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*President: Mr. Nasrollah ENTEZAM (Iran).*

**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; report of the Interim Committee of the General Assembly: report of the First Committee (A/1563)**

[Agenda item 23]

*The President presented the report of the First Committee and the accompanying resolutions (A/1563)*

1. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): In accordance with the practice established this morning

[313th meeting], before putting to the vote draft resolutions A and B, contained in the report of the First Committee [A/1563], I shall call on representatives who wish to explain their votes.

2. Mr. SUPHAMONGKHON (Thailand): In the course of the discussion of this item in the First Committee, my delegation expressed<sup>1</sup> its sympathy with the draft resolution submitted by the representative of China [A/C.1/631/Rev.1], by which it was proposed to establish a United Nations commission of inquiry for the purpose of gathering information and facts

<sup>1</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifth Session, First Committee*, 400th to 404th meetings inclusive.

from the two countries involved in the dispute, namely, China and the Soviet Union. We took that position because we believed that such a measure would not prejudice the case and would show the interest of the United Nations in a situation the international consequences of which are well known to all.

3. However, that Chinese proposal was later withdrawn in favour of a Syrian draft resolution [A/C.1/632], which had the effect of referring this matter back to the Interim Committee with the request that it proceed with the inquiry and report upon its findings to the General Assembly at its next session. My delegation voted in favour of that draft, not without wondering, however, whether a smaller commission, such as the one suggested by China, would not have been in a better position to assume the task of inquiry and collecting information.

4. I would not have asked for the floor today if we had not heard, during the debate in the First Committee, arguments of what I might call the third current of opinion, the third force on the subject. It was suggested that we should not pursue the study of this Chinese complaint any further for fear that it might embitter the present international situation, because the United Nations is already seized of many problems, and because what is past is past. It was also contended that, the matter having been fully discussed, each Member nation should draw its own conclusion.

5. As the representative of a small country, who has great faith in the success of an international Organization like ours, I cannot conceal the fact that these statements, however good may be the intentions which inspired them, not only surprised me, but indeed, frightened me. Conditions in the Far East, particularly in China, are already serious, whether we take up this legitimate complaint or not. Would the situation be ameliorated, for the sake of peace, if we were to close our eyes and ears to such a complaint? Have we forgotten the lofty ideals, the noble aims and purposes for which our very Organization was set up at San Francisco? Have we forgotten that less than a year ago this very General Assembly of our solemnly declared that the question involved "the fundamental principles of the Charter and the prestige of the United Nations"?

6. A number of delegations very judiciously explained that they did not consider the complaint academic; they merely criticized the method by which it was proposed to deal with it. I waited to hear of any more effective and constructive measure, but, very unfortunately, I waited in vain.

7. The only concern of my delegation is very simple. We should keep alive such an important item as the alleged violation of an international treaty and the Charter of the United Nations and not let it die an imposed death.

8. Mr. J. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): In connexion with the inclusion of the Kuomintang chicanery, as we call it—for there is no other word to describe it—in the agenda of a plenary meeting, the USSR delegation wishes to make a few remarks in explanation of its vote and its attitude to the proposals submitted for the consideration of the General Assembly.

9. First, it is necessary to recall that as early as last year, in spite of the objections raised by the USSR delegation against the inclusion of this matter on the agenda<sup>2</sup>, against its discussion by the General Assembly and its reference to the "Interim Committee", an illegal body, under pressure of the Anglo-American bloc, this question was nevertheless referred to that Committee for further consideration with a view to the submission of a report and recommendations to the fifth session of the General Assembly.

10. Since this matter was referred to the Interim Committee last year, the Committee might have been expected to submit some kind of report on it. The Committee had a whole year at its disposal. It cannot be said that the Committee did not intend to deal with this matter. It discussed the matter twice—at its meetings in February [A/AC.18/SR.37] and September [A/AC.18/SR.45].

11. I am referring only to the procedural aspects of this matter, and am not dealing with its substance. At the conclusion of the consideration of this question, the Chairman of the Committee made a statement as follows (I quote from the report submitted by the Interim Committee):

"I believe that I reflect the views of many members when I suggest that the Interim Committee would facilitate the work of the General Assembly if it were to decide not to debate this question and to instruct its Rapporteur to so indicate in his draft report to the General Assembly".<sup>3</sup>

12. Nevertheless, in spite of this statement made by the Chairman of the Interim Committee, although this statement, which generalizes and summarizes the consideration of this Kuomintang chicanery in the Interim Committee, was unconditionally adopted by the Interim Committee, although the Interim Committee failed to submit any report on this matter because for a whole year it was not able to obtain from the slanderers and organizers of this chicanery any material on which to base its considerations—pettifoggery—in spite of all this, the question has once more been dragged before the fifth session of the General Assembly without any kind of justification.

13. For those reasons, the delegation of the Soviet Union, for its part, must protest most vigorously against the illegal inclusion of this matter on the agenda of the fifth session of the General Assembly, against its consideration, and against the attempt to refer the matter once more to that same Interim Committee which once already has refused to consider it. At the back of all this we find the sinister machinations of the organizers of the Kuomintang chicanery, which is hostile to the Soviet Union and bent on keeping this matter on the agenda of the General Assembly by hook or by crook, in spite of all logic and in violation of the most elementary standards of political morality. The slanderers and those who incite them by way of these dishonest manoeuvres are trying to make relations between the United Nations and the Soviet Union more difficult. For us there is no mystery as to who put his hand to this dirty business, and in whose interests this dark political game is being played.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Fourth Session, Plenary Meetings, 230th meeting, and General Committee, 67th meeting.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Fifth Session, Supplement No. 14.

14. It is no accident that at the present session of the General Assembly a considerable number of delegations have expressed the view in the First Committee that no further notice should be taken of this vile Kuomintang chicanery and that the attempt to galvanize this corpse should be abandoned. The delegations of Australia, the United Kingdom and a number of other countries have urged that the discussion of this question should be discontinued. They cannot be suspected of any sympathy for the Soviet Union. But they refuse to take part in dirty intrigues; they do not wish to have anything to do with this disgraceful business.

15. In spite of all this, the organizers of the Kuomintang chicanery are making every effort to keep this matter on the agenda of the General Assembly. So once again it is proposed that you should deal with this slanderous chicanery by a private individual who has no legal credentials and who claims without any justification to represent China but who is in actual fact only the "personal representative of Chiang Kai-shek", as he was rightly described at a meeting of the Security Council by the only true and legal representative of China, Mr. Wu Hsiu-chuan.\*

16. In speeches made during the fourth session of the General Assembly and in the First Committee at the fifth session, the delegation of the USSR and a number of other delegations have already disclosed what really underlies this slanderous Kuomintang chicanery, the purpose of which is to deceive public opinion and represent the matter as though the collapse of the Kuomintang régime and the failure of the policy of its American patrons in China had been caused by the interference of some kind of external forces in the domestic affairs of China rather than by the bankruptcy of that thoroughly rotten régime, which has been overthrown by the Chinese people.

17. The previous speaker, the representative of Thailand, urged us not to "close our eyes" to reality. I should advise him not to close his eyes to the real situation and to listen to the voice of 475 million Chinese people instead of that of a small clique of political insurgents expelled by that people from the frontiers of China proper.

18. If the General Assembly and the Members of the United Nations approach the matter in this way instead of closing their eyes to actuality, the solution of this problem—the problem of the representation of the People's Republic of China—will be expedited, and the result will be not only a gain in prestige and authority for the United Nations but also the advancement of peace and friendship amongst nations.

19. For those reasons the delegation of the Soviet Union firmly objects to further consideration by the United Nations of this vile, provocative, Kuomintang chicanery, which does so much harm to the United Nations.

20. There is really no reason once again to refer this matter to the Interim Committee; for that Committee can have nothing to do with such a chicanery, and has once already refused to consider it. To give this

matter any attention is determined to the authority of the United Nations and the dignity of the General Assembly.

21. The delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics will therefore vote against the proposals submitted on this question.

22. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): Before calling on the representative of Czechoslovakia I wish to remind representatives that the time-limit for explanation of votes is seven minutes.

23. Mr. PISEK (Czechoslovakia) (*translated from Russian*): The Czechoslovak delegation has protested at a plenary meeting of the General Assembly and in the First Committee, and protests again now, against the inclusion of item 23 in the agenda. This item, fabricated by a group of Kuomintang hirelings, is merely routine anti-Soviet provocation and a malicious stab at the friendship and close union between the Chinese people and the people of the USSR. Warmongers, imperialist usurpers and the mouthpieces of total diplomacy are using the services of people who have been cast out by their own nation and have lost all vestiges of conscience.

24. The General Assembly has been forced to deal with an artificial and unfounded complaint submitted by persons who have no right to represent China and the heroic Chinese people, which, in its struggle for freedom and independence, has scornfully cast out the Kuomintang traitors.

25. The fact that the Kuomintang pretenders still remain in the organs of the United Nations and submit provocative proposals is shameful and injurious to the Organization.

26. I should like to recall to the General Assembly the words of the representative of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, who stated that without the participation of the legal representatives of the People's Republic of China, who represent 478 million persons, the United Nations is, in fact, unworthy of its name, and that without the participation of its legal representatives, the Chinese people have no grounds for recognizing any decision or resolution of the United Nations.

27. When this Kuomintang chicanery was discussed in the First Committee, many representatives were embarrassed. The draft resolution submitted by the Kuomintang pretender, which was supported by the representative of the United States, was doomed to failure. The proposal to set up another illegal United Nations commission of investigation met with complete failure. The attempt to retain this provocative Kuomintang chicanery until the next session of the General Assembly by referring it to that illegal United Nations organ, the "Interim Committee", will also meet with failure.

28. This mendacious accusation has been deleted from the agenda of history itself, which will place on the agenda the charge brought against the real aggressor, the United States of America.

29. For those reasons the Czechoslovak delegation protests against the inclusion of item 23 in the agenda of the General Assembly and against the attempt to postpone this question until the next session of the General Assembly.

\* See *Official Records of the Security Council, Fifth Year, No. 69.*

30. Faris EL-KHOURI Bey (Syria): I only wish to explain why I submitted a draft resolution in the First Committee when the present item was referred to it and when it was discussed there. The only reason I submitted the draft resolution, which calls for referring the matter to the Interim Committee, was to find a way out in order to dispose of this item in some regular way.

31. That same question was submitted to the General Assembly last year, and it was then referred to the Interim Committee so that it might study the matter. I have found that until now the Interim Committee has not submitted any reply on the subject to the General Assembly. It is natural in such a state of affairs therefore that the same item which was referred to the Interim Committee once before should be referred again to that same organ with the reminder that it should take action on it and attempt to make some findings regarding the facts—if such facts are obtainable—and then submit a report to the General Assembly at its next regular session.

32. This is the only reason why I submitted the draft resolution. It does not at all mean that the accusations have been substantiated, accepted or agreed upon. There has been no report to the General Assembly from any responsible organ which would justify or substantiate these accusations. Therefore, the only thing we have to do is to refer the matter back to the same organ to which it was referred last year. In this draft resolution, we are now asking the Interim Committee to submit a report to us at our next regular session. It does not mean that the General Assembly, in accepting this draft resolution, admits the accusation is a libel, a slander or anything of that sort. This is simply a procedural matter, taken up in accordance with our duties and our rules of procedure.

33. Mr. KATZ-SUCHY (Poland): The General Assembly has before it the report of the First Committee which proposes the adoption of two draft resolutions submitted to the Committee. My delegation intends to vote against both draft resolutions for the following reasons.

34. My delegation opposed the inclusion of the item demagogically entitled "Threats to the political independence and territorial integrity of China . . .", because it considered that, first of all, the item is completely out of place. It is out of place because it was illegally submitted by the representative of a clique which calls itself a government, even though it possesses none of the attributes of a government and which, with the help of the United States and its majority, illegally occupies the seat of China in the United Nations.

35. As to the merits of the case, we stated and maintained that its sole aim is to bring before this Assembly slanderous accusations directed against the Soviet Union, one of the founders of the United Nations.

36. My delegation opposed the inclusion of this item in the agenda because we hold that the ousting of the Kuomintang clique from power in China and the victory of the Chinese people over domestic and foreign oppression is an internal affair of China which cannot be discussed before this forum. Our position has not changed, that is, what happened in China was the result of the deep-seated needs of the Chinese people and

was brought about by the Chinese people themselves. We proved that all the vicious charges against the Soviet Union are mere slander, and that the United States interfered in the domestic affairs of China in an attempt to force the rule of the Kuomintang upon the Chinese people. We proved that the disintegration of the Kuomintang Party and its armies came about because of popular hatred against them, and because of the support given by the Chinese people to the armies of liberation.

37. We spoke fully of the hope of Chiang Kai-shek and his clique to bring forth a third world war to restore him to power. We amply emphasized American military plans and economic interests in China. The Committee had full opportunity to see how completely unjustified were all the accusations brought forward by the Kuomintang. The record of friendship between the peoples of the USSR and the peoples of China is well-known and speaks for itself. The leaders of modern China, particularly Sun Yat-sen, always looked to the USSR as their real friend and supporter in their strivings for national liberation.

38. The defeat inflicted upon the fascist hordes by the Soviet Union armies in Asia and in Europe made possible the full liberation of China. Today, the Chinese people for the first time in their long history have the right to speak for themselves and have a government representing no other interests but those of the Chinese people. The People's Republic of China has successfully coped with all the problems arising from the devastation of war and is well on the way to restoring normal economic conditions in China. The Government of China has become an important factor of peace in the Far East and many millions of Asian peoples look upon it as the bastion of their security against foreign intervention and aggression.

39. The United Nations has many times been advised to have a realistic approach to these questions and once and forever recognize the realities in the Far East. The blind following of the aggressive designs of the United States in the Far East is already responsible for many of the difficulties which this Organization and the world at large are facing. We believe that, in view of the seriousness of the situation, this General Assembly will fully recognize these facts and end once and for all the fiction of Kuomintang representation and strengthen the role of the United Nations by admitting those who represent the hundreds of millions of Chinese.

40. The Committee had many hesitations. Many members were aware of the irrational situation which had been created and advised the Committee to drop the case and face the issues of the Far East in the proper light and in their real proportions. Against better judgment, resolutions were nevertheless adopted after the pleas made by Mr. Dulles who needed some formalities which would, on the one hand, cover up the bankruptcy of American foreign policy in the Far East, and on the other hand, sustain the fiction of the Kuomintang by keeping the problem on the agenda.

41. My delegation opposes both draft resolutions. As regards the Syrian draft resolution which asks that the Interim Committee be instructed to continue the inquiry for obtaining more information concerning the

Kuomintang complaint, we consider it an artificial attempt to maintain this so-called complaint on the agenda for certain political purposes. The action proposed represents the height of illegality. It is a problem, submitted by illegal representation in violation of the principles of the Charter, being sent to an illegal body for illegal action. However right the explanation some representatives tried to give—that the Interim Committee and the Kuomintang belong to each other because they are both dead organs—it does not justify the need of a resolution. Such a draft resolution is beneath the dignity of the General Assembly and my delegation will vote against it.

42. The other draft resolution is wrong from every point of view—from the political point of view and from the legal point of view. A resolution which tries to perpetuate some treaties established with non-existing governments and calls for adherence to treaties up to a certain date is completely out of order. So is its political argument.

43. My delegation believes that the situation is much too serious for this General Assembly to indulge in such actions as dealing with the Kuomintang complaint and considering the two draft resolutions which try to support both the United States and the Kuomintang. It is high time that this problem disappear, that the Kuomintang take its rightful place in the dustbin of history and that the United Nations, in a desire to fulfil its principal purposes, returns the seat of China to those to whom it rightfully belongs, the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China. In view of that situation, my delegation will vote against both draft resolutions.

44. Mr. DULLES (United States of America): The United States delegation will vote for the draft resolutions, despite the fact that we believe they do not adequately reflect the concern that the United Nations ought to have about the breaches of treaties and acts of aggression committed by the Soviet Union against the Republic of China.

45. A week ago, when we were debating this item in the First Committee, there were some people, in all of our countries, who felt that any action by the United Nations to inquire into the circumstances of Soviet aggression against China might irritate the communist forces of Asia and provoke them to more violent attacks against the United Nations forces in Korea. We now know that at the very time we were having this debate, plans for a massive Chinese communist offensive against the United Nations in Korea had already been made and the date of its unleashing had already been set. Aggressors should at least be aware that they will encounter policies of exposure and that they cannot count upon this Organization being party to drawing a veil over their ugly acts.

46. In the debate in the First Committee, I stated, on behalf of the United States, that we believed that a study of Soviet aggression against China would be instructive as showing a pattern of conduct with which, now or later, all of us may have to deal, and with which we could deal more competently if we had more insight and more understanding. Because these draft resolutions are a step, though only a short step in that direction, the United States supports them.

47. Mr. TSIANG (China): The First Committee has recommended to the General Assembly the adoption of two draft resolutions. Although, in the opinion of my delegation, those resolutions are not adequate, my delegation will vote for them and it asks all the representatives here to vote for them.

48. The problem of Soviet aggression against China has been included in the agenda of the fourth session of the General Assembly. However, last year, both in the Assembly and in the First Committee, the delegation of the Soviet Union refused to participate in the debate. When this item was referred to the Interim Committee, the Soviet Union delegation, as is usual with that delegation, boycotted the Committee. This year, however, all the delegations of the Soviet bloc participated in the debate in the First Committee.

49. Now, for the first time, the United Nations has all the evidence from the defence as well as from the accusation. For the first time the United Nations is in a position to arrive at a fair and conclusive judgment on the charges which my government has brought against the Soviet Union. I submit that the United Nations cannot neglect its duty.

50. The charges that my government has brought against the Soviet Union are serious ones. It charges that the Soviet Union, in violation of the acknowledged sovereignty of my government over Manchuria, prevented the re-establishment of Chinese national authority in that province. It charges that the Soviet Union supplied the Chinese communists with enormous quantities of arms in their insurrection and sent active combatant aid to that army. It charges that the Soviet Union, taking advantage of events in China, has actually annexed Outer Mongolia and Tannu Tuva and is now in control of the great areas of Manchuria and Sinkiang.

51. These are serious charges. They go to the very heart of the United Nations. If the Organization closes its eyes and ears to such charges it might as well close its doors.

52. In the debate in the First Committee, some representatives opposed the draft resolutions now under consideration on the ground that the facts are well known. If the facts are well known, then we should have a responsible and considered statement or report by some responsible body of the United Nations.

53. Then the position alluded to is based on another consideration: that these facts belong to history and that, consequently, any further examination is futile and academic. Of course, the representatives of the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and Poland would like to bury free China as they have buried free Poland, free Czechoslovakia, free Latvia, free Lithuania, and free Estonia, and they would like to bury many more nations. The question is not academic. Free China is not dead. At this very moment, 1,600,000 sons of free China have taken up arms against the puppet régime at Peiping. To take up arms against the terroristic régime of a totalitarian government is a fearful thing. Without the utmost determination, such a struggle cannot be waged. It is only passionate love of country and freedom that could arouse the peasants and workers of my country to brave the cruelties and brutalities of the communist régime. That fight is growing and spreading throughout the provinces of China. Free China further-

more holds the island of Taiwan with a population of 8 million. Free China has continued and will continue to fight against the "russification" of China. In the great crisis facing the world today, free China can be counted upon to be a powerful ally of all free countries. An impartial report by the responsible organ of the United Nations on the serious charges that we have made will be a powerful moral factor in the great struggle in my country and in the whole world.

54. During the debate in the First Committee, I called the attention of the delegations to the dangers of appeasement. I do not wish to go into that story because certain delegations, while ashamed of that word, would nevertheless wish to resort to it. However, I should like to call the attention of this Assembly to the activities of the League of Nations, which were proved to be inadequate, and which though inadequate nevertheless denoted a certain amount of regard for justice and truth in this world.

55. In spite of the appeasement which prevailed at Geneva, the League of Nations did organize a Commission of Enquiry into the aggression of Japan. In spite of the appeasement at Geneva, the free nations of the world did accept the advice of the Secretary of State of the United States, Mr. Stimson, in regard to the non-recognition of the fruits of aggression. It is our avowed hope that the United Nations will not fall below the low standards set by the League of Nations.

56. Mr. BARANOVSKY (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*translated from Russian*): The position of the delegation of the Ukrainian SSR on the slanderous charge brought by the Kuomintang concerning the alleged threats to the political independence and territorial integrity of China was clearly stated at the last session of the General Assembly, when we protested against the consideration of that mendacious insinuation by the United Nations.<sup>5</sup> This year, we protested just as categorically against the inclusion of the Kuomintang charge in the agenda of the fifth session of the General Assembly.

57. The delegation of the Soviet Union and the delegations of Poland and Czechoslovakia have proved irrefutably that the representatives of the Kuomintang clique have stooped to filthy intrigues in order to divert public opinion from the real reasons for the shameful downfall of Chiang Kai-shek's anti-popular régime. The Kuomintang group are using this slander in order to prove that the downfall of their thoroughly rotten régime, which has been overthrown by the Chinese people itself, was the result of so-called foreign interference in the domestic affairs of China. As might be expected, however, this move by the traitorous Kuomintang clique has proved to be futile. The Soviet Union delegation and the delegations of the People's Democracies have proved quite clearly, by means of texts and official documents, that all the allegations of the Kuomintang group are pure fabrications and are contrary to the facts.

58. Even those who aid and abet the Kuomintang clique are obliged to admit that the bankrupt régime of Chiang Kai-shek is the victim of its own policy, which was directed against the people and protected the interests of foreign monopolies. That fact cannot be

refuted by the leaders of the present United States Government, which continues to give material and moral support to the remnants of the Kuomintang clique, who are hiding behind American arms on the island of Taiwan.

59. Thus, for example, in a speech on United States foreign policy in Asia,<sup>6</sup> Mr. Acheson, Secretary of State of the United States of America, said:

"For years, they struggled with unbelievable courage, endurance, and patience against the adversities of nature; against internal division and strife; and against foreign enemies until the end of the war seemed to bring almost within their grasp the achievement of the hopes for which they had been striving.

"Then the failure of their government to respond to their needs, its ineptitude and blindness destroyed all their confidence and support."

60. Mr. Acheson went on to say: "The Nationalist Government was overthrown in China not by force of arms. It collapsed from its own inherent weakness and the withdrawal of the people's support."

61. It is difficult to add anything to that statement of Mr. Acheson. That Mr. Dulles would doubtless like to disavow it is clear from his speech today, in which he did his best to allude to the alleged interference of the USSR in the internal affairs of China. In view of Mr. Acheson's statement, however, what value can be placed on the irresponsible chatter of people like Mr. Tsiang and their United States protectors about the so-called interference of the USSR in the affairs of China? That slander has been unmasked and refuted long ago. All the representatives to the General Assembly must realize that the United Nations should not be called upon to discuss the slanderous charges of the Kuomintang clique and that any such discussion cannot possibly promote friendly relations between nations, and can only sour them.

62. Today, the agent of the Kuomintang again used the words: "we accuse". Who are "we"? May I ask who these accusers are? The authors of the intrigue, the personal representatives of the remainder of Chiang Kai-shek's anti-popular Kuomintang clique, do not express the will of the many millions of the Chinese people, who have maintained and still maintain brotherly friendship with the peoples of the USSR.

63. The Government of the People's Republic of China is bound by a treaty of friendship and assistance with the Government of the USSR, and, naturally, has not empowered the traitorous Kuomintang clique to speak in the General Assembly on behalf of free and democratic China. The great Chinese people have thrown the traitorous anti-popular Kuomintang group into the rubbish heap of history, and the fact that representatives of this clique still occupy a place in the General Assembly, which rightfully belongs to the legal representative of the democratic Central People's Government of China, merely shows that American ruling circles still count on their puppet Chiang Kai-shek, who is being supported by the United States.

<sup>5</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Fourth Session, First Committee, 277th and 338th meetings.*

<sup>6</sup> Address delivered before the Commonwealth Club of California at San Francisco, California, on 15 March 1950.

64. The General Assembly now has before it a resolution adopted by the majority of the First Committee, which proposes that the Interim Committee should continue the study of this so-called "question". We do not have to go far in our search for the real motives for this resolution; its sole purpose is to comply with the wishes of the United States and to keep the Kuomintang complaint on the General Assembly agenda. The United States has need of this slander charge in order to divert public attention from the failure of the United States Government's policy towards China and so as to be able to give the alleged interference of the USSR as the reason for the shameful downfall of the Chiang Kai-shek régime. The ruling circles in the United States somehow wish to mask the unworthy part which they have played and continue to play in the struggle to re-establish a colonial régime in China and to enslave the Chinese people with the help of the Kuomintang clique.

65. Instead of fostering absurd charges against the USSR and supporting the Kuomintang machinations, the Government of the United States would do better from a practical angle to take stock of the changes that have taken place in China and to follow the example of its more clear-sighted partners by recognizing the only legal government of China, the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China. The sooner the United States Government ceases to support the pretensions of the representatives of the Kuomintang clique in the United Nations and calls a halt to its endeavours to prevent the legal representatives of the Chinese people from taking their rightful place in the United Nations, the sooner it will become possible to establish lasting peace and security in the Far East and in Asia.

66. To refer the Kuomintang charge to the Interim Committee is a useless and harmful idea. The Interim Committee has discussed that complaint for a year and has, of course, been unable to make any recommendation on the subject, for the complaint of the Kuomintang group is based on pure lies and slander, and the only place for it is the garbage can where it now belongs.

67. In view of the above considerations, the delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic will protest categorically against the proposal to refer the Kuomintang complaint to the Interim Committee and will vote against the draft resolution which recommends such a procedure.

68. Mr. CASTRO (El Salvador) (*translated from Spanish*): I shall be very brief. I only wish to stress the fact that my government and my people have always taken an interest in the fate of the Chinese people.

69. That interest has, of course, led us to give serious consideration to the proposal submitted by the Chinese delegation itself for the addition to the General Assembly agenda of an item calling for the examination of the situation—or rather the tragedy—which has long unfolded itself in that country before the eyes of the whole world—a tragedy which has not yet ended.

70. We hope that the outcome of this tragedy will be favourable to a people who has suffered so much and to whose culture the world owes so much.

71. The draft resolutions which the First Committee has submitted to us constitute the minimum that the General Assembly can do with regard to the item under discussion.

72. The first was submitted by the representative of Syria and proposes a procedure for study and investigation of the problem of China. Although we are all aware that the Interim Committee has been unable to make any proposal following its examination of the matter in the course of the past year, we think that the item should remain under consideration, that any new occurrences should be observed, and that the Interim Committee should thus be enabled to submit a proposal favourable to the interests of the Chinese people to the sixth session of the General Assembly.

73. The second draft resolution is to a certain extent a long-range one. It reaffirms principles which the General Assembly accepted and specifically set forth in a resolution [292(IV)] adopted in 1949. The delegation of El Salvador in the First Committee was the one who proposed it, and it was adopted without amendment.

74. I am sure that the two draft resolutions are complementary; one reaffirms the principles, which, if implemented, would be liable to insure peace in the Far East, and the other proposes a procedure for study and investigation of the Chinese problem.

75. Consequently, the delegation of El Salvador has no doubt that both draft resolutions will be adopted by a large majority in the General Assembly.

76. Mr. KISELEV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*translated from Russian*): I had not intended to speak, but I am compelled to do so by the statements made by Mr. Dulles and Mr. Tsiang. I shall therefore say a few words.

77. We had an opportunity in the First Committee to discuss in detail the charges brought by the Kuomintang group against the USSR. There is no need to resume the discussion on this matter here, and I shall therefore be brief.

78. It may be said that these charges are not worth a penny. The statement made today by the representative of the Kuomintang clique, Mr. Tsiang, was full of malice, hatred and slanderous accusations against the great Soviet Union, the heroic Chinese people and its government headed by Mao Tse-tung.

79. During the debate in the First Committee, the real motives for the slanderous accusations of the representative of the Kuomintang group became evident; they add up to any attempt to mislead world public opinion and to allege that the downfall of the Kuomintang régime was caused by the interference of outside forces in the internal affairs of China, rather than by the bankruptcy of that rotten and decadent régime, which was overthrown by the Chinese people.

80. Everybody knows that this question was imposed upon the fifth session of the General Assembly with the approval and blessing of the United States by certain people who represent a small political group, the Kuomintang, which used to hold power in China, but which has been overthrown by the Chinese people; that people elected the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, which has been the only legal government of that great country since 1 October 1949. The fact that a group of individuals of Mr. Tsiang's convictions—who have no right to speak or act on behalf of the Chinese people or to insist upon the discussion of complaints—can submit questions to the General Assembly which not only have nothing to

do with the work of the United Nations, but are openly slanderous and provocative, can only be explained by the abnormal situation prevailing in the United Nations.

81. Unfortunately, the situation in the United Nations is still abnormal: the Chinese people is deprived of its inalienable right to send its legal representatives to the United Nations, in order to avail itself of its sovereign right to participate in this international Organization, whereas the agents of the Kuomintang, who represent neither China nor the Chinese people, continue to occupy China's place in the United Nations, thanks to the support of the United States, of Mr. Dulles personally, and of Member States of the United Nations led by the United States of America.

82. The Chinese people is patiently awaiting the day when this abnormal situation will come to an end. The United States and the bloc which it leads have turned this question into a means of pressure and political vengeance on the new China on account of its system and its independent domestic and foreign policy. It is, therefore, quite obvious who was behind the idea of including the discussion of the Kuomintang charges in the agenda of the General Assembly, especially when we remember that threats to peace and security in the Far East five months ago have developed into direct acts of aggression by the United States Government against a number of countries and peoples of Asia.

83. The main charge brought by the Kuomintang representative against the USSR, the alleged violation of the Sino-Soviet treaty of friendship of 14 August 1945, is wholly and entirely unfounded. That treaty no longer exists, just as the Chinese Government on behalf of which the charge is made no longer exists, for a year ago the Kuomintang clique forfeited its right to call itself the Government of China and represent the Chinese people.

84. The Treaty of 14 August 1945 was abrogated on 14 February 1950, when a new treaty was concluded between the USSR and China.

85. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR therefore considers that there is no legal or factual dispute. There is no treaty. It no longer exists. It has been abrogated. That is a fact which means that the treaty no longer exists. I think that Mr. Tsiang knows this. Mr. Dulles certainly knows it, but they are still clutching at this treaty, which has, in fact, been abrogated and which is now a scrap of paper which has been thrown onto the rubbish heap.

86. It is clearly stated in the Sino-Soviet *communiqué* that the Treaty of 14 August 1945 has been annulled by mutual agreement between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China. Relations between China and the USSR are regulated by the new Treaty signed on 14 February 1950. That is the legal aspect of the question.

87. The representative of the Kuomintang group ignores this. The Kuomintang clique ignores the new Treaty, just as it ignores the great historical changes that have taken place in China in recent years. The whole Kuomintang clique lives in the past. It has forgotten nothing and has learned nothing. That is why it has included in the agenda of the fifth session of the General Assembly a slanderous and provocative question which

undermines the prestige of the United Nations, for it places the General Assembly in an absurd position, by forcing it to consider charges of the violation of a non-existent treaty, brought by a non-existent nationalist "government". That "government" lives on memories of the past.

88. The whole world knows that American troops are now waging war against the Korean people, that they are violating the territorial integrity of China by their armed invasion of the Chinese island of Taiwan and by the bombardment of Chinese territory by the American Air Force, and that they are committing acts of aggression against a number of other countries in the Far East.

89. These facts cannot be concealed by any accusations or abuse against the USSR and the People's Republic of China. The Kuomintang group and their protectors will not succeed in misleading public opinion in China and throughout the world by their slanderous and mendacious assertions that the downfall and bankruptcy of the Kuomintang Government was brought about, not by its rottenness and its decadent régime, but by outside forces, and by the interference of the USSR in the internal affairs of China. These are fairy tales. No one can believe these tales. Even children do not believe them.

90. In the First Committee, Mr. Tsiang spoke of this alleged interference openly, without any diplomatic dissimulation; he again referred to it briefly today.

91. There is no need for me to state here, Mr. Dulles, who interfered over a period of years and who is still interfering in the struggle of the Chinese people against the hated Kuomintang clique. I could adduce many examples. We have already adduced them in the First Committee and have referred to the White Book of the United States State Department<sup>7</sup> and to other documents in which United States interference in the internal affairs of China is acknowledged, and proof is given of American support of the Kuomintang group by subsidies amounting to thousands of millions of dollars and supplies of armaments and other material resources. This American aid is still being given to the remnants of the Kuomintang group in Taiwan.

92. Mr. Dulles, you are clinging to a rotten tree trunk. It is rotten, and should have fallen long ago.

93. With regard to the Syrian draft resolution, for which you obtained the support of the majority of the First Committee, so that once again the question could be brought before the Interim Committee for study and would then be reconsidered at the sixth session of the General Assembly, the delegation of the Byelorussian SSR strongly protests against this draft resolution for the following reasons:

94. In the first place, we have never recognized and do not recognize the Interim Committee. We have always considered and still consider that this Committee is an illegally constituted body.

95. In the second place, we do not consider that the Interim Committee should deal with this complaint because it will not lead to peace and stability in the Far East. On the contrary, such a complaint can only

<sup>7</sup> See *United States Relations with China*, Department of State Publication 3573, Far Eastern Series 30.

aggravate matters still further and foment political differences, and, as you all know, there is quite enough trouble in the Far East as it is.

96. I submit that political reasoning should convince us of the need to reject the Syrian draft resolution. From the political angle, that draft resolution is harmful.

97. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR therefore proposes that the Syrian draft resolution be rejected and that the Chinese complaint be deleted from the agenda of the General Assembly once and for all, so that we are not called upon to deal with it again.

98. Let us rather turn to the fundamental question of inviting representatives of the People's Republic of China into the United Nations. That is a vital problem. That is a serious political problem.

99. RAFFAT Bey (Egypt) (*translated from French*): As my delegation has already stated in the First Committee, it will vote in favour of the two draft resolutions now before us.

100. The Egyptian delegation will vote in that way for two reasons. In the first place, many States represented here recognize the Nationalist Government of China as the sole legal government of that country. Those States must therefore study carefully the complaints made by the Chinese Nationalist Government. Secondly, the two draft resolutions submitted to us reaffirm and supplement the resolutions adopted last year.

101. Furthermore, that vote will enable the Interim Committee to complete the task assigned to it, which so far it has not been able to carry out.

102. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): We shall now vote on the draft resolutions A and B contained in the report of the First Committee [A/1563]. I shall put the two draft resolutions to the vote separately.

103. The representative of Turkey has requested a vote by roll-call on draft resolution A. I put the draft resolution to the vote.

*A vote was taken by roll-call.*

*Chile, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.*

*In favour:* Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iran, Iraq, Liberia, Mexico, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Thailand, Turkey, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil.

*Against:* Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Iceland, India, Israel, Norway, Poland, Sweden, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of South Africa, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Yugoslavia, Australia, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada.

*Abstaining:* France, Indonesia, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Belgium.

*Draft resolution A was adopted by 35 votes to 17, with 7 abstentions.*

104. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): I put draft resolution B to the vote.

*Draft resolution B was adopted by 39 votes to 6, with 14 abstentions.*

### **Admission of new Members to the United Nations, including the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice**

[Agenda item 19]

(a) ADVISORY OPINION OF THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE (A/1353)

(b) JOINT DRAFT RESOLUTION PROPOSED BY BRAZIL, CANADA, PHILIPPINES, SWEDEN AND SYRIA (A/1571)

105. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): We shall now pass to the next item on our agenda—the admission of new Members.

106. I would point out to the General Assembly that this question has not been studied by any Committee and that it will be directly discussed in the General Assembly.

107. At the moment we have two draft resolutions before us, one submitted by the delegations of Brazil, Canada, the Philippines, Sweden and Syria [A/1571] and the other by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [A/1577].

108. The delegation of El Salvador has informed me that it proposes to submit a draft resolution. The representative of that country is not the first speaker on my list, but if he wishes to read out his draft resolution, I think it would be very helpful to the General Assembly. I call on him on a point of order.

109. Mr. CASTRO (El Salvador): Several delegations are greatly interested in this question of the admission of new Members, and, in fact, we are exchanging views with these delegations for the purpose of presenting a joint draft resolution. My delegation has already prepared a draft resolution; it is being considered at the present time by other delegations, and it is our hope that a joint proposal will be put before the General Assembly.

110. I did not come here to take part in the debate or to be the first speaker, but merely to suggest to the General Assembly that it might postpone the debate on this item and place it at the end of our present agenda. That procedure would cause us great convenience. Then we would have time to deal with this important matter.

111. If this proposal proves unacceptable to the General Assembly, then the delegation of El Salvador will be compelled to submit its draft resolution, but we would first like to discuss it with other delegations before definitely presenting it. Thus, I request that the matter now before us be placed at the end of the list of items on our present agenda.

112. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): You have heard the suggestion made by the representative of El Salvador. He requests that the examination of this question be adjourned in order to give his delegation time to prepare and circulate its draft resolution.

113. If there is no objection, I think his request can be granted. We have other items on our agenda which we have decided not to discuss; we could examine them this afternoon. The draft resolution of El Salvador would be distributed tomorrow and we could then debate the admission of new Members at that time. Is there any objection?

114. As no objection has been raised, the discussion of this item is adjourned and we shall take up the next item on our agenda.

*It was so decided.*

**Co-ordination between the United Nations and the specialized agencies: report of the Joint Second and Third Committee and the Fifth Committee meeting jointly (A/1547)**

[Agenda item 29]

*The President presented the report of the Joint Second and Third Committee and the Fifth Committee meeting jointly and the accompanying resolutions (A/1547).*

*Resolutions A, B and C were adopted unanimously.*

*Resolution D was adopted by 49 votes to none, with 5 abstentions.*

*Resolution E was adopted by 48 votes to 5, with 2 abstentions.*

115. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): I call upon the representative of the USSR, who wishes to explain his vote.

116. Mr. ARUTIUNIAN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): The delegation of the USSR has voted against resolution E submitted by the Joint Second and Third Committee and the Fifth Committee meeting jointly, for the following reasons.

117. The delegation of the USSR considers that questions of penal law fall within the internal competence of States and that the United Nations should not, therefore, interfere in that field. The fact that the International Penal and Penitentiary Commission, set up in London in 1872, has not yet been able to include a large number of States in its membership proves that a large majority of States do not feel able to participate in this Commission, because questions of penal law fall within the internal competence of States. Every State must settle such problems independently, in accordance with its national conditions, usages and traditions.

118. If certain governments consider the joint study of certain problems of penal law essential, they can retain the International Penal and Penitentiary Commission in the form in which it exists at present. There is no justification for transferring its functions to the United Nations, the majority of whose Members are not members of the Commission, since such a measure would be clearly contrary to the principles, purposes and tasks of the United Nations.

119. The report which we are considering states that the transfer of the functions of the International Penal and Penitentiary Commission to the United Nations would help to eliminate the duplication between the work of the Commission and that of the Economic and Social Council. This argument is absolutely unfounded.

120. It is well known that the Economic and Social Council is not concerned with problems of penal law; consequently there cannot be any duplication between its work and that of the International Penal and Penitentiary Commission. It is therefore impossible to speak of the elimination of any alleged duplication between the work of the Economic and Social Council—or of any other organ of the United Nations—and that of the Commission.

121. None of the organs of the United Nations has hitherto infringed the sphere of action of the International Penal and Penitentiary Commission, because the United Nations does not and should not deal with questions of penal law, since these questions do not fall within its competence.

122. Those were the precise reasons why the delegation of the USSR has protested against the transfer to the United Nations of the functions of the International Penal and Penitentiary Commission, because that transfer would be contrary to the principles, purposes and tasks of the United Nations. The delegation of the USSR has therefore voted against this resolution.

**Chapters I, VIII (section II) and X of the report of the Economic and Social Council: report of the Joint Second and Third Committee (A/1567, part I)**

[Agenda item 12]

*Mrs. Sinclair (Canada), Rapporteur, presented the first part of the report of the Joint Second and Third Committee (A/1567) and the three accompanying resolutions dealing with the organization and operation of the Economic and Social Council and its commissions.*

123. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): The Assembly will be called upon to vote separately on each of these three draft resolutions.

124. I shall first put draft resolution A to the vote.

*Resolution A was adopted by 48 votes to 2, with 2 abstentions.*

125. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): We shall now vote on resolution B.

*Resolution B was adopted by 51 votes to none, with 2 abstentions.*

126. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): We shall now vote on resolution C.

*Resolution C was adopted unanimously.*

127. Mr. TANGE (Australia): In connexion with the votes which have just been taken, in connexion with part I of document A/1567, the Australian delegation abstained from voting on resolution A. This resolution expresses the opinion of the General Assembly that the regional economic commissions should be maintained.

128. We wish to explain our position. Our objection to this resolution is a procedural or constitutional one: The regional economic commissions are the creations of the Economic and Social Council. They are responsible not directly to the General Assembly, but to the Economic and Social Council which supervises and directs their activities. The Council, by its resolution 295 B (XI), has just set up an *ad hoc* committee to review all

its subordinate machinery, including the regional economic commissions. It seems to my delegation most unwise for the General Assembly to intervene at this stage and to interfere with the right of a principal organ of the United Nations, namely the Economic and Social Council, to form its own independent views as to the future of its own machinery and its own regional economic commissions. As we see it, the General Assembly must have the right of review of any decisions made by the Economic and Social Council. But it is our belief that this review should have taken place at the next session of the General Assembly after the Economic and Social Council had formed its own conclusions.

129. Those are the reasons which prevented us from voting in favour of resolution A. But at the same time we do not wish to take a position here and now against the maintenance of regional economic commissions—that might have been the interpretation given to a vote against this resolution. Our experience as a member of the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East has led us to value very highly the regional approach to international economic problems. But we are opposed to forcing a view upon the competent organ of the United Nations, namely, the Economic and Social Council, and for that reason we abstained in the vote on this particular resolution.

**The problem of the independence of Korea. Plans for relief and rehabilitation of Korea: report of the Joint Second and Third Committee (A/1567, part II)**

[Agenda item 24]

*Mrs. Sinclair (Canada), Rapporteur, presented part II of the report of the Joint Second and Third Committee (A/1567) on the problem of the independence of Korea and plans for relief and rehabilitation of Korea together with the accompanying resolution.<sup>8</sup>*

130. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): I should like to know whether Mrs. Sinclair considers that parts A and B of resolution A should be put to the vote together or separately.

131. Mrs. SINCLAIR (Canada), Rapporteur of the Joint Second and Third Committee: I think we can vote on them both together.

132. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): Accordingly the General Assembly is now seized of the draft resolution on "relief and rehabilitation of Korea".

133. I call upon the representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, who wishes to explain his vote.

134. Mr. ARUTIUNIAN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): As I understand the position, you have called for a vote on the two resolutions contained in the second part of the report: resolution A concerning the relief and rehabilitation of Korea, and resolution B concerning financial arrangements for the organization of the relief and rehabilitation of Korea. If I have understood you correctly, I should like to explain the vote of the delegation of the Soviet Union on these resolutions.

<sup>8</sup> This resolution was officially submitted to the Joint Second and Third Committee by the Economic and Social Council.

135. The Joint Second and Third Committee has submitted to the plenary meeting of the General Assembly a draft resolution on assistance to Korea. The preamble to that resolution contains an incorrect reference to "aggression by North Korean forces" whereas, in fact, it is United States aggression which is being carried on in Korea against the Korean people.

136. When the question of the independence of Korea was discussed in the General Assembly, the head of the USSR delegation adduced irrefutable facts and documents [293rd meeting] proving American aggression in Korea and the interference of the armed forces of the United States in Korea. This is becoming increasingly obvious daily. Even the South Korean politicians are beginning to understand this. Thus, according to an American press *communiqué* dated 4 November 1950, a considerable group of the South Korean National Assembly submitted a petition stating that the guilty party in the Korean war was the Government of Syngman Rhee, which is known to be a puppet of the United States.

137. United States intervention in Korea has brought untold suffering upon the Korean people. The destruction which has taken place in Korea is a direct result of American aggression. The United States Air Force has barbarously bombarded and is still bombarding the peaceful inhabitants of Korea, Korean villages and towns, industries, agricultural centres and means of transportation. This barbarous bombardment has inflicted great losses on Korean economy and has deprived the country of the resources essential for its rehabilitation. This is admitted even by American correspondents in Korea. Thus Robert Martin, a correspondent of the New York newspaper *The Sunday Compass*, wrote what follows in a despatch from Korea on 20 October:

"As a result of three months of bombing, Korea now must import practically everything needed for rehabilitation of the country's economy, plus huge quantities of fertilizer to keep the people from starving. The country will have no source of foreign exchange."

The report goes on to say

"The cost of reconstructing the bombed-out industries will be in terms of many hundreds of millions of dollars."

138. That is what an American correspondent writes about Korea.

139. Thus we see that even American correspondents are obliged to admit that the bombardments of peaceful industries in Korea by the United States Air Force is causing destruction in that country. Since the end of October the American Press has begun to publish *communiqués* containing the belated admission that the "strategic bombing" of industrial targets in Korea was not necessitated by military considerations and was "a costly mistake". That is stated in the 22 October issue of *The Sunday Compass*.

140. Reports that whole districts of Korean dwelling-houses have been wiped from the face of the earth by United States bombs are regarded by some American newspapers as a tragic mistake. In actual fact, however, the bombardment of the civilian population, towns and villages, industrial targets, agricultural centres and

means of transport by the American Air Force in Korea was no tragic and costly mistake but a barbarous act committed in accordance with the planned policy known in American military circles as "strategic bombing".

141. It is also well known, that American forces in Korea are pursuing a "scorched earth" policy and are razing to the ground the peaceful villages that lie in their path as they retreat.

142. How then is it possible to say that the destruction of Korea is not the result of American aggression, but of some other aggression, a North Korean aggression? Such an erroneous presentation of the question is inadmissible in a General Assembly resolution.

143. The delegation of the USSR therefore proposes that the first, third and fourth paragraphs be deleted from the preamble to the resolution submitted by the Joint Second and Third Committee. We have submitted the relevant amendment to the plenary meeting of the General Assembly and it has been distributed to all delegations as document A/1579.

144. The delegation of the USSR considers that relief to Korea should not be used for any political purpose contrary to the interests of the Korean people. Relief for Korea should be carried out in such a manner as to promote the rapid rehabilitation of the country's economy in accordance with the national interests of the Korean people and to strengthen the political and economic independence of Korea. It must not serve as a pretext for foreign economic and political interference in the internal affairs of Korea or be accompanied by any political conditions whatsoever.

145. Decisions of the assistance required by Korea for its rehabilitation, and the consideration of programmes, plans and statements concerning assistance for rehabilitation, should be made with the participation of representatives of the Korean people. The United Nations should carry out the whole work of providing relief for Korea with the active participation of representatives of the Korean people.

146. The draft resolution submitted by the Joint Second and Third Committee contains provisions which would allow foreign interference in the internal affairs of Korea. For instance, paragraph 10 of section B of draft resolution A submitted by the Committee would allow interference in the economic policy and economic life of Korea.

147. The delegation of the USSR therefore proposes an amendment to delete the second part of paragraph 10 of section B of this resolution, from the words "Among these . . ." to the end of the paragraph.

148. The resolution confers extraordinarily wide powers on the Agent General, who is entrusted with the whole organization of relief in Korea. At the same time extensive obligations are imposed on the Korean authorities. The delegation of the USSR therefore objects to the second part of paragraph 10 and proposes its deletion.

149. In conclusion, I should like to point out that the delegation of the Soviet Union considers that the contributions of all countries should be voluntary and should be made in national currencies, for use in purchasing commodities for the rehabilitation of Korea.

150. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): There are still two speakers who wish to explain their

votes. I would ask representatives please to confine themselves to explaining their votes. If they have prepared a speech in the hope that the General Assembly would decide to hold a discussion, I urge them not to deliver it now. If a speaker goes beyond explaining his vote and indulges in abusive and insulting language, I hereby give warning that I shall be obliged to stop him.

151. I call upon the representative of Czechoslovakia.

152. Mr. VAVRICKA (Czechoslovakia) (*translated from French*): The Czechoslovak delegation has already had occasion in the Economic and Social Council<sup>9</sup> and also in the Joint Second and Third Committee<sup>10</sup> to express its reservations concerning the draft resolution now before the General Assembly.

153. The discussion which has taken place concerning plans for the relief and rehabilitation of Korea is characteristic of the methods and objectives of the United States delegation. The Australian delegation submitted a draft resolution in the Economic and Social Council.<sup>11</sup> Although the Czechoslovak delegation could not endorse all the provisions of that resolution, it thought that it constituted an acceptable basis for discussion. The Council, however, was not able to consider the Australian draft resolution on account of the intransigent attitude of the United States delegation and the pressure it exercised, and a new draft resolution was submitted jointly by Australia and the United States.<sup>12</sup> That draft introduced two new paragraphs, the third and fourth paragraphs of the preamble, according to which North Korea had committed the aggression and that so-called aggression was the cause of the economic destruction in Korea.

154. The Czechoslovak delegation, basing its view on actual facts, rejects such an attitude. The Chairman of my delegation, Mr. Siroky, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, proved from this very rostrum, by irrefutable facts, that not Northern Korea but the United States is the sole aggressor in Korea [*293rd meeting*].

155. Similarly the Czechoslovak delegation rejects the declaration that it is the armed forces of North Korea that have caused the economic destruction.

156. In the course of this session, the delegation of the Soviet Union has submitted a draft resolution for a pacific settlement of the conflict in Korea [*A/1426*]. The development of events during the last few days has again confirmed that the peace policy of the Soviet Union serves to promote world peace. If the USSR proposals had been accepted, Korea might have been spared the horrors of war, economic destruction and the death of tens of thousands of human beings.

157. The resolution now before us again shields the real aggressor and attempts to conceal the true reasons for the devastation of Korea. It makes no reference to the barbarous bombing carried out by the United States Air Force, to the thousands of men, women and children who have been slaughtered, or to the towns, hospitals,

<sup>9</sup> For the discussion on this subject in the Economic and Social Council, see *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Eleventh Session, 417th to 433rd meetings inclusive*.

<sup>10</sup> For the discussion on this subject in the Joint Second and Third Committee, see *Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifth Session, Joint Second and Third Committees, 52nd to 54th and 56th meetings*.

<sup>11</sup> See document E/1852.

<sup>12</sup> See document E/1858/Rev.1 and Rev.1/Add.1.

schools and transport systems that have been destroyed; there is no mention of the "scorched earth" policy being applied by United States units in Korea.

158. In the course of our discussion, several delegations have frankly opposed the inclusion of the third and fourth paragraphs in the draft resolution. Some of those delegations voted against those provisions while others abstained. We must therefore consider why the United States delegation has tried to get those provisions included in the resolution . . .

159. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): Would you please simply explain your vote and not the votes of others? Others are free to vote as they deem fit. A speaker who comes to the rostrum should confine himself to explaining his vote. Do not question why some other delegation has voted one way or the other; delegations act in accordance with instructions from their governments and probably in accordance with their conscience.

160. Mr. VAVRICKA (Czechoslovakia) (*translated from French*): I beg the President's pardon; I shall confine myself to the matter in hand.

161. What is the significance of these provisions? They seek to divide the Korean people, to crush their strenuous resistance to the occupying forces and to authorize the American armies occupying the territory and the South Korean Authorities to take discriminatory and repressive measures against the people of North Korea. Under the camouflage of the old slogan "divide and conquer", their aim is to facilitate the domination of Korea by American monopolies.

162. The draft resolution has yet other faults. It considerably restricts the Korean people's inalienable right of self-determination. Instead, it confers broad powers upon the Agent General of the United Nations, making him a veritable governor, endowed with almost unlimited authority.

163. The Czechoslovak delegation takes a positive attitude with respect to the plans for the relief and rehabilitation of Korea, which is being devastated by aggressors who hide their imperialist aims under the flag of the United Nations. But it cannot accept a procedure which, under the pretext of economic assistance, facilitates interference in the internal affairs of Korea in order to reinforce the domination of American imperialists and to deprive the Korean people of their fundamental rights.

164. Economic assistance for Korea must repair the destruction caused by war, and encourage economic development and the development of the political, social and cultural life of the Korean people. The draft resolution, on the contrary, sanctions intervention in the internal economic and political affairs of Korea and deprives the Korean people of the right of self-determination.

165. The Czechoslovak delegation supports the Soviet Union amendment [A/1579]. If that amendment is not adopted, my delegation will vote against the first, third and fourth paragraphs of the preamble and will abstain from voting on the resolution as a whole.

166. Mr. SANTA CRUZ (Chile) (*translated from Spanish*): I take it that I may say a few words about the amendment which the USSR delegation has submitted to this draft resolution.

167. The USSR delegation has proposed the deletion of the following paragraphs from the preamble of the draft resolution concerning relief and rehabilitation of Korea:

*"Mindful* that the aggression by North Korean forces and their warfare against the United Nations seeking to restore peace in the area has resulted in great devastation and destruction which the Korean people cannot themselves repair,

*"Recognizing* that as a result of such aggression the people of Korea are desperately in need of relief supplies and materials and help in reconstructing their economy,

*"Deeply moved* by the sufferings of the Korean people and determined to assist in their alleviation . . ."

168. I believe that the USSR representative himself has given the best reason for retaining the paragraphs I have just read by against asserting that the events in Korea are due to aggression by the United States. In the face of this lie, which is intended to deceive world public opinion once more and which contradicts the conviction of fifty-three governments here present, as officially stated in the General Assembly in the face of the renewed act of aggression against Korea committed by Communist China, it morally behoves the United Nations to assert and reassert the truth at every opportunity and by all possible means. The vote which the Assembly is about to cast on the amendment to delete those paragraphs of the preamble will provide the required reaffirmation of that truth by the General Assembly.

169. The USSR delegation has also called for the deletion of the second part of paragraph 10 of the section of general policy on the ground that it amounts to intervention in the domestic affairs of Korea. The resolution on relief and rehabilitation of Korea was drafted by the Economic and Social Council and reviewed by the General Assembly, always bearing in mind the obligation not to intervene in the internal affairs of Korea. The sole purpose of the paragraph is to recommend that the authorities in Korea should take the appropriate economic measures to insure that the aid to be furnished by the United Nations is effective, without laying down at any point what those measures should be.

170. We shall vote for this resolution, even though it may be difficult to implement it in present circumstances. In the past few days nothing has seemed certain now that Chinese communist aggression is leading to more destruction and creating new situations which will bring hunger and misery to Korea. Nevertheless, I believe that the resolution must be approved now. It will constitute a confirmation of the will of the United Nations to reconstruct and rehabilitate Korea and a proof that the United Nations has had no other objective in intervening in Korea than to fulfil the principles of the Charter and ensure the well being of the people of Korea within the framework of those principles.

171. Mr. SPARKMAN (United States of America): On behalf of my delegation, I wish to say that we most heartily agree with the statement made by the President as regards explanations of votes. We should not have spoken if the Soviet Union representative had not made a statement in which he, in effect, placed before the Assembly his delegation's amendment. In the light

of that statement, I feel that I must explain the position of the United States; I feel that I cannot allow to go unchallenged the Soviet Union contention that the draft resolution erroneously refers to aggression by North Korean forces.

172. It seems to me entirely unnecessary to make an exhaustive statement refuting the charges of the representatives of the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia, since this whole question has been thoroughly discussed and decided upon by the United Nations bodies entrusted with these matters. The draft resolution submitted for the consideration of the General Assembly merely records what has already, in fact, been decided upon. It is a known fact that on 25 June 1950 there was in Korea a commission representing the United Nations; that Commission had military observers on the scene, who just prior to the events of 25 June had completed an investigation of the situation along the thirty-eighth parallel. It is a fact that the United Nations Commission on Korea reported to the Security Council<sup>13</sup> that aggression had, in fact, taken place, and that it came from the North. It is a fact that the Security Council acted on this information which it received from the United Nations Commission on Korea and, on 27 June 1950, passed a resolution calling upon all Members of the United Nations to "furnish such assistance to the Republic of Korea as may be necessary to repel the armed attack and to restore international peace and security in the area".<sup>14</sup> That is a direct quotation from the resolution of 27 June 1950. It is a fact that during the present session of the General Assembly the whole question of Korea has been debated at length in the First Committee, and later in plenary meeting.<sup>15</sup> The arguments which have been brought forward today by the representatives of the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia were also advanced in those previous debates and were exhaustively considered. They were rejected by an overwhelming majority of the Members of the United Nations.

173. The resolution passed by the General Assembly on 7 October 1950 [A/1435] stated, that "... an attempt has been made by an armed attack from North Korea to extinguish by force the Government of the Republic of Korea".

174. It therefore does not appear to me either necessary or desirable to go over this same ground again. It is clear that now we are faced not only with North Korean aggression but also with intervention by Chinese communist forces. This is not the time to temporize with Soviet Union attempts to change the actual course of history, to change the record which has been established after long and careful study by the Economic and Social Council, by the First Committee, and by the General Assembly in plenary meeting.

175. In view of these well established, well recorded historical facts, our delegation will of course vote against the Soviet Union proposal, which would attempt to reverse all of the findings heretofore made by the Assembly and all of its organs. We shall support the resolution

<sup>13</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Fifth Year*, No. 15, document S/1496.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 16.

<sup>15</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 292nd to 294th meetings inclusive, and *First Committee*, 346th to 353rd meetings inclusive.

proposed by the Economic and Social Council, which has been placed before the General Assembly by the Joint Second and Third Committee.

176. Mr. STADNIK (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*translated from Russian*): The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR has had an opportunity of giving its political appraisal of the events that are taking place in Korea at a plenary meeting of the General Assembly.

177. In connexion with the draft resolution submitted to us on the programme for relief and rehabilitation of Korea, the delegation of the Ukrainian SSR deems it necessary to state once again that the domestic economy of Korea, which has suffered as a result of foreign intervention, requires effective economic assistance. The relief which will be given to Korea must promote the rapid and effective rehabilitation of the country's economy in accordance with the national interests of the Korean people itself, and the re-establishment and strengthening of the economic and the political independence of Korea should be a primary consideration.

178. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR considers it to be important and essential that representatives of the Korean people should take part in preparing plans for economic and technical aid to Korea. These fundamental conditions, however, are ignored in the draft resolutions submitted for our consideration.

179. The draft resolution excludes the possibility of large-scale participation by representatives of the Korean people in preparing plans and re-establishing the national economy of Korea.

180. The resolution gives the Agent General extremely wide powers in deciding questions relating to economic rehabilitation. Conferring such wide powers on the Agent General may lead to a situation in which the Agent General will become an autocratic dictator in matters relating to the economic life of Korea.

181. An analysis of the draft resolution adopted by the Joint Second and Third Committee at the recommendation of the Economic and Social Council leads to the conclusion that, if adopted, the draft resolution will promote further interference in the internal affairs of Korea.

182. The resolution also contains absolutely inadmissible political elements which distort the true state of affairs. This applies to the third and fourth paragraphs of the preamble. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR considers it to be an established fact that the civil war in Korea was started by the Syngman Rhee clique with the direct support of the United States, and that the United States, by intervening in the civil war, committed an act of aggression against the Korean people.

183. It is outrageous and inadmissible to refer in a plan for relief and rehabilitation to an "aggression" by the armed forces of North Korea. This is apparently an effort to conceal the evidence of international crimes which are costing large numbers of human lives.

184. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR thinks it appropriate to remind the General Assembly that the destruction of the domestic economy of Korea was brought about by the barbarous bombardments by United States air and naval forces operating under the United Nations flag and that these destructive bombardments are still continuing and are causing further

damage and destruction to the economic and cultural resources of the Korean State.

185. For the above reasons the delegation of the Ukrainian SSR will abstain from voting on resolutions A and B submitted to the General Assembly in connexion with the plan for relief and rehabilitation of Korea; and for the same reasons will fully and wholeheartedly support the amendments submitted by the delegation of the USSR.

186. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): Before putting the two draft resolutions to the vote, I invite the General Assembly to take a decision with regard to the amendments presented by the Soviet Union delegation, which are to be found in document A/1579.

187. The Soviet Union delegation proposes that certain parts of the preamble and of section B of draft resolution A should be deleted. I must therefore put these amendments to the vote separately.

188. The USSR delegation first proposes the deletion of the first, third and fourth paragraphs of the preamble to the draft resolution proposed by the Joint Second and Third Committee.

189. The Chilean delegation has requested a roll-call vote on this first amendment.

*A vote was taken by roll-call.*

*Chile, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.*

*In favour:* Czechoslovakia, Poland, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic.

*Against:* Chile, China, Costa Rica, Cuba, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, France, Greece, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Liberia, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Sweden, Syria, Thailand, Turkey, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen, Afghanistan, Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, Canada.

*Abstaining:* Yugoslavia.

*The amendment was rejected by 50 votes to 5, with 1 abstention.*

190. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): The second amendment presented by the Soviet Union delegation proposes the deletion of the second part of paragraph 10 of section B.

191. I put this amendment to the vote.

*The amendment was rejected by 47 votes to 5.*

192. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): I put to the vote resolution A: "Relief and rehabilitation of Korea" (A/1567).

*Resolution A was adopted by 51 votes to none, with 5 abstentions.*

193. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): I put to the vote draft resolution B: "Relief and rehabilitation of Korea: financial arrangements".

*Resolution B was adopted by 51 votes to none, with 5 abstentions.*

194. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): So much for our sixth item. I do not propose that we should take up items 7, 8 and 9, as they are reports from the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee, which is now meeting, and whose members are consequently unable to be present here.

**Budget estimates for the financial year 1951: subsistence allowances for members of commissions, committees and other subsidiary bodies: report of the Fifth Committee (A/1538)**

[Agenda item 39 (c)]

*The President presented the report of the Fifth Committee on subsistence allowances for members of commissions, committees and other subsidiary bodies and the accompanying draft resolution (A/1538).*

*The draft resolution was adopted unanimously.*

195. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): We cannot deal with our eleventh and twelfth items since the Fourth Committee is at present meeting. We will therefore pass on to item 13.

**Long-range activities for children—United Nations International Children's Endowment Fund: report of the Third Committee (A/1455)**

[Agenda item 64]

*The President submitted the report of the Third Committee on long-range activities for children and the accompanying draft resolution (A/1455).*

196. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): An amendment [A/1581] to the draft resolution proposed by the Third Committee [A/1455] has been proposed by Australia, Chile, Denmark, Ecuador and Yugoslavia. This amendment proposes the insertion of the words "for appropriate terms" in operative paragraph 6, sub-paragraph (a), after the words "Economic and Social Council".

197. I put this amendment to the vote.

*The amendment was adopted by 33 votes to none, with 5 abstentions.*

198. Mr. CORREA (Ecuador) (*translated from Spanish*): There is another amendment to the draft resolution. It is contained in document A/1580 and has been submitted by Bolivia, Canada, Ecuador and the Netherlands. It proposes the insertion after paragraph 6 (a), of a new paragraph 6 (b).

199. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): Yes, there is another amendment to the draft resolution submitted by the Third Committee.

*The President read out the text of the amendment (A/1580) as follows:*

"6 (b) During the period of the Fund's existence, as provided in paragraph 6 (d), the Board, in accordance with such principles as may be laid down by the Economic and Social Council and its Social Commission, shall with due regard to the urgency of the needs and available resources, formulate the policies, determine the programmes and allocate the resources of the Fund for the purpose of meeting, through the

provision of supplies, training and advice, emergency and long-range needs of children and their continuing needs particularly in under-developed countries, with a view to strengthening, wherever this may be appropriate, the permanent child health and child welfare programmes of the countries receiving assistance."

200. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): I put this amendment to the vote.

*The amendment was adopted by 51 votes to one, with 5 abstentions.*

201. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): Sub-paragraphs (b), (c) and (d) will, of course, be renumbered as a result of the adoption of this amendment.

202. I will now put to a vote the draft resolution [A/1455] as a whole, as amended. I was about to announce that the draft resolution had been adopted unanimously, but I see that there is one abstention. However, in my opinion, an abstention does not signify lack of unanimity.

*The draft resolution was adopted unanimously.*

203. Mrs. SAMPSON (United States of America): I regret exceedingly that Mrs. Roosevelt is not able to be present to make this explanation. Before the General Assembly passes on to the next item on its agenda, I want to make a brief statement.

204. The Government of the United States and the American people are fully aware of the plight of children in many parts of the world. We are second to none, as shown by the record, in our willingness to help these children. For this reason we hope that UNICEF will be able to continue and develop its work on behalf of children, and that the resolution which has just been passed by such a large majority will help other countries to mobilize additional resources for the Fund. It is for this reason that we chose to abstain rather than vote against a resolution which, from our point of view, is unsatisfactory.

205. We had hoped that it might be possible at this session of the General Assembly to set up the Fund on a permanent basis. We wanted to make certain that the United Nations would be spear-heading child welfare programmes, particularly in the under-developed countries, not only this year or the next or the year after that, but that such work for children would become an integral part of the programme of the United Nations. The present resolution does not offer any such assurance.

206. Furthermore, we had hoped that all countries here represented would have been willing to assume some share of the financial burden involved by including the central administrative expenditures of the Fund in the regular budget of the United Nations. Here again we were disappointed. I still find it difficult to understand the opposition to this modest proposal.

207. This is not the time to emphasize the misunderstandings which characterized so much of the debate on this issue. There are hundreds of millions of children in need, and we cannot forget them.

208. The Executive Branch of our government expects to ask the United States Congress for a contribu-

tion to the Children's Fund in 1951, and we hope that Congress will give favourable consideration to our request. The reaction of this request will undoubtedly be greatly influenced by the extent of the willingness of other countries to give substantial support to the Fund. Beyond this, my country will do everything possible to help improve the lot of these children in need as well as the lot of their parents by assisting in the economic development of under-developed countries. Furthermore, our voluntary agencies will undoubtedly continue to devote a large part of their funds for aid to children abroad.

209. All I wish to say, in conclusion, is that it is our earnest desire and hope that ways and means may yet be found to ensure that the economically disinherited among the children of the world will receive effective United Nations aid over the years to come.

**Advisory social welfare services: report of the Economic and Social Council: (a) report of the Third Committee (A/1436); (b) report of the Fifth Committee (A/1537)**

[Agenda item 31]

*The President presented the report of the Third Committee and the accompanying draft resolution (A/1436).*

*The resolution was adopted unanimously.*

**Chapters V, VI and VII of the report of the Economic and Social Council: (a) interim report of the Third Committee (A/1440); (b) report of the Fifth Committee (A/1562)**

[Agenda item 12]

*The President presented the report of the Third Committee and the accompanying draft resolution (A/1440).*

*Resolution A was adopted by 33 votes to 3, with 3 abstentions.*

*Resolution B was adopted by 34 votes to 9, with 4 abstentions.*

210. Mr. YOUNGER (United Kingdom): I should like to explain why my delegation voted against those two resolutions. We did so not from any lack of interest in the work of the two Sub-Commissions, the contrary is the case, and I think that any member of the Sub-Commissions who may be present here would agree with me that the United Kingdom representatives have played an active and even an enthusiastic part in their discussions.

211. The reason why we have been unable to agree to these two proposals is that we do not believe that it is in the best interests of the Sub-Commissions themselves to meet in 1951. Both Sub-Commissions, as was pointed out in the Third Committee, have adopted programmes of work which, as a next stage, require the collection of a considerable amount of information from governments and in the case of the Sub-Commission on Freedom of Information and of the Press, also from professional organizations.

212. The request to governments to submit the information required by the Sub-Commission on the

Prevention of Discrimination and the Protection of Minorities was only sent out by the Secretary-General some three or four weeks ago, and it would take governments some time to collect it. But even when that new information has been collected, more time will be needed before the Sub-Commissions will be able to do any useful work on it. That information will first have to be collated and analysed by the Secretary-General, and that will take time. We should remember, I think, that the function of these Sub-Commissions is not merely to hold meetings, but to make proposals for increasing freedom of information and for protecting minorities and preventing discrimination. I think that that is perhaps a point to which sufficient attention was not given when the Third Committee adopted these resolutions.

213. There is in the opinion of my delegation no virtue in the mere holding of meetings. We are convinced that it is a fallacy to suppose that the objectives of these two Sub-Commissions are necessarily furthered by holding a meeting every year. We are convinced that the important point is not that meetings should be held every year, but that they should be held when the Sub-Commissions are in a position to do useful work, and I do not believe that it would be possible for them profitably to hold a meeting next year.

214. All these factors were taken into consideration by the Interim Committee on Programmes of Meetings of the Economic and Social Council when it reached its unanimous decision not to recommend the holding of meetings of these two Sub-Commissions in the course of 1951. It also took into account the special appeal from the Secretary-General to cut out meetings in 1951 which are not indispensable. When the Council decided to endorse this decision,<sup>16</sup> it took into account all the relevant factors. It considered the reports of the two Sub-Commissions and the present status of their work programmes. No attempt was made by the Third Committee to consider the work programmes of these two Sub-Commissions in any detail and thus to consider whether these programmes required the holding of meetings in 1951, and nothing which was said in the Third Committee persuaded my delegation that the decision of the Economic and Social Council was wrong. We are satisfied that it was right, and that is why we voted as we did against these two resolutions.

*The meeting rose at 6 p.m.*

<sup>16</sup> See *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Eleventh Session, Supplement No. 1, Resolutions, No. 336 (XI)*.