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President: Sir Leslie MUNRO (New Zealand).

AGENDA ITEM 3

Credentials of representatives to the twelfth session of the General Assembly:

(b) Report of the Credentials Committee (A/3773)

Mr. Thors (Iceland), Chairman of the Credentials Committee, presented the report of that Committee.

- 1. Mr. SIK (Hungary): The Hungarian delegation is obliged to intervene in connexion with the report of the Credentials Committee. The United States delegation is seemingly unable to conceal its hatred for the Hungarian People's Republic, and continues to make attempts to interfere in the domestic affairs of Hungary. We have to tell the General Assembly this because the Credentials Committee, on the initiative of none other than the delegation of the United States, has submitted to the Assembly a report which contains a reservation concerning the legal and lawful mandate of the Hungarian delegation, a mandate which is in complete accord with the provisions of the Hungarian Constitution and with the formalities required by the United Nations.
- 2. I believe that all representatives here agree that not only the United States but even the United Nations has no right to interfere in the internal affairs of Hungary. We consider the motion made by the United States delegation "to take no decision regarding the credentials submitted on behalf of the representatives of Hungary" as an interference in the internal affairs of Hungary.
- 3. The Hungarian delegation has received its mandate from the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic. The credentials of the Hungarian delegation were issued by the President of the Presidential Council of the People's Republic in accordance with the required formalities. Article 20, paragraph 1, of the Hungarian Constitution states that the Presidential Council exercises the powers of a head of State in Hungary's international relations. The Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic has for years been exercising its authority without interruption, and its President and Secretary, who sign the credentials, were already fulfilling their

functions at the time of Hungary's admission to membership of the United Nations.

- 4. The mandate of the Hungarian delegation from the head of the Hungarian State is in conformity also with the requirements of rule 27 of the rules of procedure, which state: "The credentials shall be issued either by the Head of the State or Government or by the Minister for Foreign Affairs."
- 5. What has been said shows clearly that the General Assembly cannot allow itself to be forced in the direction urged by the United States delegation. Such an act is fraught with serious danger for the United Nations and constitutes a perilous policy of discrimination against certain small countries on the part of certain great Powers. Therefore the Hungarian delegation, since it considers this step against small countries as a dangerous precedent, categorically protests against the attempt of the United States at discrimination and interference, and for this reason it is not in a position to vote for the report of the Credentials Committee.
- 6. Mr. WADSWORTH (United States of America): When the Credentials Committee of the eleventh General Assembly met in February of this year, it had very much in mind, as we have today, the tragic situation caused by the brutal armed intervention of the Soviet Union in the domestic affairs of Hungary. At that time, it will be recalled, the Credentials Committee recommended in its report [A/3536] that no action should be taken on the credentials of the representatives of the present Hungarian regime and the General Assembly later endorsed that recommendation [resolution 1009 (XI)]. The passage of time from that day to this has amply demonstrated the correctness of that decision.
- 7. When the eleventh session of the General Assembly reconvened last September, the situation in Hungary was once more considered and, on the basis of the thorough and objective report of its Special Committee on Hungary [A/3592] the General Assembly passed, by an overwhelming vote, resolution 1133 (XI), dated 14 September 1957, condemning the action of the USSR and its puppet régime in Hungary. In paragraph 4 (b) of that resolution, we find the following: "The present Hungarian régime has been imposed on the Hungarian people by the armed intervention of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics." This means that the Assembly itself has cast serious doubt upon the delegation which claims to represent the Hungarian people—and, in the view c? my delegation, it does not represent them.
- 8. I know of no action from that time to this, taken by USSR or Hungarian authorities, which should cause us to alter our judgement as to the representative character of the Hungarian régime. The fact that this régime has been kept in power by force or the threat

- of force for over a year does not alter the circumstances; indeed, it makes them more acute. It is therefore clear that we cannot accept the credentials being offered to us by the Budapest régime.
- 9. At the same time, we must not be led by our indignation in this matter to take what might be construed as punitive action against the Hungarian nation or against the Hungarian people. For this reason, the Credentials Committee, as we have just heard, decided to take no decision regarding the credentials submitted on behalf of the representatives of Hungary.
- 10. As to the other matter before the Credentials Committee, I shall not take the time of the Assembly to reply to any of the statements made in the Committee by the representative of the Soviet Union on the question of the credentials of the representative of China. The position of the United States has been made clear time and time again in this matter. We firmly support approval of the credentials of the representatives of the Government of the Republic of China and, in view of the decision taken in September of this year [resolution 1135 (XII)], we feel that the Assembly has already spoken on this matter.
- 11. I sincerely trust that the General Assembly will approve the report of its Credentials Committee at this session, as it did the last.
- 12. Mr. SOBOLEV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (<u>translated from Russian</u>): In connexion with the consideration by the General Assembly of the Credentials Committee's report [A/3773], the Soviet delegation deems it essential again to state its position regarding the so-called "Kuomintang representatives" and the Committee's unlawful decision on the credentials of the delegation of the Hungarian People's Republic.
- 13. The USSR delegation voted for the resolution approving the Credentials Committee's report, but this must on no account be taken to imply a change in its position regarding the representation of China in the United Nations. The USSR delegation would again draw the General Assembly's attention to the unusual fact that the place of China in the United Nations is occupied by persons who represent no one except themselves.
- 14. The absurdity of the situation is obvious to all. For a long time, no serious attention has been paid in the United Nations to the utterances of men who call themselves Chinese representatives but are, in fact, the agents of a group of political bankrupts and have no political, legal or moral right to represent the great Chinese nation, with its 600 million members.
- 15. Those who disregard reality and close their eyes to the existence of the People's Republic of China are politically blind, like the people who, thirty or forty years ago, did not wish to recognize the young Soviet State. History has exposed these short-sighted people to cruel derision. The same fate awaits the new generation of short-sighted politicians.
- 16. More than eight years ago the Chinese people had already overthrown the thoroughly corrupt Kuomintang régime and set up their own Central People's Government, under whose guidance they are successfully building a new life, converting a once backward country into a great industrial Power.

- 17. Never in China's whole history has any Government enjoyed such unanimous support from the people as the Government of the People's Republic of China. This is understandable, because it represents the true interests of the Chinese people and is fulfilling their age-old aspirations.
- 18. The international authority of the People's Republic of China is growing stronger from day to cay; its ties are widening, and it is pursuing a consistent policy of developing friendly relations with all countries and of consolidating world peace and security.
- 19. It is no longer disputed by anyone that without the People's Republic of China there can be no settlement of the most important problems in international relations and above all of problems relating to the maintenance of peace and security in the Asian continent and in the whole world.
- 20. That fact was demonstrated quite clearly at the Geneva Conference of Foreign Ministers in 1954 and continues to everge during the discussion of the disarmament problem and of a number of other problems.
- 21. The absence of Chinese representatives in the United Nations is causing irreparable harm to its authority and is lowering the effectiveness of its work.
- 22. The non-recognition of the Chiang Kai-shek representatives' credentials should be the first step towards restoring the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. The Soviet delegation expresses the hope that this step will be taken in the very near future and that the representatives of the great Chinese people will occupy that place in the United Nations which is theirs by right.
- 23. There is a second aspect of the Credentials Committee's report to which the Soviet delegation deems it essential to call the General Assembly's attention: the decision taken by the Committee at the instigation of the United States to question the validity of the credentials issued to the delegation of the Hungarian People's Republic by its lawful Government.
- 24. The USSR delegation resolutely opposes this decision, which not so much serves the United States, aim of discrediting the delegation of the Hungarian People's Republic as it harms the United Nations and further impairs the business-like atmosphere so necessary to the successful examination of the serious problems on the Assembly's agenda.
- 25. There were no grounds whatever for questioning the credentials of Hungary, which are completely in order and were presented in accordance with the United Nations Charter and the established procedure. This delegation represents the only legitimate Hungarian Government, which has been formed and acts in strict accordance with Hungarian domestic law. The Hungarian Government enjoys wide support and the full confidence of its people.
- 26. Lastly, most of the States Members of the United Nations maintain diplomatic relations with the Hungarian Government, and this is true also of those who, in the pursuit of certain aims, are trying to push through a resolution intended to discredit the Kungarian delegation.
- 27. The hypocrisy and duplicity of United States policy in this matter is particularly plain, for while

the United States representatives are here affirming that they do not recognize the existing Hungarian Government, United States representatives at Budapest are maintaining normal diplomatic relations with that Government.

- 28. For a whole year, we have witnessed the unworthy attempts of the United States delegation and of some other countries to use the United Nations for gross interference in the domestic affairs of the Hungarian People's Republic. It is common knowledge that despite the slanderous propagandist attacks by Members of the United Nations against one of their number and despite outright intervention by some Western Powers in Hungary's domestic affairs, the conspiracy against the Hungarian popular democratic system was defeated. Nor were the forces of reaction inside Hungary and the traitors expelled by the Hungarian people strengthened by the subsequent efforts of the originators of the counter-revolutionary rebellion to bring the Hungarian problem up once again in the United Nations.
- 29. The unlawful consideration of the Hungarian problem in the United Nations, contrary to the Charter, and the attempts to question the credentials of the Hungarian delegation will have no effect on the peaceful toil of the Hungarian people who have resolutely turned to the beliding of socialism in their country.
- 30. The opponents of socialism who attack the Hungarian People's Republic in the United Nations may not find socialist Hungary to their liking. The ruling circles of the United States would probably prefer the restoration of a landowners' and middle-class regime of the Horthy type to a socialist system. The United Nations, however, is a universal organization; attempts to question, on any pretext whatsoever, the right of the delegation of a socialist State to take part in the General Assembly's work grossly violate both the principle of the universality of the United Nations and its Charter, which prohibits intervention in the domestic affairs of States.
- 31. There is absolutely no foundation for raising the provocative question of the Hungarian delegation's credentials. The purpose of the move could only be to impair the atmosphere in the General Assembly at a time when it has to resolve a number of serious problems in the settlement of which all peace-loving peoples are interested.
- 32. In the Soviet delegation's view, the Credentials Committee's action, in taking no decision regarding the credentials of the Hungarian People's Republic, is contrary to the United Nations Charter and the General Assembly's rules of procedure. The Soviet delegation resolutely protests against the Committee's decision.
- 33. The PRESIDENT: Before I call upon the representative of Romania, I would remind the Assembly that it came to a decision on the question of the representation of China. I hope therefore that this discussion can be kept within the proper limits.
- 34. Mr. MAGHERU (Romania) (translated from French): I shall endeavour to keep within the limits indicated by the President, but, on behalf of the Romanian delegation, I must make clear and express reservations with regard to the resolution on which the Assembly will be voting.

- 35. The Romanian delegation will vote for the report of the Credentials Committee [A/2772], subject to certain reservations.
- 36. First, it considers that the credentials produced by the persons occupying the seat of China are not valid. As has been clearly demonstrated on several occasions in the General Assembly, the only Government entitled to accredit representatives of China is the Central Government of the People's Republic of China, elected in conformity with the provisions of the Constitution and freely chosen by the people of China, which effectively and in reality exercises authority over the territory of China.
- 37. The Central Government of the People's Republic of China, is de jure and de facto, the only Government qualified to represent the Chinese people and to commit the Chinese State. The interests of the United Nations make it imperative to end the present state of affairs, under which the great Chinese people is not represented in the United Nations.
- 38. Secondly, the Romanian delegation also wishes to emphasize that the validity of the credentials of the delegation appointed by the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic cannot be questioned. To take no decision on that point would be to disregard rule 27 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly and would constitute interference in the internal affairs of Hungary.
- 39. In the view of the Romanian delegation, the fact of keeping the fictitious question of Hungary on the agenda of the General Assembly and the action taken by certain Powers in that connexion constitute acts which are hostile to the people of Hungary, prejudicial to the development of international co-operation and contrary to the letter and the spirit of the Charter.
- 40. Mr. ILLUECA (Panama) (translated from Spanish): The fact that my country is a member of the Credentials Committee prompts me to make a few comments.
- 41. First of all, I wish to congratulate Mr. Thors, Chairman of the Committee, on his report and on the efficient manner in which he conducted the Committee's discussions. In addition I think the General Assembly ought to know that the debate in the Credentials Committee was carried on in an atmosphere of complete cordiality and mutual respect.
- 42. However, in contrast with the spirit of cordiality which prevailed in the Committee, we have today heard some words that are slightly out of place. It has even been said here that the United States is responsible for everything. I must ask the representative of the United States to forgive me for mentioning his country by name, but I believe that these accusations involve a number of other consequences. The United States has been accused of falsehood, of slander, of interference in the internal affairs of another country. I consider that the attempt to place responsibility on the United States is in fact an attack on the position of the other representatives of States Members of the United Nations because, as I said in the Credentials Committee, there are resolutions adopted by the General Assembly concerning both the question of the credentials of Hungary and the representation of China. These resolutions are the

law of our Organization; they are not United States resolutions, but resolutions of all the States Members of the United Nations General Assembly.

- 43. The representative of Hungary has stated that the motion that no decision should be taken regarding the credentials submitted on behalf of the representatives of Hungary, introduced by the United States was the result of the hatred of the United States for his country and also of its desire to interfere in the internal affairs of Hungary. I believe that, if respect for law and for resolutions is to be considered as hatred or as interference in the affairs of others, then the role of the United Nations is being completely misinterpreted because we are not considering the decision of one country nor some unilateral action but rather decisions approved by the United Nations General Asembly.
- 44. Finally, as I indicated in the Credentials Committee, there has been no change whatever in the situation since resolution 1133 (XI) was adopted, nor has there been any change in the conclusions reached by the General Assembly when it dealt with the question of Hungary and approved a resolution condemning the attitude of the Soviet Union because it imposed a government on another country through the use of armed force.
- 45. These resolutions and conclusions are still in effect and the Assembly has not been informed of any change whatever in the situation it considered a few months ago.
- 46. The question of the representation of China, as the President rightly said, is a matter already settled by the General Assembly. We were present at the meeting of the General Committee and heard the lengthy statements of Mr. Menon, and Mr. Sobolev and the replies of Mr. Lodge and other members of the General Committee. A decision was then reached, which later became a resolution [1135 (XII)] of the General Assembly, to the effect that the question of the representation of China would not be reconsidered at the present session because a decision in the matter had already been taken.
- 47. I believe that the manner in which the USSR representative brought these matters up is not strictly correct and indicates a manoeuvre designed to transform a purely procedural matter into a propaganda matter. Such action is, in my opinion, a real injustice.
- 48. In conclusion, I appeal to the members of the Assembly to vote unanimously in favour of the draft resolution presented by the Credentials Committee.
- 49. Mr. WALKER (Australia): We have before us the report of the Credentials Committee [A/3773], so ably presented by its Rapporteur, the representative of Iceland.
- 50. In paragraphs 21 and 22 it is made clear that the Credentials Committee recommends that we should find the credentials of all representatives in order, subject to the decision of the Committee relating to Hungary, and this proposal apparently was adopted unanimously in the Committee.
- 51. As regards Hungary, it is suggested in paragraphs 4 to 12 that the General Assembly should take no action on the credentials of the Hungarian delegation.

- 52. The Australian delegation does not recognize the right of the Hungarian delegation to represent Hungary in this Assembly and, in our view, the Assembly would be well justified in refusing to seat the Hungarian delegation in the present circumstances.
- 53. However, although the Assembly has already expressed its view very firmly on the unhappy events in Hungary, further consideration by the Assembly is still pending as we are awaiting a report from His Royal Highness Prince Wan Waithayakon on the mission which the General Assembly asked him to undertake. It is the hope of the Australian delegation that we shall soon have an opportunity to consider and to discuss Prince Wan's report in this Assembly. The fact that we are awaiting further consideration may provide a reason not to take any decision on Hungary's credentials at this moment; but, in accepting the report of the Credentials Committee, the Australian delegation fully reserves its position regarding further consideration of the credentials of the Hungarian delegation.
- 54. Mr. VOUTOV (Bulgaria): In connexion with the report of the Credentials Committee, the Bulgarian delegation would like to make a few remarks and a declaration on the section of the report concerning the Hungarian People's Republic and the credentials of the representatives of China.
- 55. As far as China is concerned, we have stated our position on a number of occasions and will state it again today. We will state it insistently until it is generally accepted.
- 56. The delegation of the People's Republic of China must be seated in the place which is now occupied by a delegation which has nothing to do with that Republic. The place of the People's Republic of China is occupied today by people who not only do not represent the Chinese people and the Chinese State and have been repudiated by the Chinese people, but who are among the most wicked enemies of the Chinese people and their Government. They represent only the Chiang Kai-shek group, which unlawfully occupies part of Chinese territory, the island of Taiwan, with the strong support of the United States. These people remain here at the United Nations with the help of the mechanical majority created by the United States, which has brought every possible means of pressure to bear upon a number of States Members for this purpose.
- 57. Therefore, the question of the representation of the People's Republic of China and of the Chiang Kaishek group involves not only the fact that the largest State in the world is being denied its lawful representation in this Organization, but also the fact that people are allowed to sit in the United Nations who do not represent any independent State.
- 58. The United States is even afraid to permit discussion of the question of the representation of China in the United Nations because it can foresee the result of such a debate. It is therefore compelled to make use of the mechanical majority which is still at its disposal in order to impose, at the very beginning of each session of the Assembly, a preliminary decision not to discuss the question of the representation of China.
- 59. However, such a decision does not prevent the United Nations from discussing that question. We

shall continue to insist on that question until it has been settled.

- 60. A few moments ago the President reminded the Assembly that there was a decision regarding the representation of China. Yes, there is such a decision, but we are facing here a contradiction...
- 61. The PRESIDENT: I must interrupt the representative of Bulgaria. I have been quite indulgent with him but I have fold him quite correctly that the question has already been decided. The representative of Bulgaria has expressed himself in certain ways on the subject, but I suggest to him that he should respect the decision of the General Assembly.
- 62. Mr. VOUTOV (Bulgaria): Yes, I respect the decision of the Assembly. I only wish to explain that there is a contradiction. On the one hand, according to the regulations, the General Assembly is in duty bound to check the credentials of a Member State. On the other hand, the Assembly, upon United States insistence and under its pressure, is adopting a draft resolution in which it forbide itself to consider this question in respect of a Men or State: China.
- 63. In fact, the General Assembly decides not to deal with the question of the representation of China whereas the Credentials Committee deals, as it should, with the question of the representation of the Chiang Kaishek representatives as representatives of the Chinese State. The question of representation will always be raised in exactly the same manner: whether one delegation or another are representatives of a given State. Therefore, it is an obvious contradiction to exclude this question beforehand from the General Assembly's agenda and, at the same time, to place it on the agenda.
- 64. However, neither the United States nor the majority in the General Assembly nor the Credentials Committee seem to be afraid of this contradiction. They are making a big mistake because a great blow is thus being dealt both to international law and to the United Nations.
- 65. In view of all these considerations the Bulgarian delegation declares that it does not recognize the credentials of the representatives of the Kuomintang and considers that only the representatives of the Central Government of the People's Republic of China can be considered as the real representatives of the 600-million-strong Chinese people.
- 66. The Bulgarian delegation does not approve the decision of the majority in the Credentials Committee in connexion with the representation of the Hungarian People's Republic either. Such a decision proves that attempts are still being made to cast doubts on the legality of the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic. Everybody knows who is the initiator of these new manoeuvres directed against the Hungarian people. However, it should be stressed once again that this attempt, like many others before it in the past few months, will not achieve its ill-intentioned aim.
- 67. The truth about the counter-revolutionary plot against Hungary in 1956 has become evident in spite of all efforts of foreign propaganda to distort the facts of history. Today every honest man in the world knows that the Hungarian people have been able to deal with their external and internal enemies, that they again have their destinies in their own hands

- and that they stand firm behind their lawful People's Government.
- 68. Even the Commission on the so-called Hungarian question, which did its best to formulate the most negative conclusions in respect of the present Hungarian Government and which presented a very tendentious report, did not dare to declare that the Hungarian Government did not represent the Hungarian people. Now that the situation in Hungary is fully stabilized and that the country has completely reestablished its economy and its normal internal political life, such insinuations cannot convince anyone, except the biased enemies of the Hungarian People's Republic.
- 69. That is why the Bulgarian delegation wishes to state once more that it does not approve the section of the report concerning the credentials of the representatives of the Hungarian People's Republic to the United Nations. It would like to stress, on the contrary, that the representatives of the Hungarian People's Republic at the twelfth session are the lawful and real representatives of their people, their country and their Government.
- 70. Mr. SCHURMANN (Netherlands): In explanation of the vote that my delegation will cast, I wish to state that the report of the Special Committee on the Problem of Hungary [A/3592], and especially paragraph 708 of that report, which says: "Representative government does not exist for the time being in Hungary," has confirmed us in our view that the Hungarian delegation cannot be regarded as representative of that country.
- 71. We would have preferred the Assembly to adopt a decision to that effect, a decision which, in our opinion, would have been particularly appropriate if taken today on Human Rights Day. As the report of the Credentials Committee leaves this question in suspense, my delegation can do nothing more than register its regret that no definite action is being taken at the present stage.
- 72. With this reservation, my delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution proposed by the Credentials Committee in its report [A/3773].
- 73. Mr. TSIANG (China): I shall be extremely brief. I note in paragraph 13 of the report of the Credentials Committee that the representative of the Soviet Union on that Committee tried to challenge the credentials of my delegation on the pretence that the credentials of my delegation did not conform to rule 27 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly. That rule lays down two qualifications with regard to credentials, one with regard to the time the credentials are to be issued and the second in regard to the authority that shall issue them.
- 74. The credentials of my delegation conform exactly and completely to all the requirements of rule 27. The representative of the Soviet Union and the representatives of the States of the Soviet bloc have now tried to use this meeting as an excuse for another propaganda campaign. They presume to tell us who does and who does not represent the Chinese people. I challenge their presumption. When the Chinese people are free—and they soon will be free—they will repudiate and throw out the Chinese Communists.
- 75. The report of the Credentials Committee raises

another question, that of the representation of Hungary. I find that the recommendation of the Credentials Committee falls short of the resolution which we adopted, which plainly states that:

"The present Hungarian régime has been imposed on the Hungarian people by the armed intervention of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics." [resolution 1133 (XI), para.4 (b)]

In view of that resolution, I find the action of the Committee to be inadequate.

- 76. I wish to make this reservation in regard to this report.
- 77. Mr. NOBLE (United Kingdom): At the eleventh session of the General Assembly, the Credentials Committee considered that on the information then available it was not in a position to take a decision regarding the credentials submitted on behalf of the representatives of Hungary. At that time many delegations, including my own, had serious misgivings about the status of the representatives purporting to speak for Hungary in the Assembly. These misgivings were strengthened by the report of the Assembly's Special Committee on the Problem of Hungary [A/3592].
- 78. In these circumstances, my delegation would be unable to vote in favour of any motion recommending that the Assembly should accept the credentials submitted on behalf of the representatives of Hungary at this session. Accordingly, we supported the motion proposed by the representative of the United States in the Credentials Committee that the Committee take no decision regarding the credentials submitted on behalf of the representatives of Hungary. I will, therefore, vote in favour of the report of the Credentials Committee.
- 79. Mr. WINIEWICZ (Poland): Before casting our vote or he report of the Credentials Committee [A/3773], we should like to state our opinion on two points: first, the representation of China and, secondly, the representation of Hungary.
- 80. Although we have already spoken at some length in this Assembly on the problem of the representation of China, we cannot fail to emphasize once more when we are taking action on the report of the Credentials Committee that in our opinion the Central Government of the People's Republic of China is the only government which is able and willing to carry out, on behalf of China, the obligations of membership of the United Nations in accordance with the Charter.
- 81. Recognizing this basic truth, the Polish delegation could recognize only the credentials issued by the Central Government of the People's Republic of China. For us, it is not only an important juridical problem but also a question of political and practical considerations, because only the presence here of the lawful representatives of China could assist the United Nations in solving the many important international problems confronting this Organization.
- 82. The Polish delegation also wishes to emphasize that it cannot approve the decision of the Credentials Committee concerning the representation of Hungary. As we have said on many occasions, it is the task of the United Nations to act as a harmonizing and stabilizing factor in international affairs. On the

- question of Hungary, the action to be taken by the United Nations should—and this is our deepest conviction—be directed only towards healing, towards calming the international controversy which has arisen as the result of last year's events.
- 83. May I submit that this Assembly should show wisdom and not passion. My delegation will vote on the report of the Credentials Committee with these two reservations. We have no doubt that Hungary is properly and lawfully represented here and we have no doubt as to who should occupy the seat of China, one of the major Powers of the world and one of the founders of our Organization.
- 84. Mr. ULLRICH (Czechoslovakia): The Czechoslovak delegation will vote for the draft resolution submitted to the General Assembly by the Credentials Committee, in its report [A/3773], despite its serious reservations with regard to that report.
- 85. The Czechoslovak delegation cannot agree with the Committee's view concerning the recognition of the validity of the credentials of China. In this connexion, we wish to state once again, as we have at the previous sessions of the General Assembly, and also in connexion with the consideration of the question proposed by India, that a separate item should be included in the agenda of the twelfth session of the General Assembly entitled "Representation of China in the United Nations" [A/3663].
- 86. There is only one China, and the only government which is authorized to represent the Chinese people is the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China. The Czechoslovak Republic recognizes only this Government and only credentials which have been issued by it. No other credentials issued on behalf of China can be considered as valid and the Czechoslovak delegation does not recognize them.
- 87. Furthermore, we are unable to accept that part of the report of the Credentials Committee which casts doubt on the validity of the credentials issued on behalf of the Hungarian People's Republic. In the opinion of the Czechoslovak delegation, the position taken in this respect by the Credentials Committee, following the proposal of the United States, is wholly unjustified.
- 88. The Hungarian delegation to the twelfth session of the General Assembly is equipped with credentials in good and proper form, issued by the legitimate Hungarian Government and in full conformity with the Constitution. This is the basic condition for the recognition of their validity. It is therefore all the more surprising that the Credentials Committee, when considering their validity, adopted the stand of the United States, which displays a hostile attitude towards the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic.
- 89. The Czechoslovak delegation regrets that the Credentials Committee failed to take a decision on the credentials of the Hungarian delegation and wishes to state its dissent from that decision. This procedure of the Committee can in no way serve the spirit of co-operation among nations which should be the primary objective of our Organization.
- 90. U THANT (Burma): My delegation will vote for the report of the Credentials Committee, but this should not be construed as an acceptance of all its implications. The point of view of my delegation has

been made very clear in the discussions in the Credentials Committee, both on the credentials of the Hungarian delegation and on those of the representatives of the Government of the Republic of China.

- 91. In regard to the credentials of the representatives of Hungary, my delegation has no means of knowing whether or not the present Government of Hungary has a representative character and it therefore abstained on the United States motion regarding the credentials submitted by those representatives.
- 92. As regards the credentials of the representatives of the Government of the Republic of China, my delegation wants to reiterate our conviction that the Government of the Republic of China which is now operating in Formosa does not represent the people of China, does not extend its influence over any part of China and is in no way likely to be installed in the mainland of China. My delegation is convinced that the Central Government of the People's Republic of China alone exercises an effective control over the mainland of China and, therefore, we feel that the credentials of the representatives of the Republic of China, now based on Formosa, are invalid. Shutting the door of the United Nations to the Government of the People's Republic of China is not only unrealistic but definitely harmful to the cause of peace.
- 93. With these reservations, my delegation will vote for the adoption of the report of the Credentials Committee.
- 94. Mr. MALILE (Albania) (translated from French): The delegation of the People's Republic of Albania will vote for the report of the Credentials Committee.
- 95. However, it feels obliged to state that it does not recognize the credentials of the so-called representative of China. The legitimate government of the Chinese people is the Government of the People's Republic of China. This is the only government which can represent the Chinese people in the United Nations. It is well known that China's place among the delegations in this Assembly is occupied by persons who were driven out long ago by the people of China and who represent no one. The credentials submitted on their behalf are worthless.
- 96. With regard to paragraph 4 of the report, concerning the credentials presented by the delegation of the Hungarian People's Republic, my delegation considers that their validity cannot be challenged on any ground, for they are perfectly in order and in conformity with the regular procedure of the United Nations. The intentions of the delegations which insist on raising this question are not difficult to understand. By raising doubts, they want to make use of the United Nations to continue their conspiracy against the Hungarian people.
- 97. Mr. Krishna MENON (India): My delegation does not desire, at this late stage of the Assembly session, to make observations of a lengthy character. It is, however, necessary for us, a small nation, to follow in this matter the example of the great ones and say that our position in regard to China is well known. We are unable to accept the view implicit in the ruling of the Chairman of the Credentials Committee [A/3773, para.14], and of yourself, Mr. President, that any Assembly decision can prevent the Credentials Committee from carrying on its work as an independent body.

- 98. We have no desire at the present time to use the report of the Credentials Committee as an excuse for repeating the arguments showing the absurdity of the unrealistic position in regard to the representation of China. The Assembly has come to a decision on that, perhaps with fewer words than last year, and with a large number of abstentions. Mr. President, if you will not mind my saying so, I am not without hope that your own country will support us next year.
- 99. We should like to make this reservation with regard to the representation of China: that the acceptance of these credentials constitutes a violation of the Charter inasmuch as the credentials are not issued by the Head of the Chinese State.
- 100. Mr. NINCIC (Yugoslavia): My delegation will vote in favour of the report of the Credentials Committee. I should like it to be placed on record, however, that its vote will in no way imply approval of the discriminatory procedure that the Credentials Committee saw fit to adopt with regard to the credentials of the representatives of the Hungarian People's Republic; nor does it, of course, in any way affect our position with regard to the question of the representation of China. For us, as we have repeatedly made clear, only a delegation appointed by the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China is entitled to represent China in this Assembly and in the United Nations.
- 101. The PRESIDENT: I propose now to put the draft resolution contained in the report of the Credentials Committee [A/3773] to the vote.

The draft resolution was adopted by 77 votes to 1.

102. Mr. SHAHA (Nepal): My delegation voted in favour of the report of the Credentials Committee with one reservation, the reservation being that our affirmative vote does not in any way modify our position with regard to the recognition of China. I do not think that my Government's position on that point needs any reiteration at this stage.

AGENDA ITEM 59

The question of Algeria

REPORT OF THE FIRST COMMITTEE (A/3772)

- 103. Mr. MATSCH (Austria), Rapporteur of the First Committee: I have the honour to present to the General Assembly the report of the First Committee on the question of Algeria [A/3772].
- 104. At the beginning of the general debate, the Foreign Minister of France outlined the situation in Algeria; the position of his Government on the competence of the United Nations in this matter; the French proposals for a cease-fire; and the way France intends to approach and contribute to a solution of this complex problem [700th meeting].
- 105. Many delegations felt, however, that the situation in Algeria had deteriorated since last February and continued to cause much suffering and loss of human life; that the General Assembly should, therefore, call for negotiations to arrive at a solution. They furthermore insisted that the General Assembly should recognize that the principle of self-determination is applicable to the Algerian people. Other delegations were of the opinion that the General Assembly

should avoid recommending any steps which might prejudice prospects for a peaceful solution and should, therefore, merely express again the hope that a solution will be found through appropriate means.

- 106. These different points of view were expressed in two draft resolutions submitted to the Committee. The delegations of Canada, Ireland and Norway proposed changes in the first draft resolution, but its sponsors declared themselves unable to accept these amendments.
- 107. In spite of the differences of opinion as to the way in which the parties concerned should proceed, the debate in the Committee has shown that there was general agreement on the necessity of reaching a solution in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.
- 108. The First Committee accepted the amendments of the three Powers referred to above but was unable to recommend the draft resolution to the General Assembly, since the vote on the draft resolution was equally divided. The sponsors of the second draft resolution did not press for a vote.
- 109. The PRESIDENT: A draft resolution, which I will now read out to you, has been submitted by Argentina, Brazil, Canada, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, India, Iran, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Mexico, Norway, Peru, Spain and Thailand. The draft resolution reads as follows:
 - "The General Assembly,
 - "Having discussed the question of Algeria,
 - "Recalling its resolution 1012 (XI) of 15 February 1957,

- "1. Expresses again its concern over the situation in Algeria;
- "2. <u>Takes note</u> of the offer of good offices made by His Majesty the King of Morocco and His Excellency the President of the Republic of Tunisia;
- "3. Expresses the wish that, in a spirit of effective co-operation, pourparlers will be entered into and other appropriate means utilized with a view to a solution in conformity with the Purposes and Principles of the Charter of the United Nations."1/
- 110. As this is an important matter, it will be wise if I put this draft resolution to the vote, so I will do so immediately.

The draft resolution was adopted by 80 votes to none.

- 111. Mr. SOBOLEV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): Mr. President, this is not an explanation of vote, but inasmuch as the Assembly has on this occasion departed from its general rule of voting only on a resolution submitted in writing and available to the members of delegations, I think it would be useful if you, as the President of the Assembly, should announce that this is an exceptional case and that it must not be taken as a precedent for the future.
- 112. The PRESIDENT: Perhaps I can make the observation that exceptions are sometimes very important.

The meeting rose at 12.45 p.m.

^{1/} This draft resolution was subsequently circulated as document A/L.239.