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Chairman: Mr. Andrés AGUILAR M. (Venezuela).

Invitation aspects of the consideration of item 98: Question of Korea (continued) (A/8026, A/8044 and Add.1-3, A/8045 and Add.1-3, A/8046, A/C.1/999, 1000, 1002, 1007, 1008, A/C.1/L.520 and 521)

1. Mr. VAN USSEL (Belgium) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation has followed with interest the debate being held in this Committee regarding the procedural aspect of the question of Korea, namely, the question of inviting the Republic of Korea and the Korean People's Democratic Republic possibly to participate in the discussion that will take place next month when we deal with the substance of this problem.

2. I shall therefore confine my statement to this previous point and I shall limit myself very briefly to defining the spirit in which the 18 sponsors prepared the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.521. Listening to some of the speakers who have preceded me I note that far too often our intentions have either been misunderstood by some or interpreted to their own benefit by others. Our draft resolution is considered discriminatory because we do not deal with both Koreas on an equal footing, but nothing could be farther from the truth since we apply the same yardstick to both Governments. The first preambular paragraph very clearly and unambiguously recalls previous resolutions of our Committee in which we have expressed the view that "representatives of the Republic of Korea and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea may participate in the discussion of the Korean question provided they first unequivocally accept the competence and authority of the United Nations within the terms of the Charter to take action on the Korean question".

3. This is an objective criterion which should be endorsed by all members of an international organization before inviting non-member States to participate in their work. I would even say that it is a universal rule applicable to any form of association or organization since I find it hard to believe that the members of a firm, a club or an organ can accept outsiders unless those outsiders first undertake to abide by the rules and accept their authority. In other words, we are posing a reasonable question both to the Government of Seoul and to that of Pyongyang.

4. The former, the Republic of Korea, reaffirmed through its Minister of Foreign Affairs its "full adherence to the

purposes and principles of the United Nations" and stated that it "continues to accept unequivocally the competence and authority of the United Nations within the terms of the Charter to take action on the Korean question". [See A/C.1/1002.]

5. Unfortunately, an equally clear-cut and precise commitment has not been forthcoming from the authorities of Pyongyang, who merely see fit to direct an insulting diatribe against one of the founding Members of the United Nations, namely, the United States of America. It is wrong, I think, to say that the 18 countries of Africa, Asia, Latin America and Europe, the sponsors of draft resolution A/C.1/L.521, are depriving North Korea of the opportunity to participate in the discussion of a matter which is of vital concern to it. Operative paragraph 2 of our draft resolution reaffirms in very explicit terms the First Committee's willingness to invite a representative of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to take part in our debates. However, as I said before, we still consider as essential the condition required of both parties, namely, the prior acceptance of the competence and authority of the United Nations to take action on the Korean question.

6. For 10 days our Assembly heard messages and declarations from a number of heads of State, heads of Government and special envoys who all reaffirmed their adherence to the purposes and principles of the Charter and, often in moving terms, appealed to all nations to accept the authority of our Organization. May this expression of faith be heeded by the Government of North Korea. That is the wish and aim of the 18 countries who have submitted, for the Committee's approval, draft resolution A/C.1/L.521.

7. Mr. JOUEJATI (Syria): When the invitation aspects of the question of Korea are scrutinized objectively, one is bound to recognize that only the participation of all the parties concerned in the United Nations debate on the question can open the way to a serious dialogue and hence to a solution. The exclusion of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea from the debate would not produce any result. Experience of the past is enough to prove that delegations which are keenly interested in the progress of this question towards a fruitful end should request the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to send representatives to address the United Nations, because the issue is fundamentally theirs, and together with the representatives of the South they can offer an indispensable contribution without which the United Nations will be endlessly but fruitlessly trying to tackle the question.

8. The sponsors of draft resolution A/C.1/L.520 have precisely those goals in mind. They appreciate at its true value the extent to which the peace of the region is

threatened by the artificial division of Korea. They appreciate with admiration the extent to which the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has enhanced its statehood, developed its resources, consolidated its political and economic independence and fulfilled the aspirations of the Korean masses for emancipation from both the yoke of foreign occupation and the legacy of underdevelopment. To request its representatives to participate in the debate is a gesture, not to the Democratic People's Republic, whose existence and rights are dependent solely on its great people, supported as they are by the socialist community and by every other justice- and peace-loving people, but it would be a gesture to the United Nations itself and to its Charter, a contribution to the efficacy of its debates and the relevance and soundness of its resolutions.

9. Is draft resolution A/C.1/L.521 susceptible of achieving any result? Does it advance the debate at all? Does it have any response at all on the international scene, any effect except that of sterilizing the action of the United Nations, widening the divergencies and rendering the solution more remote? Facts are the best answer. For besides being void of any potential substance, draft resolution A/C.1/L.521 is built on a wrong premise. It imposes on the participation of the Democratic People's Republic a pre-condition which in itself is the root of the whole dispute. By using such terms as "authority and competence of the United Nations", it implies in truth the illegitimate act of foreign intervention in the affairs of Korea, artificially clothed with the garment of United Nations collective security. Resolutions of the Security Council are invoked to justify this intervention; yet everybody knows that those resolutions, being substantive and not procedural, require the agreement of all permanent members. Lacking this agreement, they have no effect. Sometimes the United Nations presence in Southern Korea is invoked; yet it is a foregone conclusion that this so-called United Nations presence has only consolidated, not the reunification of Korea but its division, not its rehabilitation but the explosiveness of the situation in that divided country.

10. Instead of recognizing squarely both the competence and the authority, *de jure* and *de facto*, of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, attempt after attempt is made to compel it, in the name of procedure, to recognize an illegitimate intervention as legitimate, invalid resolutions as valid and foreign domination as legal. Surely it must be known to everybody that the Democratic People's Republic of Korea does not submit to this humiliation and surrender of its sovereignty.

11. There are two draft resolutions. One seeks to achieve progress, the other is bound in advance to achieve none. Indeed, the very formulation of draft resolution A/C.1/L.521 is not needed, as the representatives of the South are here anyhow, with or without the resolution, as eloquently stated yesterday by the representative of Cuba [1742nd meeting]. Is it not high time that the First Committee, under the Chairman's able leadership, gave up these fruitless manoeuvres and found an appropriate way immediately to invite both parties to state their case and henceforth to debate the question on its merits, based on a thorough assessment of the factors involved? If we are agreed on the goal of embarking upon a useful debate, no resolution indeed is needed, no procedural debate is

warranted. A simple request from the Chairman, in conjunction, perhaps, with our Secretary-General, to both parties to participate in the debate would set the United Nations machinery for the settlement of disputes immediately in motion.

12. The United Nations is in its twenty-fifth anniversary year. Would it not be a contribution to its efficacy to transform one of its debates from a sterile repetition into a serious treatment that achieves the real unification and rehabilitation of Korea? If our delegation appeals for anything, it is in this sense and direction.

13. Mr. ISMAIL (Southern Yemen): Since this is the first time that I have taken the floor in this Committee, allow me to convey to the Chairman our heartfelt congratulations on his unanimous election as Chairman of such a dignified and very important Committee. My delegation sends congratulations also to the Vice-Chairman and to the Rapporteur upon their unanimous election.

14. The so-called Korean problem is again under discussion in this Committee of the General Assembly. The problem is not new and it has been under discussion in this world Organization for more than 20 years without any fruitful results having been achieved, except to complicate the whole issue for the benefit of the imperialistic Powers which continue their occupation of Korean territory in the name, regrettably, of the United Nations.

15. It is time now to put an end to any discussion of the Korean issue if the practice, contrary to the terms of the Charter and to the logic and common sense of normal international relations, is continued of refusing to invite the country concerned, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, to participate in a discussion of vital importance to its people. The unconditional invitation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to participate in the debate concerning it more directly than anybody else is in conformity with the terms of Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter, which says:

"Nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state or shall require the Members to submit such matters to settlement under the present Charter . . ."

16. It is quite clear that for more than two decades, because of the influence and pressure from certain States, injustice has been committed with regard to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, which has been denied an opportunity to participate in the discussion on a matter which is of vital importance to the Korean people. This is certainly an offensive practice which is repugnant to the spirit of the Charter. Everyone knows that in all the organs of the United Nations the practice has long been established to invite countries, even if they are not Members of this Organization, to take part in discussions if they are directly interested in the question under consideration. Article 32 states: "... any State which is not a Member of the United Nations, if it is a party to a dispute . . . shall be invited to participate, without vote, in the discussion relating to the dispute."

17. Thus my delegation is firmly convinced that from the international, legal and practical standpoint an invitation to the Korean representative to participate in the discussion on the current issue is absolutely essential and fully justified. No objective discussion on this issue can be held and no justified settlement of the so-called Korean problem can be arrived at without the presence of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. This is our firm belief, and that is why my delegation, with 26 other delegations, sponsored draft resolution A/C.1/L.520, in which we place the necessity of inviting the two parties interested in the question in its right context. That draft resolution presses the United Nations to invite the two parties to the dispute, simultaneously and without conditions, so as to allow the creation of conditions leading to an effective discussion which will pave the way for the people of Korea to exercise their right to self-determination without foreign interference. Our draft resolution also aims at putting an end to the old prejudices and injustices which we find very offensive in draft resolution A/C.1/L.521: this draft resolution is absurd, unjustified and contrary to the Charter and to principles of international law. I trust that our draft resolution will receive the widest support from the members of the Committee.

18. Mr. POLYANICHKO (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*translated from Russian*): This Committee must consider two important questions included in the agenda of this session of the General Assembly at the request of a group of socialist and Afro-Asian States. These are the questions of the withdrawal of United States and all other foreign forces occupying South Korea under the flag of the United Nations and the dissolution of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea. Unfortunately, the Committee will have to waste time on the fruitless discussion of the current report of the so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea, something to which my delegation has objected in the General Committee.

19. The consideration of questions relating to Korea directly affects the interests of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and South Korea. That is quite obvious and no one disputes it. It is also clear to all of us that the effective, businesslike and fruitful consideration of questions relating to Korea is possible only with the participation of representatives of the parties most directly concerned—the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and South Korea.

20. In essence the matters covered by this agenda item are of vital concern to the Korean people. Therefore, the General Assembly should not and cannot take any decisions on these questions without hearing the representatives of both parts of that country, especially when they have consented to send such representatives.

21. In the opinion of your delegation, this is the most important factor by which we should be guided in taking any decision on the invitation aspects of the question of Korea. Those delegations which take a serious approach to the consideration of the important matters under agenda item 98 and wish to have a debate of real value that will yield worth-while results insist that the participation in the discussion of representatives of the Democratic People's

Republic of Korea and of South Korea, on the basis of equality and without any prior conditions, is imperative. This approach to the consideration of problems which are of exceptional importance to the Korean people was precisely what guided the delegations of the 27 States, including the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, which have submitted draft resolution A/C.1/L.520.

22. This draft resolution is based on the premise that the agenda item in question cannot be discussed equitably and profitably without the participation of the interested parties and that, consequently, the sending of invitations to the representatives of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and South Korea is an essential prerequisite for its discussion.

23. We should like to draw the attention of other delegations to the fact that all parts of our draft resolution fully conform to the provisions of the Charter relating to the General Assembly and its rules of procedure. We consider that the strict observance of the principles of the Charter, particularly those concerning the sovereign equality of States and non-interference in their internal affairs, is the necessary condition for the consideration by United Nations bodies of questions relating to Korea and all other matters.

24. Furthermore, the Ukrainian delegation would like to draw attention to the fact that draft resolution A/C.1/L.521 submitted by the United States and a number of other States, the main purpose of which is to impose prior conditions for the participation of the representatives of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and South Korea in the discussion of the question of Korea, does not correspond to the provisions of Chapter IV of the Charter of the United Nations setting forth the functions and powers of the General Assembly, of which our Committee is a subsidiary organ.

25. The General Assembly, and hence the First Committee, cannot impose any prior conditions on the representatives of interested countries which are not Members of the United Nations and which are invited to take part in the discussion of items on the agenda of a session of the Assembly. It is therefore not by inadvertence that the political opponents of an invitation to the representatives of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea omit any reference to the Charter when setting forth their obviously dubious position on this question. Instead, they indulge in semantic tight-rope walking which is quite incompatible with the relevant provisions of the Charter. The whole of draft resolution A/C.1/L.521 is constructed on just such an arbitrary foundation.

26. In the first preambular paragraph it is recalled that the representatives of both parts of Korea "may participate in the discussion of the Korean question provided they first unequivocally accept the competence and authority of the United Nations within the terms of the Charter to take action on the Korean question".

27. The question which arises is this: on the basis of what Article of the Charter has this preambular paragraph been drafted? There is no Article or provision in the Charter that would justify such a paragraph. There is no provision

in the Charter that would permit the General Assembly or its First Committee to impose such discriminatory conditions on countries which are not Members of the United Nations when their representatives are invited to take part in the discussion of an item on the agenda.

28. The right to lay down such conditions for the participation of States which are not Members of the United Nations but which, as stated in the Charter, are parties to a dispute under consideration by the Security Council belongs, according to Article 32 of the Charter, to the Security Council alone. Furthermore, it should be noted, the Article stated that when the Security Council invites such countries to participate in the discussion of matters which it is considering, it shall lay down conditions which it deems just.

29. In draft resolution A/C.1/L.521 it is noted that South Korea has reaffirmed its unequivocal acceptance of the competence and authority of the United Nations to take action on the Korean question. On that basis, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is requested, in the operative part of the text, likewise to accept the competence and authority of the United Nations. The fact that the authorities of South Korea, whenever they are requested to do so, unequivocally accept the competence of the United Nations to take decisions on the question of Korea is, of course, their own affair. Let me simply recall once again what has already been repeatedly stated here by the representatives of many States: no sovereign State, nor any Government which respects itself and its people, would agree to such humiliating prior conditions.

30. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea is the truly sovereign independent State of the Korean people, and the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea expresses the genuine aspirations and desires of the Korean people. It is therefore natural that the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, like any other sovereign State, should find itself unable to agree to the prior conditions laid down by those who are opposed to inviting the representatives of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to participate in the discussion of questions relating to Korea. Such a position deserves only praise and admiration.

31. Draft resolution A/C.1/L.521 is inspired by purely political motives—by the hostile attitude of the United States and certain other States towards the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the fear that this Committee might hear the voice of the true representatives of the people of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

32. In the light of the recent changes that have occurred in the United Nations and the persistent trend towards democratization in international relations, draft resolution A/C.1/L.521 is an obvious anachronism. Therefore, the delegation of the Ukrainian SSR firmly opposes it.

33. Mr. BAHOLLI (Albania) (*interpretation from French*): The Albanian delegation would like to explain briefly its position of principle concerning the matter of the invitation of representatives of Korea. First of all, we should like to state that we are entirely opposed to the illegal discussion of the so-called question of Korea entitled "Report of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea"—a question created out of whole cloth by the American imperialists. Everyone knows that this question was placed on the agenda of the present session of the General Assembly under the pressure of the United States, with the aim of camouflaging its military occupation of South Korea and its transformation of that country into a spearhead of provocation and aggression against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, against the People's Republic of China and against all peace-loving nations of Asia.

34. We consider that the reunification of Korea is a matter which falls exclusively within the competence of the Korean people itself and that any interference in its internal affairs by anyone, including the United Nations, is contrary to the unchallengeable principles of international law and is, furthermore, a crude violation of the relevant provisions of the Charter.

35. Moreover, we feel that invitations should be issued to the representatives of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, who are directly interested in this matter, to participate in the discussion with reference to the immediate withdrawal of all United States and other foreign forces occupying South Korea and the dissolution of the so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea.

36. For these reasons we shall vote in favour of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.520 and we shall categorically oppose the United States draft [A/C.1/L.521] intended to invite representatives of the puppet régime of South Korea and to bar the participation in the discussion of the representatives of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, who are the authentic representatives of the Korean people, by laying down conditions unacceptable to a sovereign State.

The meeting rose at 11.30 a.m.