



CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
Final meeting of the fifth session	747
Examination of credentials	747
Question of the representation of China in the United Nations	747
Closing of the fifth session of the General Assembly	749

President: Mr. Nasrollah ENTEZAM (Iran).

Final meeting of the fifth session

1. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): As you know, the General Assembly has been convened in plenary meeting for the purpose of closing the fifth session.
2. On behalf of the President of the Assembly, the Secretary-General addressed to the heads of delegations accredited to the fifth session a communication, dated 11 October 1951, in which he asked for their opinion on the recommendations prepared by the Secretary-General and myself with regard to the place and date of the closing meeting of the present session.
3. Thirty-six Member States replied to that communication, and all have agreed that the meeting should be held in Paris.

Examination of credentials

4. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): After consulting each of the members of the committee, the Chairman of the Credentials Committee has informed me that the governments which had not transmitted credentials for their representatives by the time the last report of the Credentials Committee was issued have since forwarded those credentials to the Secretary-General. Consequently, all the representatives accredited to the fifth session now have the necessary credentials. The letter from the Chairman of the Credentials Committee is reproduced in document A/1936.
5. As this matter does not call for any other decision by the General Assembly, I propose that the Assembly should take note of the report of the Chairman of the Credentials Committee.

It was so decided.

Question of the representation of China in the United Nations

6. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): One of the items on the agenda of the fifth session on which the General Assembly has not yet reached a decision is the report of the Special Committee on the representation of China.
7. After the committee's last meeting, on 16 October 1951, its chairman informed me of the committee's decision. The committee's report to the General Assembly has been issued in document A/1923. As the committee has made no recommendation to the General Assembly, I propose that the Assembly should merely take note of the report.
8. I call upon the representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to speak on this subject.
9. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): The importance of the question of the representation of China in the United Nations is well known. Consideration of this question has been inadmissibly delayed, and the Special Committee on the representation of China, established at the beginning of the fifth session of the General Assembly [*resolution 490 (V)*], has made no concrete recommendations. One cannot but express surprise at the fact that, by the end of the fifth session of the General Assembly, which incidentally has been an excessively long one, the committee has not found it possible to submit recommendations on such an important international problem.
10. In considering this question, it is essential to bear in mind that it is high time to put an end to the unjust attitude adopted by the United Nations towards the great Chinese people, an attitude which is the result of

hostile manoeuvres on the part of certain States towards China and the Chinese people. The Chinese nation, 475 million strong, must have its lawful representatives in the United Nations, and for such representation it has every legal justification.

11. The question, as worded by the committee, is being treated at today's meeting as if it were to be regarded as already disposed of. However, representatives will be well aware that the problem cannot be disposed of until the legal representatives of the Chinese people, the representatives of the only lawful government in China—the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China—participate here in the work of the United Nations, of the General Assembly and of other United Nations bodies.

12. For this reason the delegation of the Soviet Union is submitting a proposal that the question should be referred to the sixth session of the General Assembly for consideration.

13. In view of the short time available for discussing the substance of the problem at today's meeting, and in view of its international importance, the delegation of the Soviet Union submits the following draft resolution:

"Whereas the Special Committee on the representation of China in the United Nations has not adopted any recommendations regarding the representation of China in the United Nations,

"The General Assembly

"Resolves to refer consideration of the question of the representation of China in the United Nations to the sixth session of the General Assembly."

14. In submitting this draft resolution, the USSR delegation hopes that those delegations which cherish international justice and the implementation of the elementary principles of international law, those which desire to strengthen the United Nations and not to weaken it, and those which genuinely desire international peace and friendship, will support this proposal, so that the sixth session of the General Assembly may immediately consider the question of the representation of China in the United Nations.

15. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): You have heard the purport of the USSR representative's proposal. I do not have the text, but the meaning of the proposal is clear enough, and we can therefore discuss it.

16. Mr. TSIANG (China): The question raised by the representative of the Soviet Union has been raised here a number of times. There is nothing new in what he said to us a moment ago. The Chinese communist régime is the result of thirty years of intrigue, infiltration and intervention by international communism. There is nothing Chinese about this communist régime; it is not Chinese in origin; it is not Chinese in character; and certainly, most important of all, it is not Chinese in its purpose. If the Soviet Union finds it necessary to add more votes to the Soviet bloc, it would be more in conformity with the facts if the United Nations were to admit the Republic of Georgia or the Republic of Kazakhstan. The purpose of his remarks would be more honest if that had been his motion.

17. This great Organization of ours was established first of all to promote the cause of world peace. The proposal made by the representative of the Soviet Union is calculated not to promote peace but to defeat the purpose of peace. The régime whose admission here he proposes has been pronounced summarily by the Assembly to be aggressive. The United Nations was founded also to protect human rights. The present régime in China, like all communist régimes, has no regard for human rights. In regard to that part of this problem, I shall have more to say when we take up the general debate.

18. The proposal of the Soviet Union is not in conformity with the purposes of the United Nations. If carried, it will only serve to defeat the great purposes for which we have come to meet in Paris.

19. Mr. KATZ-SUCHY (Poland): The General Assembly has before it a report of the Special Committee on the representation of China. It is a unique committee and its report is unique among all those which have ever been submitted to the United Nations. The committee, as the report points out, and as many of you may remember, although it was established on 19 September 1950 [*277th plenary meeting*], waited three months before meeting on 15 December, knowing very well that the main part of the Assembly was going to adjourn. After that meeting, which was very brief and which did not contribute anything new towards the solution of the problem, the committee adjourned practically *sine die*, because it met again only nine months afterwards to bring before us a report which did not solve anything. The committee did not study anything and it did not submit any proposals. The committee was appointed for the purpose of studying the problem of the representation of China.

20. Reading the history of the committee, one must admit that the majority of the committee did everything in order that no serious study of this problem, which has so greatly disturbed the activities of the United Nations in the past year, should ever be undertaken. The committee did this in the face of its obvious duty. It refused to solve the problem which was so urgent and so essential for the work of this Organization. China is still not represented in this Organization and, although during the past year we have been involved in many problems concerning Asia and the Far East, the most important nation in the Far East could not present its opinion and could not speak for the 475 million of its citizens.

21. It would seem that the committee of seven appointed over a year ago has had enough time to take up the question. Therefore to take note of such a report is a most unheard-of procedure. What does it mean when it says that we should take note of the fact that the matter is unsolved although the General Assembly has entrusted the matter to a group of seven people, of seven States, with the request that the matter should be studied and proposals brought forward? Since the matter has not been settled, then the fifth session of the General Assembly must now try to transfer the matter to the sixth session of the General Assembly and to recommend that a most serious study should be made of the problem. It is impossible to leave the question suspended in air because neither the Assembly nor the

committee have gone into the substance of the matter and therefore this chapter cannot be closed. The committee became a convenient excuse and escape whenever the question was raised before other organs of the United Nations. When the question of the representation of China was raised in any other organ, many members suddenly recalled the existence of the committee of the General Assembly and advised or recommended that the organs should wait until recommendations had been submitted. Now we have the recommendation and it states clearly that the committee has been unable to make any recommendation.

22. The gentleman who spoke before me and who claims to represent China, although he represents a bankrupt group which has nothing to say in China, used slander on this rostrum to continue his propaganda here, to upset international relations and to make any settlement of the problem difficult. It is time that the General Assembly, instead of permitting those who have been expelled by the Chinese people to continue their propaganda of hatred and war, should undertake a serious study of the matter because, as I said, the matter deserves the most serious consideration. A solution of this problem and the appointment of a proper representative of China here, the introduction of those who really represent China to their rightful place, will help the Assembly to solve many important questions. My delegation therefore supports the proposal submitted by the representative of the USSR and calls upon this Assembly to recommend to the next session to undertake a study of this question.

23. Mr. TAUBER (Czechoslovakia) (*translated from French*): The Czechoslovak delegation has always, in the various organs of the United Nations, supported all proposals for the admission of the only legitimate government of China to membership of the Organization. That is why it cannot accept the conclusions set forth in the report of the Special Committee on the representation of China.

24. The Czechoslovak delegation supports the USSR delegation's proposal unreservedly.

25. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): Since there are no more speakers, the discussion on this proposal is closed. Mr. Cordier will read the draft resolution now before us.

Mr. Cordier (Executive Assistant to the Secretary-General) read the USSR draft resolution.

26. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): I now put to the vote the draft resolution presented by the delegation of the Soviet Union.

The USSR draft resolution was rejected by 20 votes to 11, with 11 abstentions.

27. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): The Soviet Union delegation reserves the right to revert to this question at the sixth session of the General Assembly and to submit an appropriate proposal.

28. Sir Gladwyn JEBB (United Kingdom): My delegation abstained in the vote on the draft resolution of the USSR because, while we did not feel that it mattered very greatly if it were passed, we definitely felt that it was otiose. Actually, whether we here at this last meeting of the fifth session of the General

Assembly pass such a resolution or not, the fact remains that the matter is, practically speaking, bound to come up at tomorrow's first meeting of the sixth session and I suggest therefore that all delegations should be prepared to explain their views on this admittedly most important problem.

29. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): Since the draft resolution of the Soviet Union has been rejected, I return to my suggestion, which is simply that the Assembly should take note of the report.

30. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics): I request a vote.

31. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): A vote on what? On the report submitted by the Special Committee on the representation of China? But I have already explained that it seems to me rather difficult to put to the vote a report which contains no recommendation. If, however, I am urged to put to the vote a report with nothing in it, I am prepared to do so. On this last day of the fifth session, I am more than ever disposed to give satisfaction to all delegations.

32. If you have no objections, and since the Assembly can scarcely approve a report which does not contain any recommendation, I shall put to the vote my own suggestion that the Assembly should merely take note of the Special Committee's report.

The Assembly decided to take note of the Special Committee's report by 36 votes to 5, with 2 abstentions.

33. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): Since the General Assembly has no other report before it, the consideration of the agenda of the fifth session is completed.

Closing of the fifth session of the General Assembly

34. Mr. MUNIZ (Brazil) (*translated from French*): The Brazilian delegation is confident that it expresses the general feeling of the Assembly in thanking and congratulating its President, Mr. Entezam, on the remarkable way in which he has conducted the difficult proceedings of the Assembly's fifth session.

35. Our President has brought to the fulfilment of his task the results of his lengthy experience of international affairs; for a long time, indeed, he took part in the work of the League of Nations. He has also displayed a profound knowledge of modern problems, incomparable tact, and perfect courtesy. It is not too much to say that a great part of the results we have obtained are due to his personal contribution and to the manner in which he has succeeded in facing the innumerable difficulties encountered in the course of our work. For that we owe him our gratitude; he might well be called the good genius of the fifth session of the General Assembly.

36. Sir Gladwyn JEBB (United Kingdom): I should like, if I may, to join with my Brazilian colleague in offering the President our sincerest congratulations on his brilliant handling of our business in this Assembly during the last year. At a time when, as we all know, the government which I represent has been forced to ventilate in the United Nations a serious difference of opinion with the Iranian Government, I find it a matter of particular satisfaction that I can place on record its deep appreciation of Mr. Entezam's personal qualities

both as President of the Assembly and as representative of Iran. His period of office coincided with a great crisis in the life of the United Nations, a crisis which I believe has now been successfully surmounted. Mr. Entezam himself assumed great responsibilities as a member of the Good Offices Committee set up by the Assembly in connexion with Korea [*resolution 498 (V)*], and this in itself was a proof of the confidence which we all place in his abilities and his judgment. Perhaps the greatest tribute that can be paid to him is that in all the period of this session of the Assembly, and it has been the longest on record, there has been no breath of criticism as to his great courtesy, his firmness, his impartiality, and in a word, his statesmanship.

37. Mr. AUSTIN (United States of America): It is a great privilege, historically and currently, to have a meeting of the fifth session of the General Assembly in "la belle France". This is the second time that we have been entertained with such cordiality and hospitality as only the wonderful people of France are capable of extending. As a member of the delegation from the United States of America, it is especially significant to us that we are among the people who produced those great exponents of liberty and equality, some of whom came to our shores and there established a connexion between the New World and the Old World which has persisted through all the years since then. La Fayette, Rochambeau, De Grasse — what names to arouse the gratitude of the citizens of the great country that I come from! So we come to you with many feelings, and we want to say "thank you" for all that you have done for us already, and for all that we know you intend to do for us in the future.

38. This fifth session of the General Assembly has been a remarkable one. It has accomplished under a unique leadership great milestones in history, in the progress towards the establishment of conditions for security and peace in the world. I must admit that we have had many differences among us in making these milestones of progress, but I believe that, in spite of the disunity that may have existed at times over the great controversial questions with which we have to deal in a General Assembly, I may safely assume that in one respect the fifth session of the General Assembly is united, and that is in praise of the leadership that it has had through the President, President Entezam. We all recognize the superiority of his knowledge of parliamentary law. We have all appreciated greatly his sense of justice, and his wit, facility and ease, and I must say his most beautiful, complimentary manner of dealing with us in ruling against us. It was like handing out a rose when he ruled against us. So, on the part of the delegation of the United States, I wish to thank the President, and I wish him good health and long life and still greater opportunities to serve mankind.

39. General ROMULO (Philippines): We are bringing to a close in an unprecedented manner a regular session of the General Assembly that is itself without precedent in the history of our Organization. For the first time, the General Assembly has been technically in session for one whole year, actually, by the calendar, for a period of thirteen and a half months. More curious still is the fact that the session which opened in New

York is coming to a close today in Paris. But this break with all precedents is merely the measure of the difficult problems with which the General Assembly has had to cope. The continuance of the United Nations action to repel aggression in Korea, and the parallel negotiations for a cessation of hostilities in that area, made it necessary that the General Assembly should remain in session, or at least close at hand, to meet any eventualities that might arise.

40. In this unprecedented situation, the General Assembly has had the good fortune to have as its President a man of exemplary gentleness and tact, whose quiet ways and wisdom enabled him to make considerably more smooth the rough road which the fifth session of the General Assembly has had to travel. Under his presidency, the General Assembly took the first concrete steps towards the establishment of a United Nations system of collective security, a task which, we trust, will be carried much further forward during the next session, which begins tomorrow. This collective security system, solidly based on the United Nations experience in Korea, will long stand as the outstanding achievement of the fifth session of the General Assembly.

41. I know my fellow representatives would wish, with me, to extend to the President, Mr. Entezam, our heart-felt appreciation for the tact and skill with which he has presided over our deliberations during the past year in the face of the most difficult and delicate problems that have ever arisen in the United Nations.

42. Mr. CHAUVEL (France) (*translated from French*): The French delegation does not propose to refer today to the problems which the Assembly will take up tomorrow. It would, however, be inconceivable that on this last day of the fifth session of the Assembly, at Paris, the French delegation should fail to associate itself with the praise just expressed by several of our colleagues for the outstanding qualities displayed by the President in the course of his long term of office. The French delegation yields to no one in its appreciation of his great competence, his perfect courtesy, and even the firmness which he has had no occasion to display, because everyone knew that it was the strong support of his impartiality and of that same courtesy to which all have always willingly deferred.

43. Sir Benegal RAU (India): It gives me great pleasure to associate myself whole-heartedly with all the tributes which have been paid to the outstanding ability and distinction with which the President has discharged his great responsibilities during a year of much stress and strain. I had occasion to work with him very closely in the Group on Cease-Fire in Korea, and I therefore had more opportunities than most of the representatives here to appreciate the resourceful statesmanship which he brought to bear in guiding the work of that group.

44. As the representative of a neighbouring country, my delegation has particular pleasure in felicitating the President on the very able and successful discharge of his duties as the President of the fifth session of the General Assembly. In Mr. Entezam, this Assembly has had one of its most distinguished presidents. He has been able to guide the deliberations of the Assembly with great tact and firmness, and his great courtesy

and friendliness have endeared him to all who are represented in this hall.

45. I shall conclude by offering the President our warmest congratulations, and I wish him many years of distinguished service in the work of the United Nations.

46. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): While paying tribute to Mr. Entezam, the President of the fifth session of the General Assembly, I wish to touch on the following question.

47. It would be incorrect and unobjective to take at their face value and to accept in silence the statements which have been made by two of the preceding speakers when they referred to the so-called success of the work of the fifth session of the General Assembly. I believe that the delegations to the sixth session of the General Assembly will have an opportunity of making a full appraisal of the work of the fifth session, which has dragged out for an inordinately long time in violation of all hitherto adopted rules and accepted practice.

48. The prolongation of the work of the General Assembly, as well as the adoption of a number of illegal resolutions, reflects the violation of the Charter committed by one of the great Powers which is trying to transform the United Nations and one of its principal bodies, the General Assembly, into an instrument of its own policy. I imagine that delegations will express their views on all these matters at the sixth session of the General Assembly.

49. In view of the above, to talk of the success of the work of the fifth session of the General Assembly would be incorrect and unobjective and would not correspond to the facts.

ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT

50. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): Gentlemen — or, may I say, my dear colleagues — as the sixth session of the General Assembly will open in less than twenty-four hours, there is no need for me to make a closing speech. Let me therefore merely discharge my debts of gratitude.

51. I have been deeply touched by the kind words and unmerited praises which many delegations have addressed to me. First and foremost I wish to thank you for your whole-hearted support during this long and arduous session. You will remember that at the time I was elected I made a promise and also an appeal. I promised that I would preside over your debates with complete impartiality. It is for you to judge whether I have kept that promise. Then, I asked for your full support, and, on that point, I can assure you that not only have you responded to my appeal, but you have gone even further than I had hoped. Not once, even at the most critical moment, did you hesitate to support the decisions that, as President, I had to take. I shall always remember this mark of your confidence in me.

52. I should like, next, on your behalf and mine, to thank the Secretary-General and his distinguished colleagues. Every president has expressed the pleasure

he has felt in co-operating with the Secretary-General. Personally, I can say that our co-operation could not have been more sincere or more cordial. The reason why Mr. Lie and I understand each other so well is that we both know that we have only one aim in view, to serve the cause of the United Nations.

53. I turn now to my neighbour on my left. My predecessors, one and all, have so overwhelmed Mr. Cordier with praise that it is hard for me to find a fresh compliment. I have known Mr. Cordier since 1945 and, having worked constantly in close touch with him, I thought I knew all his many merits. But one has to occupy this chair to realize the immense burden he bears and to appreciate all he can and has to do during a session. As an eye-witness to his great devotion, may I offer Mr. Cordier my warmest congratulations and express the admiration I feel for him.

54. In conclusion, I should like to convey my sincere thanks to all the members of the Secretariat and also to the representatives of the international Press who, by their devotion, sincerity and co-operation, have greatly facilitated my task.

ADDRESS BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

55. The SECRETARY-GENERAL (*translated from French*): Now that the fifth session of the General Assembly is drawing to a close, I have the pleasant duty, on behalf of the Secretariat and myself, of paying tribute to your President, who is our President as well, and thanking him for the kind words in which he has referred to Mr. Cordier, his assistants and myself.

56. No General Assembly in the short history of the United Nations has remained in being for so long a stretch of time or been faced with such complicated tasks. I can say, in all truth, and basing myself on our almost daily contact, that the President has stood the test with smiling energy. Everyone was aware of the high qualities of Mr. Entezam as a diplomat and a statesman, but it was not generally known that he possessed the science and art of chairmanship in such high measure. His deep knowledge of the General Assembly's rules of procedure, his mastery and impartiality in the application of those rules, have won for him — and I say it with pleasure — the respectful admiration of all members of the Secretariat.

57. Now that he is relinquishing his duties, I wish to offer him, as a slight testimony of our gratitude and as a momento, the gavel which he has so happily wielded while presiding over the discussions of the fifth session of the General Assembly.

58. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): Before declaring the fifth session of the General Assembly closed I will ask all members to observe a minute's silence of prayer or meditation.

The representatives stood in silence.

59. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): I declare the fifth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations closed.

The meeting rose at 4.10 p.m.