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President: Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi PANDIT (India).

Temporary President: Mr. Lester B. PEARSON (Canada).

Opening of the eighth session of the General Assembly

[Agenda item 1]

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

Minute of silent prayer or meditation

[Agenda item 2]

2. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: In accordance with established custom, I now invite representatives to stand and to observe one minute of silence dedicated to prayer or meditation.

The representatives stood in silence.

Address by Mr. Lester B. Pearson, President of the seventh session of the General Assembly

3. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: It is customary for the retiring president to say a few words at the beginning of each new session. They should, I think, be few, in the interest of the speedy and effective conduct of the large volume of business which is before us. In any event, in the annual report of the Secretary-General [A/2404] we have a clear and comprehensive record by which we can judge how well we have succeeded or how badly we have failed in the seventh session of the General Assembly.

4. That session, which, I think, may be known as the Korean Assembly, was a long one lasting until 28 August of this year. It imposed heavy burdens on national delegations and on members of the Secretariat. The reason for this was, of course, the Korean question, which overshadowed all others on the agenda, complex and important as some of those others were.

The Korean question presented us in the Assembly with a major challenge. The Assembly worked hard and patiently to meet it. By its resolution [610 (VII)] of 3 December last it laid the foundation for breaking the prisoner-of-war deadlock at Panmunjom. Then, after the armistice was concluded on 28 July, the Assembly, after a long and thorough discussion, by a formal decision [resolution 711 (VII)] made provision for the United Nations side of the Korean peace conference recommended in paragraph 60 of the Armistice Agreement.

5. It now remains for the others concerned to take the steps necessary to bring about this conference, whose success can have such beneficial and far-reaching results, but whose failure might have equally far-reaching results of the wrong kind.

6. From the Korean experience we have, I hope, learned some lessons. One is that collective action against aggression can work, even when that action is incomplete in organization, support and participation. Korea, then, has been a vindication of the principle of collective action, but, even more, it has shown what could be done if all Members of the United Nations were willing, collectively, to pay the price to make such action effective.

7. Another major problem in our discussions at the seventh session—and a problem which will continue in the future to challenge our resources of intelligence and understanding—concerns colonial and racial issues. We in the General Assembly have seen in acute form the practical problems which arise in our Organization in seeking to reconcile the principle of the domestic jurisdiction of sovereign States, and the administrative responsibility of some of those sovereign States towards dependent peoples in their progress towards self-government, with the legitimate interest of the United Nations in human rights and in peaceful progress towards a wider freedom for all peoples. These are not merely arid, academic debates. They relate to issues which in a dynamic world arouse strong passions and directly concern the fate of many millions of human beings. In general, discussions of these issues were conducted in the seventh session with a moderation and a sense of responsibility which we must all hope will continue.

The printed official records of the General Assembly are published in fascicule form, the record of each meeting being issued separately. In order that the fascicules may subsequently be bound in volumes by organ and session, the pagination is continuous throughout each series of records of a single body. At the end of the session, a prefatory fascicule is issued for each series, containing a table of contents, list of members, agenda, and other prefatory matter.

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

8. The past year witnessed the resignation of our first Secretary-General, Mr. Trygve Lie, and the appointment of his successor, Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld. To create, to maintain and to preserve the traditions of an international public service in the climate of the critical post-war years has not been and is not now an easy task. That our Organization has made so much progress here is a tribute to the administrative leadership and authority of Mr. Lie and his associates and to all who have worked faithfully in the service of the United Nations. From our new Secretary-General we have already come to expect—and I know we shall receive—international service of the highest order.

9. I share Mr. Hammarskjöld's hope, expressed in his annual report on the Organization's work, that in their policies the governments of all Member States will reaffirm

"the respect they have pledged in the Charter for the independent position of the Secretariat of the United Nations and the recognition there given to the essential role of an international civil service in an irrevocably interdependent world [A/2404, page xii].

10. At the end of seven years, the United Nations can still draw on a tremendous fund of world-wide support. Despite the gulf which divides the world, despite the failure of some sections of opinion to recognize the facts of interdependence, despite the inadequacy of our own efforts in translating aspirations into reality, there is a growing world community—spanning continents, races, languages and faiths—which follows and supports international efforts towards world co-operation.

11. May the Assembly which now begins by its work and by its results encourage these efforts and strengthen and widen this co-operation.

Appointment of a Credentials Committee

[Agenda item 3]

12. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: In accordance with rule 28 of the General Assembly's rules of procedure, I propose that the Credentials Committee for this session should consist of the following Members: Cuba, Iceland, Indonesia, New Zealand, Peru, Syria, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America.

It was so decided.

Election of the President

[Agenda item 4]

13. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: The next item before the General Assembly is the election of the President of the eighth session. Rule 92 of the rules of procedure states: "All elections shall be held by secret ballot. There shall be no nominations." The General Assembly will therefore proceed immediately to the vote.

14. I call upon the USSR representative on a point of order.

Question of the representation of China in the United Nations

15. Mr. VYSHINSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): The present

session of the General Assembly is starting its work in unusual circumstances. It is only a month and a half since the historic day when the Armistice Agreement was signed at Panmunjom, so bringing to an end a bloody war which had gone on for more than three years and had caused immense losses and brought the greatest tribulation and suffering to millions of people. The signing of the Armistice Agreement was joyfully acclaimed all over the world by people who rightly saw in that historic event a victory for the forces of peace. Millions of people look to the future with the hope that the United Nations will find strength to turn back to the path appointed for it by its Charter, to carry out its task of maintaining the peace and security of mankind.

16. Great and grave problems confront the General Assembly at its present session. The importance of these problems serves in ever greater degree to emphasize the responsibility of the General Assembly, whose decisions should have the full force of international authority. There can be no doubt that the most important condition for such authority is that everyone should respect the generally accepted principles of international law, by which the General Assembly must of course be guided; respect for those principles is the essential prerequisite of success in the work of the United Nations. There can be no hope of success in the work of the United Nations or any of its organs if that important condition is lacking, if the United Nations Charter and the rules of procedure of the General Assembly which derive from it are violated.

17. But just such a situation has arisen in the United Nations, since it includes as representatives of a certain State persons having neither political, legal nor moral rights to represent that State, and since, on the other hand, the representatives appointed by the legal government of that country are excluded from the United Nations by all kinds of devices and without any political, legal or moral justification. This quite abnormal and intolerable situation has arisen with regard to the great People's Republic of China, whose representatives are so far not in the United Nations, although they are the only legal representatives of the Chinese people.

18. The USSR delegation considers that the General Assembly should immediately examine and reach a satisfactory decision on the question of inviting representatives of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China to take their rightful places in the General Assembly and its organs.

19. As early as 1949, in a communication [A/1123] to the General Assembly, the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China quite justly pointed out that the Chinese people's war of liberation had led to a decisive victory for the nation as a whole and that that government was the only lawful government representing the Chinese people. In 1950 the Government of the People's Republic of China officially informed the United Nations [A/1364] that it had appointed a delegation to take part in the work of the fifth session of the General Assembly.

20. This legitimate demand of the Government of the People's Republic of China was supported by a number of delegations. They pressed for a favourable decision on the question and observed that—as the facts of international life have shown—the absence of China from the United Nations constituted a violation not only of the lawful rights of the Chinese people but also

of the basic principles upon which the United Nations was founded, principles which must be observed if the Organization is to succeed in its work. Events have clearly shown that the absence of China from the United Nations is a serious hindrance to the speedy and successful solution of the important problems affecting the maintenance of international peace and security. A completely abnormal situation, in which there are no lawful representatives of the Chinese people in the United Nations, cannot be accepted. Nor is there any justification for the fact that China, a permanent member of the Security Council, cannot take part in the work of that organ. Such a situation undermines the authority of the United Nations and makes it impossible for it to contribute properly to the strengthening of international peace and security, which we all have so much at heart and which we so earnestly desire.

21. The consideration of the Korean question at the seventh session of the General Assembly, to which the President has referred, showed how useless and futile is any attempt to solve this question while ignoring China. An eloquent demonstration of the fact that important questions affecting the maintenance of international peace and security cannot be settled without the participation of the People's Republic of China was given last December when the General Assembly, after adopting a resolution on the Korean question [resolution 610 (VII)] without the participation of the People's Republic of China, was obliged, in order to settle the question, to seek official contact with and to enter into correspondence with the Government of the People's Republic of China. Such a procedure, of course, could not but delay a settlement of this question instead of hastening it and helping to bring a speedy end to hostilities in Korea and the conclusion of an armistice. The same thing happened in August of this year, when the General Assembly considered the question of the political conference on Korea. As we know, on that occasion too the General Assembly took a decision [resolution 711 (VII)] on the question without the participation of the People's Republic of China.

22. It need hardly be said that any decision taken by the General Assembly without the participation of representatives of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China can have no practical significance. This was subsequently demonstrated in connexion with the question of the composition of the political conference for the peaceful settlement of the Korean question. There is eloquent admission of this in the fact that the General Assembly was again led to seek contact with the Government of the People's Republic of China outside the United Nations, but had to confine itself to communicating certain documents instead of proceeding to an exchange of views *viva voce* which would, of course, have greatly assisted in bringing the matter to the successful conclusion in which we are all interested. There is no doubt that the consideration of these questions by the General Assembly would have been speedier and more successful had the representative of the People's Republic of China taken part in the work.

23. It must also be borne in mind that the situation with regard to the People's Republic of China encourages the Kuomintang clique to undertake various adventures threatening the preservation of peace in the Far East, such as the aggressive activities of the remnants of the Kuomintang bands against Burma and

the Burmese people. Such a situation is detrimental not only to the interests of the Chinese people, but also to the interests of other countries, and it seriously undermines the authority of the United Nations in the eyes of the peoples of the whole world.

24. The non-participation of the People's Republic of China has had a harmful effect on the activity of such other United Nations organs as the Economic and Social Council and the Trusteeship Council, as well as of a number of inter-governmental and non-governmental organizations and specialized agencies affiliated to the United Nations. The non-participation of the People's Republic of China in the work of these organizations has been a serious obstacle to their normal functioning, and has undermined their influence and authority and deprived them of the international importance which is theirs by right and by virtue of the United Nations Charter. It should be quite clear that no successful activity can be expected from, for example, the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, without the participation of a representative of China, of the great Chinese people, of that great Power, the People's Republic of China, which occupies an enormous area of the continent of Asia and whose population constitutes about one-quarter of the total population of the globe.

25. A just decision to recognize the lawful rights of the Chinese people in the United Nations would be to the interest not only of the Chinese people themselves but of all peace-loving peoples. Such a decision would undoubtedly increase the authority of the United Nations, lead to the relaxation of international tension, and hasten and facilitate the solution of all questions relating to the maintenance of international peace and security.

26. The USSR delegation therefore proposes that the General Assembly should adopt the following draft resolution [A/L.162], the text of which was handed to the President an hour ago. It reads:

"The General Assembly

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

27. Any further postponement of a decision on this question cannot fail to do considerable harm to the cause of strengthening international peace and security and at the same time to the authority of the United Nations. The USSR delegation is confident that the General Assembly will do its duty by giving its unanimous support to this draft resolution.

28. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: I call upon the representative of the United States on a point of order.

29. Mr. DULLES (United States of America): I move that the General Assembly postpone for the duration of its eighth session in the current year the consideration of all proposals to exclude the representatives of the National Government of the Republic of China and to seat representatives of the "Central People's Government" to represent the Republic of China. I make this procedural motion of postponement so that we can go ahead with the regular work of the Assembly at our present session.

30. We know that three years ago the Chinese Communists intervened with their armed forces as

aggressors and as participants in the communist scheme to overpower and seize the Republic of Korea. That fact of aggression has been found by the United Nations. After unnecessary and heart-breaking delays, the negotiations for an armistice were finally concluded about six weeks ago. That armistice was welcomed throughout the world, and nowhere more than in the United States. But that armistice has not solved all the problems that were created by the communist aggression in Korea. Armed forces of communist China still remain in Korea. The aggression has yet to be terminated, and the peace secured. The Chinese Communists in this matter have not shown convincing evidence of a genuine intention to end aggression and to make peace. Moreover, their continued actions elsewhere in Asia are far from reassuring.

31. Therefore I submit that as matters now stand we should not even consider any proposals for the representation of the Chinese communist aggressors in this Assembly, and, following the practice of earlier sessions, I urge the prompt adoption of the motion to postpone consideration.

32. Let me add that the fact that the motion I have proposed deals with the current year should not be interpreted as indicating any expectation on the part of the United States that it will change its position after the current year. We merely believe that it is appropriate that a body of this character should deal with one year at a time.

33. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: I would have wished the General Assembly to have allowed me to proceed with the election of a president, and then the newly-elected president, with all the weight and authority of office behind the decision to be made, would have been able to handle this point of order. I am not the president of the eighth session of the General Assembly, and I have no authority to decide anything. However, this procedural discussion has begun, and there are two further speakers on my list. I propose to call on these speakers, and then I hope the General Assembly will permit me to make a suggestion.

34. I call upon the representative of China on a point of order.

35. Mr. TSIANG (China): The move made by the representative of the Soviet Union is most natural. The admission of the Chinese Reds to the United Nations would be the consummation of more than thirty years of intrigue and aggression by the Soviet Union against the Republic of China. These thirty years have been years of persistent Machiavellian effort on the part of the Soviet Union to enclose my country within the Iron Curtain. What the representative of the Soviet Union proposed is that today the United Nations should confer international recognition on the fruits of Soviet subversion and aggression. I do not need to say much on that score; I wish to speak just briefly to delegations from non-communist countries.

36. The Chinese communist régime is not only un-Chinese in its origin, it is also un-Chinese in its nature. Today, what the Chinese Communists have done on the mainland of China is to establish a totalitarian dictatorship which controls and regulates life and society to the last minute detail. To the Chinese people, such a tyrannical régime is turning the world upside-down. It is against Chinese tradition, it offends Chinese common sense, and it outrages the feelings

of the Chinese people. That régime cannot endure. The Chinese people, through the centuries of their evolution, have arrived at the point when they realize that the best thing in international relations is to live and let live. The Chinese Communists have discarded that tradition and that experience.

37. Under the slogan of "liberation of south-east Asia", the Chinese Communists in fact have reverted to imperialism of the crudest kind. Delegations from south-east Asia must know that at this very moment there are Chinese communist fifth columns in their countries, that at this very moment their fellow countrymen in the neighbouring countries of China are being trained by the Chinese Communists in the arts of political subversion and guerrilla warfare. In fact, the arrival of imperialism is one of the basic facts facing us in Asia today.

38. This communist régime in China stands for two things, tyranny at home and imperialism abroad. The Charter enjoins on all nations to promote—and I repeat the word "promote"—peace through freedom. Peace and freedom are inseparable, just as tyranny and imperialism are also inseparable.

39. The Chinese people today are in the hole of communist tyranny. They are struggling to get out of that hole, and they ask the United Nations not to put a cover on that hole. I want to make this point clear: the Chinese people do not expect the United Nations to pull them out of this hole of communist tyranny; they only ask that the United Nations do not proceed to cover that hole. The admission of the Communists to the United Nations will undoubtedly consolidate that régime and enhance its prestige not only inside China but throughout Asia.

40. Soviet objectives in this matter are clear. If the Soviet Union should succeed in this step, there will be other steps, for the ultimate aim of the Soviet Union is the substitution of something different for the United Nations. The Soviet Union would like to see the United Nations replaced by an organization which we could legitimately call the "united satellites". In a word, so far as my country is concerned, if you want an additional Soviet satellite in the United Nations, have communist China. If you want in the United Nations a China of the Chinese people, then it must be the Government which I have the honour to represent here.

41. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Poland to address the General Assembly on this point of order.

42. Mr. NASZKOWSKI (Poland) (*translated from Russian*): I consider that the United States representative's proposal is a routine manoeuvre designed once again to postpone a decision on a question which is of vital importance to the United Nations. Such a proceeding is both undemocratic and futile. It cannot lead to constructive decisions.

43. The Polish delegation fully supports the draft resolution submitted by the USSR delegation, to the effect that the true representatives of the People's Republic of China should take their seat in the United Nations—a seat to which they are legally entitled in accordance with the principles of the Charter and the generally recognized principles of international law.

44. By the persistent efforts of the United States delegation and of several other delegations, a paradoxical situation has been brought about in the United

Nations, namely, that the representatives of a great Asian Power—one of the five great Powers, with a population of 500 million—have precluded for several years from participating in the work of the United Nations. This is a case of flagrant violation of the right of a State to take part in the work of the international Organization. It is a clear instance of one Power imposing its will on the whole United Nations. This situation is one of the main causes of the many difficulties which the United Nations has faced in the past and is facing today. The slanderous statement made today by the representative of the Kuomintang group in an attempt to poison the atmosphere of our debates from the outset is proof of that.

45. The lessons of the past are perfectly clear. We must put an end to this abnormal situation and at long last take a step which will not only help us get out of this impasse, but will also further the realization of the purposes and principles of the United Nations. This is particularly important at the present time when, thanks to the persistent endeavour of the peace-loving States, including the People's Republic of China, and thanks to the untiring efforts of hundreds of millions of people all over the world, an armistice has been signed in Korea and there is some possibility of a lessening of international tension, despite all efforts to the contrary on the part of those who want to maintain the tension and to prevent peaceful co-operation.

46. The fact that some States have not recognized the People's Republic of China and do not approve of its régime does not give them any right at all to oppose participation of the only legal representatives of the Chinese Government in the work of the United Nations. The criteria by which we must be guided in the present question are not our likes or dislikes, but the principles of the Charter and the established standards of international law.

47. This is not the first time the United States has resorted to the manoeuvre of postponing this question. The same thing happened at the seventh session of the General Assembly. An attempt is now being made to repeat that procedure.

48. It should be stressed that the argument that the question of the representation of China cannot be solved until the Conference on Korea has been held and the question of Korea has been settled is invalid. It is worthy of note that this argument is most often used by the very people who spare no effort to prevent a rapid and just settlement of the Korean conflict. Yet it is clear that the admission of the true representatives of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations would greatly expedite the solution of the Korean problem as a whole. This becomes even more obvious when we take into account the enormous and constructive contribution made by the Government of the People's Republic of China to the armistice negotiations and the conclusion of the final agreement. Thus everything indicates that we must no longer tolerate a situation in which the great Chinese people, who shared in the Allied victory in the Second World War, who helped to draw up the Charter and who are a bulwark of peace in Asia, are denied the right of representation in the United Nations.

49. There is an increasingly wide demand that the People's Republic of China should be given its rightful seat. It was voiced recently by the Prime Minister of India, who said that the United Nations was

incomplete without China, and that the absence of China meant the absence of one-fourth of the world. The Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Scandinavian States have spoken in the same vein, as have also done a number of political and religious leaders in the United Kingdom, who, despite the Anglo-American agreement, have demanded that China should be admitted to the United Nations. Only two days ago, on 13 September, the World Federation of United Nations Associations unanimously adopted a resolution to the effect that the representatives of the People's Republic of China should be seated in the United Nations.

50. The question is therefore entirely clear. We cannot any longer evade its solution by legal or procedural quibbles. A flagrant wrong must be righted. Never before was the question of allowing the representatives of the People's Republic of China to take their rightful seat in the United Nations of greater importance to peace in Asia and to the maintenance of peace throughout the world. That is why we must not allow any postponement of the solution of this question. We must take a decision; and there can be only one right and just decision: to invite the only true representatives of China to take their seat in the United Nations, as proposed in the USSR draft resolution.

51. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of the United Kingdom to address the General Assembly on this point of order.

52. Sir Gladwyn JEBB (United Kingdom): As everybody knows, Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom regards the Central People's Government as the Government of China. Moreover, it welcomes warmly the conclusion of the armistice—and I believe that almost everybody here represented does too—and it fervently hopes that its provisions will be faithfully observed by all concerned. It certainly also hopes that progress towards a satisfactory political settlement will follow the armistice. It consequently further hopes that the day for settling the question of Chinese representation will have been brought nearer by the signature of the armistice.

53. But for reasons which it has explained already, whenever the question of Chinese representation in the United Nations has been raised during the last two years, it has been its view that consideration of this question should be postponed; and that is still its view. We think that we must wait and see if our great hopes are going to be fulfilled.

54. In these circumstances, Her Majesty's Government believes that it is entirely appropriate to postpone consideration of this question until the end of this year, as provided for in the draft resolution under discussion, submitted by the United States Secretary of State, and, for the reasons I have given, my delegation will certainly vote for that draft.

55. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: I had expected, and I think most delegations had expected, that questions of this kind would have been considered and decided in the Credentials Committee, and I was going to suggest that that should be done. But the list of speakers indicates that there is a desire on the part of many delegations to discuss and possibly dispose of this question at once, though only by a pretty broad interpretation of the rules could it be brought under the designation of a point of order.

56. In view of that fact, and because I am merely a convening officer trying to get the eighth session of the General Assembly organized, and since this is a point of organization, I would propose, unless some delegation makes a contrary proposal, that we continue with and conclude this discussion on the basis of the two draft resolutions we have before us, and then decide on this question with the understanding, I would hope, that it would not have to be debated again in the Credentials Committee and in the report of that Committee.

57. I call on the representative of the Ukrainian SSR to speak on this question.

58. Mr. BARANOVSKY (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*translated from Russian*): For a number of years now the great Chinese people has not been represented in the United Nations. In spite of the strong protests of all classes of society in European and Asian countries, the seat of the rightful representatives of China in the United Nations is still occupied by the agents of a group of political bankrupts who have no right to represent China. Only the support of the United States, which exercises pressure on the States which are under its influence, has enabled these gentlemen to stay in the seat they illegally seized in the United Nations and to claim to represent the Chinese people.

59. There is no reason to tolerate any longer this abnormal situation, in which one of the permanent members of the Security Council is unable to take part in the work of the United Nations. It is not fortuitous that for the last few years, at each session of each of the main organs of the United Nations, a number of delegations have insisted that the illegal Kuomintang representation should be put to an end and that the representatives of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China should be allowed to take China's rightful seat in the United Nations. Whether the United States likes the political and social structure of the People's Republic of China or not, there can be no justification for the fact that the United Nations has so far tolerated the policy of disregarding China's legitimate rights in the United Nations.

60. The United Nations, which was established to maintain international peace and security, cannot expect to succeed in its efforts to solve problems by peaceful means, to settle international questions, and particularly to create normal conditions in the Far East, so long as that great country, China, is not legally represented in the Organization. The Soviet Union and the democratic States friendly to it will never accept this abnormal situation. The United States policy of discriminating against the Chinese people seriously impairs the prestige of the United Nations itself and makes it powerless to bring about the needed lessening of international tension and strengthening of international peace and security.

61. When the United States representative, at today's meeting, repeated the fabrications about the aggression allegedly committed in Korea by the People's Republic of China, his statement had a definite significance. While paying lip-service to the policy of removing all obstacles to the peaceful solution of all outstanding international questions, with regard to the question of the representation of China in the United Nations, the United States representative pursues a one-sided policy, which is to the advantage only of his country's ruling circles. Obviously such a policy cannot lead to

results which would further the cause of peace, but can only increase international tension.

62. As may be seen from the statement Mr. Dulles made today, the United States delegation is trying to make the solution of the question of the representation of China dependent upon the results of the political conference for the peaceful settlement of the Korean question. The United Kingdom representative supports this position. But surely it is obvious that, as the Chairman of the USSR delegation rightly pointed out, the consideration of the question of the political conference on Korea in the General Assembly, as well as the negotiations at the conference itself, would progress more rapidly and be much more successful if the People's Republic of China were represented in the United Nations.

63. The People's Republic of China has an incontestable right to be represented in the United Nations. This is now recognized by many public leaders in a number of European and Asian countries and is finding increasing support in the United States itself. The restoration of the rights of the Chinese people in the United Nations is in the interest not only of the Chinese people itself, but of all peace-loving peoples. That opinion was recently expressed by Mr. Nehru, Prime Minister of India, when he said that in his country's view, the United Nations was incomplete without China. Without the representation of China, the United Nations cannot function effectively, and the problems of the Far East cannot be properly solved. By preventing the General Assembly from considering the question of the representation of China in the United Nations to discharge the functions incumbent upon it in the complex international situation of today.

64. All those who really want international tension to be relaxed should reject the United States proposal that the consideration of the question of the representation of China in the United Nations should be postponed, and should support the USSR draft resolution, which recommends that the representatives of the People's Republic of China appointed by the Central People's Government should take the rightful seat of China in the General Assembly and in the other organs of the United Nations. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR associates itself with the USSR draft resolution and wholeheartedly supports it.

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

66. Mr. DAVID (Czechoslovakia) (*translated from Russian*): The draft resolution which Mr. Vyshinsky, the head of the USSR delegation, has submitted on the opening day of the eighth session of the General Assembly draws our attention to one of the most important questions before the United Nations. The purpose of the draft is to put an end to the humiliating situation in which the United Nations has permitted the great and renowned People's Republic of China, one of its original Members, to remain for the past several years.

67. The peoples of the world have a right to expect that, after the signing of the Korean Armistice Agreement, which was made possible by the generous initiative taken by the People's Republic of China, the present unlawful situation regarding the representation of China in the United Nations will at last be remedied; since that alone can bring about the basic and normal

conditions laid down in the Charter for the effective removal of obstacles and dangers to international peace and security. It is clear to everyone that there can be no effective and just solution to the basic problem of international peace and security without the participation of representatives of the lawful government of the People's Republic of China, which represents 500 million Chinese.

68. Almost four years have passed since the People's Republic of China was proclaimed. In that time, during which the power has been in the hands of the Chinese people, China, the most densely populated country in the world, has achieved the most striking development in its history. The People's Republic of China, having in a short space of time consolidated its political position both within and without the country to an extent never reached before, has become a powerful political factor in international life, particularly in the Far East. Without the People's Republic of China, there can be no real solution of problems of international peace and security.

69. Even if there has recently been some easing of international tension, we must not rest there. It is therefore essential that a serious and responsible effort should be made to remove every other focus and cause of international tension. The United Nations has a great responsibility today in this respect. It must contribute its share to the achievement of these ends. Yet it cannot possibly fulfil its task and satisfy the aspirations of the peoples of the world so long as the People's Republic of China, one of the five great Powers on which the Charter places primary responsibility for the settlement of international problems, is not legitimately represented in the United Nations, and its seat is occupied—if I may say so—by persons who represent no one except a bankrupt clique of military adventurers with whom the Chinese people have done forever.

70. The Czechoslovak delegation is convinced, on the basis of the fundamental principles of international law and of the purposes and principles of the Charter, that the United Nations cannot properly discharge the tasks for which it was created and that neither the Organization as a whole nor its individual organs can function normally, in the absence of the lawful representatives of the People's Republic of China. It is impossible properly to solve the important questions of international peace without first recognizing the legal right of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China to occupy the seat to which it is entitled in the United Nations. The present illegal situation, in which the People's Republic of China is denied lawful representation, in flagrant violation of the principles on which the United Nations was founded, has already done serious damage to the authority of the United Nations and the maintenance of international peace and security. That such a situation is intolerable is now recognized throughout the world. More and more voices are being raised in condemnation of this unlawful situation and are demanding that it should be put to an end.

71. It goes without saying that the question of the representation of that great Asian Power, the People's Republic of China, in the United Nations has a direct bearing on the important work of all the great Powers in the United Nations, for as soon as the People's Republic of China takes its rightful seat in the United Nations as one of its original Members, the way to more effective co-operation among States will be

opened. That is why the Czechoslovak delegation considers the United States representative's proposal unfounded, inappropriate and harmful.

72. For these reasons the Czechoslovak delegation warmly supports the draft resolution submitted by the Soviet Union.

73. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of the Byelorussian SSR to speak on this question.

74. Mr. KISELYOV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*translated from Russian*): The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR has repeatedly pointed out in the General Assembly that only the Central People's Government—the sole legitimate government of China—can authorize its representatives to speak for China in the United Nations.

75. On this, the opening day of the eighth session of the General Assembly, the question of the representation of the People's Republic of China acquires special significance. The prestige and authority of the United Nations have suffered from the fact that, despite the many proposals submitted by the delegations of the USSR, the Byelorussian SSR, the Ukrainian SSR, Poland, Czechoslovakia, India and other countries, the United Nations has as yet been unable to take the only proper and satisfactory decision, desired by all peace-loving peoples, on the question of the representation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations.

76. One would have thought that the policy of ignoring China should long since have been abandoned, that the People's Republic of China should have been restored to full possession of its rights in the United Nations which have been disregarded and that measures should have been taken to enable China, a great Power, to assume its rightful place in the United Nations and in the whole system of international relations. One would have thought that the time had come when the rights of the great Chinese people in the discussion of the most important international questions should no longer be disregarded. Unfortunately that has not happened so far. It is common knowledge that the Kuomintang group—on whose behalf Mr. Tsiang, who was driven out by the Chinese people several years ago, spoke today—lost all power as a government and no longer exercises any control over the territory and the people of China. That is why the representative of the Kuomintang cannot represent the Chinese people in the United Nations.

77. The Chinese people, having overthrown by armed force the bankrupt and corrupt Kuomintang régime, proclaimed the People's Republic of China in October 1949 and created its own government—the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China—which effectively rules the country and enjoys the confidence and affection of the 500 million Chinese people it represents. The Central People's Government, the only legitimate government of China, alone can authorize its representatives to speak for China in the United Nations and, in particular, in the Security Council. There can be no justification for the fact that China, a permanent member of the Security Council, cannot participate in the work of the United Nations. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR feels that the question of restoring to the Chinese people its rights in the United Nations and, in particular, in the Security Council is a matter of urgency. In the present circum-

stances especially, such a step will serve the interests of the peoples of the whole world and will help to strengthen international peace.

78. The arguments just adduced by Mr. Dulles, the United States Secretary of State, to the effect that the time is not yet ripe for considering the question of the representation of China, are completely unfounded. Everyone can see that the existing tension in the Far East is the result of the aggressive actions and designs of the Kuomintang clique, and that the immediate restoration of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China would go a long way towards relieving this tension and helping to strengthen international peace and security. That is precisely why the delegation of the Byelorussian SSR strongly objects to the proposal put forward by Mr. Dulles, the United States representative, that the question of the representation of China should be postponed and should not be discussed at the eighth session of the General Assembly.

79. For all these reasons, the delegation of the Byelorussian SSR warmly supports the USSR draft resolution to the effect that representatives of the People's Republic of China, appointed by the Central People's Government, should take their rightful seat in the General Assembly and in the other organs of the United Nations.

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

81. Mr. VYSHINSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): I would not have spoken again on this matter had not its gravity and the weak and insignificant nature of the objections we have heard constrained me to point out once more the necessity for reaching, this time, a really satisfactory decision on a question which is of such great international importance.

82. We have heard a statement by the Kuomintang representative. He tried to defend the outworn argument, long since refuted by very reliable facts and documents, that the Kuomintang group has some grounds for asserting that it is the government of China. As was to be expected, he was supported and defended here by the United States representative, Mr. Dulles, whose statement we all heard. I shall say nothing about the statement made by the United Kingdom delegation on the subject; it was merely a formal declaration clearly showing that that delegation does not desire to oppose the illegal and arbitrary actions of the United States delegation. Thus there is no need to make any reply to Sir Gladwyn Jebb, since he did not say anything at all on the substance of the matter.

83. Mr. Dulles proposed that the General Assembly should decide not to consider, at the present session, the question which my delegation raised of recognizing the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China and inviting its legitimate representatives to take the seat of China, on the pretext that it has already been established by precedent that such matters do not come up for discussion until a certain interval of time has elapsed.

84. What is the precedent to which Mr. Dulles refers? Only one resolution has ever been adopted on this subject—at the sixth session, if I am not mistaken. But Mr. Dulles forgets that at the fifth session, for example, the Special Committee on the representation

of China was set up [*resolution 490 (V)*] it consisted of the representatives of seven States. Mr. Dulles said that his proposal that the question should not be considered at the eighth session did not mean that the United States would in any way modify its attitude later. In other words, he said that his proposal that the question should not be considered at the present session meant that it would never be considered at all. This of course simply amounts to what the ancient Greeks called a postponement till the Greek Kalends, that is, till a date that will never come, or what I believe the Americans often speak of as putting something off "forever and a day". That day, of course, will never come. When Mr. Dulles said today that we would not consider the matter at the eighth session, he meant that we would never consider it. His statement shows that the United States delegation maintains its mistaken attitude, which is inconsistent with the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations, principles which require that the sovereignty of peoples and their national rights and interests should be respected. Those who make such a proposal evidently wish to ignore those principles.

85. Nevertheless, it must finally be understood that it is the sovereign will of the people which determines the régime of the people set up in a particular country, just as it is the sovereign will of the people which determines what governments and what régimes the people expel from their country. This has nothing to do with the United Nations; the Organization must not meddle in such matters. In connexion with régimes, and in particular with the so-called régime of the so-called government on the island of Taiwan, I should like to recall certain authoritative pieces of evidence.

86. In 1949 or 1950 the United States State Department issued its famous *White Paper*. A passage in it, describing the Kuomintang, states that, in the opinion of many observers, it is rotten with graft and given over to the struggle for office and power. Other documents and facts support this view. In particular, I must recall what the former Commander-in-Chief of the United States forces in China, General Stilwell, wrote about the Kuomintang. I quote his own words:

"A gang of thugs with the one idea of perpetuating themselves and their machine. Money, influence and position the only considerations of the leaders. Intrigue, double-crossing, lying reports. Hands out for everything they can get."

You can read all this in the *Stilwell Papers*, New York, page 190.

87. As the former Secretary of State of the United States, Mr. Dulles' predecessor, said, this Kuomintang group, which claims to be a government, is deserving of no confidence, for it has forfeited it. He went further and declared that the Kuomintang clique does not deserve the confidence either of the Chinese or of the American people. Nevertheless, the United States Government supported it and, as Mr. Dulles has shown today, continues to support it.

88. One further piece of evidence and I have done. On 10 January 1950, the *New York Post* published an article stating that Chiang Kai-shek was the supreme example in our time of a man who had renounced greatness to become a traitor; he had betrayed the ideal of Sun Yat-sen when he became the leader of the Kuomintang which Sun Yat-sen had founded; he had broken the promise he had made to President

Roosevelt and other American statesmen, who had supported him from the outset; he had betrayed his opponents, who had released him from imprisonment under an agreement; he had betrayed the missionaries by professing Christianity, while practising paganism; he had betrayed the bankers by borrowing from them on behalf of China and appropriating the funds himself; and above all he had betrayed the Chinese people with promises of freedom and had set up his own brand of fascism.

89. I have not, you will understand, been using my own words in this case, but merely quoting the *New York Post* of 10 January 1950. This, then, is the régime which is supposed to be the lawful representative of the Chinese people, which is supposed to be worthy of the Chinese people; yet that people expelled its representatives with ignominy and obliged them to take refuge on Formosa. Those representatives of the Kuomintang régime now maintain their existence in Formosa only with foreign support, protection and assistance.

90. Nevertheless it is now proposed that the Assembly should decide not to consider at this session—to postpone considering “forever and a day”, or till the Greeks Kalends—the question of finally restoring the legal rights of the great Chinese people.

91. We are against proposals of this kind, introduced by Mr. Dulles and others. We shall go on insisting, as we are insisting now, on the necessity for settling the Chinese question in the manner we propose, and as I am sure many of those present in this hall desire, not to mention the millions not present who in all parts of the world believe it to be just that the People's Republic of China should occupy its rightful place in the General Assembly and in all the other organs of the United Nations.

92. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: I now propose to put to the vote of the Assembly the two draft resolutions which are before us on this question, and I shall follow the usual procedure in putting them in the order in which they were submitted.

93. I recognize the representative of the United States on a point of order.

94. Mr. DULLES (United States of America): I would suggest that the draft resolution proposed by the United States delegation and endorsed by the delegation of the United Kingdom has priority under rule 78 (c) of the rules of procedure because it is, in substance, a motion to adjourn the debate on this matter.

95. If that is not the view of the Chair, then I ask that, under rule 91, the Assembly should be asked to decide in which order it wishes to vote on the two draft resolutions before it.

96. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: So far as the first point made by the representative of the United States is concerned, if I were the president I would rule that rule 78 (c) does not really apply in this case because we are not now dealing with the adjournment of the debate; the debate has been completed and we are now voting, but the representative of the United States is quite correct in asking for the Assembly's decision on this question of priority of voting in accordance with rule 91, which reads:

“If two or more proposals relate to the same question, the General Assembly shall, unless it de-

cides otherwise, vote on the proposals in the order in which they have been submitted . . .”

97. The representative of the United States has asked that priority be given to the draft resolution of the United States, which he is entitled to do under rule 91, and I will, therefore, ask the Assembly to decide that question first.

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

99. Mr. VYSHINSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): I must point out that the proposal originally submitted here by the United States representative, Mr. Dulles, called for a decision whereby this matter would not be considered at all during the eighth session. Rule 78 of the rules of procedure, of course, makes no provision of this kind. As the President has already pointed out, the reference to that rule was incorrect; it does not apply. It would appear unnecessary, therefore, for me to dwell on this point.

100. In support of that interpretation, however, I should like to recall that rule 78, which in turn is subject to rule 72, provides that:

“... the following motions shall have precedence in the following order over all proposals or motions before the meeting:

“(a) To suspend the meeting;

“(b) To adjourn the meeting;

“(c) To adjourn the debate on the item under discussion;”

(This provision applies, therefore, to an adjournment of the debate—not to a decision barring such debate throughout the entire session.)

“(d) For the closure of the debate on the item under discussion.”

The closure of the debate is of course a matter for the Assembly to decide, in which case rule 78 could be properly applied.

101. At any rate, reference was made to rule 78, but rule 78 is subject to rule 72, which reads:

“During the discussion of any matter, a representative may rise to a point of order, and the point of order shall be immediately decided by the President in accordance with the rules of procedure . . .”

There has been no ruling by the President on this question. We, or anyone who wishes, may appeal against the President's ruling. This being the case, I do not see how we can act in accordance with rule 78 if we ignore rule 72. The President has not made a ruling. Perhaps he will give his ruling in accordance with what Mr. Dulles has proposed, namely that the Chinese question which we raise should not be considered here at all? Meanwhile, in the absence of a ruling, there is a gap in our procedure.

102. There remains rule 91, which reads:

“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 . . .”

We must, therefore, have a decision on the matter of priority. In the absence of any such decision, we must vote on the proposals in the order in which they were submitted. To decide on the question of priority, however, we must consider whether the draft resolution submitted by the United States delegation actually

deserves priority. But no one has spoken on that point. My delegation, which opposes the United States proposal, has not spoken on it. Perhaps representatives of other delegations have been placed on the President's list of speakers.

103. At any rate, until the question of priority has been considered I cannot regard it as proper that the United States draft resolution should be put to the vote without due account being taken of all the considerations which have been introduced here. Such a vote would constitute a violation of rule 91, which provides that if two or more proposals relate to the same question, the General Assembly shall vote on the proposals in the order in which they have been submitted, subject, of course, to the reservation "unless it decides otherwise". However—and we should recall our established practice—at no session and on no question has the General Assembly ever adopted such a decision without prior consideration of the issue. From this point of view, therefore, the application of rule 91 would amount to a mechanical solution of the question, which would be all the more inadmissible when it is remembered that the decision to be taken is of such great importance.

104. I have one last point: does the proposal submitted by the United States really deserve to be given priority? Is it proper to move that we should not consider the question of the representation of the People's Republic of China in the General Assembly during the present session? Does this proposal relate to the same question as that of the Soviet Union?

105. I should like to point out that the Soviet Union proposal is not that this question should be examined here, but that the representatives of the legitimate government of China—the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China—should be invited to take part in the work of this session.

106. The other proposal is that the question of the representation of the People's Republic of China in the General Assembly should not be considered at the eighth session. In the first place, we are already considering it. In the second place, it must be agreed that these proposals do not relate to the same question. The United States proposal can be put to the vote, since it has been submitted, but this does not mean that it precludes a decision on the first proposal or that it relates to the same question and therefore has priority. The rule states that the proposals must "relate to the same question". If we throw all the questions into one heap then, of course, we are throwing logic to the winds. This would be inadmissible in any event, and I believe particularly so in juridical practice.

107. Accordingly, I submit that it is entirely inappropriate to hold that under rule 91 the two proposals relate to the same question. Two questions are at issue, not one. One proposal is that the representatives of the People's Republic of China should be invited; the other proposal is that the question of Chinese representation should not be considered at this session of the General Assembly at all. These are important questions, and I therefore object to the reference to rule 91 of the rules of procedure; I object in particular to having the question put to the vote on the basis of an erroneous interpretation of rule 91.

108. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: I think that we do not need to waste any time on this point. Rule 78 (c) was invoked by the representative of the United

States, and I ruled that it did not apply. That ruling has not been challenged.

109. As regards rule 91, I believe that the representative of the United States has every right under it to put the question of priority to the Assembly. I would rule that the two draft resolutions do refer to the same question, namely, the representation of China in the United Nations. Therefore I propose to put to the Assembly the question of priority under rule 91. That is the proposal now before the Assembly, and any representative may speak to it. There is no desire on my part to prevent any discussion of the proposal.

110. As no representative has signified a desire to speak, I shall put to the vote the proposal of the delegation of the United States that priority should be given to its draft resolution.

The proposal was adopted by 40 votes to 8, with 8 abstentions.

111. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: I shall now put to the vote the draft resolution of the delegation of the United States, which reads:

"The General Assembly

"Decides to postpone for the duration of its eighth regular session in the current year consideration of all proposals to exclude the representatives of the Government of the Republic of China and to seat representatives of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China."

The draft resolution was adopted by 44 votes to 10, with 2 abstentions.

112. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: I shall now put to the vote the Soviet Union draft resolution [A/L.162].

113. I call upon the representative of the United States on a point of order before the voting takes place.

114. Mr. DULLES (United States of America): This Assembly has just voted to postpone for the duration of its eighth session in the current year the consideration of any such proposals. I ask the President to rule that to vote upon the draft resolution submitted by the Soviet Union would be to do precisely what we have just voted overwhelmingly not to do.

115. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: I am, of course, quite aware of the point made by the representative of the United States. We have been confronted more than once in this Assembly—at the seventh and previous sessions—by this very situation, but it has been invariably the custom in the Assembly, if the proposer of a motion so desired, to vote on that motion even though a contrary motion had been carried immediately before. It seems to me, therefore, that in order to avert a long procedural discussion of this matter, the simplest course would be to follow that usual but somewhat illogical practice and to vote upon this draft resolution and thus dispose of it. If there is no objection to that, we shall proceed to the vote.

116. I call upon the representative of the United States in connexion with this question.

117. Mr. DULLES (United States of America): I appeal against the ruling of the Chair in this respect.

118. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: That clears up the situation, because no debate is permitted on an

appeal against the ruling of the Chair. I shall therefore put my ruling to the Assembly in order to bring this matter to a decision. An appeal has been made to it and the vote will be on appeal. My ruling was—if I have any right to make a ruling, which is doubtful—that we should proceed with the vote on the USSR draft resolution. The representative of the United States appealed against that ruling and the vote is on his appeal.

119. Those in favour of sustaining the ruling of the Chair please signify [*show of hands*]. Those against the ruling of the Chair—those in favour of the appeal, that is—please signify [*show of hands*]. Abstentions [*show of hands*].

120. The vote is as follows: in favour of the appeal against the ruling of the Chair, 13; against the appeal, 22; abstentions, 13.

121. Since the ruling of the Chair has been upheld, we must now proceed to vote on the Soviet Union draft resolution. A roll-call vote has been requested. The voting will begin with Sweden.

122. Mr. DULLES (United States of America): Point of order.

123. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: Now that the voting has begun, no point of order is admissible unless it has to do with the vote.

124. Mr. DULLES (United States of America): My point of order is connected with the voting. There seems to be considerable doubt as to the vote and I ask for a vote by ayes and nays.

125. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: If the representative of the United States is asking for a vote by ayes and nays on the Soviet Union draft resolution, such a vote is, of course, being taken.

126. Mr. DULLES (United States of America): No—on the prior draft resolution.

127. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: I do not want there to be any doubt about this. I put the appeal against my ruling to the General Assembly, and if there is any doubt in the mind of any delegation as to the form in which the appeal was put, and another vote is required to clear up that doubt, then I am in the hands of the Assembly. But I thought that the vote was clear.

128. I call upon the representative of the United Kingdom on this point of order.

129. Sir Gladwyn JEBB (United Kingdom): I wished simply to say that, as I understand it, the result of the vote which was taken by show of hands showed, as it was read out by the President, that 13 delegations were against his ruling and 22 in favour, while 13 abstained. If that is so, only forty-eight out of sixty members of this Assembly appear to have voted, and since the vote was on a point of very great importance, after all, I would have thought that he might agree in those circumstances, to a new vote by roll-call in which all delegations could clearly express their points of view on the question of his ruling.

130. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: I should not like to see this matter disposed of in a way which would leave doubt in the mind of any delegation, and apparently there is some considerable doubt. Although a vote has been taken by show of hands, a request has been made by two delegations that it should be reconsidered and a vote taken by roll-call.

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

132. Mr. VYSHINSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): Really, something altogether out of the ordinary is taking place, something not provided for in any rules of procedure and against all logic. When I first spoke and proposed on behalf of the Soviet Union that the representatives of the People's Republic of China should be invited here, I said that we must be guided by political, legal and moral considerations. Yet here we have neither moral nor legal considerations, but only political ones, the aim being to have things one's own way at any price and to discredit any other solution, irrespective of whether or not there is any logic in doing so.

133. What grounds are there for displaying a lack of confidence in our President and in the Executive Assistant to the Secretary-General, who counted the votes? I consider that the act of raising this question is in itself an insult to the General Assembly. It is a matter of indifference to us that the person who made the count in this case is not a representative of the so-called Soviet bloc, and that the Chair is occupied by a person who might be described as being far from sympathetic to the Soviet Union delegation and its friends. But the count was made by honourable men. Of that we have no doubt. Consequently we believe that any verification of the vote, by roll-call or otherwise, would be a definite blow to the authority of the General Assembly itself.

134. The line adopted by Sir Gladwyn Jebb was not a very convincing one. He brought in arithmetic to help him. We know, however, that when interests are involved, arithmetic is not of much use, and that in cases where there are conflicting interests, the arithmetic becomes such that two and two no longer make four, but five, or even a candle, as a great Russian writer once wrote. What did Sir Gladwyn Jebb say? He said that 22 delegations had upheld the ruling of the Chair, 13 had voted against and 13 had abstained, and he asked what happened to the other twelve. But I ask Sir Gladwyn Jebb, have there not been cases here in which a number of delegations failed to take part in the voting without even announcing that they were not participating? Or does Sir Gladwyn Jebb think that these twelve delegations did vote? If so, he must believe that Mr. Cordier miscounted deliberately, and left out all twelve of the votes! But even had Mr. Cordier wanted to do that, I do not think he could possibly have managed it in this well-lit room.

135. To call for a fresh vote by roll-call after the vote has been taken, in order to check each individual vote, is a type of procedure I came across as a university student when I was studying police law, which contained regulations of a similar nature. We consider, therefore, that there should and can be no verification of the vote. The question has been settled.

136. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: I call upon the representative of Turkey to speak on the point of order.

137. Mr. SARPEN (Turkey): The USSR representative in his last statement said that something extremely odd was taking place in the General Assembly. I am in full agreement—but in another way. Something extremely odd has, in fact, taken place here.

138. Only a few moments ago, the General Assembly decided by an overwhelming majority—44 votes to 10—not to consider the question before us for the duration of this year. What does the President now desire the Assembly to do? Are we to be asked, first, to vote against the principle which we have just established and, secondly, to deny—although I hope no one will do that—the vote which we cast in favour of excluding the item from the General Assembly agenda during this year, at least? That, of course, is odd. I would ask the General Assembly to consider this point of order carefully, because we are about to establish a very dangerous precedent.

139. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: So far as the precedent is concerned, I would say this: it was established at almost the first session of the General Assembly, and illogical though it may be, we have been following it ever since. The General Assembly has formed the habit of voting on a proposal after a contrary proposal has been adopted. My ruling that we should vote on the Soviet Union draft resolution was made merely because I thought it would be desirable at this time to follow the procedure—illogical as it may be—that has been followed in every General Assembly session in which I have taken part.

140. I do admit that, in an understandable desire to vacate this Chair, I may have put the appeal to the ruling ambiguously. I thought I put the question in this way: that those who wished to sustain the ruling would vote "yes" and those who were opposed to the ruling and were in favour of the appeal would vote "no". Evidently, however, there was some doubt—this has been brought to my attention during the last few moments by more than one delegation—as to the form in which the matter was put and the results of the vote. Hence I think that, even though it might be unusual to do so, it would be quite fair to take a new vote, by roll-call, so that there will be no doubt in anyone's mind about this question.

141. If the USSR representative and others will agree to this course, I propose to take a new vote, by roll-call, and to put the matter in such a way that there will be, I hope, no doubt as to the result.

142. I call upon the USSR representative to speak on the point of order.

143. Mr. VYSHINSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): If it were merely a question of diplomatic or common courtesy, the Soviet Union delegation could shrug its shoulders and say: "Do as you wish, since it is only a question of courtesy". But we are dealing here with a question of principle. I should like to ask the Assembly whether or not there exists such a thing as a presidential ruling; whether there is or is not a rule 72 of the rules of procedure? Rulings by the President do exist, and one such ruling has just been given. Rule 72 also exists, and is applicable in this case.

144. Under rule 72 of the rules of procedure it is, in fact, possible to appeal against a ruling by the President. The United States delegation made such an appeal but nothing came of it; to put it boldly, the appeal failed. Following this, wholly inadmissible attempts have been made—and may I point out to Mr. Sarper that this is what I was referring to when I spoke of unusual happenings—to cast doubts on the vote and consequently on the honesty of persons whose

integrity is, and must be, above all suspicion. That is a matter of principle.

145. I therefore appeal to Mr. Pearson, as President (although he is the retiring President—and in this connexion I think that we can all say that throughout the seventh session Mr. Pearson presided over the General Assembly in a manner which merited the confidence it showed in him), to continue to do his duty firmly and not to allow any violation of a ruling upheld by the majority or of rule 72 of the rules of procedure, which exists, which is in force and, which will remain in force as long as it has not been legally abolished.

146. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: I call upon the representative of Thailand to speak on the point of order.

147. Prince WAN WAITHAYAKON (Thailand): In its vote on the United States draft resolution, the General Assembly carried out the provision of the first sentence of rule 91, which reads:

"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 second sentence of rule 91 states:

"The General Assembly may, after each vote on a proposal, decide whether to vote on the next proposal."

148. Hence, according to rule 91, it is the General Assembly itself which must decide, by a vote, whether it will proceed to vote on the next proposal. I would therefore ask the President to apply the second sentence of rule 91.

149. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: The General Assembly's earlier vote on my ruling stands—ambiguous though that vote may have been, as a result of my stating of the question—because my suggestion that we should take a new vote, by roll-call, has not been accepted. I am bound to stand by the decision I made.

150. The representative of Thailand has, however, invoked rule 91, and he is perfectly entitled to do that. The last sentence of the rule reads:

"The General Assembly may, after each vote on a proposal, decide whether to vote on the next proposal."

The representative of Thailand has asked the General Assembly to decide now whether it will vote on the next proposal—that is, the Soviet Union draft resolution.

151. I shall put to the General Assembly the proposal of the representative of Thailand, and the representative of the Soviet Union will now speak on that proposal.

152. Mr. VYSHINSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics): The ruling made by the President related precisely to the question which is covered by the last sentence of rule 91. The ruling concerned the question whether or not we should vote on the Soviet Union draft resolution. Rule 91, referred to here by the representative of Thailand, says that the General Assembly may, after each vote on a proposal, decide whether to vote on the next proposal. The next proposal is the draft resolution of the Soviet Union delegation. On this

question a ruling was given by the President, and upheld by the General Assembly, to the effect that a vote should be taken. That is how I understand what has been happening here.

153. Hence the question which has just been raised by the representative of Thailand, as to whether or not a vote should be taken on the Soviet Union draft resolution, has already been settled by the President's ruling, which has been upheld by the majority in the General Assembly. Consequently, the proposal of the representative of Thailand is too late by exactly the amount of time it took to vote on the President's ruling. This proposal should therefore be rejected.

154. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: As the representative of the USSR has stated, I did make a ruling that we should vote on the Soviet Union proposal in order to get the opinion of the General Assembly. My ruling was challenged and a vote was taken on that challenge. But it related to my own ruling from the Chair.

155. Now the representative of Thailand, with no reference to the President's views on the matter, has proposed, under rule 91 of the rules of procedure, that we should decide now on the proposal whether we will or will not vote on the Soviet Union draft resolution. I shall put that proposal of the representative of Thailand to the Assembly.

156. I call upon the representative of the Soviet Union to speak on a point of order; we can go on like this all night.

157. Mr. VYSHINSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics): Mr. Pearson's clarification, in my humble opinion, shows some flaws. He puts it as though all that had happened was that the President had handed down his ruling. Were that the case, then the proposal of the representative of Thailand or any other similar proposal would be in order.

158. But the President will not deny—and were he to do so I should invoke the testimony of everyone here present, and they would confirm the fact—that not only has there been a ruling by the President, but that that ruling has been endorsed by the General Assembly. Thus, the Assembly has already voted. But it is now proposed that we should vote again, under rule 91 of the rules of procedure. In my opinion this is a mistake.

159. We are told that we might go on like this all night. I am prepared to go on for three nights if a principle is at stake; when the dignity and authority of our Assembly are at stake I am in no hurry. If others are in a hurry, let them refrain from submitting incorrect and entirely unjustifiable proposals which only draw out the discussion of this question.

160. I appeal once more to representatives to bear in mind the fact that we are faced not merely with a ruling from the Chair, but with a ruling which has been upheld by the General Assembly by a vote of 22 to 13. I would ask, has the General Assembly adopted a decision or has it not? Since it has, why do we need yet another General Assembly decision. The decision has already been adopted in other words. The question is therefore exhausted, and I am surprised at the extreme forbearance of our President in allowing his ruling and the decision of the Assembly to be further questioned.

161. I know, of course, that there are some delegations which can form themselves into a group and block any proposal, particularly if they receive a signal to that effect from this left-hand corner. But I shall oppose such practices and I hope that I shall have the support of a great many delegations. The Charter of the United Nations and the principles proclaimed in our rules of procedure must not be derided. We cannot eat pork during Lent and call it fish, but must call things by their names.

162. I propose that the question should be regarded as settled. This is the only decision worthy of the General Assembly.

163. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: So far as the President is concerned, he would have stood by the first ruling and that would have ended the matter if he had not been satisfied that the proposal was somewhat ambiguously put and that some delegations, from the result of the vote, were not quite sure whether they were voting for or against because of the way it was put by the President. Therefore it is perfectly in order for any delegation to try to correct that situation by appealing to a rule of procedure which would put the matter above question. The representative of Thailand has done that under rule 91, and I accept his proposal and will put it to the vote under the second sentence of that rule.

164. A vote will now be taken as to whether the Assembly will vote on the next proposal, which is the draft resolution of the Soviet Union.

By 35 votes to 11, with 11 abstentions, it was decided not to vote on the Soviet Union draft resolution.

Election of the President (concluded)

[Agenda item 4]

165. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: The next item on the agenda is the election of the President of the eighth session of the General Assembly. Rule 92 of the rules of procedure requires that all elections in the General Assembly shall be held by secret ballot and that there shall be no nominations. We shall therefore proceed immediately to the vote. The ballot papers have been distributed, and each delegation is requested to write on its ballot paper the name of the person for whom it wishes to vote.

A vote was taken by secret ballot.

At the invitation of the Temporary President, Mr. Borberg (Denmark) and Mr. Franco y Franco (Dominican Republic) acted as tellers.

Number of ballot papers:	60
Number of abstentions:	0
Number of invalid ballots:	1
Number of valid ballots:	59
Required majority:	30

Number of votes obtained:	
Mrs. Pandit (India)	37
Prince Wan Waithayakon (Thailand) ...	22

Mrs. Pandit (India), having obtained the required majority of the Members present and voting, was elected President of the eighth session of the General Assembly, and took the Chair.

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

166. The PRESIDENT: I should like to express my deep appreciation to my fellow representatives for the

great honour they have just conferred upon me. They can be certain that I shall do my best to justify their confidence and to discharge impartially the responsibilities of this high office. I regard their choice as a tribute to my country and a recognition of its profound desire to serve the purposes of the United Nations and through them, the paramount interests of world peace. It is also a recognition on the part that women have played and are playing in furthering the aims and the purposes of this great Organization.

167. The tasks of every General Assembly are delicate and difficult; they also present great opportunities. At this session, the opportunities are all the greater because the General Assembly meets in an atmosphere which offers the hope of beginning to really resolve some of the tensions and conflicts that afflict us. For the first time since June 1950, fighting has ceased in Korea and the way has been opened for a settlement in the Far East which would immeasurably strengthen world peace and stability. All nations, we are sure, will watch the work of the Political Conference on Korea with hope and expectancy and will wish it success in its proceedings. We all hope and trust that the armistice achieved in Korea will prove a beginning from which the United Nations can move forward to still greater achievements.

168. The many specific disputes threatening peace in various regions and the basic causes of unrest and insecurity demand our earnest and constant attention. Our provisional agenda provides us with every opportunity. We have the duty not merely to restore peace when it is broken but, even more, to prevent peace from being threatened.

169. We must continue to devise practical answers to the fundamental dangers threatening world security. We must find the right and satisfactory answers to meet the legitimate urges of rising nationalism and not seek remedies which can only lead to greater frustration and the break out of violence. We must find solutions to racial friction and to battle against organized and legalized discrimination. We must find solutions to the problems of poverty and want, and recognize in actions that prosperity and contentment cannot be achieved in compartments. We must seek to eliminate weapons of mass destruction rather than invent weapons which are even more destructive. Finally, we must discover a means of directing the resources of industry and the researches of science into peaceful instead of destructive channels. We must learn to co-operate effectively in safeguarding peace and in raising the standards of living of the peoples of the world.

170. It is, of course, relatively easy to state objectives but infinitely more difficult to attain them. Our responsibilities are certainly onerous; indeed, they always have been, and even their partial fulfilment will demand the utmost in co-operation and understanding from us. But if there are difficulties before us, there are, as I have said also, opportunities, and it is our fervent hope that the Korean armistice and the desire of all parties for a negotiated settlement will so change the climate of this Assembly as to make it possible

for the opportunities for world peace and security to be more successfully explored. If, during this session, we can proceed even a little way towards the solution of the problems I have indicated, we shall have contributed powerfully to the strengthening of the belief in the United Nations and shall have kindled hope in the hearts of all mankind. We have further to awaken and sustain the faith of the peoples of the world not only in our great purposes but in our Organization.

171. In serving the Assembly in the difficult but challenging task before us, the high traditions established by my distinguished predecessors in office will inspire and guide me. I shall also rely heavily on your co-operation and support. I know that I can look to the Secretary-General and his staff for their assistance. I pledge my own best endeavours to help to bring our work to fruitful conclusion and to discharge the responsibility which you have laid upon me by electing me to this high office.

Establishment of an *Ad Hoc* Political Committee

172. The PRESIDENT: The next organizational steps to be taken by the Assembly are those which will provide the membership of the General Committee, which should meet as soon as possible in order to report to the Assembly on the adoption of the agenda for the session. In this connexion, a draft resolution [A/L.161] has been submitted by Brazil, Canada, Colombia, Cuba, Denmark, Ecuador, Greece, Honduras, Mexico, Norway, Peru, the Philippines and Sweden, which should be considered at this time if full effect is to be given to the intention of the Members proposing the draft. It relates to the establishment of an *Ad Hoc* Political Committee.

173. As there is no discussion on this draft resolution, I shall now put it to the vote.

The draft resolution was adopted unanimously.

174. The PRESIDENT: The agenda for today's meeting has been completed. I shall now adjourn the meeting in order to permit the six main Committees and the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee to meet successively in this room for the purpose of electing their respective chairmen.

175. I call on the representative of the United Kingdom on a point of order.

176. Sir Gladwyn JEBB (United Kingdom): I should like, very tentatively, to suggest that the Assembly should now adjourn until perhaps early tomorrow morning and proceed with the elections then. It is now about 5.35 p.m. If we may judge from precedent, it will take quite a long time to proceed with all the elections and finish with them tonight. I have put forward this proposal very tentatively; it is entirely for the Assembly, of course, to decide.

177. The PRESIDENT: As there is no objection, the General Assembly will adjourn now and meet tomorrow at 10.30 a.m.

The meeting rose at 5.35 p.m.