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President: Mr. José MAZA (Chile).

AGENDA ITEM 11

Report of the Security Council

1. The PRESIDENT: (*translated from Spanish*): The Assembly has before it a draft resolution submitted by Iran and New Zealand [A/L.202] reading as follows:

"The General Assembly

"Takes note of the report of the Security Council to the General Assembly covering the period from 16 July 1954 to 15 July 1955 [A/2935]."

2. If no one asks for the floor, I shall consider the draft resolution adopted.

The draft resolution was adopted.

AGENDA ITEM 19

The Korean question:

- (a) Report of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea;
- (b) Reports of the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission in Korea;
- (c) Problem of ex-prisoners of the Korean war

REPORT OF THE FIRST COMMITTEE (A/3048)

Mr. Echeverri Cortés (Colombia), Rapporteur of the First Committee, presented the report of that Committee.

Pursuant to rule 68 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the report of the First Committee.

3. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): I shall now give the floor to any representatives who may wish to explain their votes on the two draft resolutions, A and B, submitted by the First Committee [A/3048].

4. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): The Soviet Union delegation wishes to explain its vote on draft resolution A submitted by the First Committee.

5. As at previous sessions, the discussion of the Korean question at this session of the General Assembly has not led — and indeed could not lead — to positive results. The reason for this is that, owing to the efforts of certain States, a completely irregular situation has arisen in the United Nations, in that the discussion of the Korean question is conducted without the participation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the People's Republic of China, and without reference to the real state of affairs existing in Korea and throughout that part of the Far East. Such a discussion cannot be regarded as a serious, objective and businesslike approach to the settlement of that important problem.

6. During the consideration of this question in the First Committee, the efforts of the United States delegation and of the delegations of a number of other States which had taken part in the Korean war were, as before, substantially directed towards barring the adoption of practical steps for the peaceful settlement of the Korean question, obstructing the convening of a conference of the States concerned, preventing the establishment of relations and co-operation between North and South Korea and upholding the position of the South Korean authorities, which are openly opposing the Armistice Agreement and preparing to resume hostilities.

7. Furthermore, the representative of the South Korean authorities tried to defend that aggressive position even here, in the United Nations, when the Korean question was under consideration in the First Committee. The actions of the South Korean authorities are designed to undermine the Armistice Agreement, and they constitute a clear threat to peace in that area, however

much the representatives of a number of States may attempt to cover them up by their hostile attacks on the Koreans and the Chinese.

8. The General Assembly cannot disregard these manoeuvres. It must speak out authoritatively in support of the Armistice Agreement and thereby give a serious warning to those elements in South Korea whose aim is to violate the peace, counting on support from outside.
9. The Soviet Union attaches great importance to the strengthening of the peace in Korea, which are an essential prerequisite for the settlement of the Korean question. The Soviet delegation supports those provisions of draft resolution A which affirm the need for strict observance of the Korean Armistice Agreement and urge that continuing efforts be made to secure a peaceful settlement in Korea.
10. The Soviet Union takes the view that the settlement of the Korean question is primarily a matter for the Korean people itself. The duty of the States concerned is to help the Korean people to bring such a settlement about. The Soviet Union fully supports the well-known proposals of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea providing for the restoration of the national unity of Korea by the holding of genuinely free all-Korean elections. Such elections must be conducted by the Koreans themselves under the supervision of a genuinely impartial international body and under conditions precluding any kind of pressure on the voters. It is essential that North and South Korea should come to an agreement on the organization and execution of measures for the unification of the country. To deny the need for such an agreement would be to attempt to solve the Korean question at the expense of the rights and interests of one of the parties, to attempt to impose upon one of the parties the will of the other. Quite obviously, no settlement of the Korean question can be reached by that method.
11. The way to reach a settlement is to establish and develop co-operation and mutual understanding between North and South Korea, to strengthen the peace in Korea. A conference of the States concerned in the Korean question might contribute to the attainment of this objective.
12. The draft resolution introduced by the United States delegation and submitted by the First Committee for the General Assembly's consideration is silent on the question of convening a conference and provides for no practical steps to settle the Korean question. It makes no mention of the task of establishing and developing mutually advantageous relations and co-operation between North and South Korea, although it is quite obvious that the realization of this important aim is vital to the establishment of the necessary prerequisites for a final settlement of the Korean question. Furthermore, the draft resolution attempts to give the impression that the one-sided attitude adopted by a small group of States which fought against North Korea is based on United Nations principles. It is impossible, however, not to perceive that such partiality only makes a settlement of the Korean question more difficult.
13. As a result of these defects, the draft resolution as a whole will not promote the settlement of the Korean question by means of negotiations between the interested parties.
14. The Soviet delegation does not insist on the draft resolution being put to the vote paragraph by paragraph. It wishes, however, to make it clear that, when the text was put to the vote in the First Committee, it voted against the first paragraph of the preamble and against the reference in the second paragraph to the so-called "report of the fifteen nations". The Soviet delegation reaffirms its position on these provisions. It will abstain in the vote on the draft resolution as a whole.
15. The Soviet delegation considers that practical steps should be taken forthwith to settle the Korean question and that for that purpose a conference of the States concerned should be convened.
16. Mr. BLAUSTEIN (United States of America): In view of the extended debate which took place on the Korean question in the First Committee, I shall not take the time of the General Assembly to state the reasons why the United States initiated and supported the draft resolution now before the General Assembly.
17. However, in explanation of my vote, I should like to make a brief comment on the view which has just been expressed by the Soviet representative on why no progress has been made towards a settlement of the Korean problem. It is a view with which we are all too familiar. It is the view which caused the failure of the Korean Political Conference at Geneva and, unfortunately, that view has been maintained by the Communists ever since.
18. There can be no doubt by this time that what is really blocking progress towards a Korean settlement is the failure of the Communist side to give any indication that it is prepared to negotiate seriously on the basis of the United Nations objectives; indeed, its failure even to acknowledge that the United Nations has a role to play in seeking a settlement.
19. Until there is some evidence that the Communist side is ready to negotiate on this basis, it is clear that no constructive results could be achieved by another political conference or by formal contacts between the Republic of Korea and North Korea.
20. On the contrary, under existing conditions the only purpose of such a conference would be to exert pressure on the Republic of Korea and on those Governments which fought with it to repel the aggression — pressure to abandon the United Nations objectives. This we are not prepared to do, because in so doing we would be abandoning the people of Korea as well as the principle of collective security for which so many lives were sacrificed.
21. It is right, therefore, that we should stand by our principles, while continuing to hope that the Communists will, in fact as well as by words, come to agree with us that the unification of Korea is essential and that it should be achieved as soon as possible and in a manner which is consistent with the objectives of the United Nations.
22. Sir Pierson DIXON (United Kingdom): The United Kingdom delegation will support the two draft resolutions before us on the Korean question which were adopted without opposing votes by the First Committee.
23. As regards draft resolution A, on the report of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea, my delegation considers that it gives a true and realistic reflection of the existing situation; that is to say, that under present conditions there seems little prospect of progress in the immediate future towards a settlement of the Korean problem.
24. I do not wish, in an explanation of my vote, to rehearse again the reasons which have led my delegation to believe that there is little immediate prospect of fur-

ther progress. It will, I think, be clear to all who have studied the reports of the debate in the First Committee where my delegation considers that the blame must lie. So long as the proposals of the United Nations for unifying Korea continue to be disregarded, it would be unrealistic to press for a resumption of negotiations. At the same time, the draft resolution before us reflects the views of the great majority of the delegations that continuing efforts must be made to achieve the objectives of the United Nations in seeking an early solution of the Korean problem.

25. As I said in the First Committee on 11 November, the fighting mercifully has stopped, but we cannot remain content with that. Korea must not remain divided forever, and we must not relax our efforts to bring about a peaceful solution. The Korean question should therefore be kept before the United Nations and the authority of this Organization must be maintained.

26. Turning to the draft resolution B, dealing with the ex-prisoners of the Korean war, my delegation is happy to associate itself with the expression of appreciation in the draft resolution for the generous offers of the Governments of Brazil and Argentina to resettle these ex-prisoners. These efforts will, I am sure, make a favourable contribution to the final settlement of this problem.

27. I should also like to take this opportunity once more to pay a tribute to the Government of India, whose efforts both in the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission and in the subsequent care of the ex-prisoners of war deserve the warm thanks of the United Nations.

28. Mr. ULLRICH (Czechoslovakia): In the course of the consideration of the Korean question in the First Committee, the Czechoslovak delegation emphasized that, in its view, the principal task of the United Nations was to contribute to a peaceful settlement and to the national unification of Korea by peaceful means and on a democratic basis. The essential prerequisite to such a solution is a *rapprochement* between both parts of divided Korea, and direct negotiations between the representatives of North and South Korea with a view to achieving agreement on unification. We likewise stated our conviction that an international conference on the problems of the Far East, with the broad participation of the countries of Asia, would, to a considerable degree, facilitate a just solution of the Korean question and contribute to the consolidation of peace and security in that area of the world. There can be no doubt that if the United Nations took the realities into account, that could contribute to a *rapprochement* between the peoples of both parts of Korea and to further negotiations and the achievement of agreement, without which no peaceful settlement is possible.

29. These are the considerations which determined our position with regard to the draft resolution submitted by the United States and adopted by the First Committee. These are likewise the considerations which prevent us from regarding the draft resolution as satisfactory, even if we recognize that it contains certain general principles to which we subscribe.

30. One of the positive aspects of the draft resolution, in our view, is that it refers to paragraph 62 of the Armistice Agreement [S/3079], under the terms of which all the provisions of the Agreement remain in effect until expressly superseded by a peaceful settlement of the Korean question. The stressing of this principle is all the more important since the armistice itself and the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission — this impor-

tant international organ called upon by the agreement of both parties to supervise the maintenance of the armistice — continue to be the object of constant attacks, attacks which cannot be viewed otherwise than as a threat to peace and security.

31. In the same context, we cannot overlook the fact that neither the authors of the draft resolution, nor its supporters, felt the need to intervene when, in the course of the discussions in the First Committee, the forum of the United Nations was misused for a direct call for the termination of the armistice and the renewal of the aggressive war.

32. The Czechoslovak delegation accordingly voted in favour of that part of the draft resolution in which the General Assembly calls for the unconditional maintenance of the armistice, and those paragraphs which speak of the United Nations determination to seek an early solution of the Korean question and of the need to continue the efforts to that end.

33. A serious shortcoming of the draft resolution is, however, that it restricts itself to the enunciation of general principles, while it does not contain any concrete measures conducive to their implementation. Instead of promoting a *rapprochement* between the Koreans, instead of facilitating negotiations on the unification of Korea and the calling of an international conference on the outstanding problems of the Far East, it persists in the approach that has unfortunately been applied in the Korean question thus far, although experience has amply shown that only goodwill on both sides, only the path of negotiations and negotiated agreement, can lead to any results.

34. The rejection of these principles in the draft resolution receives additional emphasis by the renewed reference to the one-sided and unobjective report on the Geneva Conference by the fifteen countries which participated in the Korean war, thereby making unacceptable demands of one side a preliminary condition to any agreement. The Czechoslovak delegation supported the amendment moved by the delegation of Poland in the First Committee, which was designed to remove at least this serious shortcoming of the draft resolution.

35. The draft resolution as a whole is, in the opinion of the Czechoslovak delegation, incapable of contributing to the peaceful solution of the Korean question, the achievement of which — as all delegations have declared — is the objective of the United Nations. The Czechoslovak delegation therefore feels unable to support such a draft and will abstain in the vote thereon.

36. Mr. MENON (India): Even at this late stage of the debate, and on every subsequent occasion if it should unfortunately recur, when the decision of the United Nations is of a character that does not make any progress towards conciliation, my delegation will feel obliged to state its regret that such is the position taken by this Organization.

37. We shall not vote against draft resolution A for the simple reason that we agree with the greater part of it. In fact, the greater part of it is the kind of draft resolution that we would have submitted ourselves. But the essential thing about the draft resolution is that there is nothing more that this Organization has to say beyond what was said by some of the people some of the time at Geneva. If delegations will study the report of the Korean Political Conference at Geneva, it will be clear that it was not the view of all the delegations, or even of some of the delegations,

all the time, that the last word was that there should be elections in Korea supervised by the United Nations in order to settle this problem.

38. My Government is firmly convinced that the problem of the unification of Korea, which is the objective of the United Nations, is today amenable to a new approach. That approach probably would have to be reached in stages. But it is part of our duty, in the pursuit of these objectives, to put no political or moral impediment in the way of such a reconciliation. The outstanding duty of the United Nations is conciliation, and there is no element of reconciliation in the main operative part of the draft resolution.

39. We regret that for the second time we are reiterating to the world that we have no positive policy. For the second time we are reiterating, after the Geneva Conference, that our policy is not one of reconciliation but one of issuing ultimatums. The day for ultimatums and the taking up of positions which are irreconcilable was over when there was an armistice. The armistice was the proclamation that a settlement had been found by agreement between the two parties, and that no agreement could be reached by either side exercising a veto on the consideration of other problems.

40. Korea is one land, an ancient nation with 4,000 years of history. Its peoples have been divided by external forces operating for purposes which are unrelated to the happiness and welfare of the Korean people. It is a running sore in Asia, and a part of that continent where other difficulties surround it. The United Nations, if it really means that it will not deviate from its objectives, must have the courage and the frankness to face the reality of today.

41. This draft resolution does not reflect either an attitude of realism or a loyalty in practical terms to the objectives of the policy adopted by this Organization in regard to Korea.

42. For all those reasons, and because we do not want to add further to the friction by creating opposition, we shall merely refrain from supporting a course of action which we think at best is negative—it might be worse—and abstain on draft resolution A.

43. With regard to draft resolution B, there are two statements which my delegation wishes to make. As I said in the First Committee, the term “ex-prisoners” which appears in the draft resolution is merely a descriptive one. It is not a definition by us of the status of these men. That can be decided only when we discuss the reports of the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission in Korea which, by decision of the First Committee, were not to be discussed at the current session. It describes some persons. It means no more than that, and no juridical or other meaning in those terms should be read into it. It refers to the former prisoners of war in Korea who, because they would not go either to their homeland or to the original detaining Powers, had to be dealt with in some form or other. The repatriation agreement provided that the Government of India and the Indian Red Cross should look after them pending their disposition.

44. We are happy once again to express our gratitude to the Governments of Brazil and Argentina, and our potential gratitude to anyone else who may offer some help so that this problem of the disposition of these men can be dealt with in a satisfactory way. We are also happy again to express our gratitude to the Secretary-General and to others who, during the last twelve or eighteen months, have tried to find a solution to this problem.

45. In order to save the time of the Assembly and also not to create further friction in this matter, my delegation wishes to state that it will abstain on draft resolution A and vote for draft resolution B.

46. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): We shall now vote on the draft resolutions submitted by the First Committee [A/3048].

47. We shall vote first on draft resolution A.

The draft resolution was adopted by 44 votes to none, with 11 abstentions.

48. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): We shall now vote on draft resolution B.

The draft resolution was adopted by 48 votes to none, with 6 abstentions.

49. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): Representatives will remember that originally this item consisted of three sub-items. The Assembly has noted that the First Committee decided that sub-item (b), “Reports of the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission in Korea”, should not be discussed at the tenth session.

AGENDA ITEM 51

Question of the correction of votes in the General Assembly and its Committees

REPORT OF THE SIXTH COMMITTEE (A/3040)

Mr. Tammes (Netherlands), Rapporteur of the Sixth Committee, presented the report of that Committee.

Pursuant to rule 68 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the report of the Sixth Committee.

50. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): We shall now vote on the draft resolution recommended by the Sixth Committee [A/3040].

The draft resolution was adopted by 50 votes to none, with 1 abstention.

AGENDA ITEM 34

Election, if required, to fill vacancies in the membership of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories

REPORT OF THE FOURTH COMMITTEE (A/3030)

51. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): If the Assembly agrees, we could dispense with the presentation of the Fourth Committee's report, and if there are no objections, I shall take it that the Assembly confirms the election of India, Iraq, Venezuela and China as members of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories for a further period of three years.

It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEM 39

Appointments to fill vacancies in the membership of subsidiary bodies of the General Assembly:

- (a) **Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions;**
- (b) **Committee on Contributions;**
- (d) **Investments Committee: confirmation of the appointment made by the Secretary-General;**
- (e) **United Nations Administrative Tribunal**

REPORTS OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/3018, A/3019, A/3020, A/3045)

AGENDA ITEM 46

Audit reports relating to expenditure by specialized agencies of technical assistance funds allocated from the Special Account

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/3034)

Mr. Méndez (Philippines), Rapporteur of the Fifth Committee, presented the reports of that Committee.

Pursuant to rule 68 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the reports of the Fifth Committee.

52. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): The Assembly will now proceed to vote on the draft resolutions submitted by the Fifth Committee.

53. I put to the vote first the draft resolution pertaining to agenda item 39 (a) [A/3018].

The draft resolution was adopted.

54. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): I put to the vote next the draft resolution pertaining to agenda item 39 (b) [A/3019].

The draft resolution was adopted.

55. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): I now put to the vote the draft resolution pertaining to agenda item 39 (d) [A/3020].

The draft resolution was adopted.

56. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): I put to the vote the draft resolution pertaining to agenda item 39 (e) [A/3045].

The draft resolution was adopted.

57. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Spanish*): The Assembly will now vote on the draft resolution pertaining to agenda item 46 [A/3034].

The draft resolution was adopted.

The meeting rose at 4.10 p.m.

