

UNITED NATIONS
ECONOMIC AND
SOCIAL COUNCIL
OFFICIAL RECORDS



FIFTH YEAR, TENTH SESSION

344th MEETING

TUESDAY, 7 FEBRUARY 1950, AT 11 A.M.

LAKE SUCCESS, NEW YORK

Temporary President: Mr. David OWEN (Assistant Secretary-General in charge of the Department of Economic Affairs).

Acting President: Mr. James THORN (New Zealand).

President: Mr. Hernán SANTA CRUZ (Chile).

Statement by the Temporary President

1. Mr. OWEN (Assistant Secretary-General in charge of the Department of Economic Affairs), Temporary President, opened the meeting and explained the circumstances which had led him to assume the temporary presidency of the Council. The States whose representatives had fulfilled the functions of President and Vice-Presidents in the preceding year were no longer members of the Economic and Social Council. Rule 20 of the revised rules of procedure gave no directions regarding the method to be followed in such a situation.

2. The Temporary President proposed to the members of the Economic and Social Council that Mr. Thorn (New Zealand) should be asked to preside over the meeting until the election of the new President.

Motion on a point of order submitted by the representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics regarding the representation of China on the Council

3. Mr. TSARAPKIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) wished to make the following statement before the Council proceeded to examine the items on its agenda:

4. It was known that the Central Government of the People's Republic of China had formally announced to the United Nations that it did not recognize the representatives of the Kuomintang group as having the right to represent China and to speak on behalf of the Chinese people and that it insisted upon the expulsion of those representatives from the Economic and Social Council.

5. It was also known that on 3 February 1950 Mr. Li Ke-Nun, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Central Government of the People's Republic of China, had addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations a cablegram announcing that his Government had appointed Mr. Chi Tsao-Ting as its representative on the Economic and Social Council.

6. The USSR delegation to the United Nations, as well as the USSR representatives on the various organs of the Organization, had announced that they, for their part, supported the statement of the Central Government. They considered that the representatives of the

Kuomintang group had no right to speak on behalf of the Chinese people, that their presence in the United Nations was thenceforth illegal and that they should therefore be expelled from the Organization.

7. The USSR delegation to the tenth session of the Economic and Social Council also wished to announce that, in its view, the representative of the Kuomintang was not qualified to represent China. It therefore asked that he should be expelled from the Economic and Social Council. Accordingly, it submitted for the Council's consideration the following draft resolution:

"The Economic and Social Council

"Decides to exclude the representative of the Kuomintang group from the Economic and Social Council."

8. The delegation of the Soviet Union further wished to announce that it would not participate in the work of the Council so long as the representative of the Kuomintang group continued to serve on that organ.

9. Mr. HOUDEK (Czechoslovakia) recalled that his country had already on several occasions defined its position in respect of the representatives of the Kuomintang in the United Nations. That position was based on the statements made by Mr. Chou En-Lai, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, to the United Nations during the fourth session of the General Assembly and in January 1950.

10. The Economic and Social Council was confronted with a new fact, namely the nomination of Mr. Chi Tsao-Ting as representative of China in the Economic and Social Council. That fact justified the attitude adopted by the delegation of Czechoslovakia.

11. In those circumstances, Mr. Houdek gave his whole-hearted approval and support to the proposal made by the representative of the Soviet Union.

12. He stated, furthermore, that his delegation would not take part in the work of the Council so long as the representative of the Kuomintang had not been excluded from it.

13. Mr. GALEWICZ (Poland) gave unreserved support to the statement of the USSR representative and announced that his delegation would refuse to participate in the debates so long as the representative of the Kuomintang continued to be on the Council. It was impossible to collaborate with political bankrupts who no longer represented anyone; the four hundred million people of China must be allowed to have a representative on the Council.

14. It was the duty of the Council to solve the economic and social problems of the world. It was obvious that such problems could not be discussed in the absence

of representatives of the largest nation in the world, whose Government, the Central Government of the People's Republic of China, was the only government qualified to represent China in the Economic and Social Council.

15. Mr. Galewicz proposed that the current representative of China should be excluded from the Council.

16. Mr. CHANG (China) observed that the point raised by the representative of the USSR had not come as a surprise; nevertheless, words which had lost all meaning through constant repetition must not be allowed to prevent the Council from seeing the situation as it actually existed.

17. The members of the Economic and Social Council were elected by the General Assembly. The Council was merely an advisory body responsible to the General Assembly, its sole duty being to study the conditions necessary to ensure the welfare of all countries, and particularly of the States Members of the United Nations. It was therefore not qualified to consider the problem of diplomatic recognition.

18. Certain speakers had asserted that the Chinese delegation represented only the "Kuomintang group". That was not true, for the delegation concerned represented the Chinese National Government. Despite the current conflict in China, that Government was the sole legal government of China. Its representatives in the United Nations had never failed to defend the interests of the Chinese people and to voice their aspirations.

19. It was true that China was going through a difficult period of adjustment to modern world conditions, yet its people would never give up their independence, the territorial integrity of China, justice, equal rights and security. They would never submit to foreign domination, Russian or any other, whatever its source.

20. Mr. Chang quoted a passage from the statement he had made on 23 January 1946 at the opening of the first session of the Economic and Social Council¹ when he had stressed that it was the duty of the United Nations to promote a new spirit of loyalty among nations. The Chinese delegation to the Economic and Social Council had always remained faithful to that principle, but the same could not be said of some of the other delegations.

21. The Economic and Social Council was faced with a problem for which its rules of procedure failed to provide a solution: the question of the recognition or non-recognition of the government of a Member State of the United Nations. The situation, however, in no way justified the refusal of some delegations to participate in the work of the Council. That refusal, far from contributing to a solution of the problem, would merely testify to a complete lack of respect for the sovereign rights of States with regard to the question of diplomatic recognition.

22. Mr. KOTSCHNIG (United States of America) maintained that the representatives of the USSR, Poland and Czechoslovakia, in threatening to leave the Council chamber, had revealed that they were more interested in the propaganda effect of their withdrawal than in the solution of the international problems before the Council.

¹ See *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council*, First year: First session, 1st meeting.

23. It was the duty of the Economic and Social Council to consider problems relating to the welfare of every country in the world. If the representatives concerned really intended to co-operate in that task, they would accept the decisions of the Council, whatever those decisions might be. Their withdrawal from the Council chamber would constitute a flagrant violation of the Charter. They had been elected by the General Assembly and it was incumbent upon them to take part in the work of the Economic and Social Council. The question of China's representation could not serve as a pretext for them to evade their obligations.

24. The wilful absence of a Member of the United Nations should not, however, prevent the Organization from proceeding with its normal business and would in no way affect the validity of its decisions.

25. Mr. Kotschnig reminded the Council of the precedent set by the Trusteeship Council during the first year of its operation when the USSR, though a permanent member of the Council, had refused to participate in its work. The members of the Trusteeship Council had, of course, regretted the absence of their Soviet Union colleagues, but had nevertheless proceeded with the normal work of the Council.

26. He hoped that the Economic and Social Council would take the same action should the representatives of the USSR, Czechoslovakia and Poland refuse to take part in its work.

27. Sir Ramaswami MUDALIAR (India) observed that the Indian delegation to the Security Council had already stated its position with respect to China's representation in the United Nations. While it did not intend to reconsider its position, the Indian delegation felt, nevertheless, that the situation was somewhat different in the Economic and Social Council.

28. The Council could not usurp the powers of the General Assembly and the Security Council, which alone were competent to decide on the question of the recognition of a State.

29. Under the provisions of its rules of procedure, the Economic and Social Council was required to examine the credentials of its members. It could do so only on an individual basis, however, and was not competent to examine the legal status of Governments. That was quite normal, for if every United Nations organ had the right to decide on the question of status, the result would be utter chaos and confusion.

30. Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar recalled that he had always defended the rights and prerogatives of the Economic and Social Council to the utmost. He was nevertheless constrained to admit that in the case before it the Council was not competent to take a decision of the nature suggested by Mr. Tsarapkin.

31. In view of those considerations, he would abstain from voting on the draft resolution.

32. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT put the USSR draft resolution to the vote.

The draft resolution was rejected by 10 votes to 3, with 5 abstentions.

33. Mr. TSARAPKIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) repeated his announcement that, so long as the representative of the Kuomintang remained in the Council, his delegation would refrain from participating

in the work of that organ. Moreover, he would not recognize as valid any decisions taken with the participation of Kuomintang representatives.

34. Mr. GALEWICZ (Poland) and Mr. HOUDEK (Czechoslovakia) announced that they could not take part in the work of the Council so long as the representative of the Kuomintang remained in that organ. Their Governments would not be bound by any decisions taken by the Council with the participation of that representative.

The representatives of the USSR, Czechoslovakia and Poland left the Council chamber.

35. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT invited Mr. Thorn, President of the Council for 1949, to act as President until the new President had been elected.

Mr. Thorn (New Zealand) took the Chair.

Address by Mr. Thorn, Acting President

36. The ACTING PRESIDENT stated that it was with some hesitation that he had agreed to open the tenth session of the Council, as he had felt that it would not be in accordance with rule 20 of the revised rules of procedure. Since, however, the rules of procedure failed to provide for a member of the Council to take the Chair until the election of the new President, he had acceded to the wishes of the members and had agreed to act as President. He wished to make it clear that he was doing so in his capacity as former President of the Economic and Social Council.

37. He wished first to welcome the representatives attending the current session of the Council, particularly the representatives of Canada, Czechoslovakia, Iran, Mexico and Pakistan, the new members of the Council. They would undoubtedly find their association with the other members of the Council both interesting and valuable.

38. He felt sure that he was expressing the feelings of all the members of the Council when he said how pleased he was to see Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar seated once again at the Council table. The Council could not fail to profit from the wide experience and enlightened advice of the Indian representative.

39. The Acting President went on to express the hope that during its tenth session the Council would perform its duties in an atmosphere of co-operation and goodwill and that all its members would approach the various problems with which they would be confronted in a manner likely to lead to solutions that would improve the living conditions of the millions of individuals whose welfare was the concern of the Council.

40. To give greater emphasis to the importance of the tasks with which the Council was entrusted, the Acting President read Articles 55 and 56 of the Charter. He pointed out that those Articles set forth the purposes for which the Council had been created; the attainment of those ends would eliminate the problems facing tens of millions of human beings and thereby remove some of the basic causes of instability and war. In his opinion participation in the Council's work was a privilege and an honour as well as an opportunity of service to mankind, since any success in the achievement of the aims of the Council would tend to improve the living

standards and social conditions of the peoples of the world and to open the way to the life they had the right to expect as human beings.

41. It was because the Economic and Social Council's fundamental purposes were of so lofty a nature that it carried such a heavy responsibility and its members had such serious obligations. The Council would be judged by its capacity to bring to its discussions objectivity, common sense and a spirit of conciliation and by the efforts which it made to achieve concrete results. He expressed the hope that the Council's decisions would always inspire hope and confidence in the world and that they would be the means of improving the existence of all those whose welfare the Council was called upon to serve. In so doing the Council would win for itself their thanks and would thereby strengthen the United Nations.

42. In conclusion, the Acting President thanked the members of the Council for the friendly consideration they had shown him. He then asked them to turn to the first item on the agenda, namely, the election of officers.

Election of the President and of the Vice-Presidents for 1950

ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

43. Mr. KOTSCHNIG (United States of America) proposed Mr. Santa Cruz (Chile). He stressed the many reasons why he considered Mr. Santa Cruz particularly qualified to act as President of the Council and emphasized the great contributions which had been made by Chile and Ambassador Santa Cruz as its representative to the work of the United Nations, and particularly the Economic and Social Council.

44. Mr. BORIS (France), Mr. de OURO-PRETO (Brazil), Mr. CHANG (China), Mr. PADILLA NERVO (Mexico), Mr. CABADA (Peru) and Mr. ENTEZAM (Iran) supported the proposal of the United States representative.

Mr. Santa Cruz (Chile) was elected President by acclamation.

Mr. Santa Cruz took his seat as President.

45. The PRESIDENT thanked the members of the Council for the honour they had conferred upon him by electing him President. He felt that in electing him they had wished to convey their appreciation of the efforts his country had made to help the Council to perform effectively the important functions assigned to it in Article 1, paragraph 3 of the Charter. His election also emphasized the important role played by the Latin-American countries in that aspect of the Organization's work and particularly in the two activities which had constituted its main theme during the last two years: the establishment of universal respect for human rights and the improvement of standards of living in the underdeveloped areas of the world.

46. He associated himself with the welcome which Mr. Thorn had already extended to the new members of the Council. Two of them, Iran and Pakistan, were members of the Council for the first time and their contribution in the General Assembly to the solution of political, economic and social problems could not fail

to be an indication that their collaboration in the work of the Council would be invaluable. The Council was sorry to lose those of its members whose term of membership had expired; they had made an effective contribution to the progress of its work. He paid a particular tribute to Mr. Malik, the representative of Lebanon, and Mr. Thorn, the representative of New Zealand, who had presided over the Council in 1948 and 1949 respectively. He also welcomed the return of Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar, the representative of India, who had been President of the Council during its first two years.

47. Some of the circumstances in which the tenth session of the Council was opening were auspicious; others were less encouraging. The General Assembly had given decisive support to the work of the Council and had approved the measures it had taken. The great majority of Member States had expressed their satisfaction with the way in which the Council was carrying out its functions under the Charter. Furthermore, despite all the international difficulties which stood in the way of economic and social co-operation between the various countries, the Council could unquestionably record some progress and success. There were signs that some countries, some continents even, were beginning to be aware of the fact that they had common interests: the peoples of South East Asia, the Middle East and even Africa had complete faith in international co-operation. Economic and technical assistance and social progress would enable those communities to share in the technical advances of civilization and their contribution would, in turn, strengthen that civilization and contribute to its advancement.

48. On the other hand, the international situation, and particularly the intensification of potential causes of conflict, might discourage the United Nations if the Charter and the unanimous support of all democratic countries did not constitute an infinite source of optimism and hope. It was more than ever urgent to increase international co-operation in the solution of economic and social problems and to prove by action that the promises made at San Francisco had not been forgotten or repudiated. A constructive way of contributing to the solution of the current crisis was to persuade the peoples of the world that the ideals of freedom were not in conflict with the most elementary principles of security and with a high standard of living.

49. During its tenth session the Council would have to make known to the world its views on two historic projects: the achievement of economic stability through full employment and the economic development of underdeveloped areas. Both at the national and the individual level, the members of the Council were faced with a single problem: to lay the foundation for freedom by guaranteeing economic security.

50. Universality was one of the fundamental principles of the San Francisco Charter and of the United Nations. It would be harder to ensure security and the reign of peace if certain countries remained aloof from the Organization's activities. When the General Assembly had elected the eighteen members of the Council, in conformity with the principle of geographic distribution, it had tried to make sure that every region of the world

would be in a position to submit its problems and explain its point of view, so that an international solution of those problems could be reached. It had insisted, moreover, that the various ideologies dividing humanity in the economic and social fields should be represented in the Council. Although the Charter did not impose that specific obligation on the General Assembly, the latter had felt that the five major Powers, to which the Charter granted a privileged position in the field of security, should play an active part in the work of the Council. That was why China, France, the USSR, the United Kingdom and the United States had been members of the Council from the beginning. The event that had taken place at the beginning of the tenth session was therefore a serious obstacle, which the Council could not afford to ignore.

51. The members of the Council must nevertheless face a situation for which they were not responsible. It was their duty to overcome that obstacle and to work with energy and enthusiasm at the task which the world expected them to perform. He was certain that, despite those difficulties during its tenth session, the Council would achieve positive results worthy of its tradition and its great potentialities.

52. In that connexion he wished to make it clear that, in his opinion, the decisions taken by the Council during its tenth session would be perfectly well grounded and entirely valid.

ELECTION OF THE FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

53. The PRESIDENT drew attention to rule 19 of the rules of procedure, which provided for the election of a First Vice-President and a Second Vice-President.

54. Sir Terence SHONE (United Kingdom) proposed Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar, the representative of India, as First Vice-President, and paid a tribute to his high qualifications.

55. Mr. SCHNAKE VERGARA (Chile) supported the nomination of Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar.

56. The PRESIDENT declared Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar unanimously elected First Vice-President.

57. Sir Ramaswami MUDALIAR (India) thanked the members of the Council and stated that he would spare no effort to assist it in its work.

ELECTION OF THE SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT

58. Mr. BORBERG (Denmark) proposed Mr. Dehousse, the representative of Belgium, as Second Vice-President.

59. Mr. EUDES (Canada) supported the nomination of the representative of Belgium.

60. The PRESIDENT declared Mr. Dehousse unanimously elected Second Vice-President.

61. Mr. WOULBROUN (Belgium) thanked the members of the Council for having elected the head of the Belgian delegation as Second Vice-President.

62. Mr. ALI (Pakistan) thanked the members of the Council for the welcome they had given him, and congratulated the officers on their election.

The meeting rose at 12.45 p.m.