Q. REPRESENTATION OF MEMBER STATES IN THE UNITED NATIONS

1. The Question of the Representation of China

a. CONSIDERATION BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL

In a cablegram dated 18 November 1949 (A/1123) to the President of the General Assembly, the Foreign Minister of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China stated that his Government repudiated the legal status of the delegation under Mr. T. F. Tsiang and held that it could not represent China and had no right to speak on behalf of the Chinese people in the United Nations.

At the 458th meeting of the Security Council, on 29 December, the representative of the USSR endorsed the position taken up by the Government of the People's Republic of China and stated that he would not regard the representative of the Kuomintang group as representing China, or as being empowered to represent the Chinese people in the Security Council. The representative of the USSR was supported by the representative of the Ukrainian SSR who made a similar statement.

The representative of China stated that, if a minority in the Council could arbitrarily deny the authority of any of the other delegations, the Organization would be reduced to anarchy or to the dictation of one or two delegations.

As to the nature of his Government, he said that the Government which he represented was based on a Constitution freely accepted by the People's representatives in a National Assembly.

The President then pointed out that the matter under discussion had not been included in the provisional agenda for that meeting and that the Council should pass on to other business.

In a cablegram dated 8 January 1950, the Foreign Minister of the Government of the People's Republic of China informed the Governments of States represented on the Security Council that his Government considered that the presence of the Kuomintang delegation in the Council was illegal. His Government's position was that the Kuomintang delegates should be expelled from the Council.

At the 459th meeting of the Council on 10 January 1950, the representative of the USSR expressed his support for the position taken by the People's Republic of China in its communication of 8 January, and he insisted that the representa-

tive of the Kuomintang group should be excluded from the Council. If the Council did not take appropriate measures, the USSR delegation, he stated, would not take part in the work of the Council until the Kuomintang representative was excluded. He submitted a draft resolution (S/1443), by which the Council would decide not to recognize the credentials of the representative referred to in the statement by the Central People's Government of the Chinese People's Republic and to exclude him from the Security Council.

The Council considered the USSR draft resolution at its 460th and 461st meetings on 12 and 13 January. The following views were expressed:

The representative of Yugoslavia stated that many Governments, including his own, had recognized the new Government of China. It had been argued that the USSR proposal was premature since five members of the Security Council continued to recognize the old regime. However, the number of Governments according diplomatic recognition to the new Government was growing because it had become patent that the sovereign will of the Chinese people had been expressed in the establishment of the Government of Mao Tse-tung. He argued that recognition or non-recognition by individual Governments of Member States did not imply an analogous position in respect of representation in the Security Council. Considerations of a domestic or ideological character and other factors determining the attitude of individual States on the question of recognition should not be the basis of the Council's attitude. The Council could not continue to work effectively if the world's largest nation were represented by the delegation of a Government which the overwhelming majority of that people regarded as an enemy.

The representative of France said that while the situation in China entailed problems which had not escaped the attention of the French Government, it had not, thus far, formulated its conclusions. In the circumstances, and in the absence of new instruction, the French delegation would not challenge the validity of the credentials of the representative of China and would vote against the USSR draft resolution. He considered that proposal to be a matter of procedure, and therefore held that his negative vote should not be construed as constituting a veto.