imperialist front headed by the Soviet Union, and we look for genuine aid from that front and not from the imperialist front."

47. Now the United Nations is faced with its first great crisis, namely, the Korean question. From the first day of the North Korean question on 25 June, the radio and Press under the control of the puppet régime have not ceased to tell the Chinese people, and have tried to impose on the Chinese people, their idea that this is a war of aggression on the part of the United States. The fourth report of the Unified Command,³ as read out to us by the United States delegation yesterday in the Security Council,⁴ established beyond doubt that the Chinese communist régime has given substantial help to North Korea.

48. This is the choice before the General Assembly: do you want to seat the legitimate democratic régime, which my Government is, or do you wish to have in your midst a régime which is un-Chinese in its origin and character, and which in no way represents the Chinese people?

49. One argument advanced for the recognition of the Chinese communists is that of effective control. We have had that doctrine of effective control or power expounded to us from time to time. The puppet régime does not have effective control of China. At this moment one million guerrillas are fighting the communists on the mainland. But is effective control the only criterion, or is it the most important criterion for the United Nations in deciding a matter of this kind? If effective control is the most important criterion, then the country of our Secretary-General should have accepted the Quisling régime. If effective control were the only criterion, then France would not be where it is. It was the men of the resistance movement in France who refused to accept effective control. It was those people who redeemed the honour of France. I am surprised that in this General Assembly we should have advocates of simple power in a question of this nature.

50. I cannot finish my statement without reading to this Assembly an authoritative expression of opinion not from my Government and not from a reactionary group. It is the unbiased, unsolicited opinion of a labour organization. In a letter addressed to the Secretary-General by Mr. Matthew Woll, President of the Free Trade Union Committee of the American Federation of Labor, dated 7 April 1950, we have this clear statement of the issue which we are discussing. I shall now read two paragraphs from that letter:

"You know as well as we do that without Russian intrigue, finance, direction, subversion and active military support, the Mao Tse-tung hordes could never have overrun the Chinese mainland. You would never have proposed that the Quisling régime, once imposed by the Nazis on the Norwegian people, should be recognized by the free community of free nations as the government entitled to represent the people of Norway. You would never have proposed such a policy, though Hitler's Quisling government in Norway had a far firmer and much more complete control over Norway than Stalin's puppet government has over China.

"We are therefore completely at a loss to understand on what basis you now propose to have the

³ See document S/1796.

⁴ See *Official Records of the Security Council*, fifth year, No. 44.

² See *Official Records of the fourth session of the General Assembly*, First Committee, 338th meeting.

Chinese quislings seated in the Security Council of the United Nations as the representatives of the Chinese people. There is, of course, one difference between the Norwegian quislings and the Chinese quislings: the former were followers and tools of Nazi totalitarianism; the latter are the followers and tools of communist totalitarianism."

51. We simply cannot lead ourselves to conclude that this difference in the type of totalitarianism warrants the seating of Mao Tse-tung and company in the United Nations as the representatives of 450 million Chinese people. For the United Nations to act on this basis would be to express a political view by endorsing totalitarian despotism. That would be in conflict with the very aim the Temporary President expressed in his reply, the aim of submitting this issue to the United Nations without regard to the political issues involved in the contrasting characters of the two Chinese governments. Moreover, that would also be a most flagrant violation of the Charter and ideals of the United Nations.

52. Everything that has transpired since this matter came up has strengthened our conviction that this Chinese issue before the United Nations can be settled fairly and soundly only on the basis of adhering faithfully to the provisions of Article 4 of the Charter. It is particularly on this basis that we respectfully reaffirm and resubmit to the General Assembly our position that the present clique, hated by the Chinese people, is unfit for and unworthy of membership in the United Nations and entirely unqualified to represent the 450 million people in China. The motive of the USSR delegation is clear. The Soviet Union Government wishes to complete the conquest of China by winning for its puppet régime the valued moral and political recognition of this body. I make bold to believe that this body will not co-operate with the Soviet Union in advancing that country's plan for world conquest.

53. Mr. ACHESON (United States of America): I have risen to oppose the draft resolution presented by the representative of India which is before the General Assembly. I wish to urge upon this General Assembly first, that it should vote upon this draft resolution at once and, second, that it should vote it down. There are many reasons which I might give for opposing the draft resolution, but I shall be very brief and shall put the opposition on what I think is the sound and unanswerable ground: the need for orderly procedure and the overwhelming necessity of getting on to the organization of this General Assembly and the transaction of the vital business which lies before it along the lines which the Temporary President has indicated.

54. Now, what is this draft resolution which has been placed before the Assembly? It is that the Assembly should eject from representation here representatives of the Government of China which participated in the founding of the United Nations and has represented China ever since, and that the Assembly should substitute for that representation the representatives of another régime in China. Some measure of the consequences and difficulty of the question proposed is shown by the fact that, of the membership of this Assembly, forty-three of the nations recognize the government which it is proposed to eject and sixteen recognize the régime which it is proposed to seat.

55. This is a matter of the very greatest importance, not merely to the government and the régime directly concerned, but to all of us, to the United Nations, and to representatives of many of the governments seated here, because this will create precedents. In taking a step of this magnitude, it is most important that we should look very carefully into what is proposed and how it is proposed to be done and should understand exactly what we are doing before we decide. To do that will take some time—a long time if we do it carefully—and that will impede the organization of this Assembly; that will delay the transaction of important business.

56. What, therefore, in my judgment seems to be the orderly and the sensible thing to do is to vote down this draft resolution and do it quickly, to organize this Assembly and get on with its work. During the course of this session there will be ample opportunity to consider the criteria which should be used in determining which of the two claimant régimes to seat in the United Nations. The Cuban delegation has put on our agenda a proposal for doing exactly that. There are many orderly ways for adding to that investigation, if the Assembly wishes so to do. In that way, the matter can be carefully considered; it can be considered without days and days or weeks of debate elapsing before we can get on with our other business; and a proper and well-considered decision can be made later on.

57. Without, therefore, taking any further time, let me urge two courses upon my fellow representatives: let us vote upon this draft resolution now; let us not postpone it and drag the matter out. Vote it now, and vote it down.

58. Mr. WIERBLOWSKI (Poland) (*translated from French*): On resuming its seat in this hall, the Polish delegation was utterly astounded to find itself compelled to note the presence of persons belonging to no delegation and representing no one; my words plainly refer to the envoys of the Kuomintang clique, these men who, in defence of a bad cause, dare to usurp the title of "representatives of the Chinese people."

59. This sinister farce, this dangerous pretence of Chinese pseudo-representation has lasted for more than a year. A handful of bankrupt politicians, of sabre-rattlers expelled by their own people, arrogate to themselves the right to speak in the name of a great country, in the name of a people 450 million strong. None of us are any longer in doubt as to the real character of this clique, both now and in the past. Was the United States Government itself, which so obstinately supports this clique of adventurers, in any doubt when, not so long ago, it published its White Paper, prepared by Mr. Acheson himself, and was obliged to admit that the agents of the Kuomintang, far from enjoying any support from the Chinese people, were one and all discredited and corrupt?

60. Let us consider more closely the qualities which, according to the United Nations Charter, the representatives here present should possess.

61. Does the Kuomintang group constitute a government? Of course it does not, inasmuch as it is nothing more than an association of adventurers expelled by their people, a faction clinging to a fragment of Chinese territory, thanks to intervention and support from

abroad. It does not, in fact, exercise any authority whatsoever in that scrap of land. Since the military occupation of the island by the United States, the Kuomintang clique is not entitled to assert, even mendaciously, that it enjoys a vestige or a semblance of power.

62. Can this clique validly accept any obligations whatsoever? Certainly not. As it does not exercise any power, it cannot assume any obligations.

63. Lastly, does this clique possess the necessary qualifications for the effective assumption of the fundamental obligations arising out of the United Nations Charter? Is it capable of defending peace? And does it wish to do so? The reply must necessarily be in the negative because it is dictated by the very nature of the Chiang Kai-shek clique. By definition, that clique has an interest in the pursuit of military adventure. It has shown on many occasions, and Chiang Kai-shek has several times confirmed the fact, that its object remains war and hence the negation of the aims which still constitute the essential purpose of our Organization.

64. Why then do these men who represent no one and who flout the rules of our Organization continue to remain in our midst, contrary to the requirements of the Charter?

65. You have heard the Kuomintang delegate attempt to slander the legal government of China by requesting that he should himself be recognized as the representative of the only legal government. It is obvious that he has not read the White Paper published by his patrons in the United States, which admits that the Kuomintang is corrupt. You have heard a man who represents no one but himself but who slanders his own nation. Is it not a pity to waste our time? Is not our Organization being derided?

66. Since it was the United States representative who preceded me on this rostrum, I should like to add a few words. What are the facts which have permitted such an outrageous spectacle, so dire in its effects? The cause of this state of affairs lies solely in the policy of the United States. It is thanks to and on behalf of the United States that the Kuomintang group is operating against the wish and interests of the Chinese people.

67. When the Chinese people expelled Chiang Kai-shek and his *entourage* of military and political adventurers, following the failure of United States imperialist intervention in China, it was their American patrons who provided them with shelter and protection in Taiwan. The Chinese people has already passed judgment upon them. The United States alone, under cover of guns, is attempting to revive the dead body of the Kuomintang clique. The United States is doing so in order to be in a position to continue its imperialist interference in Chinese affairs. It is clear to everyone that this United States plan, which is contrary to the will of the Chinese people, cannot be carried into effect by peaceful means and that the continued existence of the Kuomintang clique is closely bound up with the war plans prepared by the imperialist warmongers of the world.

68. In his annual report,⁵ the Secretary-General has described the question of Chinese representation in the

⁵ See *Official Records of the fifth session of the General Assembly*, Supplement No. 1.

United Nations as a legal and constitutional question which has provoked a serious crisis within the Organization. The question has other and infinitely more far-reaching consequences. It must be admitted that the result of maintaining the fiction of the representative character of the Kuomintang delegation is to deprive a people 450 million strong, with its own legal government, of representation in the United Nations. The absence of the representatives of China is prejudicing the work of the General Assembly, is seriously undermining the structure of the United Nations as defined in the Charter and is paralysing its activities. A General Assembly without Chinese participation cannot be regarded as legally constituted under the terms of Article 9 of the Charter. Our discussions and decisions are thus deprived of the participation of representatives of one-fifth of mankind.

69. In the opinion of the Polish delegation, the first step to be taken towards the elimination of this obstacle to the normal and productive functioning of our Organization is to expel the delegate of the Kuomintang from this hall. It is high time that the puppets, whose strings are manipulated by the United States, were thrown out. When these phantoms have disappeared from our sight, when we see the true representatives of the Chinese people take their places among us, then and then only will the conditions for the normal functioning of the General Assembly be restored.

70. The Polish delegation protests most solemnly against the presence of the representatives of the Kuomintang clique in the Assembly hall and supports the USSR delegation's proposal for their immediate expulsion.

71. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: As this session of the General Assembly begins its work, may I appeal to all the representatives to be more restrained in their language.

72. Mr. VYSHINSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): I explained at the very outset, when stating the position of the Soviet Union, that there were two points to be considered in the case before us: the presence of the representative of the Kuomintang group in the General Assembly and his participation in its work, and the invitation of the representative of the People's Republic of China. As the discussion has shown both questions to be closely connected, I shall have to touch now upon the second point as well so as to limit any further statements I may make on these matters.

73. In the first place, the representative of the Kuomintang group objected to my calling him a representative of the Kuomintang group; but he himself admitted that the Kuomintang held a dominant position in that group. The group is, therefore, a Kuomintang group in that sense. He denied that the group was reactionary, said that it stood for true democracy and talked about democracy and the constitution. Do the real facts coincide with his description? I think not.

74. Mr. Acheson, who supported the Kuomintang representative, did not discuss the substance of the matter, apparently because he feared that were he to do so he might suddenly find himself in an awkward position.

75. It is of course quite natural that Mr. Acheson should not desire to find himself in an awkward posi-

tion. He therefore simply said that the Indian draft resolution should be rejected. True, he did not say anything about the USSR draft resolution. It might be thought that he was not against the USSR proposal since he merely suggested that the Indian proposal should be rejected. I think, however, that that was tactfulness on his part, and that he did not wish to cross swords with the delegation of the Soviet Union from the very start. I appreciate his attitude.

76. But let us see what Mr. Acheson had to say on the substance of the question which has been raised here and which is surely of vast and grave importance. This question, I might say, is of vital significance, of thrilling significance for the Chinese people whose interests should be dear to you, a great people which, after decades of fighting for its freedom, has at last attained that freedom, has set up its own people's republic and has every right to be represented here in the General Assembly of the United Nations by its own representatives, and not by the representatives of some particular group, especially if it is of the Kuomintang kind. Only representatives of nations may be present here. But does not Mr. Acheson know that the Kuomintang group is not representative of the Chinese people? Mr. Acheson himself has furnished the best proof of that fact.

77. I should like to remind Mr. Acheson of a statement he made not so long ago, on 12 January 1950 to be exact, in which he recognized that the Chinese people had completely withdrawn its support from that government. I should like to remind him that earlier still—about a year ago, in August 1949—in his letter of transmittal of the famous White Paper which came out at that time, he said about Kuomintang China: "In the opinion of many observers they had sunk into corruption, into a scramble for place and power."⁶

78. Mr. Acheson apparently has forgotten those two statements—one included in his letter of transmittal, from which I have just quoted, and the other made on 12 January 1950. He was absolutely right when he made those statements and I should like to defend Mr. Acheson against Mr. Acheson, for, I repeat, he was undoubtedly right on that occasion. And Mr. Acheson has many sources from which to draw confirmation, in the shape of authoritative documentary proof, that he was right at the time. I should like to refer to General Stilwell, former Commander-in-Chief of the United States forces in China, and to quote him literally on the Kuomintang. Mr. President, I must quote General Stilwell. I remember your injunction to use proper and moderate language, but these are not my words. I do not wish to use any rude words, and I shall not use any. But these words were spoken by the Commander-in-Chief of the United States forces in China, General Stilwell. Permit me to cite these words of the General.

79. I shall quote what General Stilwell had to say about the Kuomintang group, and I should like the delegate of that group to listen carefully: "A gang of thugs with the one idea of perpetuating themselves and their machine. Money, influence, and position the only considerations of the leaders. Intrigue, double-crossing, lying reports. Hands out for anything they can get."⁷

⁶ See *United States Relations with China*, published by the Department of State, page VII.

⁷ See Stilwell, J. W., *The Stilwell Papers*, William Sloane Associates, Inc., New York, page 190.

Mr. Acheson should read page 190 of *The Stilwell Papers*. What is stated there confirms that he was right in August 1949 and in January 1950 when he admitted that the Kuomintang group, which claims to be the government of China, deserved no confidence and that it had lost the confidence of the Chinese people as well as the American people, whose Government supported and, as we now see here, is still supporting that despicable group of Kuomintang traitors to their people.

80. The Press contains a strangely similar report—I wonder whether it is a case of mutual inspiration. In January 1950 the *New York Post* wrote the following, which I quote word for word: "Chiang can serve as the classical example in our time of the man who threw away greatness to follow treachery. He betrayed the ideals of Sun Yat-sen when he became leader of the Kuomintang which Sun founded. He betrayed the promises which he had made to President Roosevelt and other American leaders who gave him support in the early days. He betrayed his opponents who released him after capture on the basis of an agreement. He betrayed the missionaries by confessing Christianity but practising paganism. He betrayed the bankers, by taking their loans in the name of China and appropriating them for himself. Above all, he betrayed the Chinese people by promising them liberty and establishing his own brand of fascism."

81. These are not my own words. I am quoting from the *New York Post* of 10 January 1950.

82. Such are the facts about the constitution on the basis of which this group claims to represent the Government of China. Such are the facts about the so-called democracy as depicted to us here by the representative of the Kuomintang group.

83. The USSR delegation considers that these facts are proved. Arithmetic is beside the point. Mr. Acheson stated that forty-three States were in favour of the Kuomintang régime and sixteen against. He knows full well that in politics it frequently happens that sixteen States which happen to be in a minority are of much greater political, moral and historical significance than the so-called majority. But this is another matter, and I shall not go into it now.

84. The delegation of the Soviet Union feels that the true, genuine and national China must be invited to this Assembly, that an invitation must be issued to the representatives of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, Mr. Chou En-lai, informed the Secretary-General of the United Nations as early as 26 August of this year of the appointment of a delegation of the People's Republic of China, headed by Mr. Chang Wen-tien, to the current session of the General Assembly. The Central People's Government emphasized in that cable [A/1364] that steps should be taken to enable the delegation of the People's Republic of China to attend the current session. I need not dwell on this indisputable claim of the Central People's Government, the only lawful and sovereign government of China.

85. The USSR delegation must further draw the attention of the General Assembly to the quite inadmissible and intolerable nature of a state of affairs where the People's Republic of China, a great country, which has

justly demanded that all the obstacles to its rightful participation in the work of the United Nations and all its organs should be removed, remains unrepresented in the United Nations.

86. The representative of the Kuomintang group has tried to object here to this formulation of the question, asserting that the Central People's Government is not in control of the territory of China and does not represent the Chinese people. He made what I thought were rather unfortunate historical analogies with France, Norway, Sweden.

87. We must look the facts in the face, and see them as they really are. These facts say more eloquently than any false words that the true government, invested with full powers and trusted by the Chinese people is, of course, the Chinese People's Government of the People's Republic of China. Can anyone dispute this fact? Is not this fact alone sufficient to remove all the obstacles which prevent the Chinese people, in the person of the representatives they have themselves appointed, from participating in the present session of the General Assembly?

88. This is why the USSR delegation warmly supports the demand of the Chinese People's Government to be permitted to take part in the work of the General Assembly and is proposing that the General Assembly should adopt the following draft resolution [A/1370]:

"The General Assembly

Decides to invite the representatives of the People's Government to take part in the work of the General Assembly and its organs."

89. I urge the adoption of this draft; it is so obvious and incontestable that only the most obscure interests could lead anyone to vote against such a proposal.

90. I would ask the General Assembly to weigh all these facts and deal with this question in a manner worthy of the authority and dignity of the General Assembly.

91. Sir Benegal N. RAU (India): I see now that, although the preliminary point which I raised has not been settled, we are all speaking as if it had been settled. We are speaking on the merits of the various draft resolutions. Therefore I shall have to follow that example and speak on the merits of my own draft resolution.

92. I should like to mention at the outset that the question of the representation of China has been under consideration in various organs of the United Nations since January last. India recognized the new Central People's Government of China toward the end of last year and, ever since then, it has consistently followed the logical consequences of that recognition. The present draft resolution standing in the name of the delegation of India is only another step in the same direction. Thus our advocacy of the claims of new China to be represented in the United Nations and its organs began a long time ago, began before the present Korean conflict and is in no way connected with it.

93. Why did we recognize the new Government of China? For a variety of reasons, the main reason being that, according to the best of our knowledge and information, it is a sound and stable government. An eminent authority on international law, Dr. Lauterpacht,

in his edition of Oppenheim's *Treatise* on this subject, says this on the criteria for recognition:

"The government which enjoys the habitual obedience of the bulk of the population with a reasonable expectancy of permanence"—these are the very words I have quoted in my draft resolution—"can be said to represent the State in question and as such to be entitled to recognition. The bulk of the practice of States, at least that of Great Britain and the United States, in the matter of recognition of governments, is based on the principle of effectiveness thus conceived."⁸

94. That is the principle which India has followed in respect of China.

95. Let us look at the matter from another point of view, quite independent of recognition. As I have mentioned in my draft resolution, and as is well known, the Republic of China is a Member of the United Nations and a permanent member of the Security Council, and as such that Republic has a number of obligations laid upon it by the Charter of the United Nations. Who is to fulfil them? A State cannot fulfil obligations except through some government, and obviously only a government exercising effective control over the territory and the people of the Republic of China can fulfil the obligations laid upon the Republic of China. That seems to us to be self-evident and, so far as India is aware, the Central Government of the People's Republic of China is the only government that exercises this control. Therefore that is the government that can discharge China's duties and obligations under the Charter.

96. But how can we require the fulfilment of these obligations and yet deny that government its rights under the Charter, one of which is the right to be represented in the United Nations? To deny rights and, in the same breath, to insist on obligations is clearly illogical and inconsistent.

97. The question is sometimes asked, how can we possibly seat here the representative of a puppet communist government? There is a double fallacy here. According to our information, and we have quite good sources of information so far as the new Government of China is concerned, that government is a national coalition representing all sections of the nation, including some members of the Kuomintang, pledged to work a common programme of democratic advance. In our view, it is an independent government. Let me at this point read some extracts from two articles published in *The Times* of London on 28 and 29 June last. The writer, speaking of Chinese communism, says:

"It is because it is a Chinese movement, seeking to reform conditions in China, that it has gained such wide support. Few of its followers are really interested in foreign nations or their fate. The mass support of all classes which the régime"—meaning the new régime—"now enjoys is not given to theoretical communism but to the practical programme of reform and reconstruction which the party is now carrying out.

⁸ See Oppenheim, L. F. L., *International Law; a treatise*, edited by H. Lauterpacht, 7th ed., London, New York, Longmans Green and Co., vol. I, page 127.

"The administration, confined in the executive posts to party members, is impeccably honest; the army is admirably disciplined; there is no nepotism; efficiency and drive have replaced sloth and indifference. Intellectuals and experts, non-communist in their own views, have been asked to work for the régime in order to reconstruct China, and find a congenial atmosphere in which the expert is appreciated and his advice accepted."

98. But let us assume that we are all wrong, that the Government of India's view is wrong and that the views from which I have just read out extracts are also wrong. Let us assume that the new Government of China is a communist government. Surely, the United Nations is a world Organization in which there is room for different systems of government, with different policies and ideals. The United Nations was not intended to be a group of nations all thinking one way and excluding everybody else. So long as a nation of 475 million people remains outside a world organization, that organization cannot be regarded as fully representative.

99. India has historical and almost immemorial ties of culture and friendship with China. For us, situated as we are and where we are, the friendship of China is desirable and natural. We wish to do everything possible to promote the friendly relations that now prevail between us, because we feel that a free and independent China marching with India will be the most effective stabilizing factor in Asia.

100. It is for these reasons that I commend my draft resolution to the favourable consideration of the General Assembly.

101. Faris EL-KHOURI Bey (Syria): This question has been placed before the General Assembly for the first time. I do not know whether all the representatives here have, like myself, come to this meeting without any idea that this important matter was to be placed before us and that we were to be asked to vote on it at once, without being given an opportunity to consider the matter a little more deeply. Furthermore, many of the representatives here are attending a session of the General Assembly for the first time, and I think it would be only fair to give them a chance to consider this matter further, especially in view of the fact that there are now four different proposals before them.

102. I do not agree with the statement that has been made to the effect that the organizing of the General Assembly necessitates taking an immediate vote on this matter. The General Assembly could take a final and definite decision after the credentials have been presented and all the representatives recognized as presumptive representatives to participate in the session.

103. The agenda for this session of the General Assembly is composed of several items, of which the first two have already been dealt with. The next is the appointment of a Credentials Committee. Now a new proposal is before us which is not on the agenda. I think that the voting on this fourth question ought to be postponed at least until tomorrow in order that delegations may have time for further consideration. For this reason I propose the postponement of a vote on this matter and, at the same time, the appointment of the Credentials Committee at once in order not to

hinder the progress of the work of the General Assembly, I hope that my proposal will be put to a vote.

104. Mr. PEARSON (Canada): I have asked to speak in order to explain very briefly a draft resolution [A/1368] that stands in the name of my delegation and which I assume will be considered only if the other draft resolutions on this subject are not found acceptable to the General Assembly.

105. The draft resolution submitted by my delegation is a purely procedural one and should not cause anyone to become too excited. It has been submitted because we do not feel that if the other draft resolutions on this subject are defeated, this should finally dispose of this very important matter at this present session; nor do we feel that we should be asked to take a final decision concerning it on the very first day of the session and before an opportunity has been given for its careful consideration.

106. To give such consideration, we propose in our draft resolution the establishment of a committee of seven, of which one shall be the President of this General Assembly, who shall select the other six. This committee of seven shall report back with its recommendations to the General Assembly.

107. There is, of course, as the representative of the United States has pointed out, an item on the agenda proposed by the delegation of Cuba, which reads: "Recognition by the United Nations of the representation of a Member State"; that item has some bearing on this question, but it deals with many other questions as well as that of the representation of China. However, my delegation believes that this Cuban item has a bearing on the question of Chinese representation and that, therefore, the special committee which we recommend may wish to consider the substance of the Cuban proposal at this session of the General Assembly before reporting on the question of Chinese representation.

108. It may of course be felt that this question should be dealt with by the Credentials Committee or in some other way. But our view is that it is a matter of such special importance that the procedure of a special committee, which is recommended in the Canadian draft resolution, is wise. We therefore recommend that procedure to the General Assembly.

109. Mr. HAJDU (Czechoslovakia): In contrast with the views expressed by other delegations, the Czechoslovak delegation is glad that the Soviet Union proposal gives the General Assembly an opportunity, at the very beginning of its session, to put an end to a state of affairs in which it finds itself in connexion with this question, and which is in flagrant contradiction with reality as well as with international law.

110. The Czechoslovak delegation is also glad that the General Assembly will, as a result of this proposal, have the possibility of wiping out the deception of the 500 million Chinese people, as well as that of other peoples throughout the world. That deception arose out of the undignified proceedings with regard to this question which have been conducted up to the present time by some organs of the United Nations. That conduct has lowered the prestige of the Organization and not only has not helped but, quite to the contrary, has

placed obstacles in the path of the peace effort, which is the basic aim of the United Nations. That conduct is the result of the policy of one of the great Powers, the United States, which did not take into account either the reality of the situation or international law. That policy bars the legal representation in the Organization of the United Nations of the 500 million strong and glorious Chinese people, who are represented by a lawful government which exercises sovereignty over the whole Chinese mainland. That policy eliminates one-fourth of mankind from active participation in peace efforts and, as a result, weakens substantially the United Nations.

111. World opinion cannot understand why some of the main organs of the United Nations, whose task should and must be the defence of peace, law and justice, not only have not fulfilled this task but directly violate it. Much less can it understand the attitude of those organs of not taking into account the unchangeable reality; that attitude is contrary to all logic and common sense. This real situation must be acknowledged, as well as the principles of international law, which recognizes the fact that the Government of the Chinese People's Republic is the only legal government of China.

112. The General Assembly intends to put an end to this illegal and untenable state of affairs, and to bring it into harmony with legality and reality. By this action the General Assembly will strengthen the prestige of the United Nations in the eyes of the peoples of the world. In doing this, the General Assembly will substantially contribute to its peace efforts.

113. For these reasons, the Czechoslovak delegation supports the proposal of the Soviet Union and will vote for it.

114. Mr. SPENDER (Australia): Australia is opposed to the draft resolutions put forward by India and the Soviet Union and we propose to express our reasons therefor.

115. In the first place, both draft resolutions make allegations of fact which the General Assembly is not in a position now to determine.

116. Secondly, they make allegations of fact as the necessary prerequisite to the admission of the Central People's Government to the General Assembly. Even if those allegations of fact were correct, it would not, in the view of the Australian delegation, follow that recognition should be accorded in this Assembly.

117. Thirdly, it is our view that there are other criteria, beyond those expressed in the draft resolution of India, which must be considered before a nation is admitted to the General Assembly.

118. Finally, even were those criteria the proper criteria upon which to proceed, the Australian delegation submits that it is proper, in the circumstances in which we find ourselves today, that we should be satisfied that in dealing with this draft resolution we do not appear to the world to be giving way to pressure.

119. I shall now deal with each point that I have made.

120. The members of the General Assembly will see, if they peruse the draft resolution proposed by the representative of India, that it makes the following

allegations in the second paragraph: "*Considering* that the obligations of a Member under the Charter of the United Nations cannot be carried out except by a government which, with a reasonable expectancy of permanence, actually exercises control over the territory of that Member and commands the obedience of its people". It proceeds further to say: "*Recognizing* that the Central Government of the People's Republic of China is the only such government functioning in the Republic of China as now constituted". Then, proceeding upon those two premises, it goes on to say that we should decide to admit the Central People's Government to the General Assembly.

121. We point out that those are allegations of fact which ought to be determined by an appropriate body before the General Assembly is asked to proceed any further with this draft resolution. It is quite obvious, from the statements made by the representatives of the USSR and China, that there is a dispute on fact, and that that dispute on fact ought first to be resolved. But even assuming that the facts are correct, it by no means follows that, being satisfied as to their truth, we should proceed to admit the Central People's Government of China.

122. I say that for these reasons. Is the fact that a nation is controlled by a particular government, or that that government commands the obedience of its people and that it is the only functioning government, sufficient to justify the members of the General Assembly introducing that nation here? I venture to say that a moment's reflection would suggest that the answer must be unquestionably "No". I say that because if our minds go back over the last ten or fifteen years, Hitler's régime, at the time we were fighting it, could have satisfied every one of these criteria. Indeed, had South Korea been overrun by North Korea in the latter's aggressive action, then the government of North Korea too could have said after a small passage of time: "We satisfy these criteria and are therefore entitled to admission to the assembly of nations."

123. The Australian delegation believes that much more must be done before a nation is to come into the United Nations. We are here for the purpose—or ostensibly for the purpose—of advancing the cause of peace throughout the world. One of the most important criteria, in the judgment of my Government, is that we must be satisfied that a nation that seeks admission to this General Assembly is not only able but prepared to undertake its international responsibilities. Furthermore, we must be satisfied that it is a nation not only prepared to undertake its international responsibilities in a general sense; it must be a nation that is prepared to advance the cause of peace in this Assembly in accordance with the objectives of the Charter of the United Nations. And I beg leave to question very much whether we can be satisfied. Certainly the Australian delegation at this moment is not satisfied that the People's Republic of China, if admitted to this Assembly, would advance the cause of peace.

124. I venture to say, and I express the view of my Government, that there are represented in the General Assembly today, and have been in the past, nations that have not been concerned with advancing the objectives of the United Nations but in truth with destroying those objectives. So it is that we in Australia make it

plain that we are not prepared to admit any nation merely because it satisfies the conditions laid down in the draft resolution introduced by India. May I say that I am quite satisfied that the representative of India represents a government that is deeply and devoutly concerned with peace. I beg leave to express my view that I do not think the same thing can be said of the leader of the Soviet Union delegation and the country he represents.

125. Our view, therefore, is that at the present moment it is not proper for the Assembly to proceed any further with this decision. We ought not to vote either for or against it. Indeed, some appropriate tribunal or committee of this Assembly should consider what criteria must be applied in determining these matters. For that reason I generally support the proposal of the representative of Canada, with this qualification: I think the members of that committee ought to be members properly elected by this Assembly and should not, with due respect to the President and any other person — and I am sure the President will not misunderstand what I say — be nominated by any one person.

126. Finally, I wish to say this. In the country from which I come, living as we do under a British system of justice, there is a well known maxim which we apply to all our actions: not only is it important that justice should be done, it is equally important that justice should appear to be done. And so it is important today that we should not make it appear, by anything we do, that we are giving way to pressure by any group or nation. We have seen the issue realistically and cannot ignore the fact that much has gone before. This matter cannot be decided as if it were just an academic matter now to be decided for the first time.

127. We know very well that in the dispute in Korea, where the United Nations have come together for the purpose of resisting aggression, there have been suggestions made that we settle this matter on the condition that we admit the People's Republic of China. May I say, on behalf of Australia, that we will have nothing whatever to do with that kind of approach. We are not people who submit to pressure; we are people who are desirous of doing our part in achieving peace. We are quite satisfied that peace will not be advanced if we give way to pressure. We are equally satisfied that it will not be advanced if we appear to give way to pressure. I have no doubt that throughout the world today there are millions of people who are looking to this Assembly for a strong lead. We shall not give them that lead if we make it appear — because it will be so construed — that all the pressure brought to bear upon us has finally been successful.

128. For those reasons, we are opposed to the draft resolutions introduced by India and the Soviet Union. We shall support the draft resolution of Canada with the qualification I have indicated.

129. Mr. CASTRO (El Salvador) (*translated from Spanish*): In taking the floor on this occasion, it is my intention to submit the point of view of a delegation which has long maintained an absolutely consistent stand on the question of China. There have, of course, been many problems in the Chinese situation which have caused changes in the respective positions of the

two governments which control part of the territory of that great nation.

130. As one of the principal arguments in favour of the recognition of the Government of the so-called People's Republic of China there have been put forward certain concepts of international law according to which a government which controls a territory, which is capable of fulfilling its international obligations and which has the will to do so, should be recognized by the other governments of the world as the legitimate government of the country.

131. Here we have a nation which has been torn by internal strife for many years, by civil war on the one hand and, on the other, by foreign attempts to interfere in internal matters and to bring about a particular type of settlement of the Chinese situation.

132. There are therefore grounds for reflecting upon the situation before dealing with it hastily. We must look at it for ourselves and be completely convinced that the movement which has arisen in China is a genuinely national movement, before we can decide that the government which controls the major part of the territory of that country can be admitted to the United Nations. We must see whether the Government of the People's Republic of China is fulfilling its international obligations, whether the diplomatic and consular representatives accredited to that country are receiving the treatment to which they are entitled, or whether, to put it bluntly, they are subject to restrictions, and international obligations are not being properly complied with.

133. Lastly, apart from all these considerations, it is our duty to take into account the present world situation. The words of the Temporary President of the Assembly are still ringing in my ears. We are faced with a conflict which is draining away the life-blood of the world, and we cannot forget the blood which is being shed at this very moment.

134. Consequently our decision on this matter must take into account the present position of the United Nations which is fighting aggression in Korea. And here, we are faced with a clearly defined situation: the Nationalist Government of China, at present established on the island of Formosa, has made known its desire to co-operate with the United Nations in resisting aggression and has even offered armed forces to be placed in the service of what is now the cause of the United Nations. What has been the position of the Government of the People's Republic of China? It has been the exact opposite. Its attitude has been to denounce and accuse the Republic of Korea. It has declared that it was the Republic of Korea which first attacked North Korea, and that the latter has been waging a defensive war. But the war potential of North Korea is so enormous and powerful that the Republic in the South would never have dared to challenge it for the simple reason that it did not even possess the means of defence.

135. Thus, through highly special circumstances which enabled the Security Council to emerge from its usual paralysis and to act for the first time as the legitimate organ responsible for defending and promoting the cause of peace, the United Nations found itself faced with a situation of genuine and far-reaching importance for the future of this international Organization which is of almost universal scope.

136. The problem before us is not one of recognizing a nation and saying that it is a Member of the United Nations. Obviously China is a Member of the United Nations. We are faced with an unfinished conflict in China and we are simply deciding which government is to be recognized by the United Nations.

137. As the representative of the United States said a moment ago, an overwhelming majority of the States Members of the United Nations have not recognized the People's Republic of China, or, more exactly, the government of that people's republic. Plainly, then, the majority of the States Members of the United Nations represented here have already made known their opinion in the form of an act of sovereignty by withholding recognition from the Peiping government.

138. But when we come here to the United Nations, we have to consider, as the representative of Australia has just said, the essential purpose of the Organization, which is the maintenance of international peace and order.

139. Which of the two governments, the Nationalist Government of China or the Government of the People's Republic of China, is the one which is genuinely disposed to further the cause of the United Nations?

140. Obviously, leaving aside any defects and shortcomings which there may be in any government and which we are not in a position to consider here, it is our duty to decide, in the face of an unfinished conflict such as the one in China, which of the two governments controlling part of the territory of China will co-operate most fully with the United Nations. The reply is obvious: it is the Nationalist Government at present established on the island of Formosa.

141. Consequently we should be disregarding the interests of the universal Organization of which our States are Members if we were to accept now the representatives of a government which is entirely opposed to the cause of the United Nations and which has in fact clearly challenged and defied that cause.

142. In the circumstances, it is my belief that there is no possible alternative for any State which wishes to defend and carry forward the flag of peace which is now in the hands of our Organization.

143. The delegation of El Salvador will vote against the two draft resolutions of the Soviet Union, against the draft resolution submitted by the delegation of India, and will abstain from voting on the Canadian draft resolution for one very simple reason, which is that the position of the United Nations in this problem must be clearly defined. The problem is, simply and solely, which of the two governments is to be recognized.

144. The delegation of the Soviet Union has been entirely consistent in its presentation of the problem. During the years in which the United Nations has been in existence, only one government, the Nationalist Government, has been recognized; hence the USSR delegation, in accordance with its own particular views—which are not those of the delegation of El Salvador—has proposed that the representative of Nationalist China should be expelled. The proposal is logical and in conformity with its own views, but we challenge those views for reasons which we have already made clear, and declare emphatically that in no case should we vote

for the recognition of a government controlling part of the territory of any nation, if such recognition were to mean introducing another disruptive element into the United Nations.

145. Mr. UNDEN (Sweden) (*translated from French*): My delegation supports the proposal submitted by the delegation of India. It considers that, as the Peking government controls almost the whole territory of China, it should be regarded as the *de facto* government of China.

146. No government has any obligation under international law to give *de jure* recognition to a situation of the kind which exists in China. All governments are legally free to defer recognition of the new régime for reasons of which they are the sole judges. For my part, however, I associate myself with the opinion expressed by the representative of India, namely, that our Organization should be guided by the indisputable fact that the Chinese nation is today no longer represented by the Nationalist Government which has its seat in Formosa. My delegation will accordingly vote for the draft resolution submitted by India.

147. Mr. DIHIGO (Cuba) (*translated from Spanish*): Since some of the previous speakers have referred to the item which was placed on the provisional agenda of the present session by Cuba, we should like to make it clear that as far as the representation of Member States in the United Nations is concerned, this item is of a general scope and does not refer or apply specifically to the case of China. That this case might be included under such general rules as the Assembly may deem it desirable to adopt, is a different matter. Our intention, in requesting the inclusion of this topic, was precisely that the Assembly should take a decision on a controversial matter which is not governed by uniform rules applicable to all the organs of the United Nations.

148. Having made this clear, I wish to support the point of view of the representative of Syria, and to recall that he has raised a point of order which the President should decide immediately.

149. The representative of Syria said—and I agree with him—that we should appoint the Credentials Committee at once. In an Assembly of this nature, until the Credentials Committee has been appointed and has accepted and reported on the credentials of the representatives, the Assembly cannot technically be considered as duly constituted. This is the first thing we must do.

150. For that reason, I am of the opinion that we should proceed immediately to the appointment of the Credentials Committee, and that the latter should make its report. When the credentials have been approved, we should examine the various draft resolutions submitted. It seems to me that then would be the proper time to support the Canadian proposal for the appointment of a committee to study the problem before us.

151. Mr. BARANOVSKY (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*translated from Russian*): The USSR and Indian representatives gave adequate reasons in their statements for inviting a representative of the People's Republic of China to take his rightful place among the other delegations to the United Nations. Their position was logical enough; yet the Australian representative tried to refute it, unashamedly giving his

real reasons for opposing a proposal based on legal and practical considerations.

152. I shall say nothing of the inexcusable tone he took when he attempted to lay the blame for the divergences which arise in the United Nations on the representatives of the Soviet delegations. I shall draw attention only to the obvious fact that he wishes to keep out of the United Nations those peoples whose political régime and economic structure differ from those of Australia. He himself said, I repeat, that he would not wish to see in the United Nations governments of countries whose political and economic structure differ from Australia's. He could hardly have been more frank and unabashed.

153. The United Nations is an international Organization composed of all the nations which wish jointly to strive for and to secure a stable and lasting peace. This desire is apparently not shared by the Australian representative, since he deems it possible, in violation of the Charter, of a signed agreement, to make exceptions in the cases of some countries merely because they have a different political régime and economic structure.

154. Not only does the Chinese People's Government enjoy the confidence of its people, which has elected it and invested it with its powers; its policies and activities are designed to meet the basic, the most vital and essential interests of that people. The Indian representative affirmed quite rightly, by quoting the Press and a number of other authoritative sources in support of his statement, that the Chinese People's Government works better and more rapidly and in the best interests of the people.

155. The Press, the testimony of members of various non-communist parties who visited China, the testimony of outstanding authorities, all bear witness to the fact that in the short space of time since the overthrow of the anti-national régime, since the liberation of China from the Kuomintang clique, the people's government has done much to bring about social and economic reforms. In a relatively brief period the people's government has been able to improve the people's condition. Is that not proof that it is truly a people's government? In a relatively brief period, the Chinese People's Government has introduced a number of social and economic reforms which will improve the condition of the Chinese people. Because of this concern with its welfare, the Chinese people supports its Government's measures. The Chinese people fully supports these progressive measures and is successfully carrying them out.

156. It is strange to listen to the statement of the representative of a small group which claims to represent a people; it is strange to listen to the statement of the representative of a small group of wholly corrupt politicians, of political intriguers who, thanks to the inexcusable weakness of the permanent organ of the United Nations, are still tolerated in our midst as representatives of this group which represents no one.

157. My Government, like the governments of other countries, cannot tolerate the presence of representatives of the Kuomintang group at this Assembly; for that reason, the delegation of the Ukrainian SSR will vote for the proposal made by the representative of the Soviet Union, Mr. Vyshinsky, to the effect that the Kuomintang group should not be permitted to act as

representatives at this session, and will support the proposal that representatives of the true People's Government of China, the government headed by Mao Tse Tung, should be invited to take their places among the other delegations to the United Nations beginning with the very first meeting of the General Assembly.

158. Mr. BELAUNDE (Peru) (*translated from Spanish*): After the humorous admonition of the Temporary President of the Assembly, it is obvious that no speaker, however bold, dare make a long speech. I certainly am not going to do so. I wish simply to restore to its true path this debate which has gone astray on account of the various interventions and perhaps of the political opinions governing some of them.

159. To come down to facts, I think there is one point in the Indian draft resolution which we can settle at once. It is the paragraph reading: "*Recognizing that the Central Government of the People's Republic of China is the only such government functioning in the Republic of China as now constituted*".

160. The Indian proposal gives the United Nations the power of deciding on the status of a government and upon the validity of the theory that that government which is in practice discharging its functions or, as would be said in classic international law, is in control of the government machinery, should be called to the Assembly.

161. I think that on that matter the Assembly cannot enjoy separate competence or initiate, so to speak, a conflict of jurisdiction with the States or with the governments of those States. It is obvious that the representation of a nation is, in some cases, theoretically at least, distinct from the representation attributed to the government, but normally a government represents a nation.

162. We all know that according to the Charter of the United Nations, the Chinese nation forms part of the Organization. The problem is what government will represent or is legitimately or effectively representing the Chinese nation. The answer to the question depends on the opinion of those governments which maintain relations with China. If the nations decide by a majority, by a vast majority, or unanimously, that a certain government exercises such representation with respect to the United Nations, it is evident that this Assembly would have no right to state that that government, whatever its position, unless it were naturally or politically opposed to peace and national well-being, had no right to form part of the Assembly.

163. But a very important fact has been mentioned here by the United States Secretary of State. It is held, by forty-three governments as against sixteen, that no change has yet taken place in the representation of the Chinese nation. In face of this incontrovertible fact that of the nations which constitute the United Nations, forty-three have not recognized the existing government as the legitimate representative of the Chinese nation, it is obvious that it would be imprudent for the General Assembly of the United Nations, in opposition to the opinion of those forty-three governments, to say that the legitimate representative of the Chinese nation is the Government of the People's Republic. In my opinion, this argument is decisive because there cannot

be a double competence. Who recognizes the body representing a nation? It is recognized by those governments which enter into relations with that nation or, more correctly, with the government which undertakes to represent it.

164. It would be absurd for the United Nations to arrogate to itself one of the attributes of national sovereignty. The United Nations cannot even hypothetically assume the power of saying to governments that it imposes on them the obligation of renouncing their own judgment and accepting its judgment that such and such a government is really the representative of a certain nation.

165. It is therefore my opinion on this point that the Indian draft resolution, since it deals with a legal point, does not require a subsequent resolution.

166. It can nevertheless be argued that it is never useless to study matters more fully. In this sense it is evident that the Canadian draft resolution, supported by the Cuban and Syrian delegations, implies the possibility of further study of the problem by the Assembly.

167. If the Assembly decides to appoint a committee, I suggest, with regard to such study, that it is not within the competence of the United Nations Assembly to decide in each particular case what government is in control of the administrative machinery and what government is the effective representative of a specific nation.

168. As for other considerations, it is evident, from the argument which has been presented here by other delegations, that the criterion of material control of the government and recognition by even a majority of other governments is not sufficient for a government to be accepted as the representative of a country in the United Nations.

169. There is no doubt that the requirement laid down in the Articles of Chapter III of the Charter refers to the fulfilment of the chief international obligation, which is support of the principles of the Charter. And it is obvious that if we could give the United Nations Assembly the power to override the argument of incompetence which I submit with regard to the Indian proposal, we should have to examine the other point, to which attention has also been called here; this concerns the evidence that the Government of the People's Republic of China has given or may give us with respect to its collaboration in our policy of peace.

170. I wish to conclude this clarification of the matter by saying that we could in fact settle the fundamental part of the Indian proposal; nevertheless if the Assembly should prefer that a more thorough examination of the question should be made, I do not think that the Credentials Committee is the competent body.

171. It is true that the Credentials Committee can often give an opinion on a matter of substance; however, normally it confines itself to a statement to the effect that the credentials are in order and it cannot give an opinion on such an important question of substance.

172. If, therefore, the most important factor is time, the matter must obviously be referred to a committee for thorough study. Moreover, the advantage of such a study would be that the Assembly's decision would be

based on technical rather than on political considerations.

173. Certainly it is not possible today to separate political from technical considerations; it is certain that all of us, even those representatives who are not directly involved in the question, are influenced by the emotion of the moment; nevertheless, for the sake of the dignity of the Assembly, it is right and proper that purely juridical and technical considerations should prevail over political considerations.

174. Consequently the Peruvian delegation supports the argument of the United States Secretary of State to the effect that the non-recognition of the People's Government of China by the majority of the United Nations enables the Assembly to consider the proposals of India and the USSR as improper and forthwith to reject them. The Peruvian delegation, therefore, in order to give greater force to the Assembly's decision, will, as it has already indicated, vote in favour of the Canadian draft resolution.

175. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: The debate is closed, and we now have before us the proposal of the Syrian delegation that the vote on this question should be postponed until tomorrow. I shall submit this proposal to the General Assembly.

The proposal was rejected by 21 votes to 16, with 13 abstentions.

176. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: The General Assembly has before it four draft resolutions and one amendment. There is a draft resolution proposed by India, one proposed by Canada and two proposed by the USSR, and an amendment to the Canadian draft resolution proposed by Australia. I propose to submit these different drafts in the order in which they were received: first, that proposed by India; secondly, that proposed by Canada; and then the two draft resolutions proposed by the Soviet Union.

177. We shall now vote on the draft resolution presented by India [A/1365]; the delegation of the Soviet Union has requested a roll-call.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

Costa Rica, having been drawn by lot by the Temporary President, voted first.

In favour: Czechoslovakia, Denmark, India, Israel, Netherlands, Norway, Pakistan, Poland, Sweden, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic.

Against: Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Greece, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Iran, Iraq, Liberia, Luxembourg, Mexico, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Thailand, Turkey, Union of South Africa, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, China, Colombia.

Abstaining: Ecuador, Egypt, France, Guatemala, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Yemen, Argentina, Canada.

The draft resolution was rejected by 33 votes to 16, with 10 abstentions.

178. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: I shall now put to the vote the draft resolution presented by the delegation of Canada [A/1368]. The Australian amendment [A/1371] has been accepted by the Canadian delegation.

179. Mr. VYSHINSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): The second draft resolution was submitted by the USSR delegation.

180. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: I beg to differ. It was the Canadian draft resolution that was submitted next.

181. A request has been made that we vote on the two parts of the Canadian draft resolution separately. The first part of the draft reads as follows:

"The General Assembly,

"Taking note of differences of view concerning the representation of China in the United Nations,

"Establishes a Special Committee consisting of the President of the Assembly and six other representatives selected by the President to consider the question of Chinese representation and to report back, with recommendations, to the present session of the General Assembly, after the Assembly shall have considered item 62 of the provisional agenda (Cuban item)."

182. The Australian amendment [A/1371] is that, in place of the words "the President of the Assembly and six other representatives selected by the President", there should be inserted the words "seven members nominated by the President and confirmed by the Assembly". That amendment, as I have already indicated, has been accepted by the Canadian delegation.

183. A vote will be taken on the first part of the Canadian draft resolution as amended by Australia.

The first part was adopted by 38 votes to 6, with 11 abstentions.

184. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: The second part of the Canadian draft resolution reads as follows:

"Resolves that, pending a decision by the General Assembly on the report of this Special Committee, the representatives of the National Government of China shall be seated in the General Assembly with the same rights as other representatives."

A vote will be taken on the second part.

The second part was adopted by 42 votes to 8, with 6 abstentions.

185. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: The General Assembly will now vote on the draft resolution presented by the delegation of the USSR [A/1369].

The draft resolution was rejected by 38 votes to 10, with 8 abstentions.

186. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: The General Assembly will now vote on the next draft resolution presented by the delegation of the USSR [A/1370].

The draft resolution was rejected by 37 votes to 11, with 8 abstentions.

187. Mr. QUEVEDO (Ecuador) (*translated from Spanish*): The Government of my country maintains relations with the Nationalist Government of China and until now it considers that government to be the legiti-

mate government of China. Accordingly, if the Credentials Committee presents its report promptly, my delegation will vote in favour of recognizing the credentials of that government.

188. Nevertheless, my country has felt that the question of the representation of China in the Assembly is of such grave importance that this organ of the United Nations should take cognizance thereof and that each Member should be given ample opportunity to express its opinion. The problem is most serious since it involves a large part of the world's population and is a cause of a grave division of opinion among the Members.

189. For these reasons, my delegation was of the opinion that the Indian draft resolution should not be voted on at this time, but should be referred for study, together with the Canadian draft resolution, to a special committee, particularly since the Indian draft contains a suggestion that the General Assembly should recommend to the other organs of the United Nations the proper method of dealing with the problem.

190. It was for this reason that my delegation abstained from voting on the Indian draft, which we feel merits closer study, and voted in favour of the draft resolution presented by Canada.

191. Mr. VYSHINSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): The USSR delegation considers that the decision which has just been taken to reject the draft resolutions of the USSR and Indian delegation is wrong and illegal. No one can doubt that the Central People's Government of China is the true and only authorized government of the People's Republic of China and that, therefore, only persons accredited by it can represent China, its people and the People's Republic of China in this Assembly. The delegation of the Soviet Union considers that the decision just taken against that proposal is both wrong and illegal.

Appointment of the Credentials Committee

192. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: The first step in the organization of the General Assembly is the appointment of a Credentials Committee, as provided in rule 28 of the rules of procedure. The committee is composed of nine members which are appointed by the General Assembly upon the proposal of the President. In accordance with the provisions of this rule, I propose for appointment by the General Assembly the following countries to serve as the Credentials Committee: Belgium, Chile, India, Mexico, Thailand, Turkey, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, and the United States. Unless I hear any objection, I shall consider the Committee so appointed.

It was so decided.

Election of the President

193. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: The next item on the agenda is the election of the President of the fifth session of the General Assembly. Rule 92 of the rules of procedure requires that this election should be held by secret ballot and that there should be no nominations in connexion with the election. We shall therefore proceed immediately with the vote. Each delegation is requested to write on the ballot the name of the person for whom the vote is cast.

A vote was taken by secret ballot.

At the invitation of the Temporary President, Faris El-Khoury Bey (Syria) and Mr. G. P. Jooste (Union of South Africa) acted as tellers.

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|-----------------------------|----|
| Number of ballot papers: | 59 |
| Invalid ballots: | 0 |
| Number of valid ballots: | 59 |
| Abstentions: | 0 |
| Number of valid votes cast: | 59 |
| Required majority: | 30 |

Number of votes obtained:

| | |
|--|----|
| Mr. Entezam (Iran)..... | 32 |
| Sir Mohammad Zafrulla Khan (Pakistan)..... | 22 |
| Mr. Siroky (Czechoslovakia)..... | 4 |
| Mr. Wierblowski (Poland)..... | 1 |

Mr. Nasrollah Entezam (Iran), having obtained the required majority of the Members present and voting, was elected President of the fifth session of the General Assembly, and took the Chair.

STATEMENT BY MR. NASROLLAH ENTEZAM, PRESIDENT
OF THE FIFTH SESSION

194. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): I wish, first of all, to express my deep appreciation of the signal honour which has been conferred upon my country through my election.

195. I am fully conscious of the difficulty of the task before me, and of the heavy responsibility which has been laid upon me. I can do no more than to promise absolute impartiality and complete devotion to the cause of the United Nations. In brief, I shall do all in my power to merit your confidence, but I must beg you to grant me your full and whole-hearted co-operation, without which no President can hope to carry out his mission successfully.

196. Although I have no desire to sound a note of alarm at the beginning of this session, it is nevertheless my duty to draw your attention to the gravity of the present situation. The aggression which has taken place in Korea and the war now being fought there will, of necessity, dominate our debates. It is reassuring to note that the Security Council, even though the forces provided for in the Charter were not yet at its disposal, has been able to shoulder its responsibilities; and it is still more encouraging to note that its recommendations have been supported by so strong a majority.

197. I cannot speak of these events without expressing our admiration and our gratitude to those who are at present fighting, under the United Nations flag, for the re-establishment of peace. I am sure that I speak for all present here—and your applause encourages me in this—in assuring these brave young fighters that we shall do all in our power to enable them to return to their homes at the earliest possible moment.

198. Although I have ventured to stress the gravity of the international situation, it is not my wish to discourage you in any way. On the contrary, my purpose is to recall the responsibilities which we shall be called upon to assume towards the peoples whom we represent.

199. The United Nations was created to preserve peace and prevent war. We should be failing in our duty if we did not succeed in saving the world from the catastrophe which threatens it. It is my hope that we shall not fail in that duty, and that your efforts will make it possible for me, at the end of this session, to announce to the peoples of the world that we have achieved what was expected of us.

200. In that hope, I call upon the Assembly to begin its work.

201. The next item on the agenda is the constitution of the Main Committees and the election of officers. In view of the lateness of the hour, however, I propose that the meeting should be adjourned until tomorrow at 10.30 a.m.

The meeting rose at 6.30 p.m.