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## UNITED NATIONS TEMPORARY COMMISSION ON KOREA

## FIRST INFORMATION REPORT ON THE WORK OF THE COMMISSION\*

(Period 12 - 26 January 1948)

1. The representatives of Australia, India and Syria on the United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea and the Secretariat staff arrived in Seoul at 1800 on 8 January 1948. One Secretariat staff member had proceeded to Seoul from New York on 1 January 1948 for the purpose of making the necessary arrangements with local authorities for the arrival of the Commission. The representative of China currently resided in Seoul. The representative of Canada arrived on 11 January and the representatives of France and the Philippines on the following day, so that, at the opening meeting on 12 January 1948, representatives of Australia, Canada, China, France, India, the Philippines and Syria were present. The Government of El Salvador had advised the Secretary-General that a representative and an alternate had been appointed, and their arrival is, therefore, expected shortly.

2. The Assistant Secretary-General and Commission representatives held a press conference on the morning of 12 January and, shortly thereafter, a brief ceremony was conducted at the Duk Soo Palace, headquarters of the Commission, to mark the raising of the United Nations flag.

3. The first meeting of the Commission was opened at 1700 on 12 January 1948. After the opening speech by the Assistant Secretary-General, the credentials of members were approved and the representative of the Philippines proposed that, the composition of the Commission having been altered by the fact that one Member nation had declined to designate a representative on the Commission, the Commission should, before proceeding with its work, consult the Interim Committee as to whether it should be composed of eight or nine members. It was agreed, however, the the proposal of the representative from the Philippines should be discussed after the election of the Chairman and the adoption of the rules of procedure. Since all the representatives on the Commission were not present at its first meeting, it was decided to

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\* First issued in Korea as a restricted document (A/AC.19/16).

elect a temporary Chairman until such date as the Commission decided to elect a permanent Chairman. Mr. K. P. S. Menon (India) was unanimously elected temporary Chairman, and it was decided to meet in closed session on the following day.

4. At the second meeting, the Commission provisionally adopted rules of procedure, amendments to which could be submitted within five days. Discussion centred on the question of the adoption of a policy which would govern social intercourse of the Commission in Korea. An Australian resolution (Annex 1) proposed that the Commission make it clear that it was concerned with the whole of Korea, that it desired that social engagements be kept at a minimum, and that steps be taken to guard against any misconstruction which might be placed upon the initial presence of the Commission in South Korea. This resolution was adopted unanimously, and a press communiqué was drafted in order to make known the desires of the Commission (Annex 2).

5. It was decided that the following subjects should be discussed:

- (a) Consideration of paragraph 6 of the second part of General Assembly resolution 112 (II) of 14 November 1947. The Member States concerned are called upon to afford every assistance and facility to the Commission in the fulfilment of its responsibilities;
- (b) Consideration of a further approach to the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and to El Salvador;
- (c) General discussion of programme of work of the Commission (resolution 112 (II) of the General Assembly, and document A/AC.19/W.3 of 16 December 1947, Annex 3):
  - (i) General discussion
  - (ii) The question of elections
  - (iii) Consultation with representatives of Korean public opinion
- (d) Communications received from parties, organizations and individuals concerning Korea.

6. On 14 January, a mass meeting, under the auspices of the Korean National Reception Committee, was held at Seoul Stadium in honour of the United Nations Commission. The Chairman addressed the meeting (Annex 4).

7. At the third meeting, consideration was given to paragraph 6 of the second part of the General Assembly resolution. The Assistant Secretary-General outlined the steps already taken by the Secretary-General in implementing the provisions of this paragraph. No reply had yet been received from the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

/An Australian

An Australian resolution concerning an exchange of courtesies with the General Officers commanding the forces in North and South Korea was adopted unanimously (Annex 5), and it was decided that a communication implementing this resolution should be drafted.

8. At the fourth meeting, this draft communication and the methods for obtaining the co-operation of the Soviet Union, in accordance with paragraph 6 of the second part of the General Assembly resolution were discussed. The draft communication was adopted (Annex 6) and transmitted to the Commanding Generals of the respective armed forces in Korea. The Commanding General in South Korea replied to this communication on 19 January, and the Chairman, accompanied by the Assistant Secretary-General, paid a courtesy call on the following day. No reply has yet been received from the Commanding General in North Korea. In the meantime, the Secretary-General was asked by cable to request the Permanent Representative of the Soviet Union to the United Nations, Mr. Gromyko, to transmit to Moscow the communication of the Commission concerning the exchange of courtesies with the General Officers commanding the forces in North and South Korea. Mr. Gromyko replied to the Secretary-General on 22 January as follows:

"In connection with your letter of 18 January 1948 transmitting the text of a letter from the Acting Chairman of the Commission on Korea, in which he expresses desire to visit the Commander of Soviet troops in Northern Korea we find it necessary to remind you of the negative attitude taken by the Soviet Government towards the establishment of the United Nations Commission on Korea as already stated by the Soviet delegation during the second session of the General Assembly of the United Nations."

9. It was also decided to send a cable to the Secretary-General as follows:

"...At fourth meeting private sixteen January Commission adopted following resolutions one asking you remind Government Soviet Union of your letter twenty-four November 1947 drawing attention to paragraph six substantive part of General Assemblys resolution calling on Member States concerned to afford every assistance and facility to Commission in fulfilment its responsibilities..."

Up to 26 January no answer had yet been received.

10. At the same meeting, the Commission discussed the proposal concerning its composition, made by the Philippines at its first meeting. It was pointed out that the United Nations had several precedents of subsidiary bodies proceeding with their work although not all the Governments entitled to do so had appointed representatives; the representative of the Philippines did not insist on his proposal.

/11. In view

11. In view of the alleged omission of certain passages of the Korean translation of the Chairman's speech at Seoul Stadium on 14 January, the Commission agreed that a new speech should be broadcast, and that the text, as well as that of the previous speech, should be communicated to the military commands in North and South Korea. The Chairman spoke from Seoul over the Korean network on 22 January 1948 (Annex 7).

12. Finally, at the fourth meeting, a resolution was adopted (Annex 8) recording the Commission's regret at the absence of the representative of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, and stressing the importance of the participation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic in the work of the Commission. The resolution was to be forwarded to the Secretary-General for such use as he desired to make of it in further efforts to secure the appointment of a representative of the Government of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic to the Commission. On 25 January 1948 a reply was received by the Secretary-General from the Ukrainian Government as follows:

"In reply to your telegram of 16 January 1948 I have the honour to inform you on behalf of the Government of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic that the attitude of the Government of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic in the matter of appointing a representative to the Temporary Commission on Korea remains the same as presented by the Ukrainian delegation at the second session of the General Assembly."

13. At the fifth meeting, the Commission discussed a communication from the representative of Syria to the Chairman concerning suppression of newspapers and general amnesty for political crimes (Annex 9). The discussion centred on the consideration of means of ensuring a free atmosphere for elections, and it was decided to establish a Sub-Committee (1), comprising representatives of Canada, France and Syria, to consider ways and means of ensuring a free atmosphere for elections in Korea.

14. General discussion ensued concerning the programme of work of the Commission, and the representative of France introduced a resolution (Annex 10) providing for the examination of documents received from Korean sources and the collection of statements of Korean individuals who may wish to be heard or may be heard in the course of the Commission's work. It was finally decided to establish a Sub-Committee (2), comprising representatives of Australia, China, France and the Philippines to (a) examine any documents already received or which may be received from Korean sources by the Secretariat; and (b) secure statements from Korean personalities whose views may be helpful to the Commission in the discharge of its duties.

/15. At the

15. At the sixth meeting of the Commission, following a resolution introduced by the representative of the Philippines (Annex 11), a general and detailed discussion took place concerning the question of elections in Korea. The Commission decided, on the basis of the Philippine resolution, as amended (Annex 12), to establish a Sub-Committee (3), comprising representatives of Canada, France, the Philippines and Syria, to examine the electoral laws and regulations of North and South Korea, and in the performance of this function, to acquaint itself with the views of Korean, Soviet and United States officials and experts.
16. Finally, amendments to the rules of procedure were adopted.
17. The work of the Sub-Committees began on 20 January 1948, and their work up to 26 January can be summarized as follows:

Sub-Committee 1: A programme of work was adopted involving, inter alia, definition of the term "a free atmosphere for elections", examination of laws and regulations of Korea bearing on the question of freedom of elections, co-ordination of work with that of Sub-Committee 2, and hearing responsible authorities on the interpretation and application of laws and regulations referred to above. It was agreed that hearings should be restricted to Korean and other officials responsible for the application of laws and regulations affecting elections. A preliminary list of questions for submission to Sub-Committee 2 was prepared for consideration by this Sub-Committee.

Sub-Committee 2: A public announcement on hearings of Korean personalities was approved (Annex 13), as well as a first list of political personalities of North and South Korea whom the Sub-Committee could invite to be heard (Annex 14). Consideration was given to the procedure for holding hearings, and methods by which complete news coverage might be obtained throughout Korea.

Sub-Committee 3: A general discussion took place concerning methods to be employed by the Sub-Committee in the performance of its functions. A comparative survey of the electoral laws and regulations in North and South Korea and other technical and documentary studied were reviewed. A first list of questions concerning electoral laws and regulations to be transmitted to Sub-Committee 2 for use in the hearings of Korean personalities was approved.

LIST OF ANNEXES

	<u>Page</u>
1. Resolution adopted by the Commission at its second meeting, 13 January 1948. . . . .	8
2. Press communiqué approved by the Commission at its third meeting, 15 January 1948. . . . .	9
3. Memorandum prepared by the Secretariat concerning the purpose and duties of the Commission. . . . .	10
4. Speech of Mr. K. P. S. Menon, Chairman of the United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea, at a mass meeting held in honour of the Commission under the auspices of the National Reception Committee at Seoul Stadium, 14 January 1948 . . . . .	12
5. Resolution adopted by the Commission at its third meeting, 15 January 1948, concerning an exchange of courtesies . . . . .	17
6. Letter to the Military Commanders, Armed Forces in North and South Korea, concerning an exchange of courtesies: resolution adopted by the Commission at its fourth meeting, 16 January 1948. . . . .	18
7. Broadcast by Mr. K. P. S. Menon, Chairman of the United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea, at Seoul, 21 January 1948 . . . . .	19
8. Resolution adopted by the Commission at its fourth meeting, 16 January 1948, concerning the participation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic in the work of the Commission. . . . .	23
9. Communication from Syria to the Chairman of the Commission concerning the suppression of newspapers and a general amnesty for political crimes. . . . .	24
10. Draft resolution proposed by France concerning the appointment of Sub-Committees . . . . .	25
11. Draft resolution proposed by the Philippines concerning the elections . . . . .	26
12. Resolution adopted by the Commission at its sixth meeting, 19 January 1948 concerning the elections . . . . .	27

LIST OF ANNEXES  
(Continued)

	<u>Page</u>
13. Press communiqué issued by Sub-Committee 2, concerning the hearings of Korean personalities. . . .	28
14. Press communiqué issued by Sub-Committee 2, 23 January 1948, concerning hearings of Korean personalities . . . . .	29

ANNEX 1\*

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE COMMISSION AT ITS SECOND MEETING,  
13 JANUARY 1948

THE UNITED NATIONS TEMPORARY COMMISSION ON KOREA  
RESOLVES,

1. That every opportunity be taken to make it clear that the sphere of this Commission is the whole of Korea and not merely a section of Korea;
2. That while it may not be proper to refuse social engagements altogether, they should be discouraged as far as possible;
3. That steps be taken to guard against any misconception which might be placed upon the initial presence of the Commission in South Korea or upon the acceptance by its members of the courtesies extended to them in Seoul.



ANNEX 2\*

PRESS COMMUNIQUE APPROVED BY THE COMMISSION  
AT ITS THIRD MEETING, 15 JANUARY 1948

At its second meeting, the United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea, after making a preliminary survey of the urgent tasks ahead, agreed that no time should be spent on formalities which are not absolutely necessary.

While again expressing appreciation of the welcome accorded by the people of Seoul and surrounding districts and of the efficient service and facilities provided by the local authorities, the Commission resolved that steps be taken to guard against any misconception being placed upon the initial presence of the Commission in South Korea or upon the acceptance by its members of the courtesies extended to them in Seoul.

The resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly constituting the Commission authorize it "to be present in Korea, with right to travel, observe and consult throughout Korea". The Commission desires to make it abundantly clear that in the fulfilment of its responsibilities it is concerned with Korea as a whole.

As soon as the normal courtesies with the Military Commanders of North and South Korea have been exchanged and the appropriate formalities observed, the Commission wishes to press on with its work with the least possible interruption. For this reason, the Commission desires that for the next few weeks social engagements be reduced to a minimum. Similarly, it was agreed that the Commission or its members would attend public functions only when the Commission had had ample notice and the opportunity to decide whether the invitation should be accepted or declined.

The Commission feels it important to let the people of Korea know that this is the desire of the Commission.

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\* Document A/AC.19/7.

ANNEX 3\*

PURPOSE AND DUTIES OF THE COMMISSION

(Memorandum Prepared by the Secretariat)

I. Basic principles

The basic principles embodied in the two resolutions, adopted by the General Assembly at its hundred and twelfth plenary meeting on 14 November 1947 on the problem of the independence of Korea, are the following:

1. The General Assembly recognizes the urgent and rightful claims to independence of the people of Korea.
2. The General Assembly recognizes that the question of the freedom and independence of Korea is primarily a matter for the Korean people itself and that this question cannot be correctly and fairly resolved without the participation of representatives of the indigenous population.
3. The General Assembly resolves that elected representatives of the Korean people be invited to take part in the consideration of the question.

II. Purpose of the Commission

The Commission is established for the purpose

- (a) Of facilitating and expediting the participation of the Korean people in correctly and fairly resolving the freedom and independence of the Korean people;
- (b) Of observing that the Korean representatives are in fact duly elected by the Korean people and not mere appointees by military authorities in Korea.

III. Rights and Duties of the Commission

1. The Commission will be present in Korea with right to travel, observe and consult throughout Korea.
2. The Commission should pay due regard to the recommendation of the General Assembly that the elections be held not later than 31 March 1948, on the basis of adult suffrage and by secret ballot.
3. The elections should be under the observation of the Commission.
4. The Commission should pay due regard to the recommendation of the General Assembly that the number of representatives from each voting area or zone should be proportionate to the population.
5. The Commission may consult with the elected representatives regarding the prompt attainment of the freedom and independence of the Korean people.

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\* Document A/AC.19/W.3

6. The Commission should be notified by the National Assembly (which should convene as soon as possible after the election) of the formation of a National Government.
7. The General Assembly recommends that immediately upon the establishment of a National Government, that Government should, in consultation with the Commission,
  - (a) Constitute its own national security forces and dissolve all military or semi-military formations not included therein;
  - (b) Take over the functions of government from the military commands and civilian authorities of north and south Korea;
  - (c) Arrange with the occupying Powers for the complete withdrawal from Korea of their armed forces as early as practicable and, if possible, within ninety days.
8. The Commission shall report, with its conclusions, to the General Assembly.
9. The Commission may consult with the Interim Committee with respect to the application of this resolution in the light of developments.

ANNEX 4

SPEECH OF MR. K. P. S. MENON, CHAIRMAN OF THE UNITED NATIONS  
TEMPORARY COMMISSION ON KOREA, AT A MASS MEETING HELD IN  
HONOUR OF THE COMMISSION UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE  
NATIONAL RECEPTION COMMITTEE, AT SEOUL STADIUM,  
14 JANUARY 1948

It is a great honour to be the Chairman of a Commission, but it is also a slight burden. One of the penalties which a Chairman has to pay is that he has to make speeches while his colleagues comfortably, and perhaps critically, look on. This speech, however, I make with pleasure, for I am happy to be able to thank you, on behalf of my colleagues and myself, for the great reception you have given us and for the generous words with which you have welcomed us. I would also like to thank the public of Korea for the spontaneous welcome which they accorded us on our arrival in Seoul. We are aware that that welcome was not given to us as individuals. In fact, you did not even know what sort of individuals we were! But I hope that by the time we have completed our mission we shall have got to know one another better. I hope by that time those who took part in the welcome, and even those who did not take part, will admit that we, the members of the delegation, were at least men of goodwill. We do not expect any one of you to agree with every conclusion formed by us, or every recommendation made by us. But we do expect you all, no matter to which party you may belong, to give us credit for the sincerity of our intentions and the impartiality of our outlook.

Our goal, as well as yours, is the consummation of the independence of Korea. For centuries, Korea was an independent State. Unlike many other countries in Asia, Korea has had an unbroken tradition of independence. It was only during this century that independence was snatched away from her. Even during this period the lamp of independence was not altogether extinguished. It continued to flicker in the hearts of men. Occasionally, as in 1919, it flared out into a great conflagration. At other times the torch of independence was carried by your leaders to foreign lands and kept burning there. Among your leaders, both in South and North Korea, are men who have fought and suffered for the independence of your country. It is good to think that they have lived to see Korea freed from Japanese domination.

/Independence,

Independence, then, is your goal. But there is also another goal, which is not less important, namely, the unity of Korea. Without unity there can be no independence. Gentlemen, I, as an Indian, say this with feeling. As you know, India achieved independence on 15 August, but we had to pay a price for it. Certain portions of our country, comprising about one-fifth of the population of India, tore themselves away from India and have formed themselves into a separate State. That was a bitter blow to those of us who believed in Indian unity. That broke up the natural unity of India. You have only to look at the map of India in order to realize that nature meant India to be one. Bounded on one side by the mighty Himalaya Mountains, backed by the high plateau of Tibet and the deserts of Central Asia, and on the other three sides by the sea, India is a single geographical unit. She has also a historical unity, for since time immemorial India, like China, has shown a remarkable genius for assimilating diverse strains. Yet, when it appeared that the separatist feeling among a certain section of the people had been worked up to such a pitch of fanatical fervour that we were confronted with the alternatives of partition or civil war, we preferred the former. But we still hope that natural forces will operate and there will be some kind of union in India sooner or later.

In India there was at least a colourable pretext for those who advocated partition. Those who seceded from India claimed that they had a separate language and a separate culture. But in Korea there is not even this excuse. Nothing is more remarkable than the homogeneity of the people of Korea. You all belong to the same race; you speak the same language; you have the same glorious traditions and the same culture. When one thinks of North and South Korea, one is inclined to quote the words of the Christian marriage service: Whom God hath joined together, let no man put asunder.

And the fact is that no man wants to put Korea asunder. Nor does any country want to do so. The thirty-eighth parallel was not meant to divide Korea forever. It arose as a minor military decision. It was considered to be a military necessity though in fact the necessity never arose. Yet this minor military expedient has so far continued to be a major political obstacle in the way of the unification of Korea. But if the Koreans themselves, and their foreign friends, make up their minds, this obstacle can be removed. The thirty-eighth parallel must be politically obliterated; it must be confined to the limbo of the past.

The Commission, of which I have the honour to be Chairman, will help you to the best of its ability to achieve your objectives. We have come here with no political prejudices, no ideological predilections. The States which we represent do not constitute a bloc nor are they attached to any bloc. Let me say a word or two about the States represented on this Commission. Let me, to use a diplomatic phrase, present our credentials to this mass meeting. I shall refer to the States on our Commission in the alphabetical order. Let me take Australia first. Two or three days ago, in my first speech as Chairman of the Commission, I took the liberty of including Australia in Asia. I did so in a material sense, in the sense that, as the last war showed, Asia and Australia must stand or fall together. But Australia also belongs to Asia in a more than material sense. Australia shares our international outlook on certain vital questions. Take, for instance, her attitude towards the Indonesian Republic. Recently, when there was a renewal of fighting in Indonesia, Australia and India took simultaneous action to bring the matter before the Security Council. That showed how both those countries were devoted to the principle of justice and fair play in international affairs.

I now turn to Canada. Canada may be described as the most perfect example of a good neighbour, in the international sense of the word. Canada and the United States have the longest land frontier in the world, and yet they live as perfectly good neighbours, even as China and India have done for centuries. And, to strike a personal note, Mr. Patterson, the Canadian representative on this Commission, has been a good neighbour of mine in Chungking, Nanking and now in Seoul.

Of China it will be impertinent for me to speak to a Korean audience. Korean civilization is impregnated with Chinese elements. China and Korea furnish an ideal example of the relations which should exist between a large and a small State. It is like the relationship of a small, but hardy plant to a big tree, which gives spiritual shelter to it and yet never injures its existence or its individuality. "The history of China", a historian has said, "is the history of an expanding civilization, not a conquering empire". This is abundantly confirmed by the history of Sino-Korean relations.

As for France, one has only to remember that it was there that the magic cry of "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity" was first raised. The study of the French revolution had a prodigious effect on the movement for Indian independence, though under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, the apostle of non-violence, we have adopted somewhat different methods. Even today, liberty, equality and fraternity are by no means idle words to a

/Frenchman.

Frenchman. I realized this at the first meeting of the General Assembly of the United Nations, which I attended as a representative of India. Then we brought up the question of the racial and social discrimination exercised against Indians, and indeed against all Asiatic nationals in South Africa. And in our fight for equality the French delegation gave us powerful support. It showed that France still stood for human brotherhood.

Next in alphabetical order comes India. But I shall not say much about India lest you should think that I am blowing our national trumpet. I shall only remind you that between India, China and Korea there is a spiritual bond, for it was from India that Buddhism travelled across the Roof of the World, and over inaccessible mountains and deserts, to China and Korea.

There remain Syria and the Philippines. Much to my regret I have not visited those countries, nor do I know as much about them as the others. Having met the distinguished representative of Syria and the Philippines, I hope to repair this defect. But we all know that they are Asiatic countries; they, like you and us, know what it is to lose one's freedom; and you may therefore safely count on them to view your problems with the utmost sympathy and understanding.

Such, Gentlemen, is our Commission. I hope you can derive some hope and comfort from the composition of our Commission. Equally you can derive hope and comfort by looking at the history and traditions of the two great countries which, though not on our Commission, are actually on your soil at present. The very origin of the United States, which came into existence as a result of a revolt against colonial oppression, should dispel any fear that the United States might become imperialistic. And no one has ever given a better definition of democracy than a President of the United States: "government of the people, by the people, for the people". As for the Soviet Union, who can deny that that State has performed a colossal experiment in economic democracy? I do not think that the systems represented by the United States and the Soviet Union, should or would always remain at war with each other. The world is large enough to contain them both. And I hope that Korea, which has had some experience of both those systems, will take whatever suits her from both and evolve a system of her own, in harmony with her own traditions and culture. In this way Korea, instead of remaining as a wedge, can become a golden bridge between the two. That, Gentlemen, is our vision.

You may perhaps dismiss this hope as purely visionary. But I belong to a land of visionaries. There lives in India today one of the greatest political visionaries the world has ever seen, Mahatma Gandhi. And this visionary has accomplished a practical task, which the so-called realists /could not have

could not have been able to accomplish in so short a time. He has achieved the independence of a nation of 400 million without shedding a drop of British blood. That, Gentlemen, is a miracle; and I hope that, with the goodwill of all concerned, Korea will achieve a similar miracle in the next few months. And in this task you shall have the co-operation, the assistance and the prayers of every member of our Commission.



ANNEX 5\*

EXCHANGE OF COURTESIES

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE COMMISSION AT ITS THIRD MEETING,  
15 JANUARY 1948

THE UNITED NATIONS TEMPORARY COMMISSION ON KOREA, being duly constituted,

RESOLVES to exchange the appropriate courtesies with the General Officers commanding the forces in North and South Korea, and to this end authorizes its temporary Chairman, accompanied by one member of the Secretariat, to pay courtesy calls upon these Commanders immediately.

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\* Document A/AC.19/2.

ANNEX 6\*

EXCHANGE OF COURTESIES

LETTER TO THE MILITARY COMMANDERS, ARMED FORCES IN NORTH AND  
SOUTH KOREA, RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE COMMISSION  
AT ITS FOURTH MEETING, 16 JANUARY 1948

THE UNITED NATIONS TEMPORARY COMMISSION ON KOREA,

HAVING CONSIDERED the report of the sub-committee appointed to draft communications in accordance with the resolution adopted at the third meeting (Annex 5),

RESOLVES to send the following letter to the Military Commanders, Armed Forces in North and South Korea:

"As you are aware, the United Nations has appointed a Temporary Commission on Korea for the purpose of expediting the attainment of the national independence of Korea and the withdrawal of the occupying forces.

The members of the Commission, who travelled to Korea by way of the Pacific air route, have now assembled in Seoul, with the exception of the representative of El Salvador who is expected at any moment, and the representative of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, concerning whose appointment no advice has yet been received. The Commission has convened under the temporary chairmanship of myself as the representative of India, and exchanged preliminary views regarding its work.

Before entering into the substance of its work, the Commission has authorized me as temporary Chairman, accompanied by one member of the Secretariat of the Commission, to exchange the appropriate courtesies with the Officers commanding the armed forces in North and South Korea and to this end to pay immediate courtesy calls upon these Commanders.

I should, therefore, be grateful if you would advise me of a date and time when it would be convenient for you to receive me."

## ANNEX 7

BROADCAST BY MR. K. P. S. MENON, CHAIRMAN OF THE UNITED NATIONS  
TEMPORARY COMMISSION ON KOREA, AT SEOUL,

21 JANUARY 1948

The United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea has been at work for ten days. I feel you are entitled to have an estimate of the progress we have made. In one respect, at any rate, we have made abundant progress - namely, in our affection for this beautiful land and its charming people.

The Commission may now be said to have completed the preparatory stage of its work. It has, for the time being, elected me as Chairman. It has authorized me to pay courtesy calls on the Military Commanders of North, as well as South, Korea. It has passed the rules of procedure without any fuss. It has shown, what some Committees in Lake Success have yet to learn, that sensible men can get on with their work without indulging in procedural wrangles. It has passed a self-denying ordinance, denying itself the luxury of attending public functions and enjoying your traditional hospitality until we feel that we have earned it by dint of hard work.

As you are aware, seven out of the nine members of the Commission are now in Korea. The representative of El Salvador is expected at any moment. We have had no advice about a representative from the Ukraine. In our anxiety that the Commission should be as representative as possible, we have passed a resolution expressing our regret at the absence of the Ukrainian member and stressing the importance of his participation in the Commission. Speaking as the representative of India I would welcome the presence of a representative of the Ukraine. In the General Assembly of the United Nations, India and the Ukraine have fought many a noble battle against such evils as racial discrimination in South Africa.

Such are the preliminary steps which the Commission has taken. It has not yet plunged into its work, but is ready for the plunge. Or, to pass from a swimming to a wrestling metaphor, it has rolled up its sleeves and is ready to grapple with the problems of Korea.

It has, in fact, more than rolled up its sleeves. It has had a bout or two. The Commission has established three Sub-Committees - one to study ways and means for securing a free atmosphere for the ensuing elections; another to study Korean opinion; and still another to study the electoral system. Study, study, study, the more impatient among

/you might exclaim,

you might exclaim, but no action! I shall remind such critics of the wise saying of a great national leader, Dr. Sun Yat-Sen who said that "To act is easy; to know, difficult". This Commission is determined to know before it acts.

The Commission has made it clear that it is concerned with Korea as a whole. If ever there was a homogeneous nation, it was Korea. All of you belong to the same race; you speak the same language; you are proud of the same traditions. Our Commission does not recognize the thirty-eighth parallel. It is only interested in it as a political anomaly which must be removed. In our eyes, Korea is one and indivisible. And in saying this I am sure I am echoing a sentiment which lies at the core of every Korean heart.

The Sub-Committee which has been appointed to sound Korean opinion will shortly issue a statement regarding the procedure which it proposes to adopt. The Sub-Committee which is to consider the mechanism for the elections will scrutinize the existing electoral laws in North and South Korea and examine how far they are compatible with the General Assembly's recommendations, generally accepted democratic practices and local requirements. But more important than the mechanism is the spirit. Hence the creation of a separate Sub-Committee with the object of ensuring a free atmosphere for the ensuing elections. If the elections are to be of any value at all, they must be free and unfettered. They must faithfully reflect the will of the people. Not only must the electors be free to vote as they please at the time of the elections, but there must be freedom for the candidates of all parties - parties of the extreme right, right, middle, left and extreme left - to put their views before the electorate on a free and equal basis. The Commission will insist on the observance of this elementary principle, not only at the time of, but before the elections. We would rather pack up and go home than be idle spectators of a faked election.

It is the hope of this Commission that an election, thus conducted, will lead to the establishment of a National Government of Korea. And that will be followed by a complete withdrawal of all occupying forces from Korea. Foreign troops are, at the best of times, an irritant; at the worst, they are a menace. I do not think the foreign soldiers now in Korea wish to stay there a moment longer than they can help. All the Members of the United Nations are agreed on the need for their early withdrawal. Indeed, the Soviet Union was prepared to withdraw its troops even before the elections took place, while the United States preferred that the withdrawal should take place after a stable government, with

/its own national

its own national security forces, had been formed. Whatever be the merits of a prior or a subsequent withdrawal, I can assure you that the presence of the troops is not meant to affect, and will not be allowed to affect, the course of the elections in the slightest degree. The average soldier is more interested, shall I say, in a football match in his own country than in an electioneering contest in a foreign land.

While foreign troops will be withdrawn without delay, it will take some time before Korea can shake off the effects of its foreign contacts. Nor am I certain that foreign influences should be rudely and peremptorily shaken off. The days when a country could be "a hermit nation" are gone. In this age of rapid communications no country can live in complete isolation. Isolation means stagnation, and the penalty of stagnation is death. Whether you like it or not, your country has had the impact of the might, and of something which is more mighty than might itself, the impact of ideas from two Great Powers, the United States and the Soviet Union. There is a good deal to be learned (though perhaps a little to be unlearned!) from both. Let me, in this connection, repeat the remarks which I made at the mammoth gathering which greeted us at the Seoul Stadium on 14 January. I then said: "You can derive some hope and comfort from the composition of our Commission. Equally you can derive hope and comfort by looking at the history and traditions of the two great countries which, though not on our Commission, are actually on your soil at present. The very origin of the United States, which came into existence as the result of a revolt against colonial oppression, should dispel any fear that the United States might become imperialistic. And no one has ever given a better definition of democracy than a President of the United States: 'government of the people, by the people, for the people'. As for the Soviet Union, who can deny that that State has performed a colossal experiment in economic democracy? I do not think that the systems represented by the United States and the Soviet Union should or would always remain at war with each other. The world is large enough to contain them both. And I hope that Korea, which has had some experience of both those systems, will take whatever suits her from both and evolve a system of her own, in harmony with her own traditions and culture. In this way Korea, instead of remaining as a wedge, can become a golden bridge, between the two. That, Gentlemen, is our vision."

I assure you that every member of our Commission will do his best to translate this vision into reality. Our goal is nothing less than the attainment of the national independence of Korea. Five months ago, when my country attained independence, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, who together

/with Mahatma Gandhi,

with Mahatma Gandhi, is the architect of our freedom, sent an inspiring message to me to be communicated to the Indians in China. "Today", the message began, "a new star rises on the Asiatic horizon, the star of freedom". My colleagues and I cherish the hope that, within the next few months, another star will rise over the Asiatic horizon, the star of a sovereign Korean Republic.

## ANNEX 8\*

PARTICIPATION OF THE UKRAINIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC IN  
THE WORK OF THE COMMISSIONRESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE COMMISSION AT ITS FOURTH MEETING,  
16 JANUARY 1948

## THE UNITED NATIONS TEMPORARY COMMISSION ON KOREA

RECORDS its regret that up to date no representative has been appointed by the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic to the Commission;

STRESSES the importance of the participation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic in the work of the Commission as contemplated in the General Assembly's resolutions establishing the Commission;

FORWARDS this resolution to the Secretary-General for such use as he may desire to make of it in further efforts to secure the appointment of a representative of the Government of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic to the Commission.

ANNEX 9\*

SUPPRESSION OF NEWSPAPERS AND GENERAL AMNESTY FOR POLITICAL CRIMES

SYRIA: COMMUNICATION TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMISSION

Yesterday the Chairman read to us a note by the Principal Secretary informing him that three newspapers were seized on the newsstands by the police in Seoul. I was informed that the editor of Chosun Chun-Wang Press, Mr. Riya, was arrested by the police and he has been in jail since 13 January. The military authorities in Seoul, as a matter of protection to us, have issued special passes to the press reporters whose holders are permitted to come to our hotels or to the offices. We do not know whether or not certain people were deprived of this right. It is not our job to intervene in the administration of the military government while it is still exercising its authorities. But it is our job to see to it that a free atmosphere of elections exists before the actual elections are carried out. If we cannot ensure this atmosphere, our mission is necessarily a failure. To this end, I propose that we immediately communicate with the military authorities in the south and then in the north for a general amnesty for political crimes and the removal of any measures of suppression against newspapers and public meetings. We must make sure that no shade of people can be barred from meeting any member of the Commission - if the Commission wishes it. A statement incorporating such policy must be made public by the Secretariat.

This question is of the utmost importance for the work of the Commission and I propose that a discussion be held in this meeting and resolutions taken.



ANNEX 10

APPOINTMENT OF SUB-COMMITTEES

FRANCE: DRAFT RESOLUTION

THE UNITED NATIONS TEMPORARY COMMISSION ON KOREA  
CONSIDERING

1. That resolution I of the General Assembly of the United Nations invites the Korean people to elect qualified representatives for consultation with the Temporary Commission on Korea;
2. That, owing to circumstances, and until elections have been held in the whole of Korea in conformity with recommendations formulated by the Commission, all sides of Korean opinion cannot have an equal opportunity of being heard by the Commission;
3. That, in order to achieve success, the Commission should devote itself to the technical organization of a free and fair ballot, without becoming involved, as far as this is possible, in Korean political strife, or in the administration of the country itself;

RESOLVES that subsidiary organs not involving the responsibility of the Commission as a whole shall be entrusted with the duty of:

- (a) Examining any documents already received or which may be received from Korean sources by the Secretariat;
- (b) Collecting the statements of any Korean individuals who may express the wish to be heard or may happen to be heard in the course of the work of such organs.

ANNEX 11\*

ELECTIONS

PHILIPPINES: DRAFT RESOLUTION

WHEREAS the resolution of the General Assembly of the United Nations provides that an election be held not later than 31 March 1948, on the basis of adult suffrage and by secret ballot to choose elected representatives to constitute a National Assembly with whom the Commission may consult regarding the prompt attainment of the freedom and independence of the Korean people;

WHEREAS, to carry out the provisions of the said resolution of the General Assembly of the United Nations, it is necessary that a policy should be adopted by this Commission:

THE UNITED NATIONS TEMPORARY COMMISSION ON KOREA  
RESOLVES

1. That the whole country of Korea be divided into ninety-eight representative districts and each district shall elect one representative to the National Assembly by direct suffrage;
2. That the distribution of districts be made taking into account the geographical position of each town and of the communication facilities; and
3. That a sub-committee of this Commission composed of four members be named to prepare rules and regulations governing the election of the members of the National Assembly, which rules and regulations must be submitted for the approval of the Commission not later than 31 January 1948.

ANNEX 12\*

ELECTIONS

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE COMMISSION AT ITS SIXTH MEETING,  
19 JANUARY 1948

THE UNITED NATIONS TEMPORARY COMMISSION ON KOREA RESOLVES

1. To appoint a Sub-Committee (sub-committee 3), consisting of Canada, France, the Philippines and Syria, to examine the electoral laws and regulations at present in force in North and South Korea from the point of view of

- (a) Their compatibility with the General Assembly's recommendations;
- (b) Their consistency with democratic practices generally accepted in elections held in territories of Members of the United Nations;
- (c) Particular requirements for Korea as they will appear from consultations which sub-committee 2 will hold with representatives of Korean public opinion;

and report its findings to the Commission;

2. That in the performance of these functions the Sub-Committee should acquaint itself with the views of Korean, Soviet and United States officials and exper

ANNEX 13

HEARINGS OF KOREAN PERSONALITIES

PRESS COMMUNIQUE ISSUED BY SUB-COMMITTEE 2

In accordance with the resolution of the United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea, Sub-Committee 2 proposes to consult with Koreans whose views will help towards a clear understanding of the situation in Korea and will assist in the preparation of the Commission's immediate work, namely, the observation of elections in Korea whereby Korean representatives are to be "in fact duly elected by the Korean people and not mere appointees by military authorities in Korea".

The Sub-Committee desires to hear all sections of Korean opinion but the urgency of completing its work will not permit personal discussion with every Korean who may wish to present his or her views.

It therefore invites individuals and organizations, religious, cultural and political, to express their views in writing and if they so desire to recommend a representative for personal interview. This should be done before 28 January.

In the meantime the Sub-Committee proposes to proceed with its discussions without delay, and to request the attendance of Korean personalities selected by the Sub-Committee.

ANNEX 14

HEARINGS OF KOREAN PERSONALITIES

PRESS COMMUNIQUE ISSUED BY SUB-COMMITTEE 2,

23 JANUARY 1948

In pursuance of its plan to discuss Korean problems with as many Koreans as possible, Sub-Committee 2 of the United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea considers that it is of the greatest importance to hold discussions at the earliest possible date with political personalities of both North and South Korea. As soon as the necessary arrangements can be made, this will be done.

Amongst those whom the Sub-Committee has in mind are such figures as Cho Man Sik, Huh Hun, Kim Doo Bong, Kim Koo, Kim Kyu Sik, Kim Il Sung, Kim Sung Soo, Pak Heun Young, Rhee Syng Man.

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