

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

PLENARY MEETING
(OPENING) MEETING

Tuesday, 21 September 1954,
at 3 p.m.

NINTH SESSION

Official Records

New York



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representatives to stand and to observe one minute of silence dedicated to prayer or meditation.

The representatives stood in silence.

Address by Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, President of the eighth session of the General Assembly

3. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: Though the history of the United Nations is short, we have developed some traditions and customs. One such custom is that I should open this new session with a brief statement.

4. In doing so, I wish to strike a note of hope: that this gathering, undaunted by the heavy tasks and responsibilities confronting it, will in its collective wisdom be able to seize and develop every opportunity that presents itself to promote the cause of peace and international understanding which is the reason for its existence.

5. None of us here will underestimate the difficulties; but, equally, none of us is unaware of the intense yearning of mankind for a break in the clouds that have for too long overshadowed the world.

6. The thought of the millions whose desire is for peace and security will be a spur, if one were needed, for us here to be patient and persevering, to draw strength and faith from the intensity of the support and goodwill that is rightly accorded the United Nations.

7. The success of the negotiations that brought about the end of the war in Indo-China was a demonstration of how the most difficult and menacing conflicts can be halted by the process of negotiation. True those negotiations were not directly handled by the United Nations. That need not minimize in any way our rejoicing that the fighting was stopped and, with it, the grim cost of casualties and the continuing danger of still greater conflagration.

8. This great event of the current year was an application of United Nations methods for the advancement of United Nations purposes, and we should not cavil that, in this instance, the nations concerned chose to act technically outside the United Nations.

President: Mr. Eelco N. VAN KLEFFENS
(Netherlands).

Temporary President: Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi PANDIT
(India).

AGENDA ITEM 1

Opening of the ninth session of the General Assembly

1. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: I declare open the ninth regular session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

AGENDA ITEM 2

Minute of silent prayer or meditation

2. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: In accordance with rule 64 of the rules of procedure, I invite the rep-

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

9. This does not mean, however, that we should encourage neglect of the machinery which we have patiently built up and which has proved its worth in the solution of other major problems. Machinery, in order to be useful, must be kept running. If allowed to remain idle it deteriorates. The same applies to political machinery for peace which we have fashioned out of our collective experience and aspirations.

10. So, within the framework of our Charter, we must continue, step by patient step, to reconcile what differences may still divide us, and to work in fullest harmony on those vital tasks in which the interest of all humanity is one: the elimination of common enemies in the shape of hunger, disease, illiteracy, and sub-standard living conditions.

11. On the long agenda now confronting us are several questions that we have grappled with before. The fact that final solutions have eluded us in the past must not discourage us. History is a continuous process, and we must recognize and accept the fact that the United Nations will continue to have problems to cope with, some old, some new. Let us face them with the conviction that here is another chance to advance towards agreement, or at least to narrow the area of existing disagreements. The world expects nothing less from us and it is the responsibility which all Member nations accepted as part of their Charter obligations.

12. The problems confronting the Organization are part and parcel of the troubled times in which we live, a reflection of our world which, while still recovering from the disruption and destruction of global war, has to face new, pressing problems. Some of these spring from human progress itself such as the emergence into national sovereignty of hitherto dependent peoples, and in the vast advances of atomic science and technology which, unfortunately, still outstrip man's ability to devise an all-embracing international agreement under which these advances can be directed solely to peaceful purposes.

13. To have been President of the General Assembly is not only a great honour of which I am deeply conscious and appreciative, it also is a vantage point from which the over-all work of an Assembly can be accurately gauged.

14. Sometimes it happens that an attempt is made to compute the Assembly's labours mathematically—so many meetings held, so many agenda items dealt with, so many words spoken. I prefer to think of the Assembly in terms of positions clarified, misunderstandings removed, of principles established, of agreements reached. Only the exchange of ideas can bring these about, and the process is no less valuable because it entails the risk of revealing differences.

15. The United Nations has done much in many fields to vindicate the hopes of its founders and to justify the support of the peoples in whose name its Charter was written. It is not my intention now to elaborate on the record. But we can say—even if the pressure of events did not demand it—that, by the results already achieved, the United Nations has earned the right to continue.

16. It is my earnest hope, as I know it is yours, that these coming weeks of deliberations may mark out the ninth regular session of the General Assembly as one from which Governments and their peoples will draw renewed faith in the spirit of the Organization, con-

fidence in its strength, and conviction of its indispensability as an instrument for the attainment of security and progress in a world of law.

AGENDA ITEM 3

Appointment of a Credentials Committee

17. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: The appointment of a Credentials Committee is provided for in rule 28 of our rules of procedure.

18. I call on the representative of the Soviet Union on a point of order.

Question of the representation of China in the United Nations

19. Mr. VYSHINSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): On behalf of the USSR delegation, I should like to welcome our Temporary President and to thank her for the heartfelt words she has addressed to this session of the General Assembly. May I at the same time, on behalf of the Soviet Union, welcome the representatives to the ninth session of the General Assembly and wish the General Assembly success in its efforts to solve the important questions before it.

20. As Mrs. Pandit has rightly noted, the opening of this session comes at a time when some relaxation of tension in international relations has become apparent. There can be no doubt that this is due in large part to the Berlin Conference of the four Foreign Ministers and to the Geneva Conference of the Foreign Ministers of the United States, the United Kingdom, France, the Soviet Union, and the Chinese People's Republic—which took its rightful place among the great Powers—as well as representatives of other interested countries.

21. I feel I must dwell on this question before the General Assembly begins its substantive work, as I attach particular importance to the facts I am about to present.

22. There is no denying that the Geneva Conference did much to relax international tension—an end has been put to a disastrous war which had lasted almost eight years, and peace has been restored in Indo-China. In addition, the Geneva Conference confirmed the fact that the great Chinese people is called upon to play an important part in the settlement of international controversies. The Conference confirmed the principle defended by the Soviet Union and a number of other countries: that it is impossible to solve vital questions relating to the maintenance of international peace and security without the participation of one of the great Powers, the Chinese People's Republic.

23. It is now generally recognized that the Chinese People's Republic made a valuable contribution to the Geneva Conference. Everyone is aware of the noble initiative of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China and of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, supported by the Soviet Union, in bringing about the cease-fire in Korea and the signing of the cease-fire agreement. The negotiations between the Premier and Chairman of the State Governmental Council of the Chinese People's Republic, Mr. Chou En-lai, and the Prime Minister of India, Mr. Nehru, in July of this year, and also the negotiations between Mr. Chou En-lai and

the Prime Minister of Burma, U Nu, show that these great Asian Powers have arrived at a mutual understanding as regards their joint efforts to strengthen the peace in south-east Asia and in the world.

24. At this session, the General Assembly faces important problems, the solution of which is awaited by all the peoples of the world. Our Temporary President, Mrs. Pandit, was again quite right to emphasize this point.

25. Our Charter requires the United Nations to perform its functions in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, to develop friendly relations among nations and to act as a central organ so that they may concert their efforts and achieve common aims.

26. Only by faithfully fulfilling the requirements of the Charter can the United Nations discharge what we are firmly convinced is its duty to mankind, which is to strengthen international security and world peace.

27. It must, however, be recognized that the majority in the General Assembly have been consistently side-stepping these requirements. There is no need to recall that the Chinese people's struggle for its liberation ended in a complete and decisive national victory back in 1949. That great and historic victory radically changed the position of Asian countries. For the past five years China has been pursuing the glorious course of its historical development. The Central People's Government has headed the great campaign of the Chinese people for the building of a new life, where the people's welfare is truly the supreme law of the land. The Chinese people, 600 million strong, is successfully building a new life under the guidance of its national Government and is also helping to strengthen international relations on a basis of friendly co-operation, defence of the peace, and maintenance of international security.

28. Is it not paradoxical that the United Nations, which claims to be an international organization engaged in strengthening the bonds of friendship among nations, should still exclude the representatives of the great Chinese people of some 600 million and that the Chinese People's Republic's rightful seat in the United Nations should still be occupied by a representative of the Kuomintang clique which has been driven out of China? Such a situation is humiliating to the United Nations and harmful to its international prestige. It undermines the people's respect for and confidence in the United Nations as an international organization. It is not to be tolerated under any circumstances. It is injurious to the interests of all peace-loving peoples and makes it impossible for our Organization, which bears the name of the United Nations, to discharge with honour its great duty of strengthening world peace and international security.

29. The absence of the Chinese People's Republic also has an adverse effect on the work of such important organs as the Security Council, of which, under the Charter, China is a permanent member, but in which its seat is illegally occupied by a representative who has no right to it and who represents no one. I repeat, such a situation is not to be tolerated under any circumstances.

30. The United Nations cannot ignore the demands of large social and political groups throughout the world that it repair this crying injustice, this piece of lawlessness—the denial to the Chinese People's

Republic of its legitimate right to occupy its seat in the United Nations.

31. A number of leading statesmen in various countries, including the United Kingdom, India, Pakistan, Norway, Denmark, Iceland and Sweden, have spoken in favour of restoring to the Chinese People's Republic its legitimate rights in the United Nations. All this shows that the great masses in all countries realize both how important it is that the Chinese People's Republic should take part in international affairs, and that the United Nations cannot be regarded as an international organization of any authority so long as one of the great Powers—the Chinese People's Republic—is excluded from participation in its work.

32. There can be no doubt that the question of restoring to the Chinese People's Republic its legitimate rights in the United Nations would have been solved satisfactorily long ago, had not one of the great Powers—the United States—opposed such a solution under all sorts of pretexts politically, legally and morally untenable. The United States even refuses to take into account the fact that close to twenty-five States have established or are in the process of establishing diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China.

33. We are deeply convinced that such a policy, which disregards the national interests of the Asian peoples, is doomed to failure, the usual fate of those who are unwilling to take into account the course of historical events. It is the duty of all peace-loving peoples to remove the obstacles that stand in the way of the People's Republic of China taking its rightful place in the United Nations and participating in this Organization's work, a work which cannot be successful until the Chinese People's Republic takes part in it on terms of full equality with other sovereign States.

34. In view of these considerations, the USSR delegation proposes the immediate adoption of the following draft resolution [A/L.176]:

"The General Assembly

Considers it necessary that representatives of the People's Republic of China, appointed by the Central People's Government, should take the rightful seat of China in the General Assembly and in other organs of the United Nations."

35. The USSR delegation deems it its duty to draw the particular attention of the General Assembly to the fact that any further delay in the solution of this question is bound to do serious harm to the international authority of the United Nations and to the maintenance of peace and security throughout the world.

36. The USSR delegation hopes that the question of the restoration of the rights of the Chinese people in the United Nations will be settled in the affirmative at the present session, without any further delay.

37. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of the United States, to speak on this question.

38. Mr. LODGE (United States of America): Let me first of all express, on behalf of the United States, appreciation for the statesmanlike address with which the Temporary President has just favoured us and let me say, too, that we take great satisfaction in the way she has conducted herself as President of the General Assembly during the session just ending.

39. Let me also, as representative of the host country, extend a cordial welcome to the representatives and

the alternates, expressing the hope that their stay here will be fruitful and enjoyable.

40. For reasons which are well known, the United States will not engage in a discussion of the substance of the question that has been raised by the representative of the Soviet Union. Instead we will make the following motion [A/L.177]:

"The General Assembly

Decides not to consider, at its ninth regular session during the current year, any proposals to exclude the representatives of the Government of the Republic of China or to seat representatives of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China."

41. Logically, this motion takes precedence over the Soviet Union proposal, and therefore I ask that rule 93 of the rules of procedure be invoked. This rule reads as follows:

"If two or more proposals relate to the same question, the General Assembly shall, unless it decides otherwise, vote on the proposals in the order in which they have been submitted. The General Assembly may, after each vote on a proposal, decide whether to vote on the next proposal."

42. That rule, you will observe, gives the Assembly the power to decide questions of precedence, and I accordingly ask the Assembly to decide to put my motion to the vote first; and then I will ask for a vote on the motion itself. I therefore ask the President to put the following proposal to the Assembly:

"The General Assembly

Decides to consider first the motion just offered by the representative of the United States."

43. Then, after that motion has been voted on, it would be in order to vote on the substantive proposal which I have made.

44. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of China to speak on this question.

45. Mr. YEH (China): In the past four years, repeated attempts have been made to alter the status of China's representation in the various organs of the United Nations and in the specialized agencies, and all attempts, as it will be recalled, were defeated. It has become a familiar pattern of procedural manoeuvre by which the Soviet bloc seeks to bring about a collective recognition of the fruits of its aggression and to undermine the very foundation of the United Nations. I am sure that it will not be necessary for me to reiterate before this Assembly the many reasons which militate against the admission of the Peiping Communist régime into this international body.

46. I must, however, remind this Assembly that this puppet régime is but the creation of Soviet conspiracy and subversion in China in connexion with which the Assembly at its sixth session already took cognizance of the fact that the Soviet Union had acted in violation of its treaty obligations to my Government. This régime was imposed upon the people on the Chinese mainland by the use of force and has since maintained its power by a reign of terror in which over 15 million people have been liquidated and over 25 million people have been impressed into slave labour. It is a régime that has been repudiated not only by 80 per cent—I repeat, by 80 per cent—of the prisoners of war who once fought in its camp in Korea, but also

by 13 million Chinese Nationalists overseas, a vast number of whom reside in territories whose Governments, for reasons of expedience, accorded it recognition.

47. Above all, it is a régime that has been engaged in open aggression in Korea and in armed hostility against the United Nations, and is continuing to pursue its aggressive designs in Indo-China and other parts of south-east Asia.

48. To admit such a régime into the United Nations would be for all of us here to condone and to abet aggression in disregard of the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

49. The question has also been raised as to whether my delegation is the rightful representative of China. I do not propose to enter into a discussion of the political and constitutional aspects of the question, which my delegation has on many occasions in the past outlined to this Assembly. I must again remind the Assembly, however, that my Government is the same Government which fought on the side of the democracies against the forces of aggression in the Second World War, which took an active part in the founding of the United Nations and which has since faithfully fulfilled all its international obligations as a loyal Member of the United Nations and of other international bodies.

50. Today my Government in Taiwan stands as a beacon of hope for the voiceless millions of Chinese under communist tyranny who want to be free. It is to my Government that the 13 million Chinese overseas who are free to declare their intentions have reaffirmed their allegiance, and it is to the territories of Free China that the 14,000 former Communist prisoners of war in Korea have chosen to be repatriated; and they made that choice at the risk of their own lives and the lives of those loved ones they had left behind.

51. The right of my Government to represent China is undeniable unless all the nations represented here are prepared to repudiate the principles upon which the Charter was founded and to give aid and comfort to the aggressors.

52. It is strange that the Soviet Union should have been the party to propose to unseat my Government—as they have done on so many occasions in the past—for the Soviet Union and its satellites are the very Members of the United Nations who have themselves amply qualified for expulsion from the United Nations under Article 6 of the Charter.

53. I am glad that the delegation of the United States has submitted a motion not to consider the question of China's representation. If the principles of the Charter are to be upheld, the proposal of the Soviet Union should be ignored not only at this session of the Assembly, but also at all future sessions.

54. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Poland to speak on this question.

55. Mr. SKRZESZEWSKI (Poland) (*translated from Russian*): The proposal of the Soviet Union delegation [A/L.176] on the admission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations and the consequent restoration to the Chinese people of its rightful place in the life and activities of our Organization is highly important and should be discussed in all its aspects, since the correct solution of the problem may not only influence the work of this session, but may also

considerably advance the success of our Organization's efforts to settle certain difficult and complicated international problems.

56. The United States proposal [A/L.177] to suspend and postpone the debate and thus to maintain the abnormal position in which the Chinese people is deprived of representation in our Organization is not prompted by concern for the success of the work of the United Nations or by the wish to strengthen friendly co-operation among nations. The Government of the United States regards the question of the representation of China, on the one hand, as an instrument for interference in the internal affairs of the Chinese State, and, on the other hand, as a tool with which to try to weaken our Organization, to paralyse its capacity for constructive action, and thus to use it to achieve the political aims of the United States.

57. Five years ago, on 1 October 1949, the Central People's Government was set up in China, which ever since has been the only representative of the sovereignty of the Chinese people in its relations with other Governments and with all the international organizations in which China participates.

58. Since then, the Central People's Government has consolidated its power, has carried out a number of important political, economic and social reforms and has held elections to local and national government organs.

59. It is obvious that, so far as the United Nations is concerned, this is the only Government which, through its representatives, can undertake obligations on behalf of the Chinese people and the Chinese State, and that only that Government is in a position to fulfil those obligations.

60. To go on maintaining the fiction that China's place in our Organization should be occupied by the delegation of the Kuomintang group is paradoxical. This group represents merely a handful of political bankrupts, whose existence depends on support from American armed forces and the United States treasury. The Kuomintang group has made no contribution to the work of the United Nations. It has merely been an obedient tool in the hands of others and, apart from participation in incitement to war and obedient voting in the United Nations for the proposals of its masters, has played no part in our Organization. Today's statement by the Kuomintang representative has borne this out. This group has also shown itself to be an enemy of peace by its piratical activities against peaceful vessels and its attacks on the merchant ships of many countries, including my own country, Poland. It has discredited itself as the agent of a foreign State, which is striving towards the enslavement of its people by alien forces.

61. The absence of the representatives of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations has considerably intensified the crisis which our Organization is undergoing; it has made it difficult for the Organization to carry out its tasks and to take action for the relaxation of international tension. The fact that the problem of the correct and just representation of China has not been solved has served to lengthen the war in Korea and is now impeding the final peaceful settlement of the Korean question.

62. In the light of recent history, it is clear to all that the settlement of the most important international

problems is unthinkable without the participation of the great People's Republic of China, an Asian power representing 600 million people. From the point of view of the principles of the Charter, the People's Republic of China, as a great Power, is faced with especially important tasks in connexion with the maintenance of international peace and security. All the activities of the People's Republic of China in the international sphere offer sufficient evidence of the fact that China is willing and able to undertake and carry out the obligations arising from its status as a great Power. We all remember how, relatively recently, the Korean War not only complicated international relations, but created a serious threat to world peace. The peaceful initiative of the People's Republic of China and the Korean People's Democratic Republic, actively supported by the Soviet Union and all peace-loving peoples, made it possible to put an end to military action and to conclude an armistice.

63. At the Geneva Conference, the People's Republic of China made a decisive contribution to the cause of the peaceful settlement of the Indo-Chinese conflict. With its help, Indo-China ceased to be a hotbed of war threatening international relations. As was noted at the Geneva Conference, the position of the peace-loving Government of China—the People's Republic of China—which sought compromises and spared no efforts to achieve the peaceful settlement of the Indo-Chinese problem, contrasted sharply with the position of the Government of the United States, which both before and during the Geneva Conference endeavoured to prolong and extend the conflict in Indo-China, and even to draw other peoples into that war.

64. I should also like to remind you that the People's Republic of China not only helped to put an end to the war in Korea and Indo-China but, by its relations with other Asian countries, especially with its neighbour India, set an example of friendly and peaceful relations between States with different social structures, on the basis of mutual respect for sovereignty and equality, and of non-interference in their internal affairs.

65. The events of recent years have fully confirmed the fact that the settlement of the most important international problems is unthinkable without the participation of the People's Republic of China. This has been fully acknowledged by the Western Powers which took part in the Berlin Conference of Foreign Ministers, which decided unanimously to convene the Conference at Geneva, where the status of the People's Republic of China as a great Power was wholly and incontrovertibly acknowledged.

66. The United Nations should follow the path traced by the decision of the Foreign Ministers at Berlin. The peoples are growing more and more conscious of the fact that a situation in which the great Chinese people is deprived of representation in the United Nations and of an opportunity to take part in its work is unhealthy and contrary to the principles of international law. Even among American politicians, demands for the settlement of this unhealthy situation are becoming ever more frequent.

67. The United States representative does not wish to allow an open debate to develop because he realizes that it will be much more difficult to defend the United States position on this question at this session than

in previous years. The American Press has already stated this in July of the present year. I shall quote what the United Nations correspondent of *The New York Times* has written:

"... it is now obvious that the question of seating Communist China's representatives in the United Nations can no longer be postponed. This is certain to be one of the most hotly debated issues when the 1954 session of the General Assembly meets in September.

"The Peiping Government, in its first appearance on the world stage"—the reference is to the Geneva Conference—"has clearly won recognition in Western Europe, as well as in Asia, as the real Government of China.

"Moreover, Chou En-lai, Communist China's Premier and Foreign Minister, emerged in the closing weeks of the conference as its most prominent figure." [*The New York Times*, 4 July 1954]

68. There are several highly important items on the agenda of the ninth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. The adoption of correct decisions may bring about a relaxation of tension in international relations and increase the chances of preserving peace. Among the most important of these items are disarmament, the peaceful settlement of the Korean problem and economic co-operation.

69. Through its actions, the United Nations can re-establish its authority in the eyes of the whole world. It is therefore particularly important that a problem which has been before us for over four years should be settled now, at the very beginning of the session, and that the People's Republic of China should take its rightful place in our Organization. This would increase the prospects for a successful session. It would show that the Organization intends, not only in words but by deeds, to bring about co-operation among all nations, irrespective of their social structure. It will create a basis for further successful efforts to ease international tensions and to ensure the peace, security, independence and well-being of peoples.

70. In view of these considerations, the Polish delegation fully supports the Soviet Union delegation's proposal to invite the representatives of the People's Republic of China, as the only legitimate representatives of the great Chinese people, to this session of the General Assembly.

71. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: I call upon the representative of the United Kingdom to speak on this question.

72. Sir Pierson DIXON (United Kingdom): Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, as is known, recognizes the Central People's Government as the Government of China. Moreover, it considers that the question of Chinese representation in the United Nations is a matter which will have to be settled before peaceful and friendly relations can be re-established between the various Governments with interests in the Far East. Good faith and co-operation, however, are also required for such relations. In spite of incidents and statements which have disquieted us all, our hope is for a steady improvement. Much will depend on the attitude of the Central People's Government.

73. Her Majesty's Government does not consider that it would be wise or timely to debate the question

of Chinese representation at the present time. Differing views upon it are strongly held. In a matter of this sort it is unwise to force to a vote an issue on which this Assembly is so deeply and so evidently divided. Our overriding purpose must be to hold this Organization together, and so make it possible for it gradually to gather strength. In our view, debates on this violently controversial matter would do more harm than good, and would place an intolerable strain upon the United Nations.

74. For these reasons we shall support the motion of the United States, suggesting no discussion at this current session during the current year.

75. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: I call upon the representative of Australia to speak on this question.

76. Mr. CASEY (Australia): This question of the seating of representatives of the Peiping Government in the place of China in the United Nations has been raised on many occasions at sessions of the General Assembly in recent years by the Soviet Union and by other countries. I have made Australia's position on this matter clear on a number of occasions and, since our attitude has not altered substantially, I shall not need to speak at any length. There are, however, one or two matters which I should like to mention at this particular time, and I should like to address myself to the merits of this matter.

77. All of us here know that there is a code of conduct laid down in the Charter of the United Nations which Member Governments, by virtue of their adherence to the Charter, bind themselves to follow in their international relations. The plain, unalterable fact of the question of Chinese representation has been, and remains, that Communist China has not followed this code, as many United Nations Members here today with forces in Korea, forces which suffered grievous losses from Communist Chinese aggression, know all too well.

78. Now, if events following the conclusion of the armistice in Korea had shown us that Chinese Communist aggression there had been an isolated case and that, with the conclusion of the Korean armistice, aggressive action by the Peiping Government had ceased, then perhaps there might have been justification for reconsideration at this time, by the General Assembly, of this question of Chinese representation. But Communist Chinese aggression did not cease with Korea. Indeed, it would seem to be the policy, or at least the practice, of the Peiping Government always to have one area in which it is actively fighting, or actively stimulating fighting, somewhere upon its borders.

79. First, we had Chinese aggression in Korea. When United Nations action brought this to a finish, then the fighting in Indo-China received an added impetus; and then, as soon as the fighting in Indo-China was brought to an end, Peiping turned its attention to Quemoy, to greatly increased military activity in the Formosa Straits, and to a campaign to prepare its people for a possible attempt on Formosa itself. Only in recent weeks the Prime Minister of the Chinese Communist Government made a public declaration of his Government's intentions in this regard.

80. Whatever the attitude of one's mind may be in these general, high political matters, it is impossible not

to be impressed with these three theatres of war—Korea, Indo-China, Quemoy—in each of which, in turn and in rapid succession, the Chinese Government has been, to use words of moderation, very prominently involved.

81. Are these the acts of a Government which recognizes the authority of the United Nations and of the principles governing its Charter, one of which is that candidates for membership should be peace-loving? Looking back on what Peiping has done, I think it fair to say that had the Communist Chinese not intervened in Korea to such an extent that they, in effect, made the Korean aggression their own, in that event I believe that many more countries would have recognized the Government of Peiping than is now the case.

82. The subsequent activities of the Chinese Communist régime, some of which I have mentioned, have provided further hindrances to the normal process of the recognition on which Peiping has always declared itself to be intent. Such a series of activities by Peiping could have, of course, only one result—the delay of recognition by peace-loving Governments.

83. It seems to me that the choice for Peiping is very simple: either it makes up its mind that it wants recognition and goes about it by establishing a record as a peace-loving Government, or it continues in its present attitude and practice, isolated by its own actions and attitude from the great majority of other Governments. It might perhaps be a matter for consideration by the representative of the Soviet Union whether the sustained efforts which he has made to introduce the Chinese Communist Government into the United Nations might not be more usefully applied in explaining to the Soviet Union's partners at Peiping what is expected from Governments which are Members of the United Nations. If this could be done successfully and the Chinese Communist Government brought to understand that its actions have, so far, constantly made its presence here an impossibility, the day on which most of us might find it possible to accept the presence of its representatives in this Organization might come sooner rather than later, at least so far as the Australian delegation is concerned.

84. For these reasons, Australia will vote against the Soviet Union proposal and in favour of the proposal of the United States.

85. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Burma to speak on this question.

86. Mr. BARRINGTON (Burma): Burma's position on this question has been clear and consistent. We recognize the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China as the one and only Government of China. We recognize that Government because it exercises effective control over all of the Chinese mainland, which comprises nearly all of China and contains nearly all of its population. From this it logically follows that this Government, so far as we are concerned, is the one and only Government which is competent to appoint representatives on behalf of China to the United Nations. Consequently, we are unable to accept as valid appointments made by any other authority.

87. In the circumstances, my delegation's course is clear. We shall vote in favour of any move to secure for the People's Republic of China its legitimate rights, and against any move which seeks to perpetuate the present anomalous situation or to postpone a decision on this important question.

88. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Czechoslovakia to speak on this question.

89. Mr. DAVID (Czechoslovakia) (*translated from Russian*): The General Assembly is once again faced with the serious and urgent task of settling, in conformity with the principles of international law and of the Charter, the question of the lawful representation of China in the United Nations.

90. Since 1949, the General Assmblly has been disregarding historical events and changes which took place in China and, contrary to the interests of the United Nations, has been postponing the settlement of so important a question as the recognition of the lawful representation of one of the five Powers which under the Charter bear the primary responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security throughout the world.

91. The ninth session of the General Assembly is opening at a time when considerable achievements have been made in the cause of peace. After the cease-fire in Korea, an end was put to the colonial war in Indo-China which had been going on for eight years. Everybody knows that the successful restoration of peace in Asia was due above all to the patient efforts of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China. Since the end of the fighting in Korea and Indo-China, the People's Republic of China has been intensifying its fine initiative and its efforts to strengthen the peace in Asia. This peace-loving policy is expressed in the principles underlying the relations and co-operation between the People's Republic of China and other Asian peoples.

92. These principles are: first, mutual respect of territorial integrity; second, non-aggression; third, mutual non-intervention; fourth, equal rights and mutual benefits; and fifth, peaceful coexistence.

93. These principles of peaceful co-operation between nations, as expressed in the reciprocal relations agreed upon between the People's Republic of China, India and Burma, evoked a wide response, not only in Asia, but throughout the world. In pursuing its policy of peace, the People's Republic of China has, of course, played an outstanding part in restoring and strengthening peace in Asia, as is evidenced by the progress and results of the Geneva Conference and other important international negotiations.

94. Recent events have clearly shown that no successful solution of important international questions can be undertaken without the participation of the lawful representatives of China. This also applies to the fullest extent to the work of the United Nations. So long as the People's Republic of China is not granted its lawful rights in the United Nations, the United Nations cannot satisfactorily deal with the pressing problems which the world expects it to settle. It was because of the absence of China from the United Nations that the international negotiations, which played a decisive part in bringing about the cease-fire and in relaxing international tension, were held outside the United Nations.

95. The proposal submitted by the United States delegation and supported by a few other delegations is designed to maintain the existing abnormal situation in the United Nations as regards the representation of China. The proposal is proof that a number of States

Members of the United Nations are disregarding historical facts in Asia, that they cannot resign themselves to the existing situation in China and do not respect the decisions freely taken by the Chinese people.

96. The purpose of the United States draft resolution is to continue the present reprehensible state of affairs, in which 600 million Chinese have no lawful representative in the United Nations. This situation is not only an insult to that great and heroic people, but, what is more, it seriously hampers the successful work of the United Nations. The abnormality of the situation is particularly flagrant at the present time when, on the one hand, the policy of the People's Republic of China is bringing peace to millions of people in Asia and makes possible an unprecedented development of friendly and peaceful co-operation between the Asian nations, while, on the other hand, a handful of adventurers, whom the Chinese people have exiled forever and whose representatives here pose as the representatives of China, are showing themselves more clearly than ever to be a gang of corrupt trouble-makers and breakers of the peace.

97. For the past several years the General Assembly has had to deal with the criminal activities of the Kuomintang gangs in Burma, their piratical attacks upon peaceful shipping in the China Sea and their terrorist activities against the Chinese mainland.

98. Recent events have further shown that the Kuomintang is intensifying its aggressive activities, and that its patrons have permitted it to destroy the peaceful and creative work of the Chinese people and to frustrate the efforts of the People's Republic of China with a view to lessening international tension and to strengthening peace in the Far East.

99. The attempts to keep the lawful representatives of China out of the United Nations and the manoeuvres to retain the representatives of the Kuomintang clique in the Organization do not help the cause of peace but instead undermine the authority of the United Nations.

100. The urgent need to bring the lawful representatives of China into the United Nations is widely felt among the nations. Particularly in recent times, when the People's Republic of China has been eminently successful in restoring and strengthening peace, an ever-increasing number of representatives of the Governments of Asian countries, and of countries in other parts of the world as well, have urged that an end should be put to the present abnormal situation and that the United Nations should grant the People's Republic of China the rights which are its due. The great Chinese people is unquestionably entitled to be represented in the United Nations. Everybody who truly wishes the United Nations success in its work and in lessening international tension must recognize this right.

101. The United States draft resolution has the opposite aims, and for that reason the Czechoslovak delegation firmly opposes it. As in previous years, the Czechoslovak delegation is convinced that it is the urgent duty of the General Assembly to terminate the existing unjust and harmful situation, and it therefore fully supports the USSR draft resolution which provides that the representatives of the People's Republic of China, appointed by the Central People's Government, should take the rightful seat of China in the General Assembly and in other organs of the United Nations.

102. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: I call upon the representative of the Soviet Union to speak on the question.

103. Mr. VYSHINSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): I should like to say a few words about the proposal submitted by the United States delegation.

104. Mr. Lodge refuses to discuss the question of the need to end forthwith the delay in settling the matter of the participation of the People's Republic of China in the organs of the United Nations, and proposes in turn a draft resolution which provides that any proposals to exclude the representatives of the Government of the Republic of China—that is to say, the Kuomintang group—or to seat representatives of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China should not be considered at this session during the current year, as he added.

105. It would be of interest to know the reason for such a proposal. No reason is given. In fact, a decision is being thrust upon us. It is simply being proposed that we should decide to adopt a decision not to examine the question. True, the proposal is very ambiguous, for it says "not to consider" the question "at the ninth regular session during the current year". The presumption seems to be that the question may be discussed during the current year, though not at the ninth session, but at some other session, say the second part of the ninth session, or the tenth session, which may perhaps still be held during 1954. At any rate, the proposal is rather vague, and I would say that the United States representative in submitting it is being rather wary of the General Assembly's reaction.

106. If the General Assembly really examined the question in the way we propose, so that it could adopt a decision on inviting the representatives of the Chinese People's Republic to take the seat which is lawfully China's and which is now illegally occupied by a person who as everybody knows does not represent the Chinese people, it would inevitably and naturally reach a favourable decision.

107. Why should those who object to inviting the representatives of the Chinese People's Republic refuse to examine our proposal? They can vote against it. But they do not want to vote against the proposal, they are afraid to follow such a course. They apparently prefer somehow or other to side-step the question in order not to show themselves to the world in too unfavourable a light. Perhaps if they decided to discuss the question, they would find it quite difficult to think up appropriate arguments for refusing to extend the invitation.

108. I must take this opportunity to note a small but rather significant fact. If, as we propose, it were decided to discuss and decide on the need to invite the representatives of the Chinese People's Republic to take their seat in the United Nations forthwith, the opponents of the proposal would have to answer a number of fairly difficult questions. I should like, in that connexion, to recall the position taken on this question by one of our colleagues who is attending this session of the General Assembly, namely Mr. Jean Guérin de Beaumont. If I am not mistaken he is also the deputy from the Department of Manche who on 12 May of this year published an article in *Le Monde*, entitled "The Diplomacy of Keeping Up Appearances", which is of some

interest. In one passage in this article he makes the following interesting remark about those who oppose the recognition of the Chinese People's Republic, in particular the United States:

"In the good old days of old-time diplomacy the recognition of a new régime constituted the formal legal acceptance of the *de facto* status of a given State. If there was some delay in extending *de jure* recognition to the Government which had come into power through a revolution, that was only in order to ascertain whether the new régime was likely to last."

109. The recognition of a Government and the establishment of diplomatic relations with it meant the recognition of its existence, not the granting of a certificate of good conduct and good morals. It was entirely a legal matter.

110. What then is the situation with regard to United States diplomacy in such matters today? This is what Mr. Guérin de Beaumont writes:

"The United States refuses at present to recognize China. What does this signify? Does Washington doubt the existence of a fact which occurred in China? Does the United States Government believe that it can continue for any length of time to maintain that China is not China, but Formosa? Washington does not recognize the China of Mao Tse-tung because it is both communist and a potential or real enemy.

"This is the diplomatic position of an enemy in today's diplomacy. It considers recognition as an expression of friendship and solidarity, whereas in fact the recognition of a new régime is a legal act, certifying the existence of a new régime. Does Washington doubt the existence of China?"

Or, I may add, if it does not doubt China's existence, does it believe that Formosa is really China, and that China does not exist without and in spite of Formosa? That could be a grave mistake.

111. These questions must be answered, because the French deputy from the Department of Manche is right in raising them. But in order to answer these questions, it is necessary to discuss them. Mr. Lodge should explain the reasons why he refuses to recognize China and, even granting that refusal, why he refuses to invite the Chinese People's Republic to take its rightful place here, so that its place will no longer be occupied by puppets and imposters with whom the General Assembly must not and cannot have any dealings.

112. Sir Pierson Dixon has said that the question would be an intolerable strain upon the United Nations if the General Assembly were to deal with it now. It would seem that the United Nations is as fragile as glass, so frail that it cannot handle weighty questions which are indeed a great strain upon our conscience. In order to relieve our conscience of such a strain, we must settle this question in a manner consonant with the interests of international peace and security, and in the interest of all peace-loving peoples and mankind as a whole.

113. That is why it should be clear to everyone that the arguments adduced here in favour of postponing the question, and of taking a negative decision on it besides, do not hold water and are utterly unfounded. That is why we insist that this question should be examined, and that the decision which our delegation proposes to this session of the General Assembly should be adopted and the question should be settled without delay. This

is essential in the interests of international peace, co-operation and security.

114. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: I call upon the representative of Yugoslavia to speak on the question.

115. Mr. BRILEJ (Yugoslavia): With regard to the tasks and the role of the United Nations my Government has always maintained that it is in the interests of our Organization that the Member States should be represented by those Governments which have actual control of their territories and which are capable of fulfilling their international obligations. In this case it is a question of eliminating an abnormal situation in international life. We believe that the recognition of the Central Government of the People's Republic of China would contribute towards the completeness and efficiency of the United Nations by virtue of the very fact that that Government would assume responsibilities towards the United Nations and the Member States of our Organization.

116. Consequently, without making an appraisal of the policies of the Central Government of the People's Republic of China, and regardless of the fact that serious objections could be made to the policy of that Government towards my country, the Yugoslav delegation deems it necessary to support the recognition of the right of the Central Government of the People's Republic of China to represent China in the United Nations, and will vote accordingly.

117. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: The list of representatives wishing to speak is now finally exhausted. We shall, therefore, proceed to the consideration of the draft resolutions presented by the Soviet Union and the United States.

118. I would have preferred that this matter had been postponed until our new President had been elected. In fact, I might venture the suggestion that in future the Assembly might consider the advisability of dealing with the item under which this issue has been raised not before, but immediately after the election of the President for the session. May I say that I would have entertained with alacrity any proposal to postpone the consideration of this question until after that election had taken place. However, in the absence of such a proposal, I am bound as Temporary President to make such suggestions as are likely to expedite the proceedings of the Assembly.

119. Two draft resolutions have been submitted on the question of Chinese representation, and a request has been made that priority in the voting should be given to that submitted by the United States. Rule 93 of the rules of procedure provides in part that:

"If two or more proposals relate to the same question, the General Assembly shall, unless it decides otherwise, vote on the proposals in the order in which they have been submitted."

I shall ask the Assembly to decide the question of the order in which it wishes to vote on these draft resolutions.

120. We have before us a proposal by the representative of the United States that we vote first on his draft resolution.

The proposal was adopted by 45 votes to 7, with 5 abstentions.

121. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: I shall now put to the vote the draft resolution submitted by the

United States [A/L.177]. I call upon the representative of India on a point of order.

122. Mr. MENON (India): At the outset, Madam President, I would like to avail myself of the opportunity of my presence on this rostrum to give further expression to the sentiments that have already been expressed in this Assembly to convey the appreciation, and indeed the gratitude, not only of all of us here but of the peoples of the world for the inspiring note of hope and also for the call to our sense of responsibility which you sounded in the introductory observations which you made this afternoon. I would also like to express our gratification and our sense of gladness at the splendid record of your service to the United Nations, and particularly to the last session of the General Assembly. Our delegation not only has a sense of gratification and gratitude but also a sense of pride that it is you, a woman of India and also the chairman of our delegation, who served as President of the Assembly last year.

123. I come to this rostrum on a point of order, in virtue of the right that I am entitled to exercise under rule 73 of the rules of procedure. By the vote that it has just recorded, the Assembly now has a draft resolution before it. It is my submission that until then there was no business at all before the Assembly. Your generosity and the very kindness of your nature has permitted a considerable amount of discussion on an issue which the Assembly cannot have before it.

124. I refer you, Madame President, to rules 12, 13 and 14 of the rules of procedure; and since not everyone will have a copy available I shall take the liberty of reading these rules in part. Rule 12 states:

"The provisional agenda for a regular session shall be drawn up by the Secretary-General and communicated to the Members of the United Nations at least sixty days before the opening of the session."

No proposal of this kind has been submitted by the movers of the present draft resolution, and it is not on the agenda.

125. Rule 13 states what the provisional agenda of a regular session shall include, listing sub-items (a) to (h). Rule 14 deals with supplementary items, and rule 15 with additional items.

126. Thus, on the agenda that has been supplied to us, there is nothing that warrants the consideration of any item beyond the appointment of a Credentials Committee.

127. I want further to refer you, Madam President, to rule 67, which says:

"The General Assembly shall not, unless it decides otherwise, make a final decision upon any item on the agenda until it has received the report of a committee on that item."

That is to say that even if this item were on the agenda we could not, in this haphazard way, take a snap vote or decision on an issue which, in a real sense, is substantive. If this matter is merely procedural, then we are violating the rules of procedure. If it is substantive, we are disregarding them, since the Assembly is called upon to decide an issue of the first importance without adequate notice and without an opportunity to discuss the substance of the draft resolution.

128. I would call your attention to the status of my own presence here in virtue of rule 73. There is no other rule under which I could come to this rostrum unless

I wanted to disregard the injunction which the argument I have advanced lays upon myself—that is, the fact that there is no subject for discussion before this Assembly except the appointment of a Credentials Committee. Therefore, I am precluded from discussing the substance of this proposal, although there is no doubt—either in the minds of the Assembly or in the mind of anybody in the world—what the position of my Government is on this matter. If it is a question of voting at any time, we shall, without hesitation, vote for the sole right to be present here of the representatives of the only Government of China that is in existence in our conception of the Charter and its rules—and, what is more, we would say that it has been unduly delayed and that the circumstances of the world, the requisites of peace and the conduct of the affairs of the United Nations demand that the real Government of China alone be represented here. But that, however, is not in our view the issue which can be argued at the present moment.

129. I refer again to chapter IV of the rules of procedure, which deals with the particular item which appears on the agenda.

130. What we are asked to do is to pass a self-denying ordinance. This draft resolution deprives my delegation of the legitimate right of discussing the substance of this proposition on its merits and of having it considered by the proper Committees. What is more, it precludes us even from arguing whether this is a matter which can legitimately be the subject of a resolution and whether the party concerned has not an inalienable and inherent right to be present here.

131. Therefore, I submit that the proposals before us are entirely out of order. I make the respectful submission to you, Madam President, that this draft resolution cannot be voted upon by the General Assembly at all because it has no status here. We should go on to the next business. Our hands should not be tied. There is this draft resolution which has been introduced in connexion with no particular item of the agenda, and there is no context in the agenda where it could be introduced. The result of it will be to prevent us from discussing at any time before the end of the current year the question of the representation in this Assembly of the People's Republic of China, which is the only legitimate Government of that country.

132. What is more, the Credentials Committee is supposed to deal with the items before it with a judicial and impartial mind, after an examination of the facts. Now the Assembly, by passing this resolution, is pronouncing itself upon the conclusion to which the Credentials Committee should come. I say it is an illegal process, a very bad precedent and a violation of the principles of judicial examination upon which the Credentials Committee is based.

133. This Assembly has no right to make a statement beforehand to the Credentials Committee, to anticipate its work or to take anything out of the scope or the list of subjects which that Committee has to consider. The Committee has to examine the credentials of every delegation. When that report is submitted, if it favours the representation of China as at present existing, for our part we shall challenge it and ask that that section not be approved. But for the Assembly to pass a resolution and say that this shall be the result, or that this particular matter shall be excluded from consideration, would

be to seek to impose a restriction on the legitimate limits of our debate on the report of the Credentials Committee. The incoming President would be entitled to rule out of order any discussion on our part of the Credentials Committee's report with relation to China, a ruling which we would probably challenge at the time if it were made.

134. Therefore, having regard to the rules of procedure and to the fact that the substance of this matter which we are discussing is one of the utmost importance to the future of this Organization, to the peace of the world and of immediate and urgent concern, we think it is showing inadequate regard both to the weight and the importance of the subject to this Assembly, to have this matter decided in this way by means of the draft resolution that has been submitted. The result of it would be a snap decision on a matter of weight and importance.

135. I therefore submit to you, Madam President, that the draft resolution before you should be ruled out of order.

136. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: The representative of India has presented the view that it would be illegal for the Assembly to take action on this question by putting the United States draft resolution to the vote. The rules of procedure represent a normal guide for the conduct of the business of the General Assembly. It is of course true that the General Assembly is master of its own rules and, on several occasions—for example, during the fifth and eighth sessions—it has dealt with the question in plenary meeting without reference to the Credentials Committee.

137. We are therefore confronted with a conflict in the normal procedure as set forth in the rules and the practice of the Assembly as indicated by several precedents. I am sure that all Members of the Assembly are fully aware of all the arguments on all aspects of the question before us and that they have taken full note of the views which have just been expressed by the representative of India.

138. I have been asked by the representative of India to rule the United States draft resolution out of order. We have already voted to give the United States draft resolution priority in the voting; the result of that vote was 45 affirmative votes, 7 negative votes and 5 abstentions. It would hardly be possible for me to rule this draft resolution out of order in the light of the overwhelming recognition of the legality of the resolution implied in the previous vote on this draft resolution. I therefore rule that we must proceed to the vote on the United States draft resolution.

139. Mr. MENON (India): I have come to the rostrum again under rule 73. In the observations the Temporary President made after my submission, it was mentioned that the position that I have submitted was correct under the rules of procedure but that there have been precedents. Very respectfully, I wish to submit to you, Madam President, that a precedent does not overrule the rules of procedure, especially when the age of the precedent is only one year. If that were so, it would mean that a breach of law on one occasion, whatever the reason for it, would be the sanction for the abrogation of law and the negation of obedience to it. Therefore, I would submit that the point that there has been a precedent or what is now called—in my submission, miscalled—a precedent, that is, one occasion, has no validity in this matter.

140. I should like to call the attention of the Assembly to rule 164, which provides for the amendment of the rules of procedure; it is only by this method that the rules of procedure can be changed.

141. I should now like to make a submission on the second point upon which the Temporary President is advised to reject the submission that I have made, namely, that the previous vote of the Assembly a few moments ago is an affirmation that the present motion is tenable. With great respect, I submit that it is not. When that vote was taken, the Assembly was not seized of the position I have stated, that is, no submission had been made to the Assembly challenging or questioning the legality or the validity of the proposals before it. The resolution that was passed by a large majority was to decide which of two draft resolutions should be considered first. The Assembly said that it would consider the draft resolution submitted by the representative of the United States as having priority. That was not a vote on the legality of the resolution itself; it was not an answer to the question whether the motion was valid or not.

142. The submission that I have made is a new one and is not related to priority. With the greatest respect, I submit that this is a matter which, in the interests of the Assembly or in the interests of the question itself or the rights of Members, should not be disposed of in this way. Nor can our desire and the necessity to discuss the substance of this question be disposed of in this way. I once again submit that the draft resolution may be ruled out of order.

143. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: May I ask the representative of India whether his intervention is a challenge to my ruling?

144. Mr. MENON (India): I have no difficulty in answering that question. I have no intention of challenging the ruling of the Temporary President. I regard it as my legitimate right and duty to make a submission to the Temporary President, drawing her attention to the position. I request a ruling on that basis. If, finally, after consideration, the Temporary President rules the other way, I shall accept the ruling. I reserve my right to speak on the substance of the draft resolution.

145. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: Since my ruling has already been made, in accordance with the previous decision of the Assembly, we will now proceed to vote on the draft resolution submitted by the United States [A/L.177].

A vote was taken by roll-call.

Peru, having been drawn by lot by the Temporary President, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Peru, Philippines, Thailand, Turkey, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Lebanon, Liberia, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay.

Against: Poland, Sweden, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Yugoslavia, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, India, Norway.

Abstaining: Saudi Arabia, Syria, Yemen, Afghanistan, Egypt, Indonesia.

The draft resolution was adopted by 43 votes to 11, with 6 abstentions.

146. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: There remains before the Assembly the draft resolution [A/L.176] submitted by the Soviet Union on this question. I now call on the representative of the United States of America to speak on this question.

147. Mr. LODGE (United States of America): Basing myself again on rule 93 of the rules of procedure, which also gives the Assembly the power to decide whether or not to vote on a particular proposal, I move that the Assembly decide not to vote on the Soviet Union proposal. This is in the interest of simple consistency in the light of what has just happened. I therefore ask the Temporary President to put the following proposal to the Assembly:

"The General Assembly,

Having adopted the draft resolution submitted by the United States,

"Decides not to vote on the Soviet Union draft resolution."

I believe that such a motion is necessary under United Nations procedure.

148. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to speak on this question.

149. Mr. VYSHINSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): We have just taken a vote on the draft resolution which it was decided to put to the vote first. The purport of the resolution is not to consider, at the present session of the General Assembly during the current year any proposals to grant the representatives of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China their rightful seat in the General Assembly. This resolution has now been adopted.

150. Needless to say, this resolution is utterly wrong and will undermine the international prestige of the United Nations, since only a blind person will deny what is obvious to every right-thinking person in spite of the result of the vote. Yet, as a matter of simple logic, no other proposal on the subject can be discussed at the present session once such a decision has been taken.

151. It must however be equally clear that we cannot discuss, still less adopt, any proposal to the effect that, in view of the decision taken, no other decision should be discussed or put to the vote. This is mere tautology which might satisfy the not over-fastidious self-esteem of the authors of the resolution just adopted. The United States proposal to this effect, however, is beneath criticism.

152. In deciding not to consider and vote on proposals to invite representatives of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations, we naturally decided not to adopt or to put to the vote any other proposal on the subject.

153. Hence the proposal to reaffirm by a special decision of the General Assembly a fact which is the direct consequence of a previous decision is untenable. That is why we object to any supplementary proposals and decisions by the General Assembly on this ques-

tion, considering that the matter has, unfortunately, been exhausted at this stage.

154. We naturally reserve the right to continue in future to fight for justice and for the correct application and observance of the principles of international law. We believe that the proposals submitted here by the United States delegation are devoid of any moral, political or legal justification.

155. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of the United States to speak on this question.

156. Mr. LODGE (United States of America): In view of my understanding that the representative of the Soviet Union has said he was withdrawing his proposal, I withdraw the proposal that I have just made.

157. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to speak on this question.

158. Mr. VYSHINSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): I wish to explain that I am not withdrawing my delegation's proposal. We made our proposal, and it is on record. It will remain before the General Assembly throughout the ninth session and will live to see the day when the majority of the General Assembly will take the side of justice, and support it. I merely wished to show the senselessness of Mr. Lodge's proposal.

AGENDA ITEM 3

Appointment of a Credentials Committee (concluded)

159. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: We now return to the question of the Credentials Committee as provided for in rule 28 of the rules of procedure. Rule 28 reads as follows:

"A Credentials Committee shall be appointed at the beginning of each session. It shall consist of nine members, who shall be appointed by the General Assembly on the proposal of the President. The Committee shall elect its own officers. It shall examine the credentials of representatives and report without delay."

160. In accordance with the provisions of this rule, I should like to suggest to the Assembly the following Members to serve on the Credentials Committee for this session: Burma, El Salvador, France, Lebanon, New Zealand, Pakistan, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United States of America and Uruguay.

161. If there is no objection, I shall consider that the proposal has been approved by the General Assembly.

It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEM 4

Election of the President

162. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: The next item on the agenda is the election of the President of the ninth session of the General Assembly. The election will be held in accordance with rules 31 and 94 of the rules of procedure. Rule 94 provides that all elections shall be held by secret ballot and that there shall be no nominations. The Assembly will therefore proceed immediately to the vote.

At the invitation of the Temporary President, Mr. Morales (Nicaragua) and Mr. Engen (Norway) acted as tellers.

A vote was taken by secret ballot.

Number of ballot papers:	60
Invalid ballots:	0
Number of valid ballots:	60
Abstentions:	12
Number of valid votes cast:	48
Required majority:	25

Number of votes obtained:

Mr. van Kleffens (Netherlands).....	45
Prince Wan Waithayakon (Thailand).....	3

Having obtained the required majority, Mr. van Kleffens (Netherlands) was elected President of the ninth session of the General Assembly, and took the Chair.

Address by Mr. van Kleffens, President of the ninth session of the General Assembly

163. The PRESIDENT: I deeply appreciate the confidence that you have placed in me. I hope that when I leave this place that confidence will still be intact. You will not expect me to occupy the Presidency with Mrs. Pandit's grace which, together with her many other distinguished qualities, entitles her to our enduring regard and admiration. But you can rely on my impartiality. I know I may count in turn upon your co-operation.

164. In order to stress that, in conformity with the rules of procedure, we have more than one working language, I propose to speak in English and in French on alternate days. I have an equal sympathy for our other working language, Spanish, whose sonorous vigour I admire, but my knowledge of that language is not equal to directing your debates in it.

165. At this time the world has the inestimable privilege of there being no organized armed clashes anywhere on any important scale. All nations are thankful that this is so, and that there is no increase in the shocking numbers of the dead, the wounded and the homeless of that new and ugly phenomenon, undeclared but very real war. And yet, in spite of these blessings, many have a sense of living under a lowering sky. A dark and sombre threat is hanging over us. Man has been successful in wresting from nature some of its most closely guarded secrets to the point where the utter destruction of our own kind is now a possibility.

166. A situation so serious has never existed before in the long progress of the human race through the ages. It is a situation all the more disquieting since—let us humbly admit it—not only our forebears but, in particular, our own generation have so far miserably failed to behave in such a manner as to make this earth which has been entrusted to us a safe and happy place in which to live.

167. I feel sure that I am voicing the feelings of all the nations, and in particular your own feelings, in expressing the conviction that the situation I have just described requires from us the greatest goodwill, the utmost prudence, and a maximum of restraint in action and in speech; for we are seated no longer on a mere keg of powder, but on a thermo-nuclear bomb. Let

there be no mistake: our responsibilities have increased accordingly, and if that applies to each and every one of us, the Powers which possess those engines of annihilation will surely agree that it applies to them and to their agents with particular force.

168. What the world at large expects from us here is a contribution to general peace on a basis of live and let live. Mere co-existence will not satisfy people; corpses can also co-exist. The nations need much more than that, and there lies our ambitious and difficult programme.

169. I know, of course, that as we are sitting here we are not acting freely. We are acting on instructions. Even the Foreign Ministers and Secretaries of State amongst us are not entirely at liberty to do as they would like to do, dependent as they are on the collective attitude of the Government of which they are members. Therefore, what we shall or shall not accomplish here depends first and foremost upon our Governments. But that does not mean that our own share is small; on the contrary, it is very large. By goodwill, tolerance and understanding for each other, by advising our Governments in conformity with the Purposes and Principles of the Charter and with what we know are the natural, respectable, and imperative wishes of decent people everywhere, we can contribute a great deal.

170. I express the hope that the ninth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations may distinguish itself in this and every other laudable respect.

171. And now, if you agree, to work.

Establishment of an Ad Hoc Political Committee

172. The PRESIDENT: Before adjourning the meeting, the Assembly may wish to deal with the question of the establishment of an *Ad Hoc* Political Committee for the duration of the present session. As Members are aware, the Secretary-General has referred to this matter in his memorandum to the General Committee, which has been circulated as document A/BUR/138, paragraph 5. It is thought desirable that the Assembly should take a decision at this time inasmuch as its action will have a bearing on the composition of the General Committee which, as representatives know, should be constituted as soon as possible in order to report to the General Assembly on the adoption of the agenda.

173. Unless I hear an objection, I shall consider that, as at previous sessions, the General Assembly agrees to the establishment of the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee.

It was so decided.

Programme of work

174. The PRESIDENT: The six Main Committees and the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee will meet successively in this hall tomorrow morning, beginning at 10.30, for the purpose of electing their respective chairmen.

175. The Assembly will meet in plenary session immediately following the conclusion of these elections so that it may proceed to the election of the seven Vice-Presidents. The membership of the General Committee will then be complete.

The meeting rose at 5.30 p.m.