## GENERAL ASSEMBLY

SEVENTH SESSION

Official Records



# PLENARY MEETING

Saturday, 25 October 1952, at 10.30 a.m.

Headquarters, New York

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

#### Report of the Credentials Committee (A/2234)

Mr. Mikaoui (Lebanon), Chairman of the Credentials Committee, submitted the report of that Committee (A/2234).

- Mr. KISELYOV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (translated from Russian): The credentials of the representatives of the so-called Kuomintang Government were submitted to the Credentials Committee. It is common knowledge that the Kuomintang group was expelled by the Chinese people several years ago, that it has lost its authority as a government and that it has no control over the territory and people of China. The Chinese people, overthrowing the bankrupt Kuomintang régime, proclaimed the People's Republic of China in October 1949, and bet up its own popular government, the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, which represents a population of nearly 500 million, effectively governs the country and enjoys the full confidence and affection of the whole Chinese people.
- 2. Only the Central People's Government, which is the sole legitimate government of China, and not the Kuomintang group, can authorize representatives to speak on behalf of China in the United Nations.
- 3. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR therefore supports the draft resolution submitted to the Assembly by the delegation of the Soviet Union [A/L.109]. That draft provides for the non-recognition of the credentials of the representatives of the Kuomintang group at the seventh session of the General Assembly, and reads:

"The General Assembly,

"Having considered the proposal of the delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the non-recognition of the credentials of the representatives of the Kuomintang—Chiang Kai-shek Govern-

ment at the seventh session of the General Assembly of the United Nations,

"Resolves to regard as invalid the credentials of the representatives of the so-called Kuomintang Government to the seventh session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, since these credentials do not satisfy the requirements of rule 27 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly."

I would ask the President to put this resolution to the vote.

- 4. Mr. NASZKOWSKI (Poland) (translated from French): The Polish delegation will vote against the approval of the credentials of the delegation of the Kuomintang clique, for the following reasons.
- 5. For three years, the representatives of the Kuomintang clique have attended successive sessions of the General Assembly in place of the legitimate representatives of the great Chinese nation. This state of affairs, which has continued for three years now, is a disgrace to the United Nations and is entirely due to the action of the United States Government. The United States Government has spared no effort in the past, and again at this session, to set the seal of approval once more on the presence of the representatives of the bankrupt Kuomintang group among the delegations to the General Assembly.
- 6. What, in fact, do these gentlemen represent, who are so determinedly supported by the United States Government? Do they represent the Chinese people? Do they represent China? This group represents no one but itself, and its presence in the United Nations is an unprecedented phenomenon which undermines the prestige of the Organization. Only those who wish systematically to prevent the United Nations from carrying out its fundamental tasks—only those who wish to trample underfoot the principles of the Charter, can have any interest in maintaining this state of affairs. It

cannot be too strongly emphasized that the Kuomintang clique of beaten generals, which was known at the time of its power chiefly for its cruelty to its own people, for its corruption and for its surrender of its country's interests to foreign Powers, is now organizing an army of mercenaries, in the pay of the Pentagon, on the Chinese island of Taiwan which is occupied by United States forces. The Kuomintang clique is a tool of the United States Government in its plans for extending the aggression in the Far East. In the United Nations, it is used for purposes of diversion.

- 7. Recognition of this group's credentials year after year, far from helping to lessen international tension, is, on the contrary, a source of friction in international relations. Now, after three years, it ought to be obvious to everyone that the United Nations cannot fulfil its purpose so long as it excludes the great Chinese nation, one of the founders of our Organization, a nation of 500 million inhabitants which, under the guidance of its People's Government, is striving tirelessly to strengthen peace in Asia and throughout the world.
- 8. The Polish delegation fully supports the draft resolution submitted by the USSR, which represents the only solution which is both just and in keeping with the interests of peace and the authority of the United Nations.
- 9. Mr. KOMZALA (Czechoslovakia) (translated from Russian): The Czechoslovak delegation welcomes the USSR draft resolution included in the report of the Credentials Committee, to the effect that the credentials of the so-called Kuomintang representatives, who attend meetings of United Nations organs illegally, should be declared invalid.
- 10. The report of the Credentials Committee, which is submitted to the General Assembly, recommends that the General Assembly for the duration of its seventh session, should postpone the consideration of all recommendations for the exclusion of the representatives of the so-called Chinese Republic and the invitation of representatives of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China. According to the report, the majority of the Committee considers that the credentials of the representatives of the so-called Chinese Republic are not contrary to rule 27 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly.
- 11. The Czechoslovak delegation emphatically condemns that view and strongly protests against that part of the report, which constitutes a repetition of the attempt to prevent the legitimate representatives of the Chinese people from attending this session. The persons whom the Credentials Committee is trying to pass off as the legitimate representatives of the Chinese people are merely private persons, whom the Chinese people have expelled from their midst and who are entitled to speak only on behalf of themselves, but on no account on behalf of the Chinese people.
- 12. On the proposal of the United States, the Credentials Committee is trying to ensure that private persons, who serve the interests of one imperialistic Power and whose task is to upset the General Assembly's work to the profit of that Power, should remain among the delegations to the seventh session of the General Assembly.
- 13. Let us ask ourselves whom these gentlemen represent here. It is common knowledge that there exists

only one Chinese People's Republic and only one Chinese people, 500 million strong, who live on the territory of that Chinese People's Republic. The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China has not authorized these gentlemen to represent its interests. On the contrary, we all know that the representatives of the People's Republic of China asked at a meeting of the Security Council in November 19501 that these so-callad "representatives" should be excluded from organs of the United Nations. Apart from any other considerations, they asked for this exclusion because the 500 million inhabitants of China had expelled these gentlemen from their country because of all the suffering, bloodshed and misery which these servants of the interests of imperialistic Powers had inflicted on them, thus becoming the enemies of, and traitors to, the Chinese people.

- 14. It is quite clear that these persons cannot represent the Chinese people and the People's Republic of China. It must surely be well known to all the representatives here that there is no other Chinese republic. Consequently the seventh session of the General Assembly cannot recognize the representatives of a non-existent republic.
- 15. The so-called representative of the Chinese Republic who is present here calls himself the representative of the so-called Kuimintang Government, which allegedly holds sway over the island of Taiwan [Formosa]. It is, however, well known that Taiwan is not a State, but an integral part of the People's Republic of China, although it is under the temporary occupation of the United States. If the United States demands the recognition of these persons as authorized to defend the interests of the Chinese people, it will openly show thereby that it is not in its interests to allow the real government of the Chinese people and the real Chinese State to be represented, but that it only wishes to mask its intention to occupy the island of Taiwan, which is an integral part of the People's Republic of China.
- 16. The Czechoslovak delegation therefore strongly protests against granting these gentlemen the right to represent the Chinese people and thus insulting a population of over 500 million, and against giving them the right to represent a country which has not authorized them to fulfil that task. The Czechoslovak delegation fully supports the USSR draft resolution and calls for the non-recognition of the credentials of the representatives of the so-called Kuomintang Government.
- 17. Mr. YEH (China): This is not the first time that members of the Soviet bloc choose to interrupt the proceedings of the General Assembly by raising the question of China's representation. It is a question that has been repeatedly brought up and that has been voted down over a hundred times. It is but one more example of the persistent effort of the Soviet bloc to seek recognition by the United Nations of the ill-gotten gains of communist aggression, not only in China but also in other parts of the world. But my delegation cannot let this occasion pass without putting on record once more its objection to this piece of typical communist propaganda.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See Official Records of the Security Council, Fifth Year, No. 69.

- 18. The Republic of China is one of the original Members of the United Nations. My Government is the only legally constituted and independent government of China.
- 19. The representatives who have just spoken have referred to my Government as a Kuomintang government. Nothing can be more misleading and untrue. The Kuomintang, or the Chinese Nationalist Party, is only one—although the largest—of the three political parties in the Government. There are two minority parties, namely, the Young China Party and the Democratic Socialist Party, with freely elected representa-tives in the legislative body. These parties are taking an active part in the executive organs of the Government. The simple fact that they are also represented on the very delegation for which I am speaking, testifies to the glaring misrepresentations which the Soviet bloc here in this Assembly would have us believe. The Government of the Republic of China, which I have the honour to represent, was constitutionally elected by the people of China through popular vote. It is therefore the only government entitled to speak for China.
- 20. The representatives who have spoken have referred to the puppet government set up on the mainland of China. This Chinese communist régime is nothing but a creation of the Soviet Union. It is the result of many years of Soviet Union conspiracy and intrigue in China, in violation of existing treaties and agreements, a fact which was confirmed by the resolution [505 (VI)] adopted by the General Assembly during its last session in Paris. During the entire thirty years of existence, the Chinese Communist Party has been under the direction of Moscow. It has faithfully followed the communist international line and executed the master plan of USSR infiltration and aggression.
- 21. I need not go into the circumstances in which the Soviet Union brought the Chinese communist army to power at the end of the last war. It is the same story so masterfully repeated in the events which led to communist control of the countries now behind the Iron Curtain, and to open aggression in Korea. This puppet regime definitely serves USSR, and not Chinese, interests. It is in every respect Soviet and not Chinese in character. Like the Soviet Union, it has subjected the people on the Chinese mainland to a rule of tyranny, to the inhumanity of slave labour, and to a continuous reign of terror. It has shown utter disregard for human rights and for the dignity and worth of the human person.
- 22. As we meet here in this Assembly, even now, as we are sitting here, well over 17 million people are toiling and drudging in slave camps on the mainland of China. According to figures released by the Chinese Communists themselves, up to the end of May this year, 5 million people had been put to death for being counter-revolutionaries. I should like to call the attention of the Assembly to a very important article which appeared in The New York Times last Thursday, 23 October. In that article, a report of the American Federation of Labor was quoted, in which it was stated that 14 million people had been put to death by the Chinese Communists since their occupation of mainland China. The figure I have just given is the total of a number of figures officially released by the Chinese

- Communists, because the Chinese Communists are proud of the reign of terror which they continue to pursue, and to demonstrate their ability to rule a vast people by subjugation and by slavery.
- 23. This regime, in its international and domestic policies, is a denial of all the ideals and principles of the United Nations. Therefore any proposal to unseat my Government or to admit the Chinese communist puppet regime into the United Nations is tantamount to asking the United Nations to admit the aggressor in Korea and in China as a member of this great international body which is dedicated to the work of peace and justice. It is asking us to recognize and to accept the fruits of aggression. It is asking us to help in the creation of a communist world empire.
- 24. We are met here to reaffirm our faith in the spirit and the principles of the Charter. I have no doubt that this General Assembly will welcome this occasion to demonstrate once again the worth of the Charter and its determination to preserve it as a living document. I call upon the freedom-loving members of this Assembly not to consider the motion of the Soviet Union, but, if it should come up for discussion or vote, to vote it down.
- 25. Mr. BARRINGTON (Burma): Burma has recognized the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China and has entered into diplomatic relations with that Government. Consequently, my delegation can recognize as the representatives of China only those who are appointed by that Government. It follows from this that we cannot recognize, as valid, appointments made by any other authority, nor are we able to agree that consideration of the question of Chinese representation should be postponed for the duration of the present session of the General Assembly. This is one of the most important and urgent questions facing the General Assembly, and we feel it. should be considered as early as possible. In conformity with this attitude, my delegation will oppose the adoption of the draft resolution which is contained in paragraph 20 of the report of the Credentials Committee; and will vote in favour of the draft resolution put forward by the delegation of the USSR, if it is put to the vote.
- 26. These votes will not mean that we disapprove of the credentials pertaining to the other delegations which have been accredited to this General Assembly. If the Credentials Committee's draft resolution is voted on by parts, my delegation will abstain on the first part and will vote against the second part.
- 27. Mr. GROSS (United States of America): The question of Chinese representation in the United Nations has been raised by the Soviet Union Government, and those who follow its lead, over and over again. It was raised in the Credentials Committee in the form of a draft resolution to unseat the representatives of the Government of the Republic of China. The proposal is renewed today by the Soviet Union draft resolution which is before us in document A/L.109.
- 28. This is nothing new. Let me go back to 1951, when the representatives of the Byelorussian SSR made a similar proposal to the Credentials Committee. The Committee rejected that proposal, and its report [A/1983] was adopted by the General Assembly

[351st meeting] by a vote of 32 in favour, 5 against, with 7 abstentions. When the report of the Credentials Committee was before the General Assembly on 7 December 1951, at the 351st meeting, reference was made to the fact that the General Assembly had previously decided "to postpone consideration, for the duration of the meeting in Paris of the sixth regular session, of any further proposals to exclude representatives of the National Government of China from the Assembly, or to seat representatives of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China to represent China in the Assembly".

- 29. We are now considering the report of the Credentials Committee. The Soviet Union Government has renewed its proposal to unseat the representatives of the Chinese Nationalist Government. The Credentials Committee has recommended to the General Assembly that it should postpone for the duration of this seventh regular session consideration of any or all proposals to exclude representatives of the Government of the Republic of China or to seat representatives of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China. This recommendation of the Credentials Committee, in paragraph 20 of its report, is, of course, strongly supported by the Government and the delegation of the United States.
- 30. In connexion with the recommendation to postpone consideration of the question for the duration of
  this session of the General Assembly, the Credentials
  Committee also decided that the credentials of the
  representative of the Government of the Republic of
  China conformed to the rules of procedure of the
  General Assembly. Here, again, this finding by the
  Credentials Committee was precisely the same as the
  decision of the Credentials Committee last year, which
  was approved by the General Assembly on 7 December 1951. There is, therefore, nothing new in the situation which confronts us today There is nothing which
  should induce us to change our position. On the contrary, it is our conviction that there is every reason not
  to change the position which the General Assembly
  adopted on a previous occasion.
- 31. Only yesterday, the commander of the Chinese Communist forces in Korea sent a message to his troops, observing the second anniversary, as he called it, of the Red Chinese entry into the Korean aggression. He said:

"During two years of war against the American aggression our volunteers have been getting stronger and stronger, and we have achieved rich experience of fighting to defend peace."

This was the manner of celebrating United Nations Day by the top commanding officer of the Chinese communist army invading Korea.

- 32. It is clear to all of us that the Chinese communist régime, which was found guilty by the General Assembly, on 1 February 1951, [resolution 498 (V)], of committing aggression in Korea, has been guilty of continuing contempt for the United Nations and for its peaceful procedures. It is our earnest submission to this General Assembly that the communist régime of China cannot enter these halls with bloody hands.
- 33. I wish also, as I conclude, to make it clear that the United States Government is opposed to the present attempt, as it has been opposed to all previous attempts, to deprive the Government of the Republic of China

- of its place in the United Nations. the contributions which have been made by the delegation representing that Government, under its distinguished leader, Mr. T. F. Tsiang, are too well known to all of us who have served as colleagues with him in the Security Council and in the work of other bodies of the United Nations to leave any doubt in our minds of the great contribution which he and his delegation have made to the constructive efforts of the United Nations. He has never failed when statesmanship and wisdom were required.
- 34. It is for these reasons that the United States Government urges the General Assembly to support the recommendation of the Credentials Committee. It is wise that we should not be diverted in the days ahead of us in this session. We should not be diverted by this issue which the Soviet Union Government may attempt to raise again and again. It is wise that we should agree to postpone consideration of this question and to release our time, our skill and our energy for dealing with those vexing matters which are on our agenda and which will require all our wisdom. The United States, therefore, strongly supports and will vote in favour of the adoption of the report of the Credentials Committee.
- 35. Sir Gladwyn JEBB (United Kingdom): I should like very briefly to explain the attitude of my delegation towards the draft resolution which it is now proposed that the General Assembly should adopt on the recommendation of the Credentials Committee.
- As we have frequently stated on previous occasions, my delegation believes that any vote on the question of Chinese representation would be premature in present circumstances and that it should, therefore, be postponed. Our reasons for holding this view continue to be exactly the same as they were last year, and therefore I do not propose to repeat them now. Since, however, we observe that this year the Credentials Committee has decided by a large majority that the credentials of the representative of the Nationalist Government of China were in order, and has formally embodied that decision in its report, we feel that, representing as we do a government which recognizes the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China as the government of China, we cannot vote positively in favour of the report of the Credentials Committee. Consequently, when it comes to the vote on the draft resolution now before us, we shall ask for a separate vote on each of the two paragraphs. On the first, we shall abstain; on the second, we shall vote in favour, and, on the whole, we shall vote in favour also.
- 37. Mr. BARANOVSKY (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (translated from Russian): The USSR delegation has submitted a proposal that the credentials of the representatives of the so-called Kuomintang Government should be considered as invalid. This proposal is based on a recognition of the real situation in China. It is already three years since the Central People's Government, which is recognized and supported by the whole Chinese people, began exercising control over the entire territory of China. The small group of political bankrupts which, with the support of the United States Government, still remains on the island of Taiwan, not only does not represent the

Chinese people, but is, on the contrary, hostile to that people, by reason both of its political aspirations and of its current activities, which are directed against the People's Republic of China. It would be wrong and profoundly unjust for the General Assembly to recognize the credentials of the Kuomintang group, and thereby to deny to the legitimate Chinese government—the Central People's Government—the opportunity of taking the place in the United Nations which rightfully belongs to it, and of representing the interests of the great Chinese people in the General Assembly of the United Nations.

- 38. I shall not comment in detail on the United States representative's malicious attack on the People's Republic of China. It is certainly not for the representatives of the United States ruling circles, who have drowned Korea in blood, who have destroyed hundreds of its towns and villages, who have used bacterial weapons of mass destruction against the Korean people, to talk here about bloodshed. If there is anyone of whom it can be said that they come to this rostrum with soiled hands, it is the representatives of the United States Government, and we must tell them so in direct fashion and to their faces.
- 39. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR unreservedly, wholeheartedly and firmly supports the USSR proposal that the credentials of the so-called Kuomintang government should be considered invalid.
- 40. Mr. LOURIE (Israel): I should like briefly, on behalf of my delegation, to explain the significance of our vote.
- 41. The second paragraph of the draft resolution submitted by the Credentials Committee calls for the post-ponement during the present session of the General Assembly of all proposals regarding the representation of China. My delegation will vote against that paragraph, while abstaining on the draft resolution as a whole.
- 42. The delegation of Israel is in agreement with the view that the time is not propitious to discuss the question of Chinese representation as long as hostilities against the United Nations in Korea continue. On the other hand, we are of the opinion that the General Assembly should not commit itself in advance to avoid any further consideration of that representation in the event of a change in the situation during its seventh session. It will be recalled in this connexion that the length of our sessions is by no means defined and that the fifth session lasted for an entire year. We should not, therefore, deprive ourselves of the possibility of reopening the matter, no matter what the length of the session may be or what developments in the Far East may take place in the mean time. It is with such a possibility in mind that, in the view of my delegation, we should not in advance place any limitation on our freedom of action in the matter.
- 43. Mr. PATHAK (India): My delegation will cast its vote against the draft resolution recommended by the Credentials Committee since we are unable to subscribe to its findings regarding the credentials of the delegation of China. The position of my delegation on this matter is well known, and it is unnecessary for me to repeat it. We think that the representatives of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic

of China should take their rightful places in the United Nations. For the same reasons, we shall vote in favour of the draft resolution submitted by the Soviet Union.

- 44. So far as the credentials of the remaining fiftynine delegations are concerned, we agree, of course, with the findings of the Credentials Committee.
- 45. The PRESIDENT: Since no other representative wishes to speak, the General Assembly can now come to a decision in this matter. In accordance with practice, we shall now vote on the recommendation contained in the report of the Credentials Committee. A request has been made, under rule 89 of the rules of procedure, that the draft resolution should be voted upon in separate parts, and that will be done. Accordingly, we shall vote now on the first part of the draft resolution, which reads: "The General Assembly approves the first report of the Credentials Committee". A vote by roll-call has been requested.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

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

In favour: Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Thailand, Turkey, Union of South Africa, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, France, Greece, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Luxembourg, Mexico, New Zealand.

Against: Sweden, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Czechoslovakia, India.

Abstaining: Norway, Pakistan, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Bolivia, Burma, Chile, Denmark, Ethiopia, Guatemala, Indonesia, Israel, Liberia, Netherlands.

The first part of the draft resolution was adopted by 35 votes to 5, with 20 abstentions.

46. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now vote on the remainder of the draft resolution. A vote by roll-call has been requested.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

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

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

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

Abstaining: Bolivia, Guatemala, Indonesia, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan.

The remainder of the draft resolution was adopted by 42 votes to 9, with 9 abstentions.

47. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now vote on the draft resolution as a whole. A vote by roll-call has been requested.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

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

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

Against: Poland, Sweden, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Burma, Byelorussis Soviet Socialist Republic, Czechoslovakia.

Abstaining: Israel, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Bolivia, Guatemala, India, Indonesia.

The draft resolution as a whole was adopted by 42 votes to 7, with 11 abstentions.

- 48. The PRESIDENT: This matter has been disposed of in so far as the recommendation of the Credentials Committee is concerned. There is before the Assembly, however, a draft resolution submitted by the delegation of the Soviet Union (A/L.109) on the question of the credentials of the delegation of China. Does the General Assembly now wish to vote on this draft resolution?
- 49. Mr, GROSS (United States of America): As the General Assembly has just decided to postpone consideration of the question of Chinese representation for the duration of the session, it would seem to me to follow inescapably and logically that it is not necessary or appropriate for it now to vote upon a Soviet Union draft resolution which concerns this question. As the Assembly has disposed of the matter for the duration of the session, it is the view of my delegation that the USSR proposal to unseat the Chinese Nationalist delegation should not be put to the vote.
- 50. Mr. ZORIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): The USSR delegation considers it essential that a vote should be taken on the draft resolution which it submitted to the Credentials Committee, and which is now before the General Assembly.
- 51. Item 1 of the agenda circulated to representatives today consists of two sub-items, namely, the report of the Credentials Committee and the draft resolution submitted by the USSR.
- 52. The USSR delegation considers the United States representative's remarks unfounded, and maintains that a vote should be taken on its draft resolution to the

effect that the credentials of the representatives of the so-called Kuomintang Government should be considered invalid, since those credentials do not satisfy the requirements of rule 27 of the General Assembly's rules of procedure.

- 53. The USSR delegation insists that this draft resolution should be put to the vote.
- 54. The PRESIDENT: The rules seem to be fairly clear in this matter. However, the General Assembly is always the master of its rules of procedure.
- 55. The Soviet Union representative has requested that a vote should be taken on his draft resolution. Objection has been taken to that request under rule 82 by the representative of the United States. The issue is quite clear. I shall first put to the Assembly the question of the objection on the part of the United States representative to a vote being taken on this draft resolution under rule 28. If that objection is sustained, then there can be no vote. If it is overruled by the Assembly, we shall then vote on the proposal of the Soviet Union, which is before you.

The objection of the United States representative was sustained by 45 votes to 6 with 4 abstentions.

#### Report of the Negotiating Committee for Extra-Budgetary Funds (A/2210 and Corr.1 and Add.1) [Agenda item 43]

- 56. Mr. DE SEYNES (France) (Chairman of the Negotiating Committee for Extra-Budgetary Funds) (translated from French): When the Negotiating Committee for Extra-Budgetary Funds recommends, in the draft resolution which it submits to the General Assembly, that its activities should be continued, and when it requests priority for the consideration of this recommendation right at the beginning of the present session, it is under no illusion either as to the popularity it can expect to enjoy with the members of this Assembly or as to the enthusiasm likely to be evoked among them by the prospect of a series of hearings before a group which exists solely for the purpose of burdening their governments with additional expenditure.
- 57. Nor does the Committee view with complacency the results it has to show for its two years of experience. In fact, for none of the three programmes for which, since it was first established, it was asked to gather funds—namely, the Korean programme of civilian assistance, the programme of assistance to Palestine refugees and the expanded programme of technical assistance—has the Committee succeeded in reaching the financial goal set or suggested by the General Assembly.
- 58. It is because it realizes the deficiencies of its past work and because it now has some experience of the various techniques best calculated to help it to overcome the difficulties that lie ahead, that the Committee is anxious to be granted as soon as possible the necessary powers for carrying out its task. It believes that the General Assembly session provides the best opportunity for dealing with governments and hopes that the presence in New York, for a brief period, of representatives with political authority and holders of high executive office, may facilitate and expedite negotiations for the contributions which each State may feel

able to make to the various programmes financed from extra-budgetary funds.

- 59. After all, the risk that the General Assembly is asked to take in giving effect to the Committee's recommendation before it has even had a chance to discuss the various programmes is not a very serious one. Unless the General Assembly suddenly decides to give up these schemes, in which it can legitimately take pride, and of which one at least is covered by a three-year programme established under a previous decision, it is necessary to go on appealing for extra-budgetary funds on a voluntary basis.
- 60. If there is any better and more effective way of raising funds for projects whose total cost greatly exceeds the ordinary budget of the United Nations, then let it be proposed here and now and adopted. I am sure the members of the Committee would not feel the least bit put out. But a moment's reflection on the circumstances in which this Committee was set up and the course of its career is all that is needed to remind us that any other method has always been abandoned as soon as it has been broached.
- 61. Admittedly the programmes for which the Committee is trying to raise funds are programmes which have been approved by governments either by a unanimous or by an overwhelming vote. However, as international feelings are at present, the General Assembly did not feel called upon to determine the financial implications for each government of this approval and vote, but left it to the governments themselves to settle the amounts of their individual contributions to each of these programmes. Hence, in the absence of any authoritative apportionment of contributions, some means had to be found to adjust supply to demand, at least approximately, or, in other words, to negotiate with contributing governments as to the amount of their contributions.
- 62. Of course the General Assembly might have placed on the bodies charged with carrying out the programme, the sole responsibility for providing for their financial needs, but it felt that that would have been adding unduly to their tasks, which were already bristling with all kinds of difficulties. Naturally, the General Assembly never meant to discourage the executive bodies from doing anything they could to stimulate the generosity of governments. It did, however, feel it desirable to give them the help of an inter-governmental committee, called—doubtless euphemistically—the "Negotiating Committee", but which might just as well, in the circumstances, have been called the "Exhortation Committee". It is hardly likely that the General\_Assembly will change its mind and decide to dispense this year with the services of a committee which it set up in 1950 [resolution 410 B (V)] and continued in 1951 [resolution 607 (VI)].
- 63. It may even be, if the proposed amendments [A/L.110] to the Committee's draft resolution is any guide, that it will wish to extend its responsibilities. On this point, the Committee as a body has not formulated any opinion and its members are free to express their views in the present discussion.
- 64. It remains for me to take the opportunity of this widely representative meeting, more widely attended than any held by the Committee, to thank on behalf of the Committee, those among you who have pledged

- I thank you not just for your promises, but for the patience you have shown in attending to the behests and listening to the views of the Committee. If you were sometimes wearied by our importunities—and I know that some of you were—please be assured that they were inspired solely by a profound belief in the truth—so aptly brought to mind the other day by the representative of New Zealand—that votes and speeches are not enough. In the light of this truth, had the Committee been more aloof it would, I believe, have been failing in its duty. Today, therefore, it can only excuse its persistence by promising to persevere in the same path.
- 65. The PRESIDENT: Before calling on the next speaker, I am sure I should be expressing the wish of all the members of the General Assembly if I thanked the Committee itself and its distinguished Chairman for the work it has done during the past year. That Committee consisted not only of the Chairman, whom we have just heard, but also of representatives of Canada, Lebanon, Pakistan, the United Kingdom, the United States and Uruguay and later, also, Colombia.
- 66. Mr. CASEY (Australia): Following on what our friend and colleague, Mr. de Seynes, of France, has said, I take the opportunity at this time briefly to express myself on behalf of the Australian delegation. I should like to start by expressing my own and my country's appreciation of the report of the Negotiating Committee for Extra-Budgetary Funds and to join my voice with, I expect, what a very great many others will be thinking in acknowledging the valuable work that has been done in the raising of funds for technical assistance and for Palestine relief. I know a great many of us will wish—and I, particularly perhaps, would wish—to thank those individuals who have served on the Negotiating Committee for all the sincere efforts that they have made over a considerable period. I believe that they deserve the grateful thanks of all of us.
- 67. The amendments [A/L. 110] which Australia, in conjunction with a number of other countries has introduced, are designed to empower the Negotiating Committee to undertake the raising of funds for the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund.
- 68. This suggestion is made as a result of discussions which took place in the Executive Board of UNICEF earlier this month. In the past, the whole burden of raising funds for this very worthy humanitarian organization has fallen on the Executive Director. After going into the matter carefully, the Executive Board of UNICEF came to the conclusion that the time had come when the Executive Director might have the active co-operation of governments in this work, as is the case with respect to the administration of the expanded technical assistance programme, the relief programme for refugees in the Near East and the Korean relief programme.
- 69. The United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund needs no introduction to this body by me. Many tributes to its work have been made in the past by many countries. It has been noted, however, that contributions by governments have tended to be sporadic, and this may be due to the lack of an

organized participation of governments in this work. In no year since UNICEF was formed has the number of Member nations contributing exceeded half the total membership of the United Nations. Usually it has been rather less than half. We would hope that through the good offices of the Negotiating Committee it might prove possible to bring about a more equitable sharing of the burden of contributions.

- 70. May I take this opportunity to announce to the General Assembly that the Australian Government has decided to make a further contribution to UNICEF for 1952 amounting to £201,600, or \$450,000. This latest contribution will bring the total amount of contributions made by the Australian Government to almost \$11,500,000. It is with some pride that I mention that this is the second highest governmental contribution to the great humanitarian work of UNICEF. Australia has made a contribution in every year since UNICEF was formed, and if one looks at the contributions per head of populations, then I say with some humble pride that it will be found that my country, Australia, is actually the highest on the list.
- 71. I commend these amendments to the General Assembly in the confident belief that the effect of their adoption will be to make available increased sums for distribution amongst the needy children of the world. It will be noted that we suggest that the number of members of the Negotiating Committee should be ten. We understand that this is the view of the countries which served on the Negotiating Committee last year.
- 72. Mr. HAMBRO (Norway): My delegation cannot vote for the proposal before the Assembly. We have explained fully on previous occasions why we take this attitude, and I shall not reiterate what we have declared. I only want to make it clear that our decision is based purely on constitutional grounds and not because of any lack of sympathy for the ends and aims of the Negotiating Committee. Our Constitution does not permit any delegation to pledge our country to contribute anything which has not been passed by our Parliament, and in the ordinary ways.
- 73. But I should make it clear that we have been in extreme sympathy with the objects mentioned in the report, and our Government has proposed and our Parliament has unanimously voted a larger credit than any negotiating committee could have obtained, to support the main ideas of the Negotiating Committee. The other day, an agreement was signed by the Secretary-General sporting the signatures of the representatives of India and Norway. We had voted as the first contribution a sum of 10 million kroner, which is more than \$1 million. This was voted unanimously, as a first contribution, and it will be increased by general subscriptions and, later, by contributions donated by our Parliament. We believe that it is a better way of raising funds than the way which has been proposed here.
- 74. But as we are quite clear that many other delegations are not faced with the same constitutional limitations under which we are acting, we shall not vote against the proposals or against the amendments. We shall abstain from voting, in the conviction that, by taking that attitude, we shall be in a stronger position when we want to work in our country and in our

Parliament for support of the purposes of the extrabudgetary provisions.

- 75. Mr. WILEY (United States of America): I am looking out from this rostrum at the beautiful Assembly hall, and I can appreciate what the President said the other day, when he was looking out over this vast assembly and getting a real inspiration. I can appreciate that position.
- 76. I have listened with interest to the distinguished speakers who spoke before me. Of course, my delegation cannot tie the Government of the United States either. If it makes any pledge, it must be subject to congressional approval. I believe we all understand that.
- 77. I am speaking in support of the re-establishment of the Negotiating Committee for Extra-Budgetary Funds. I do that because I realize that war has torn up the shreds of our society throughout the world. I realize that it is more blessed to give than to receive. If there are any generous people with untouched millions anywhere, who want to know the value of that assertion, let them give to these funds that we are talking about, because they are the best antidote we have to war.
- 78. The United States delegation has reviewed the report of the Negotiating Committee for Extra-Budgetary Funds. It is gratified to note the degree of participation of Members of the United Nations in the several voluntary programmes approved last year by the General Assembly. At the same time, the failure—and I stress that—of certain countries to participate in any of these humanitarian programmes cannot be overlooked. My delegation hopes that the governments of Eastern Europe will see their way clear to giving financial support to these vital non-political and humanitarian projects. Of course, I am referring to the Palestine refugees, to relief and rehabilitation in Korea, to technical assistance and to UNICEF.
- My comment on the report would be incomplete without an expression of appreciation of the nonmember States. Many of the small States which are not Members of the United Nations have made contributions. I particularly wish to note Italy, Japan and Switzerland, which have contributed generously to these programmes, and which should be Members. We hope that these States will soon be full participants in the undertakings, with an opportunity to contribute programme guidance as well as material support. We believe that it is manifest that some mechanism such as the Negotiating Committee must be continued if the full potential of financial and material support which the governments of the world are prepared to furnish is to be marshalled and placed at the disposal of these special programmes.
- 80. The United States delegation agrees with the recommendations of the Negotiating Committee, as stated in part V of its report, and it attaches considerable importance to the express necessity that the new committee should begin its work as soon as possible during the course of the present session of the General Assembly.
- 81. My delegation supports the adoption of the draft resolution submitted by the Negotiating Committee for Extra-Budgetary Funds.

- 82. Mr. AHSON (Pakistan): In pursuant of resolution 571 B (VI), approved by the General Assembly on 7 December 1951, the President of the General Assembly appointed a Negotiating Committee composed of seven countries to negotiate with the governments of Member States as well as of non-member States in order to obtain pledges for extra-budgetary funds to cover activities connected with programmes for which provision had not been made in the budget of the United Nations.
- 83. The Pakistan delegation was one of the seven delegations which had the privilege of being appointed to the Negotiating Committee by the President of the General Assembly and of associating itself with the work of that Committee.
- As will be seen from a careful perusal of the report of the Negotiating Committee which is before us this morning, the Committee during the short period of its existence has been able to do useful work in the spheres allotted to it by the General Assembly. Unfortunately, the Committee's work, which could best be done during the course of the session of the General Assembly, started late—at about the time that the Assembly was nearing the end of its sixth session. However, since the Committee was permitted [resolution 607 (VI)] to continue its efforts even after the session, it was able to obtain pledges from various governments. These pledges of help and assistance both in cash and in kind have been honoured by the respective governments, and contributions have been received. These contributions specifically pertain to the following: first, the expanded programme of technical assistance; secondly, the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East; thirdly, the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency.
- 85. In the light of these circumstances, the Pakistan delegation feels that it would be desirable to establish the Negotiating Committee for Extra-Budgetary Funds this year as well. In the view of my delegation, the terms of reference of this Committee should be allowed to remain precisely the same, with this amendment: that the Committee may also be requested to bring the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund within the scope of its activities. This, as will be seen, is the substance of the joint amendments [A/L. 110] to the draft resolution of the Negotiating Committee; my delegation has the honour to be one of the sponsors of those amendments. Similarly, in order that the Committee should be able to discharge its duties more effectively, it is the view of my delegation that the membership of the Committee should be raised from seven to ten. My delegation earnestly hopes that these suggestions will commend themselves to the consideration of the delegations assembled here.
- 86. With these words, I support the draft resolution for the establishment of the Negotiating Committee for Extra-Budgetary Funds, as amended by the joint amendments.
- 87. Mr. KHALIDY (Iraq): My delegation would like to commend with satisfaction the report of the Negotiating Committee. Delegations have before them—and I hope I am in order in making a slight comment on this subject—some amendments to which my delegation takes pleasure in subscribing.

- 88. As representatives probably know, the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund—the word "emergency" has come to be somewhat superfluous—has done a great deal for mankind. My delegation has been inclined, in the last few years, to distinguish between two types of United Nations activities, which I may colloquially call, for want of better terms, the "sensational" and the "unsensational". As far as the sensational side is concerned—the political side—there is perhaps a little disappointment. But we should not be disappointed with the other type of activity—the technical, the economic, and the social type—in which the United Nations has been engaging with the greatest results.
- 89. Among all the "unsensational" activities of the United Nations, it is difficult, I believe, to find an equal to the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund. This agency has saved perhaps millions of children and mothers all over the world, regardless of creed or nationality.
- 90. Let me say, at once, that in the past we have had vast contributions. Without mentioning names, I may say that certain Member States have been right in the forefront in contributing to that great agency. We have been able to carry out projects which have been the subject of admiration all over the world. Unfortunately, UNICEF has lately fallen on somewhat hard days. We look forward to the day when we can again have millions of dollars at our disposal for the benefit of mankind. We might also express the hope that those Member States which have contributed heavily in the past will continue their interest and participation in the work of this worthy organization.
- We have been concerned lately at the diminishing rate at which funds were being collected for UNICEF, since that might cripple or slow down our projects. Therefore, seeking various ways and means of collecting further contributions for the agency, we have thought of seeking the help of the Negotiating Committee. There may be some difficulties, some parliamentary limitations: we all recognize that. But, in the case of an organization so worthy and so beneficient, we believe we should be failing in our duty if we did not make use of every means open to us. It is for this reason, and in order to fortify an organization of this nature, the benefits of which I need not repeat, that we have been glad to subscribe to the amendments which have been submitted, and we hope that the General Assembly will also subscribe to them.
- 92. Mr. ROY (Philippines): I should like to speak on the joint amendments presented by the Philippine delegation and other delegations, which call for the inclusion of UNICEF in the terms of reference of the Negotiating Committee.
- 93. A birthday celebration is always a happy event in a child's life. Different children's birthdays fall on different dates—but, on 11 December next, approximately 60 million children will celebrate a common anniversary. These children will congregate around the UNICEF table. As a UNICEF handbook points out, these children are of various climes and races. They would come down through the famed Khyber Pass, from the Antarctic Circle near South America, from the lush tropics of Southern Asia, from the tribal villages deep in darkest Africa.

- This is the staggering implication of one of the most constructive programmes of the United Nations. There is a disquieting note, however. Although the UNICEF community table is big enough to accommodate these children, the cupboard is not exactly overflowing. The UNICEF storeroom has in the past provided diapers for 1 million babies, essential clothing and blankets for 6 million little ones, milk for 11 million, BCG vaccine for 18 million, and DDT for millions of homes.
- The scope of UNICEF assistance is not limited to direct aid. I must emphasize that UNICEF is not a "give-away" programme, because each recipient country must provide a matching contribution equal or more in value to direct UNICEF aid. In many cases, these matching contributions have been made in an amount many times that of UNICEF.
- In this sense, UNICEF has managed to preserve the principle of partnership in its relationships with recipient countries. Initiative is encouraged, domestic effort is stimulated. Goodness begets goodness. I can cite, as an example, the tremendous response of my people to President Quirino's appeal for voluntary contributions last year. The result astounded even our most experienced fund-raising experts, for we had raised an amount more than four times our annual contribution to the United Nations. It even exceeded the amounts expected to be raised for our charitable institutions.
- The reason for this attitude of my people towards UNICEF is not difficult to explain. In the Philippines, the UNICEF crusade permeates all levels of society. Pamphlets and educational literature about UNICEF are printed and distributed in all parts of the archipelago. The students learn about it in the schools, the little children are direct beneficiaries of UNICEF milk, feeding and school-lunch projects. The school teachers are in close contact with UNICEF operations and our civic and business groups co-ordinate their efforts for fund raising. On the local unit level, our town mayors and officials are faithful adherents of the UNICEF idea. The President himself issued an executive proclamation last year calling for all-out financial support by the contributing public. These are concrete tokens of our firm and unwavering loyalty to UNICEF and its worthy goals.
- 98. Our concern for UNICEF as an organization of lasting benefit to humanity derives from our understanding of its values. It deserves a permanent place in the international family because its work has been tested and proved. We in the Philippines are striving mightily to make this possible. It is in this spirit that my delegation has co-sponsored the joint amendments that are now before the General Assembly.
- The Philippines was one of the countries that took an active part at the recent session of the Executive Board in support of the idea that UNICEF should be added to the Negotiating Committee's concerns. The position we took in the Board, which applies with equal validity now, was that this proposal would be an additional measure necessary for fund-raising purposes. It would supplement, not supplant, the present fund-raising mechanism of UNICEF. This view found general support in the Executive Board, and we

- hope it will meet with the same degree of acceptance in this body.
- The Board did not find it possible to endorse the argument that this step would be premature because of the imminence of a General Assembly session in which would, among other things, decide UNICEF's future. As the Philippines had occasion to state in this Board, this review of UNICEF's terms of reference by the General Assembly in 1953 should not be taken as a sort of bogeyman to hold up the progress of our efforts to improve its operations. If the Negotiating Committee produces satisfactory results, as we believe it will, we shall be able to present the General Assembly next year with an additional argument in favour of UNICEF's continuance.
- 101. As a closing note, my delegation endorses the idea of strengthening the members of the Negotiating Committee, possibly by the addition of a non-member State. This should stress clearly the universality of our efforts to this end, and possibly attract a wider circle of contributors.
- The PRESIDENT: If no other representative desires to speak, the General Assembly will now come to a decision on the draft resolution submitted by the Negotiating Committee for Extra-Budgetary Funds [A/2210, annex F], as amended in document A/L. 110. If there are no objections to the draft resolution as amended, it will be considered adopted.

The draft resolution, as amended, was adopted.

#### Election of three non-permanent members of the Security Council

[Agenda item 13]

103. The PRESIDENT: The terms of three members of the Security Council—Brazil, the Netherlands and Turkey—expire on 31 December of this year. In this election to replace these members, all Members of the United Nations are of course eligible for election, except those which are at present represented on the Security Council. The present membership of the Security Council is Brazil, Chile, China, France, Greece, the Netherlands, Pakistan, Turkey, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom and the United States of America. Under rule 92 of our rules of procedure, the election will be held by secret ballot and nominations are not in order.

A vote was taken by secret ballot.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Ferrer Vieyra (Argentina) and Mr. Barrington (Burma) acted as tellers.

| Number of ballot papers:   |     | 60         |
|----------------------------|-----|------------|
| Number of ballot papers:   | . * | 0          |
| Number of invalid ballots: |     | 0          |
| Number of valid ballots:   |     | <i>6</i> 0 |
| Required majority:         |     | 40         |

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| umber of | votes | obtained: | The second second |   |
|----------|-------|-----------|-------------------|---|
| Colombia |       |           |                   | 5 |
| Lebanon  |       |           |                   | 5 |
| Denmark  |       |           |                   | 5 |

Colombia, Lebanon and Denmark, having obtained the required two-thirds majority, were elected nonpermanent members of the Security Council.

## Election of six members of the Economic and Social Council

[Agenda item 14]

104. The PRESIDENT; We shall now proceed to the election of six members of the Economic and Social Council. The members of the Council whose terms of office expire at the end of this year are Canada, Czechoslovakia, Iran, Mexico, Pakistan and the United States. Under Article 61, paragraph 2, of the Charter, retiring members of the Economic and Social Council are eligible for immediate re-election. All Members of the United Nations are therefore eligible in this election, except those twelve members of the Economic and Social Council whose terms do not expire at the end of this year. Those twelve members are Argentina, Belgium, China, Cuba, Egypt, France, the Philippines, Poland, Sweden, the USSR, the United Kingdom and Uruguay. A secret ballot will now be held for elections to the Economic and Social Council, no nominations being permitted.

#### . A vote was taken by secret ballot.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Ferrer Vieyra (Argentina) and Mr. Barrington (Burma) acted as tellers.

| Number of ballot papers:   | 50         |
|----------------------------|------------|
| Number of abstentions:     | 0          |
| Number of invalid ballots: | C          |
| Number of valid ballots;   | <i>6</i> 0 |
| Required majority:         | 40         |
|                            |            |

### Number of votes obtained:

| A CARLO COLOR COLO |     |
|--|-----|
| Venezuela  | 57  |
| Australia  | 52  |
| United States of America   | 52  |
| India  | 45  |
| Turkey   | 41  |
| Czechoslovakia   | 31  |
| Pakistan   | 28  |
| Yugoslavia   | 27  |
| Egypt  | 2   |
| Israel   | 2   |
| Afghanistan  | 1   |
| Brazil   | 1   |
| Denmark  | 1   |
| Mexico   |     |
| Syria  | 1   |
| Indonesia  | į · |

Venezuela, Australia, the United States of America, India and Turkey, having obtained the required two-thirds majority, were elected members of the Economic and Social Council.

105. The PRESIDENT: There will be a second ballot for the sixth place on the Council. This election will be held under rule 94. Therefore the voting in the second ballot will be restricted to the two candidates which received the highest number of votes of those which were not elected—Czechoslovakia, which received 31 votes, and Pakistan, which received 28.

A vote was taken by secret ballot.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Ferrer Vieyra (Argentina) and Mr. Barrington (Burma) acted as tellers.

| Number of ballot papers:   | 60        |
|----------------------------|-----------|
| Number of abstentions:     | 2         |
| Number of invalid ballots: | 1         |
| Number of valid ballots:   | <b>59</b> |
| Required majority:         | 38        |
| Number of votes obtained;  |           |
| Pakistan                   | 29        |
| Czechoslovakia             | 28        |

106. The PRESIDENT: As neither of the candidates obtained the required two-thirds majority, a third ballot is required, under the rules, on the same conditions, for these two countries, Pakistan and Czechoslovakia.

A vote was taken by secret hallot.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Ferrer Vieyra (Argentina) and Mr. Barrington (Burma) acted as tellers.

| Number of ballot papers:   | <b>.60</b> |
|----------------------------|------------|
| Number of abstentions:     | 2          |
| Number of invalid ballots: | 0          |
| Number of valid ballots:   | 60         |
| Required majority:         | 39         |
| Number of votes obtained:  |            |
| Pakistan                   | 31         |
| Czechoslovakia             | 27         |

107. The PRESIDENT: Neither Member has obtained the required two-thirds majority. Therefore, in respect to the election to the sixth place on the Economic and Social Council, we have now had three inconclusive ballots, one unrestricted and two restricted. Rule 94 of the rules of procedure provides that "after the third inconclusive ballot, votes may be cast for any eligible person or Member". Therefore, in the fourth ballot, which we shall now take, any Member is eligible. The voting will be unrestricted in so far as any Member of the United Nations is concerned, apart from those which are already on the Economic and Social Council.

A vote was taken by secret ballot.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Ferrer Vieyra (Argentina) and Mr. Barrington (Burna) acted as tellers.

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108. The PRESIDENT: As none of the candidates obtained the required two-thirds majority, a fifth ballot which will be unrestricted will be taken now.

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A vote was taken by secret ballot.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Ferrer Vieyra (Argentina) and Mr. Barrington (Burma) acted as telle

| llers.                     |    |
|----------------------------|----|
| Number of ballot papers:   | 60 |
| Number of abstentions:     | 0  |
| Number of invalid ballots: | 0  |
| Number of valid ballots:   | 60 |
| Required majority:         | 40 |
| Number of votes obtained:  |    |
| Yugoslavia                 | 27 |
| Czechoslovakia             | 17 |
| Pakistan                   | 15 |

109. The PRESIDENT: As no country has received the required two-thirds majority, we shall now have a sixth unrestricted ballot.

A vote was taken by secret ballot.

Israel ......

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Ferrer Vieyra (Argentina) and Mr. Barrington (Burma) acted as tellers.

| Number of ballot papers:   | 60 |
|----------------------------|----|
| Number of abstentions:     | 0  |
| Number of invalid ballots: | 0  |
| Number of valid ballots:   | 60 |
| Required majority:         | 40 |
| Number of votes obtained:  |    |
| Yugoslavia                 | 34 |
| Czechoslovakia             | 13 |
| Pakistan                   | 13 |

- 110. The PRESIDENT: We are confronted with a situation which does not seem to be exactly covered by our rules of voting procedure. Under these rules, the next ballot should be restricted to the two Members receiving the highest number of votes in the preceding ballot. As Czechoslovakia and Pakistan have received an equal number of votes, an unprecedented situation has arisen. I would suggest—it is only a suggestion and the General Assembly will have to decide—that in the circumstances possibly the fairest procedure would be to go ahead now with the restricted ballot provided for in our rules, but to include in that restricted ballot the three Members on which we have just voted, in view of the fact that two of them received an equal number of votes.
- 111. Since there is no objection to that procedure, the seventh ballot, which will be the first of the restricted ballots under the rules of procedure, will include Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and Pakistan only.
- 112. Of course, if it is required, an eighth ballot will follow, but not necessarily on this basis, because if the seventh ballot is not conclusive with regard to election, it may be conclusive with regard to the second and third candidates.

A vote was taken by secret ballot.

| At the invi          | tation of | the Preside  | nt, Mr. Fer | rer Vieyra |
|----------------------|-----------|--------------|-------------|------------|
| (Argentina) tellers. | and M     | r. Barringto | on (Burma   | ) acted as |

| Number of ballot papers:   |    | 60 |
|----------------------------|----|----|
| Number of abstentions:     |    | 0  |
| Number of invalid ballots: | •  | 1  |
| Number of valid ballots:   | ŧ. | 59 |
| Required majority:         |    | 40 |

Number of notes obtained.

| numver of votes optained: |    |
|---------------------------|----|
| Yugoslavia                | 33 |
| Czechoslovakia            | 15 |
| Pakistan                  | 11 |

The PRESIDENT: The eighth ballot, which is now required and which will be a restricted ballot, will be confined to the first two on this list of three, namely, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia.

A vote was taken by secret ballot.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Ferrer Vieyra (Argentina) and Mr. Barrington (Burma) acted as tellers.

60

| Number of ballot papers:   | 60 |
|----------------------------|----|
| Number of abstentions:     | 1  |
| Number of invalid ballots: | 1  |
| Number of valid ballots:   | 59 |
| Required majority:         | 39 |
| Number of votes obtained:  |    |
| Yugoslavia                 | 36 |
| Czechoslovakia             | 22 |

The PRESIDENT: There will, therefore, be a ninth ballot, which will be restricted.

A vote was taken by secret ballot.

Number of ballot papers:

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Ferrer Vieyra (Argentina) and Mr. Barrington (Burma) acted as tellers.

| Number of abstentions:     | 1  |
|----------------------------|----|
| Number of invalid ballots: | 1  |
| Number of valid ballots:   | 59 |
| Required majority:         | 39 |
| Number of votes obtained:  |    |
| Yugoslavia                 | 38 |
| Czechoslovakia             | 28 |

115. The PRESIDENT: Since neither candidate has obtained the required two-thirds majority, a tenth ballot will now be held. In accordance with the rules, it will be unrestricted,

A vote was taken by secret ballot.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Ferrer Vieyra (Argentina) and Mr. Barrington (Burma) acted as tellers.

| Number of ballot papers:   | 60  |
|----------------------------|-----|
| Number of abstentions:     | . 0 |
| Number of invalid ballots: | 0   |
| Number of valid ballots:   | 60  |
| Required majority:         | 40  |

| Number of vote | es obtained: |
|----------------|--------------|
| Yugoslavia     |              |
| Czechoslovakia | a            |
| Pakistan       |              |
| Chile          |              |
| El Salvador .  |              |

116. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now take the eleventh ballot, which will be unrestricted.

- 117. Mr. ROBERTS (Union of South Africa): I move that the meeting be adjourned.
- 118. The PRESIDENT: The representative of the Union of South Africa has moved the adjournment of the meeting. The motion is not debatable and I shall put it to the vote.

The motion for adjournment was adopted by 29 votes to 17, with 8 abstentions.

The meeting rose at 2.15 p.m.