

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

FIFTEENTH SESSION

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**FIRST COMMITTEE, 1143rd
MEETING**
**Monday, 10 April 1961,
at 11 a.m.**
New York**CONTENTS**

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Chairman: Mr. Karel KURKA (Czechoslovakia).

Organization of the Committee's work

1. Mr. STEVENSON (United States of America) explained that consultations were under way concerning the item relating to Africa (agenda item 88) with a view to the submission of a possible draft resolution. As those consultations had not yet been concluded, it would be preferable to defer consideration of the item and take up either the Korean question (agenda item 21) or the complaint by the Government of Cuba (agenda item 90).
2. Mr. FEKINI (Libya) supported that suggestion.
3. Mr. ZORIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) thought that the first thing to be decided was whether to defer consideration of the item relating to Africa. The Committee could then decide its programme of work for the current meeting. In that connexion, he observed that in view of recent events the complaint by the Government of Cuba was particularly important. Only if the Cuban delegation was not ready to introduce it could the Committee consider taking up the following item on its agenda.
4. Mr. GEBRE-EGZY (Ethiopia) said that he had no objection to the Committee's passing on for the time being to the next item on its agenda but that he was opposed to an adjournment *sine die* of the debate on the item relating to Africa. He would like to know exactly when the Committee would resume its debate on that item.
5. The CHAIRMAN noted that in accordance with the United States proposal the Committee could resume the debate on the item relating to Africa at any time. Accordingly, that question would for a number of days appear on the Committee's agenda together with the complaint by the Government of Cuba.
It was so decided.
6. Mr. PRIMELLES (Cuba) explained that the Cuban Minister for External Affairs was indisposed and could not take part in the Committee's debate until Wednesday, 12 April. He therefore requested that the debate on the complaint by the Government of Cuba should be suspended.
It was so decided.
7. The CHAIRMAN recalled that the United States representative had proposed that the Korean question should be taken up.

8. Mr. ZORIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) was of the opinion that it was not proper for the General Assembly to consider the Korean question, particularly the unification of the country, as it was a purely domestic affair which was the concern of the Korean people themselves. Nevertheless, as the Committee was seized of the item it would be illogical to discuss it in the absence of representatives of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Republic of Korea. His delegation was therefore submitting a draft resolution (A/C.1/L.270) by which the Committee would invite representatives of the two Korean Governments to participate in the discussion without the right to vote. Before the Committee discussed the substance of the matter, it should take a decision with regard to the invitation to be addressed to the representatives of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Republic of Korea.

9. Mr. STEVENSON (United States of America) said that he did not see how the Committee could take a decision on that point if it did not first decide to consider the item. It should therefore proceed to take up the Korean question.

It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEM 21

The Korean question: report of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea (A/4466, A/C.1/827, A/C.1/830, A/C.1/832, A/C.1/833, A/C.1/834, A/C.1/835, A/C.1/L.266, A/C.1/L.268, A/C.1/L.269, A/C.1/L.270)

10. Mr. STEVENSON (United States of America) said that his delegation had submitted a draft resolution (A/C.1/L.268) by which the Committee would invite a representative of the Republic of Korea to participate, without the right to vote, in the discussion of the Korean question. The Republic of Korea had been established in 1948, under United Nations auspices, through free elections observed by the United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea. In its resolution 195 (III) the General Assembly had certified that the Government of the Republic of Korea was lawful, that it was "based on elections which were a valid expression of the free will of the electorate" and that it was "the only such Government in Korea". That Government had, moreover, stated its support of the United Nations and of the principles which the United Nations had proclaimed in respect of the unification of the country. The Assembly had repeatedly recognized that the Republic of Korea was fully qualified for membership in the United Nations. The régime in power in North Korea, on the other hand, had been set up after United Nations representatives had been refused admission to the area under its control. Only a few Governments had recognized it. In 1950 it had launched an unprovoked attack on the Republic of Korea which had

given rise to the first collective action by the United Nations to repel aggression. It had repeatedly denied the competence of the United Nations with regard to the Korean problem; and finally, it could not claim to represent the people of North Korea since it had not been established on the basis of free elections. The presence of its representatives at a United Nations debate would therefore be inconsistent with the attitude of the North Korean régime itself towards the United Nations.

11. The United States delegation was asking the Committee to invite a representative of the Republic of Korea to participate in its discussions. It would oppose the Soviet Union's proposal.

12. Mr. ZORIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said that the representative of the United States was contradicting himself; having stated that the question of the invitation to be addressed to the representatives of the two Governments concerned could not be taken up unless the Committee had already decided to examine the Korean question, he had, without waiting for that decision, submitted a draft resolution inviting the representative of South Korea to participate in the debate.

13. The problem of the unification of Korea, which had been discussed every year since 1947, remained unsolved because the United Nations did not approach it correctly. The unification of Korea was of concern above all to the Koreans themselves. The problem could not be seriously examined without taking cognizance of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, an independent and prosperous State which had 10 million inhabitants and had been established by the will of the people. Whether or not it was to everyone's liking, the fact remained that there were two Governments in Korea with differing political, economic and social systems. It was for the people to decide for themselves which of the two best responded to their aspirations. Experience showed, however, that the Democratic People's Republic of Korea was viable and successful, whereas the same could not be said of South Korea.

14. Many countries, including the United States of America, had agreed that the Korean question could not possibly be brought any nearer to its solution without the participation of the Democratic People's Republic, which had played an active part in the Korean Political Conference held at Geneva from April to June 1954. An increasing number of Members of the United Nations considered that both Korean Governments ought to be invited to take part in the debate, and that that was the only solution compatible with the principles of international law and of the United Nations Charter. Moreover, the Government of the Democratic People's Republic had presented several fresh proposals for breaking the deadlock created by certain Western Powers. In particular, the proposal for a confederation of North and South Korea again afforded proof of the peaceful policy pursued by the Democratic People's Republic and opened the door to the country's unification on a democratic basis. By inviting representatives of both Governments, the Committee would make it easier for contact to be established and reconciliation to take place between the two Republics. In any case, the Government of the Democratic People's Republic would regard as invalid any decisions which might be taken without its participation and against the interests and will of the Korean people.

15. Mr. SCHURMANN (Netherlands) said that his attitude with regard to the participation of the Republic of Korea and of North Korea in the debate coincided exactly with that of the United States representative. A country which, as the Soviet representative had said, would regard as invalid any decisions taken by the First Committee could not claim the right to be heard by it.

16. On the other hand, he proposed that the Committee should, if possible at the present meeting, hear Mr. Arreglado, Chairman of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea, who would certainly be able to supply valuable information.

17. Mr. WIRJOPRANOTO (Indonesia) voiced his country's sympathy for the Korean people, whose country was at present divided and ruled by two Governments. If the Committee adopted the United States draft resolution (A/C.1/L.268), it would hear only one of those Governments. To be able to take constructive steps towards the reunification of Korea, it was not only fair and reasonable, but also practical, for the Committee to hear representatives of both Governments.

18. The Indonesian delegation therefore proposed that the United States draft resolution should be amended by the insertion of the words "as well as a representative of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea" after the words "Republic of Korea".¹

19. Mr. LIU (China) emphasized the importance of the preliminary decision with which the Committee was faced, a decision that bore on the fundamental principles and purposes of the United Nations and on the Committee's established practices. In one of its resolutions, the General Assembly had solemnly declared that the Government of the Republic of Korea was the only legal Government of that country. Moreover, the United Nations Commission on Korea had said in 1949 in its report that the North Korean régime was the creature of a military occupant and ruled by right of a mere transfer of power from that Government.² Furthermore, that régime had made war on the United Nations. To allow one of its representatives to take part in the First Committee's debates would be to equate the forces of aggression with those that were struggling to preserve democracy and freedom for the Korean people.

20. Mr. NOSEK (Czechoslovakia) considered that the United States draft resolution was a mere reiteration of the old, unrealistic approach to the matter. In order that the debate should not end once more in complete failure, it would be better not to press for the invitation of only one of the two parties concerned.

21. In a telegram to the President of the General Assembly (A/C.1/827), the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea had specifically requested that representatives of that Government should take part in the debate. If those representatives were not present, the Government of the Democratic People's Republic would not consider itself bound by any decision of the Assembly.

22. More than fifteen years after the artificial partition of Korea and more than seven years after the

¹ The amendment was subsequently circulated as document A/C.1/L.272.

² See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Fourth Session, Supplement No. 9, vol. I, chap. IV, para. 27.*

conclusion of the truce, the Western Powers ought to understand that the Korean problem could be solved only through direct negotiations between the Koreans themselves, without any outside interference. If representatives of both sides in Korea took part in the debate, that could help to create favourable conditions for a solution of the problem by making possible the establishment of direct contacts between the representatives of the two Korean States.

23. The Czechoslovak delegation would therefore vote against the United States draft resolution (A/C.1/L.268) and for the USSR draft resolution (A/C.1/L.270), which it fully supported.

24. Mr. BITSIOS (Greece) shared the view expressed by the Netherlands representative. The objectives of the United Nations in Korea were clear: it aimed at the establishment by peaceful means of a unified, independent and democratic Korea under a representative form of Government. The General Assembly had proclaimed those aims in various resolutions, which had been welcomed by the Republic of Korea. Unfortunately, there had thus far been no indication that the North Korean régime had responded to the appeals of the United Nations. Though that régime might contribute towards bringing about the aims of the United Nations, its representatives could not be seated in the Committee until it was known whether they endorsed the objectives which the United Nations had set itself in that part of the world.

25. He seconded the Netherlands representative's proposal that the Chairman of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea should be invited to speak to the Committee. The Greek delegation would vote for the United States draft resolution.

26. Mr. DELGADO (Philippines) supported the United States draft resolution (A/C.1/L.268) and the thirteen-Power draft resolution (A/C.1/L.269). He agreed with the representatives of the Netherlands and of Greece that it would be very useful for the Committee to give the Chairman of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea an opportunity to describe the true situation in Korea.

27. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus) said that, before reaching a decision on the point of procedure under discussion, he wanted to know whether the two Korean delegations, by sitting in the Committee without the right to vote, would thereby recognize the competence of the First Committee and of the General Assembly, and would give an assurance that they would accept and implement the resolutions of the Committee and the Assembly. It was necessary to be certain on that point.

28. Mr. LEWANDOWSKI (Poland) considered that it was quite natural for the Committee to hear and take into consideration the opinion of the representatives of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea as well as that of the representatives of the Republic of Korea. In the first place, the Korean question could and should be settled solely by the Koreans themselves. No solution imposed from outside against the wishes of the Korean people could produce results.

29. Another principle of common sense, justice and impartiality was also involved—that expressed in the old Latin maxim *audi alteram partem*. There had already been visible proof of the harm done to the United Nations, its prestige and the parties directly concerned

whenever the Committee had departed from that principle. For the past fifteen years the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea had shown itself capable of ensuring the happiness and harmony of its country and ready to take into account the feelings and opinions of the Korean population as a whole—feelings which the South Koreans had recently expressed in such striking fashion. The Polish delegation would therefore vote for the USSR draft resolution and against that of the United States.

30. Mr. SUBASINGHE (Ceylon) said that no delegation was opposed to the unification of Korea, which was essential both in the interests of the Korean people and for the establishment of peace and stability in that area of the world. Since none of the decisions taken by the United Nations during the previous fifteen years without the consent of the two parties concerned had produced results, there was no reason why the Committee should not reconsider its position at the current session, particularly since the reunification of Korea could obviously not be achieved without the consent of all Koreans.

31. In order to bring the two parties as close together as possible, the Committee could decide, as a first step, to hear the representatives of the two Republics. That would be the most realistic approach to the matter. The delegation of Ceylon therefore supported the amendment proposed by the representative of Indonesia to the United States draft resolution.

32. Mr. CAMPBELL (United Kingdom) expressed regret that the Committee, which still had so much to do in a very little time, should be obliged to devote a large part of the meeting to a discussion of procedure.

33. The United Kingdom delegation was in no doubt as to how the question raised should be answered. The Government of the Republic of Korea was a Government freely elected and democratically represented, and it fully supported the principles laid down by the United Nations for the solution of the Korean problem. It enjoyed wide international recognition and, so far as the United Nations was concerned, was the legitimate Government of the Republic of Korea. The United Kingdom delegation therefore supported the proposal that the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Korea be invited to represent his Government in the Committee. As for the authorities of North Korea, they had no claim to recognition by the Committee of their representative.

34. Mr. POLYANICHKO (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) said that the question of Korea's reunification concerned the Korean people alone; the General Assembly should not deal with it. Given however that the question appeared on the agenda, it could not be examined except in the presence of the representatives of the two States which constituted Korea.

35. In view of the problem's importance, not merely for the Korean people but also for peace in the Far East and in the world as a whole, it was essential that the Democratic People's Republic should take part in the debate, since a unilateral examination of the problem would be sterile and tendentious and would violate the recognized principles of international law. Moreover, any decision taken as a result of unilateral discussions would be null and void for the other party.

36. It was the Korean people alone which would decide what political, economic and social structure suited it best. The Ukrainian delegation therefore urged

that the Committee invite the representative of the Democratic People's Republic. It supported the USSR draft resolution, and would also vote for the Indonesian amendment to the United States draft resolution.

37. Mr. KARAKOYLU (Turkey) said that the Republic of Korea, a country constituted democratically under the auspices of the United Nations, represented two thirds of the Korean people. The voice of the Korean people would therefore make itself heard, through the representative of that country. As to North Korea, it had deliberately flouted the decisions of the United Nations. The Turkish delegation therefore favoured inviting the representative of the Republic of Korea, and was opposed to any invitation to the representative of North Korea. It would vote for the United States draft resolution, which it fully approved.

38. Mr. MALILE (Albania) said that if the lengthy debates which had taken place in the Committee over the question of Korea had brought about no progress, it was solely because the United Nations, under the direct pressure of certain Western Powers, had not heard the voice of the Korean people. Without the participation of the parties directly concerned, i.e. the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and South Korea, a solution would never be found. The United Nations must terminate the negative practice hitherto followed, which had done nothing but stir up the "cold war" and which aimed at a perpetual division of Korea. The Albanian delegation therefore supported the USSR draft resolution as well as the Indonesian amendment. It would vote against the draft resolution of the United States.

39. Mr. LOVEDAY (Australia) wondered whether the time had really come to change previous decisions of the Committee and invite representatives of North Korea in order to give both sides a hearing. Whereas the Republic of Korea had a Government which was democratically elected and legally constituted, whose status had been recognized by the United Nations and which had continually supported the United Nations and the Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea, the North Korean authorities had consistently frustrated the Commission and the United Nations. In the circumstances, the participation of North Korea, far from really aiding the First Committee's deliberations, would have a disruptive effect.

40. Accordingly, the Australian delegation would support the United States draft resolution and would vote against the USSR draft. It would also support the Netherlands representative's suggestion that the Chairman of the Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea be invited to bring the information in the Commission's report of August 1960 up to date with a supplementary oral statement.

41. U THANT (Burma) considered it essential for the United Nations, whenever it was called upon to decide a dispute, to hear both sides before passing judgement. That was why the Burmese delegation had always supported proposals to the effect that the representatives of the Republic of Korea and of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea should be invited to participate in the discussions without the right to vote. Accordingly, it could not vote for the United States draft resolution, but would vote for the Indonesian amendment to that draft resolution and for the USSR draft resolution.

42. Mr. ARTHAYUKTI (Thailand) said that his country had contributed to the peaceful effort of the

United Nations in Korea, and that his delegation would support the United States draft resolution. It also favoured the Netherlands proposal that the Chairman of the Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea should be invited to take part in the discussion.

43. Mr. TARABANOV (Bulgaria) considered it fallacious to argue that an invitation to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea would be useless because it was not known whether that part of Korea would accept any decisions which the Committee might arrive at. On the contrary, that was only one more reason why it should be heard, but certain delegations were advancing that argument in the discussion on procedure because they did not wish to see positive results. It had been said that the Korean people would be adequately represented by a representative of South Korea. However, that approach, hitherto followed, had been repudiated by the South Korean people itself, which had spoken a strong word on the matter by driving out the old Syngman Rhee régime, thereby showing that it wished to achieve the unification of Korea and itself to settle that problem with United Nations assistance. The Government of the Democratic People's Republic also favoured the peaceful unification of Korea and had sent to the United Nations a number of documents on the question. The Committee should therefore extend an invitation to representatives of both parts of the country—a course which would also offer them an opportunity of reconciling their views.

44. The Bulgarian delegation would consequently vote against the United States draft resolution, unless the Indonesian amendment was adopted. It would vote for the USSR draft resolution.

45. Mr. ADEEL (Sudan) thought that it would be only fair to hear both parties, even if some considered one of them guilty. That was a principle of law and justice in all civilized countries. His delegation would vote on the various proposals in the light of that principle.

46. Mr. DAUGE (France) said that he would support the United States draft resolution (A/C.1/L.268) for the extension of an invitation to a representative of the Republic of Korea, the only lawful Government in Korea. He would vote against the Indonesian amendment and the USSR draft resolution (A/C.1/L.270), which would have the effect of putting the Republic of Korea and the régime in North Korea on an equal footing and would therefore represent a decision that was entirely unjustifiable. The French delegation would also support the Netherlands proposal to the effect that a hearing be given to the Chairman of the Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea.

47. Mr. BRUCAN (Romania) considered it pointless to start a new debate on the Korean problem in the absence of representatives of the two Governments, and was surprised that the United States representative could sponsor that sort of debate, which could only poison the atmosphere. The argument that only the Government of the Republic of Korea was the product of free elections did not hold water. Actually, the head of the Government which had emerged from those elections was now a fugitive in the United States of America. As for the question whether the Democratic People's Republic would abide by United Nations decisions, that was a question which might be put to its representatives, but no Government worthy of the name could accept decisions affecting its country which were

taken in its absence. It was time the Committee did something constructive and invited representatives from both parts of Korea.

48. Mr. PACHACHI (Iraq) felt that in seeking the reunification of Korea the United Nations should be guided by the wishes of the Korean people, which could not be fully known unless they were expressed by representatives of both the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Republic of Korea. The Government of the Democratic People's Republic represented a significant section of Korean opinion and, even if the Committee had failed to invite it in the past, its views could not be ignored. Whatever the position of various members of the Committee might be on the substance of the problem, it was only fair to permit both sides to express their opinions. The delegation of Iraq would cast its vote accordingly; in other words, it would vote for the USSR draft resolution and for the Indonesian amendment.

49. Mr. CHORFI (Morocco) recalled the problems created for his country by territorial separation, and expressed the view that the Committee, if it wished to be realistic, effective and fair, should invite the representatives of both Governments in Korea. The

Moroccan delegation would therefore support the Indonesian amendment to the United States draft resolution.

50. Mr. LY (Mali) said that he would vote for the Indonesian amendment to the United States draft resolution. It would not be very realistic or fair to invite only one party, and it would be difficult to call upon a Government to observe principles laid down by a body which deliberately ignored it. He asked whether the United Nations would have recourse to force in order to impose on the North Koreans a resolution in the preparation of which they had had no share.

51. Mr. AGUIRRE (Uruguay) said that he would vote for the United States draft resolution and against any proposal to invite North Korean representatives. In order to be invited, a country had to undertake to abide by the Charter and the resolutions of the United Nations. However, the Government of North Korea had done nothing but announce its intention of disregarding United Nations decisions which it considered contrary to the interests of its people. To invite it would therefore be incompatible with the respect which should be paid to United Nations decisions.

The meeting rose at 1.5 p.m.