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**President:** Mr. José MAZA (Chile).

**Temporary President:** Mr. J. M. A. H. LUNS (Netherlands).

**AGENDA ITEM 1**

**Opening of the session by the Chairman of the delegation of the Netherlands**

1. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: I declare open the tenth 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 representatives to stand and to observe one minute of silence dedicated to prayer or meditation.

*The representatives stood in silence.*

**Address by Mr. Luns, Temporary President, Chairman of the delegation of the Netherlands**

3. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: As we stand at the beginning of this tenth session of the General Assembly, it would seem proper to let our thoughts dwell for a moment on what has happened during the months that have elapsed since we last met in this hall. Past events may teach us lessons which it is important to remember, before we set out anew in pursuit of the purposes which inspired the drafters and signatories of the Charter, and which continue to spur us on to further efforts.

4. It is perhaps the first time in the history of our Organization that we meet without being crushed by

the great problems to be solved, and by the seemingly insuperable barriers that must be surmounted before peace and security become not merely significant words but a living reality. For the year 1955 so far has brought the world new hope, where before there was frustration, apathy, and even despair.

5. It is true that in the past we have had occasion to rejoice when particularly dangerous situations were temporarily eased. I may remind you of the words that were spoken here when we gratefully noted that fighting had stopped in Korea and in Indo-China, and that an improvement of the international atmosphere appeared noticeable. Indeed, we have learned to be thankful for small mercies, for was not our joy overshadowed by the sad knowledge that no real solutions had as yet been found, and even that no real peace would reign, until all members of our international community had discovered the secret of that apparently so simple yet so elusive formula for living together in harmony while respecting each other's convictions?

6. In the course of this year some careful steps have been taken on the long and difficult road which, as we all fervently hope, may ultimately lead us to our goal.

7. First of all, we have witnessed the encouraging example of four great Powers endeavouring to find the answers to some of the questions which, during the past ten years, have kept the world divided and often in a state of tension. We should, however, realize that this has been only a first attempt and that it is yet too early for sentiments of optimism or lightheartedness. But there is hope.

8. In this connexion, I may also mention the efforts to find a more constructive use for the huge sums at present required for military establishments. We pray that these efforts will succeed. If we attain real peace, they will succeed.

9. A third event which I feel should be recalled here, and which should hearten us in the task ahead of us, is the International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy. To my mind this conference, held under the auspices of the United Nations, has perhaps done more to kindle a new light of hope in the hearts of mankind than any other single development. For in Geneva the world has seen that it is possible for men from all parts of the globe to sit down together and to

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

discuss ways and means for bringing to humanity the blessings of the new power. They met with but a single thought: to apply nuclear energy not as a new instrument of destruction but as a source of well-being for all.

10. Finally, I wish to refer to our meeting at San Francisco, when we celebrated our Organization's tenth anniversary. There are many pleasant memories we all retain of our stay in that beautiful city, memories of a wonderful hospitality, of encouraging conversations, and of statesmanlike speeches of the highest order. I feel, however, that these memories are surpassed by our recollection of the atmosphere which permeated our many official and informal activities, an atmosphere which I think may best be described by saying that we realized better than ever before that we belonged together. I, for one, did not see our meeting as a mere gathering of a large number of people, representing different countries, different ideologies, different interests. I very distinctly felt—and I think it was a feeling shared by nearly all of us—that we were a group of men and women representing the world, bound by a common purpose: the search for peace, security and progress for all mankind.

11. I have tried to explain to you why I feel that, as we convene for our tenth session, we should be animated by hope. In the past we have always tried to keep our faith, even when present and future looked black. Our great problems are not yet solved nor will solutions shortly and easily be found. Great are the differences that still have to be settled; deep-rooted is the suspicion with which many of us still view our neighbours; tremendous is the task that has to be fulfilled. But there is a better atmosphere than we have had for a long time, and under improved circumstances the United Nations will become more efficient and more important. In a world where a sincere desire for mutual understanding is beginning to manifest itself, an organization like ours, based on the quest for peace and goodwill, may perform its essential task.

12. Here, then, is our chance. Here, in this hall, we shall be able to practise what we preach. Let us not fail the millions who look upon the United Nations as mankind's supreme hope, and let us carry out our duties fully conscious of our heavy responsibilities.

13. The preamble to our Charter contains a solemn pledge to practise tolerance and live in peace with one another as good neighbours. As we start on our annual voyage through the turbulent waters of international affairs, let us renew this pledge. May God bless our efforts.

### AGENDA ITEM 3

#### Appointment of a Credentials Committee

14. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: The first order of business in the organization of the session is the appointment of a Credentials Committee as provided for in rule 28 of the rules of procedure.

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

#### Question of the representation of China in the United Nations

16. Mr. MOLOTOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): The Soviet delegation feels compelled to draw the attention of the Assembly to a matter which has been brought before it for discussion at more than one of its previous sessions,

but which has so far received no positive settlement. I refer to the restoration of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. There can be no justification whatsoever for postponing a decision on this question, particularly in the international conditions of today.

17. This session of the General Assembly is opening in a more favourable international atmosphere. That may be deduced, first, from the results of the Geneva Conference of the heads of Government of the four Powers. A trend is clearly taking place towards the improvement of relations between States, towards an increase of confidence and a lessening of international tension.

18. Now, after the Geneva Conference, more favourable conditions exist for the solution of urgent outstanding international problems. One of the most important of these problems is the question of the restoration of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. Owing to circumstances well known to all, and to artificially created obstacles, this problem has remained unresolved for a number of years. That is an obvious injustice to the People's Republic of China; an injustice which must be removed in the interest of the further progress of international co-operation, in the interests of the United Nations itself.

19. Such a situation cannot fail to reflect on the authority of the United Nations by undermining that authority and by preventing the Organization from carrying out the tasks laid upon it by the Charter, the tasks of maintaining international peace and security, of developing friendly relations among nations, of achieving international co-operation in various fields, and of acting as a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations.

20. In the present international situation, the restoration of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations would be an important new contribution to the further relaxation of international tension. Moreover, the United Nations cannot successfully carry out many of its tasks if one of the great Powers, the People's Republic of China, is artificially prevented from participating in the Organization's work, while its place in the United Nations is wrongfully taken by persons who, as everyone knows, represent no one.

21. The People's Republic of China is the largest State of Asia, a State in fact already recognized by other States as a great Power. In a history of many centuries, the Chinese people has never been as firmly united as it is today. The 600 million people of China unanimously support their people's democratic Government and are enthusiastically building up their political and social life on new foundations, in accordance with the real interests of the people, of the workers. An unprecedented upsurge of national energy is taking place in China, with economic progress and great democratic and socialist reforms. None can halt this evolution, which represents a turning-point in history and which, together with other important events in Asia, bears witness to the fact that the Asian peoples have entered upon a new and glorious phase in their history, an epoch of far-reaching reforms.

22. The Bandung Conference which took place in the spring of this year showed that the People's Republic of China, along with India, Indonesia and other Asian and African States, is an important factor of advance

and progress in the international sphere. The Bandung Conference was attended by 29 Asian and African countries who, in spite of varying political and social structures, nevertheless found a common language and opened a fresh chapter in the history of international relations. To attempt to minimize such facts or to underestimate the part played in present international conditions by the People's Republic of China is to turn the clock back and to take up a hopeless position already condemned by history.

23. I need hardly mention here the many other international events in which the People's Republic of China has played and is still playing an eminently constructive part. Many States Members of the United Nations have already established normal political and economic relations with the People's Republic of China; others propose to follow the same course.

24. The participation of the People's Republic of China as an equal Member of the United Nations in the General Assembly, the Security Council and other United Nations bodies is indispensable both to strengthen international peace and security and to safeguard the international authority of the United Nations itself. To continue to ignore the inalienable rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations is to continue to violate the Charter, the principles of justice and the principles of international law.

25. The Soviet delegation feels that there are no grounds to postpone further a settlement of the question of the restoration of the indisputable rights of the People's Republic of China. It therefore submits the following motion on this question for adoption by the Assembly [A/L.194]:

*"The General Assembly*

*"Decides that the representatives of China in the General Assembly and in the other organs of the United Nations are the representatives appointed by the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China."*

26. The Soviet delegation hopes that this motion will meet with the support of other delegations, and that its adoption will assist the United Nations in the principal task laid upon it; the task of maintaining and strengthening peace and fostering co-operation among States.

27. Mr. LODGE (United States of America): Permit me first to congratulate the Temporary President on the message of hope with which he greeted us today.

28. 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 shall make the following motion [A/L.195]:

*"The General Assembly*

*"Decides not to consider, at its tenth 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."*

29. Logically, this motion takes precedence over, that proposed by the Soviet Union, 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."*

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 shall ask for a vote on the motion itself. I therefore first ask the President to put the following motion to the Assembly.

*"The General Assembly*

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

Then, after that motion has been voted on, I shall move that the General Assembly vote on the substantive motion I have made.

30. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: Before calling upon the next speaker, I feel bound to make a brief observation. A situation has arisen — it also arose at the opening meeting of the eighth and ninth sessions — which the Temporary President would have preferred had not come up until after the election of the President of the current session. Again the Assembly has before it two motions on the question of the representation of China. It would appear that, as in the past, a number of representatives will wish to speak on this question now that it has been raised.

31. As Temporary President I must attempt to serve to the best of my ability the interests of the Assembly. This can best be done, it seems to me, by permitting members to speak on the question and then, with a minimum of procedural discussion, by leading the Assembly promptly to a vote.

32. However, I would earnestly request the speakers to limit their interventions to a reasonable length so that we may proceed without undue delay to our next order of business. In this spirit, I call on the representative of China.

33. Mr. YEH (China): For six consecutive sessions of the General Assembly the Soviet delegation has raised the question of China's representation. The motive is evidently to complete the process of communist aggression against my country by displacing the rightful representative of China in the United Nations with puppets of Soviet creation. If any Member State here were to be unseated, it should be the Soviet Union itself, which has indeed amply qualified for expulsion from the United Nations under the provisions of Article 6 of the Charter.

34. My delegation has since 1949 placed before this Assembly facts and data showing conclusively that the Chinese communist régime is un-Chinese in origin and purpose. It is, in fact, a Soviet-sponsored régime dedicated to the unalterable objectives of international communism towards world domination. As a vehicle of communist aggression, the Chinese communist régime is unfit to represent China in an international organization which has for its primary purpose the maintenance of world peace and the promotion of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all.

35. Despite the Korean armistice, Chinese communist troops have remained in force in Korea and their military position in that country has been strengthened in persistent violation of the terms of the Armistice. In Indo-China, after some 77,000 square miles of fertile territory and over 12 million unwilling members of the population have been added to the communist orbit as a result of the Geneva Agreement, the Chinese Com-

munists continue to give substantial aid to Ho-Chi-Minh for the purpose of bringing the entire country under communist tyranny. In Malaya and other South Asian countries, Chinese Communists continue to direct and to organize subversive activities and guerilla warfare.

36. So much for the continuing aggression of the Communists. Let us now turn to the domestic picture in the Chinese mainland. In the first three years of communist occupation of the mainland, a staggering total of more than 20 million innocent men and women were slaughtered under the guise of land reform and suppression of counter-revolutionaries. The brief spell of comparative moderation that followed proved to be only a prelude to another orgy of bloodletting. The inhumanities perpetrated today on the mainland constitute a crime of genocide of unparalleled magnitude, to which the civilized world cannot remain indifferent.

37. The nature and extent of this reign of terror can be gauged from a report made by Miss Shih Liang, so-called Minister of Justice in Peiping to the communist National People's Congress on 29 July 1955. According to this report, from January 1954 to May 1955, the "people's courts" of all levels had dealt with a total of 364,604 cases of counter-revolutionary activities. This is a startling revelation. It means there were on the average some 22,000 cases per month, 700 cases per day, or just about one case every two minutes. Frequently large numbers of individuals were involved in a single case. Thus, in the 16 months ending May this year, hardly a minute passed without some individual being accused of the so-called crime of counter-revolution. We are told that amongst the so-called counter-revolutionaries were workers, peasants, merchants, industrialists, intellectuals, and even card-carrying Communists. Miss Shih Liang declared that despite mass trials and arrests, counter-revolutionary activities were mounting. She therefore called for "heightened vigilance and more severe punishment". Those who were not Communists but whose romantic propensity has led them to support the admission of Communist China into this international body may perhaps do themselves a little justice by delving into this and other reports made at the so-called People's Congress.

38. This report, corroborated by other Communist admissions, clearly indicates that the Communist régime does not have the acquiescence of the people over whom it seeks to rule. Mass terror and mass execution are but signs of fear and insecurity. Contrary to the impressions of some superficial and casual observers, beneath the policed appearance of stability, there lies a massive resurgence of discontent, resentment and hate.

39. I have shown that the puppet Communist régime in Peiping is not peace-loving; that its existence constitutes a menace to all freedom-loving peoples; that it has violated all the fundamental principles of human rights embodied in the Charter. And I have shown that this régime, sustained by violence and brutality, does not enjoy the support of the Chinese people. Such a régime is totally unfit for membership of the United Nations.

40. Recent moves by Peiping in releasing some United States civilians who were in the first place illegally and wrongfully held or detained or imprisoned, are mere deceptive gestures which cannot be regarded as justification for reward or sufficient atonement for the acts of aggression for which that régime stands condemned by this international body.

41. As to the right of my Government to represent China, may I remind this Assembly that my Government is the same Government that fought on the side of the democracies against the forces of aggression in the Second World War, that 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 other international bodies. It is to my Government that the 13 million Chinese overseas, who are free to declare their intentions, continue to affirm their allegiance. It is to Taiwan that over 80 per cent of the former Communist prisoners-of-war in Korea chose to be repatriated. Today my Government, based on Taiwan, stands as a beacon of hope to the millions of its people on the mainland, whose voice would otherwise be unheard in this Assembly.

42. The right of my Government to represent China is undeniable, unless all the nations here represented are prepared to repudiate the purposes and principles for which the United Nations stands.

43. Mr. NUTTING (United Kingdom): As this Assembly knows, Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom recognizes the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China as the Government of China. Nevertheless, it proposes to support the motion proposed by the United States in which the Assembly is asked to decide not to consider this question at the current session during the current year.

44. In the view of my Government, the question of Chinese representation in the United Nations is one of the issues which will have to be settled before normal peaceful relations can be re-established in the Far East. But for the same reason that inspired its action last year, my Government feels that it must again this year support a motion which postpones discussion of the issue.

45. I would quote from the speech of the United Kingdom representative at the opening of the ninth session of the General Assembly on 21 September 1954. I can find no better words to sum up the view of my Government. Sir Pierson Dixon, speaking for the United Kingdom, then said [473rd meeting, para. 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."

46. That is the view of my Government today. Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom recognizes that the force of this argument is still very great, and that the time has not yet come when it would be in the interest of the United Nations to discuss this question. That is why we shall support the United States motion.

47. Mr. URRUTIA (Colombia) (*translated from Spanish*): When we were informed yesterday of the motion to be proposed today, some Latin-American delegations felt that it was essential to clarify the reasons

there might be for supporting this postponement. Of course, I do not know the views of other countries, but, as far as my own is concerned, I feel compelled to explain why we intend to support the United States motion.

48. We consider that in this matter there are previous issues which must be settled. We entirely agree with the United Kingdom representative that the Chinese problem, like all the problems of the East, must be solved, in order to produce an atmosphere that is genuinely conducive to international peace. There are, however, certain questions, some legal and others moral, which we cannot overlook.

49. Firstly, from the legal point of view, we fail to understand how we can consider admitting the People's Republic of China to the United Nations so long as resolution 500 (V), in which we declare it to be an aggressor, remains valid. In our opinion, we cannot admit a country through one door and then have to expel it through another. As long as there exists, on the one hand, a resolution condemning a country as an aggressor, and on the other, the United Nations Charter which constrains us to expel countries which we have condemned as aggressors, it would be a legal absurdity to admit a country which we have already condemned. Thus, so long as the People's Republic of China fails to reach an agreement on the Korean problem which would enable us to revise the resolution that compelled us to declare it an aggressor, we consider that it would be a legal absurdity to admit it to the United Nations.

50. Secondly, from the point of view of propriety, or if you like, of ethics, we do not feel that we can deal with the problem of the admission of the People's Republic of China so long as that country shows no desire to join the United Nations. Those of us who attended the Geneva Conference on Korea last year — Mr. Molotov and Mr. Dulles were there — gained the very definite impression that China was much less interested in joining the United Nations than we had gathered from the statements made here by the Soviet Union in previous years. It fell to us to hear Mr. Chou En-lai, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, state that all the resolutions of the United Nations were illegal and that he did not recognize the authority of the United Nations to settle international problems such as that of Korea. Yet such problems, both for China and for the United Nations, are the only ones for the settlement of which it would be in our interest to admit China. Thus, I feel that we have here an impossible situation from the point of view of ethics or of propriety. We cannot invite a country to this Assembly while it scorns us or completely denies our authority.

51. Mr. Molotov, the Soviet Foreign Minister, has said that since the Geneva Conference of the heads of Government of the four Powers there has been a better atmosphere and a keener desire to settle international problems. I do not doubt it. I am certain of it. We feel, however, that there has been a mistake with regard to the order of priority of these problems. It is not for us to begin by admitting to this Assembly a country which has no desire to join it, which disregards it and which considers all its resolutions illegal. It is rather for the friends of that country to convince the People's Republic of China that it is clearly to its advantage to settle the Korean problem or to accept a settlement in Korea, and that it would be to its interest to join this Organization but that, in order to do so, it would have

to accept and submit to all the obligations of the Charter, one of which is to renounce any idea of aggression.

52. The day when the countries which are friends of the People's Republic of China convince it of the need to abandon aggression, to accept a cease-fire in Formosa and to accept and submit to all the principles of the Charter, the problem can be viewed differently. Otherwise, so long as China does not consider the United Nations competent to settle international problems, and so long as China considers all our activities illegal, nothing could be more inappropriate than to invite it to join an Organization which it despises and to whose authority it will not submit.

53. For this reason, we feel that the United States motion is the most expedient. The time has not yet come either for China to understand the obligations which it must assume, or for us to consider this problem. In these circumstances, the best we can do is to decide not to discuss the problem, at any rate not this year.

54. Mr. MENON (India): It is not without a sense of regret that one comes on this platform at this stage of the proceedings of the tenth session of the General Assembly to participate in what is a controversial debate. Nevertheless, it is under a compelling sense of duty not only to the people of the Government of India, not even to the peoples of Asia who were represented at the Bandung Conference and at similar gatherings, but to the international community as a whole, that we come here to give support to the idea which each year after 1950 we have expressed from this rostrum, that the legitimate Government of China must occupy the seat of China in this Assembly. There is no dispute with regard to the membership of China. China is a founding Member, a permanent member of the Security Council and a very important factor in the world community. The only issue before us is whether the representation of a country should be by the Government that is in that country, that has the allegiance of its people and that is able to discharge the obligations that arise from the fact of being a Government.

55. As the Assembly is well aware, many things have happened during the last 12 months, and we are all inspired with the hope that the atmosphere of reconciliation and of the nearer approach to a world community which appreciates differences between nations and is prepared to tolerate them, is emerging. I have no desire to say anything which will mar this progress.

56. Reference has been made to the problems of the Far East. It is not without interest that even those who have supported the motion submitted by the representative of the United States that this matter be not considered this year, have pointed out that for the resolving of the problems of the Far East it is necessary that the question in regard to China be resolved. I beg to submit to this Assembly that the sooner we reach this position the better. The problems of the Far East are stubborn, but they are not incapable of being resolved. Their stubbornness would yield to understanding, to persuasion and to a new approach. It must be in our minds that during the last 24 months many problems on which many of us had taken positions which we thought were incapable of being revised, have undergone modification, and they have undergone modification for the better. We hope that this Assembly, in its wisdom, will make its contribution towards speeding this process of reconciliation so that the Government of China representing 600 million people will be present to express their voice in this world organization.

57. At Bandung, early this year, the Chinese Government participated in the conference of Asian-African nations. It has been said from this platform that those Governments differed in their complexions, that the countries which they represented differed in the character of their economic organization, that their historical, social and political backgrounds were different, but, in spite of all that, there was goodwill and there was co-operation, and the limited objectives which were set before them were achieved. This was a proclamation of the capacity of Asian and African nations to co-operate and to find agreement in considerable spheres.

58. Reference has also been made, in the course of the observations from this rostrum this afternoon, to the attitude of China towards the United Nations. It is not for one country to speak the mind of another, but present circumstances are very special because when we, by our decision, have excluded that country and are deciding these matters *ex parte*, there is an obligation on those who have had opportunities to know the facts to express them.

59. Nothing was more striking at Bandung than not only the willingness but the enthusiasm, the insistence of the Chinese Government to express its allegiance to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and also to claim its position as a founding Member. It is quite true that the Government of China does not admit the resolutions of the United Nations passed in its absence, when, according to its own ideas, it has been wrongfully excluded as being illegal.

60. We must make a distinction between the resolutions or decisions of a body and the body itself, and I am not saying this to argue the question in great detail. We are profoundly convinced that there cannot be any real solution of the problems of the world if we are to exclude the stubborn problems of Asia and the Far East, and it is also to be said that the representation of a country must be, very largely, a matter for the people themselves. Even though there are 60 nations here, our decision to say that this or that Government represents a country would not, in the view of my delegation, be a very fair decision.

61. Our delegation has at no time put forward in this Assembly the idea that nations which do not recognize China should recognize it as a result of resolutions of the United Nations. All we have said was that the Central Government of the People's Republic of China represents the people of China; it is the Government by all canons and all practices and all established usages of international law and custom in the world. What is more, we are a body today, perhaps the nearest approach to a world community, and the first thing which we have to do is to recognize the facts of this world, and that is why, even though I regret having to come here and participate in a debate of a controversial character at this stage of the session, one must regretfully accept that because we reflect the conditions of the world as they are today.

62. The fact that the United Nations, or indeed any country, does not recognize China would not wipe out China. It would be a great mistake to think that just because there is no recognition, the facts cease to be. In fact, recognition is merely a declaratory and not a creative act.

63. It has been our fate to come here year after year to ask the General Assembly to right this wrong in order that its character may be more representative, in

the same way as we ask for those nations which are outside the United Nations, irrespective of the character of their governments, to come here. If, year after year, we have made this appeal and have been unsuccessful, I hope that this is the last time that we shall have to make it from this rostrum and that this Assembly will carry a resolution to correct the representation of China. My Government regards it as its duty to this Organization to press this view.

64. In the last few months there have been occasions for the Government of India to be in touch with various issues which now divide the United States and China. I think that it is only fair to say — while we cannot speak for either of these countries — that there is no doubt that in the course of these contacts there has been an increasing amount of evidence that, with goodwill, these problems can be resolved. We have not found any hatred for the American people in China nor for the Chinese people in the United States. In all these circumstances, I think that we should not keep on repeating our decisions without taking into account the changed circumstances of the world. My delegation would, therefore, vote against the motion submitted by the United States, which would be proclaiming to the world that the barrier that is keeping China out, is again being confirmed by the decision of the General Assembly.

65. Mr. NASZKOWSKI (Poland) (*translated from Russian*): This is not the first time that this painful question of the representation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations has been brought before our Organization. But the reason for this is obvious. The question has so far remained unsolved, and the need to discuss it and come to a decision is therefore becoming more and more urgent.

66. At previous sessions attempts have been made to put off a decision on this vital problem, the participation of one of the great Powers in the work of our Organization, by procedural means. At the present session, despite the changes which have come about in international relations, we have unfortunately had to witness a fresh attempt, in the manner which has unhappily become traditional, to put the question off for another year.

67. We must ask ourselves this question: has the adoption at previous sessions of the United States proposals not to discuss the question of the representation of China been a help to the United Nations, and has it assisted the Organization in its work? There can only be one answer to this question: an unqualified "No".

68. As a result of the absence of the legitimate representatives of the Chinese people the work of the United Nations has in many directions been virtually paralysed. This applies not only to Asian problems, but also to problems of a general character, to the question of peace and international security. The representatives of 600 million people — and we must all take cognizance of this fact — are missing from this meeting chamber. Surely there can be no doubt that this has had a decisive influence on the work of the United Nations over the past few years.

69. Let us consider the part which is being played by the People's Republic of China, as a great Power, and its influence on the course of international events. In spite of the statement which has been made here by the distinguished representative of Colombia, who spoke of friendly feelings for the Chinese people, the facts say the opposite. The part which the People's Republic of China played at the Geneva Conference on Indo-China;

its restoration of normal relations with a number of countries in Asia and other continents, and, in particular, its rôle in the Bandung Conference, clearly show the strength of that State's international and moral position.

70. It should be pointed out in this connexion that the People's Republic of China, though not a member of the United Nations, has in fact recognized and itself proclaimed the principles underlying the Charter, and is systematically consolidating a democratic order in its own country. Nay more: both through its activity in international affairs and in its relations with other States, it is giving wider currency to those principles and applying them in practice.

71. Suffice it to point to the five principles of co-existence which were first proclaimed in the declaration made jointly by India and China; they served as a model for similar declarations and agreements between other States of varying political and economic systems.

72. Such, then, is the contribution of the People's Republic of China to the cause of peace and international co-operation.

73. The continued relaxation of international tension, the Geneva meeting of the heads of Government of the four Powers and the talks between the United States and China at Geneva must inevitably influence the position of the United Nations regarding the representation of China.

74. Particular attention must be drawn to the lack of consistency and logic in the position taken by the United States, which has recognized the need to negotiate with China at Geneva but is nevertheless continuing its efforts to deny China the right to participation in the United Nations, although it can produce no good reason here for its proposal. For indeed there can be no possible grounds for such a proposal.

75. The People's Republic of China is the only lawful representative of the Chinese people, and is therefore legitimately entitled to a seat in the Security Council and other United Nations organs. From the political point of view, the participation of representatives of the People's Republic of China in the work of the United Nations can only strengthen and enlarge the sphere of activity of our Organization.

76. If we glance at the agenda for this session, we shall find in it questions connected with the maintenance of peace in the Far East, the question of disarmament, and many others. None of these questions can be satisfactorily resolved without the participation of representatives of the People's Republic of China.

77. The present state of affairs is anomalous. It is contrary to the Charter; it is also contrary to common sense. The sooner we put an end to this anomalous situation, the sooner will the United Nations be able to go forward to the fulfilment of the further tasks now before it.

78. For these reasons the Polish delegation fully supports the proposal submitted by the delegation of the Soviet Union.

79. Mr. BARRINGTON (Burma): So far as Burma is concerned, there is only one Government of China; that is the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China. In our view that Government only, and no other, has the right to occupy the seat of China in the United Nations. Accordingly, we shall vote, as we have voted in the past, in favour of any move to seat the representatives of the People's Republic of China,

and against any move designed to keep them from occupying their rightful places in our Organization.

80. Mr. DAVID (Czechoslovakia) (*translated from Russian*): The General Assembly is faced once again with the important and urgent task of deciding the question of the lawful representation of China in the United Nations. If even in earlier years the fact that the People's Republic of China was not taking part in the work of our Organization was felt to be undesirable and harmful to the cause of peace, then such a situation is even more undesirable and inadmissible at the present time, when, following the Geneva meeting of the heads of Government of the four Powers, a definite trend has become apparent in the development of international relations towards the further relaxation of tension and the advent of the necessary confidence between States.

81. There can be no doubt that the assumption by the People's Republic of China of its rightful place in the United Nations will promote the further development of co-operation between the great Powers and the successful settlement of outstanding issues in world politics. Only in that way will the United Nations be really able to make its contribution to the maintenance of peace and security throughout the world. World public opinion is fully aware of this fact, and as a result the just demand that China should be represented in the United Nations by its own lawful Government, is year by year winning increasing support even among States Members of our Organization.

82. It is now generally recognized that no matter relating to Asia and the Far East can be decided without the participation of the Government of the People's Republic of China. But not only that: other world political issues too, for instance the reduction of armaments and the prohibition of atomic weapons, the question of the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes and other important matters such as the achievement of collective security in the Far East, imperatively demand the participation of China and its rightful representatives. It must be clear to everyone that the co-operation in the United Nations of representatives of the People's Republic of China would help enormously to make possible a fruitful discussion of these questions.

83. The peaceful policy of the Government of the People's Republic of China serves to strengthen and develop friendly co-operation between the peoples of Asia and Africa. That this is so may be seen from the constructive contribution made by the Government of the People's Republic of China to the work of the Bandung Conference of Asian and African countries, the results of which have been invaluable in the cause of world peace.

84. Thanks to the successes achieved by the People's Republic of China, both internationally and in the field of internal development, the international authority and prestige of the People's Republic are now generally recognized. Any policy which ignores this fact not only harms the interests of this Organization but also obstructs the settlement of Far Eastern questions.

85. As has repeatedly been emphasized, the demand that the Government of the People's Republic of China should take its lawful seat in the United Nations at the earliest possible moment is fully supported by the provisions of the United Nations Charter. From the point of view of the Charter, the issue has long been perfectly clear. It is high time to have done with this anomalous situation, in which the Chinese people, more than 600

million strong, is deprived of proper representation in the United Nations while private persons pretend to speak on its behalf in our Organization.

86. The People's Republic of China consistently pursues a policy aimed at peace and the strengthening of international security. It played an outstanding part in the achievement of peace in Korea and tendered enormous service in the restoration of peace in Indo-China. The People's Republic of China stands unreservedly for the principles of peaceful co-existence and supports all proposals designed to bring about a reduction in international tension. As a result, the People's Republic of China is becoming a more and more important factor in international relations. Thus it is natural that the demand for the restoration of China's rights in the United Nations should be made more and more insistently by all peoples and Governments, which are vitally interested in the strengthening of peace and security throughout the world.

87. The Czechoslovak delegation therefore fully supports the motion submitted by the Soviet delegation.

88. Mr. POPOVIC (Yugoslavia) (*translated from French*): The General Assembly is once again dealing with the question of the representation of China, a matter upon which decision has been deferred for a number of years. This situation, which runs counter to the fundamental principles on which our organization was based, is, in our opinion, a serious obstacle which prevents the United Nations from fulfilling its role. It is obvious that this is even truer today than in the past. In view of the encouraging changes which have taken place in international relations during the past year, it is our urgent duty to solve the problem of the representation of China by admitting the representative of the Government of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations. This solution would contribute substantially to a further improvement of relations between peoples and States.

89. For these reasons the Yugoslav delegation is, as hitherto, unable to support a proposal which would prolong the present abnormal situation.

90. We consider, however, that in view of the recent turn of events it would be possible and desirable to embark on a more exhaustive discussion of this problem to enable us to reach the only equitable solution that would strengthen the role and increase the effectiveness of our Organization.

91. For these reasons the Yugoslav delegation will abstain on the preliminary motion on the question of priority and vote against the motion to defer the matter.

92. Mr. AL-JAMALI (Iraq): First of all, I wish to raise a point of order. If I understood correctly, the representative of the United States made a proposal which amounted to stopping discussion or adjourning. Stopping the discussion of the substance of a question means that we should not enter into the substance today or at this session. My understanding is that his intention was that the substance should not be dealt with at this session. If I am wrong and if the discussion is to take place, then certainly the subject as brought up by the leader of the Soviet delegation needs lengthy study, and it certainly is not consonant with the spirit of harmony and conciliation with which we wish to start this session.

93. As we have seen, the discussion has already aroused much feeling, and if we want to discuss the subject we certainly must take into consideration all that was said by the leader of the Chinese delegation and by

the representative of Colombia. In the view of my delegation, the best thing to do is to postpone the discussion of the subject for this session.

94. I agree with the representative of India, that it is not for us but for the people of China to decide who is going to represent them. But are the people of China free to decide who is going to represent them?

95. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: With regard to the point of order just raised by the representative of Iraq, I may perhaps point out that it was the understanding of the President that the representative of the United States said that 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. Therefore, the representative of the United States of America did not make a formal proposal. He only explained that he himself did not want to engage in a discussion on the substance of the question.

96. Mr. HANIFAH (Indonesia): I will be very brief. I regret, together with the representative of India, that this problem was raised at this stage of the session. The Indonesian Government has recognized the Government of Peking as the Government of China. With regard to the problem of the representation of China in the United Nations, my Government's point of view is that the Government we have recognized should be represented here. As the representative of India has said, for the peace and stabilization of the situation in the Far East, this problem is a vital one. The Bandung Conference has further shown that the Government of Peiping is quite capable of contributing its share to the easing of international tensions for peaceful relations in the world of today.

97. Bearing in mind the better international atmosphere today, my delegation finds that further postponement of the discussion of this issue will be unrealistic with the trend of the present state of international affairs. Therefore, my delegation will cast its vote accordingly, and in the spirit of the Asian-African Conference in Bandung.

98. Mr. MOLOTOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): There is no need for me to refer to the statement of a person who does not represent anybody in the General Assembly. I presume that nobody takes his words seriously. I can only wonder at the patience of those participating in the General Assembly in still listening to him and allowing him to speak from this rostrum.

99. It is quite unnecessary for me to defend the People's Republic of China and its People's Government. People everywhere realize that this Country, uniting the entire Chinese nation, is a great power, and that the People's Government of China is respected throughout the world.

100. This is obvious from the fact that the Government of the People's Republic of China is supported by the 600 million inhabitants of China who find in their Central People's Government the real expression of their wishes and aspirations.

101. Many States have already defined their relations with the People's Republic of China; this was made clear at this session of the General Assembly from the United Kingdom representative's statement as well as from the statements of representatives of such countries as India, Indonesia, Burma, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia.

102. We are well aware that 29 Asian and African States took part in the Bandung Conference and that 28 States found a common language with the People's Republic of China. The representatives of almost all the Asian and African States worked together and were inspired by one and the same desire to protect the rights and independence of peoples, a desire which was reflected in the decisions of the Conference.

103. What does this mean? The inhabitants of States that have already recognized and established political and economic relations with the People's Republic of China constitute the majority of the world's population. Persons who overlook or disregard this fact should realize what this means in international relations.

104. Now I should like to turn to the motion put forward by the United States delegation. Mr. Lodge referred to rule 93 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly in this matter. It is precisely this rule which states that proposals submitted to the General Assembly should be voted on in the order in which they were submitted unless the General Assembly decides otherwise. Is there any reason why we should adopt a procedure other than that laid down in rule 93 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly?

105. I consider that it would be wrong to regard the United States delegation's motion as procedural and that we have no reason for doing so. If we adopted the motion put forward by the United States delegation we would be prejudging not a procedural question but a question of substance. Thus we are once again failing to settle the question of granting the People's Republic of China its legitimate rights.

106. If we are considering this motion as one of substance, then the Soviet delegation believes that, in accordance with rule 93, a vote must be taken in the order in which the proposals were submitted, that is to say, the Soviet motion should be voted on first. No reasons have been advanced why this rule should not be applied.

107. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: There are two motions before the General Assembly on the question of the representation of China. Furthermore, the representative of the United States has moved, under rule 93 of the rules of procedure, that the General Assembly should first vote on the United States motion. The General Assembly must therefore first decide on the order of voting before a vote can be taken on the motions.

108. I shall now put the preliminary motion by the United States representative [para. 29] to the vote.

*The motion was adopted by 41 votes to 10, with 7 abstentions.*

109. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now vote on the motion which has been submitted by the United States of America [A/L.195].

110. A roll-call vote has been requested by the delegations of the United States and India.

*A vote was taken by roll call.*

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

*In favour:* Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Liberia, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, 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.

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

*Abstaining:* Egypt, Israel, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Yemen, Afghanistan.

*The motion was adopted by 42 votes to 12, with 6 abstentions.*

111. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: In view of the decision which the General Assembly has just taken concerning the representation of China, it does not seem to me that a vote is required on the motion submitted by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics [A/L.194]. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the matter has been disposed of by the vote just taken.

*It was so decided.*

### AGENDA ITEM 3

#### Appointment of a Credentials Committee (continued)

112. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: We now return to the question of the appointment of a Credentials Committee, in accordance with rule 28 of the Assembly's rules of procedure. That rule 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."

113. I should like to suggest that the following Members should serve on the Credentials Committee for this session: Afghanistan, Australia, Colombia, Dominican Republic, France, Indonesia, Iraq, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America.

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

*It was so decided.*

### AGENDA ITEM 4

#### Election of the President

115. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: The election of the President of the tenth session of the General Assembly will be held in accordance with rules 31 and 94 of the rules of procedure. Rule 94 provides: "All elections shall be held by secret ballot. There shall be no nominations." The Assembly will therefore proceed immediately to the vote.

*At the invitation of the Temporary President, Mr. Barrington (Burma) and Mr. Kiselyov (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) acted as tellers.*

*A vote was taken by secret ballot.*

Number of ballot papers:	60
Invalid ballots:	0
Number of valid ballots:	60
Abstentions:	0
Number of members voting:	60
Required majority:	31
Number of votes obtained:	
Mr. José Maza (Chile)	60

*Having obtained the required majority, Mr. Maza (Chile) was elected President of the tenth session of the General Assembly, and took the Chair.*

**Address by Mr. José Maza, President of the tenth session of the General Assembly**

116. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): You have conferred on me the highest honour attainable by the representative of a nation which, by its active participation in the international community has demonstrated its indestructible faith in the United Nations.

117. The responsibility I am assuming has become heavier, owing to the efficiency with which all my illustrious predecessors have discharged their task and particularly Mr. Van Kleffens, to whom I pay a tribute for the brilliant manner in which he carried out his duties as President of the last session.

118. With your co-operation and with the help of the Secretary-General, I hope to be able to discharge the responsibilities attaching to this high post.

119. A decade of dramatic events has elapsed. We have experienced too many frustrations and disillusionments. The countries devastated by the war, and those which must still develop economically and socially, have had to mobilize their resources and their potentialities in an atmosphere of fear.

120. The legitimate aspirations of many peoples to a higher standard of living have been deferred, precisely because for a decade the tension in international relations and technological developments in the production of weapons of mass destruction have caused mankind to tremble for its very existence. During this same period, the United Nations constituted the moral bulwark of every civilization of the world.

121. The fundamental principles of the Charter, even in the darkest moments, have shown the peoples of the world the only sure way to live together in peace. The moral authority of our Organization has not only survived but has been strengthened through a decade of troubles and disillusionments, of patience and of faith.

122. This tenth session of the General Assembly is opening in a different atmosphere. In the important conferences of statesmen at the highest level and in certain attitudes designed to relieve or eliminate sources of dissension and suspicion we see some evidence that international opinion is slowly but surely becoming convinced that the essential condition for the achievement and maintenance of peace is that the nations bearing the greatest responsibility for collective security should exchange tokens of good faith.

123. Any move to create or to increase this faith, with the consequent removal of doubts and fears, is enthusiastically welcomed by world public opinion. If such efforts are as far as possible channelled through the United Nations system, under the auspices of the principles of the Charter, what is now a mere reduction of the international tension would become the certainty of real, permanent and genuine peace.

124. The dilemma of our time — so it has been said — is that peace must be born of terror, that it cannot materialize except as the result of the universal fear of the possible use of nuclear weapons. That may be so, but the peace which we desire is much more than the mere opposite of war.

125. As the Charter tells us, we are working for a peace based on friendly relations among nations; on

respect for human rights; improved standards of living and the right of peoples to self-determination.

126. Never have we had a better opportunity than now to promote the principles of our Organization. From the Secretary-General's report [A/2911] we can gather how the United Nations has discharged its functions during the past year.

127. The International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy has been one of the outstanding events of recent times. Until a short time ago no one would have imagined that such a meeting could be convened, much less that it would be able to announce possibilities of constructive co-operation.

128. The intrinsically difficult work of the Disarmament Commission has been continued with renewed vigour and although it is still too early to speak of immediate and spectacular results, the Commission's proceedings show how contacts for negotiations can be established and maintained through the machinery of the United Nations.

129. The provisional agenda for this session contains several items calling for the attention and collaboration of Member States with the purpose of demonstrating through action this new international spirit which happily seems to be appearing. In particular there are certain political, economic, social and trusteeship questions which clearly demonstrate the importance of treating the Charter as an organic whole in dealing with the problem of peace.

130. I shall refer to some of these items briefly. In the light of the experience gained during ten years of activity in the field of economic reconstruction and development, we are able to raise certain questions. In spite of the international tension which prevailed during that decade, much was done in economic and financial matters. The United Nations and its specialized agencies, the regional bodies and certain countries, foremost among them the United States, took the initiative in these activities. As we are all aware, however, in spite of this friendly and generous collaboration, what has been done falls far short of what is still urgently needed.

131. Without underestimating the value of these achievements, one is entitled to ask whether, by the employment of these agencies, ideas and methods, better and greater utilization of natural resources, the increase of production, the stabilization of international trade — in short, the improvement in levels of living — would have been attained in a climate of international trust and co-operation, or whether, on the contrary, what is needed is a bold flight of the imagination, a radical change of our concepts of economic interdependence and of the accelerated pace at which the development of the economically backward countries should proceed forthwith.

132. At this session of the General Assembly we shall have occasion to review international action in economic and financial matters, and, in the light of the information assembled during this period in all parts of the world, to ponder on the validity of the ideas which guide the attitudes of important institutions.

133. In social matters, respect for human rights remains the item having highest priority. The experience of recent years indicates the path the United Nations should continue to follow in order to ensure general recognition and respect for all the inalienable human rights.

134. The experience gained by the United Nations as regards trusteeship, and information relating to Non-

Self-Governing Territories will undoubtedly contribute to a dispassionate analysis of these delicate problems.

135. I once again thank the representative assembled here for the honour conferred upon me. I believe that during this session will be forged and consolidated a new international will, based on mutual trust and respect and on observance of the principles of the Charter.

136. Even as technology in our time conquered the sound barrier, so the United Nations — that moral synthesis of our civilization — should, for the good of mankind, make it possible for all nations and all peoples to break the barrier of fear, mistrust and apprehension.

#### ***Establishment of an Ad Hoc Political Committee***

137. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): The last item on the agenda for this meeting concerns

the establishment of an *Ad Hoc* Political Committee for the tenth regular session. As Members know, the Secretary-General has referred to this matter in paragraph 5 of his memorandum to the General Committee [A/BUR/141], which has been circulated.

138. It seems desirable that the Assembly should now take a decision on this matter, since it will affect the membership of the General Committee, which, as you know, must be established as soon as possible in order that it may submit to the Assembly its recommendations on the adoption of the agenda.

139. Unless there are objections, I shall consider that, as in previous sessions, the Assembly decides that the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee should be established.

*It was so decided.*

*The meeting rose at 5.15 p.m.*