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President: Mr. Lester B. PEARSON (Canada).

The Korean question: report of the First Committee (A/2450) [*concluded*]
[Agenda item 16]

1. Mr. HOPPENOT (France) (*translated from French*): The French delegation wishes briefly to explain the votes it cast at the close of the present debate on Korea, and, in so doing, to make clear the construction which should be placed upon them.

2. As a co-sponsor, in the First Committee, of the draft resolution submitted by fifteen delegations representing Powers which contributed armed forces to the struggle against aggression in Korea, the French delegation naturally voted in favour of that text when it was submitted to the General Assembly [*A/2450, draft resolution A*]. This does not mean that it considers the resolution perfect; but, as Mr. Lodge pointed out in this connexion, no human work is perfect, and in our opinion the text is a perfectly honourable and practical compromise between the by no means opposing, but certainly different, views of the fifteen delegations which drafted it. It has a solid foundation in paragraph 60 of the Armistice Agreement, which provides that each side shall appoint its representatives to the political conference. That provision does not prevent either side from appointing among its representatives non-belligerent Powers but, contrary to what Mr. Vyshinsky appeared to claim, it fully authorizes and justifies our side's choice of representatives solely from among the belligerent Powers.

3. Nor, in our opinion, does paragraph 60 prejudice in any way the conference's decision regarding the geometrical shape of the table at which it is to meet. We made no secret of the fact that our preference was for a round table. We still feel that by providing that the representatives of our side shall act independently, with full freedom of action, the resolution adopted will prevent the political conference from becoming a long drawn out Panmunjom, with the representatives of two opposing camps facing each other across the table.

4. We are not lacking in respect for principles, but our belief in the pragmatic virtues of action is even stronger. The essential thing is that the conference should be set up, meet, and start work. Its success depends, not on the structure given to it *a priori*, but on the general will among the participants for understanding, conciliation and peace. I hope that none among them will be wanting in that will; that, at their meeting place, diplomacy will come into its own again and that by the methods of diplomacy the conference will proceed towards a just and honourable solution of the Korean problem.

5. In those circumstances, on the fringe of the conference or in a continuation of it, it will be possible, within a wider framework, to prepare a general settlement of the problem of peace in the Far East; I need not stress the importance my country attaches to such a settlement.

6. The considerations which impelled my delegation to support draft resolution A led it to reject the Soviet Union draft resolution [*A/L.157*] and the amendment [*A/L.155*] which Mr. Vyshinsky sought to make to our own draft.

7. I recognize that the USSR draft resolution has some merits. I do not question the services that some of the Powers whose participation it recommended might have been able to render to the conference, but far less obvious than the usefulness of those services was the exclusion of certain other Powers which possess outstanding qualifications for participation and plainly have a direct interest in the question. From the point of view of principles, the USSR draft erred, in our view, in failing to pay any regard to the stipulations of paragraph 60 of the Armistice Agreement. From the practical point of view, the arbitrary membership it sought to impose upon the conference made it most unlikely that that body would be able to reach a solution. In the last analysis, the Soviet Union draft was, in our view, imperfectly founded in law, inequitable, and ineffective. Mr. Vyshinsky's brilliant speeches

failed to persuade us otherwise, and the French delegation was unable to vote in its favour.

8. With fifty-four other delegations, we voted for draft resolution B [A/2450] recommending that the Soviet Union should be invited to the conference provided the other side so desired. The French delegation has always considered the participation of the Soviet Union in the work of the political conference necessary for a number of reasons.

9. In the first place, having assumed responsibility in the development of the Korean conflict through its undeniable material and moral assistance to North Korea, the USSR must not be allowed to avoid openly assuming its responsibility in the settlement of the conflict. Secondly, its geographical position as a country bordering on Korea gives it an obvious interest in any international discussion of matters affecting that country. Lastly, no effective action to settle the Korean problem or other problems relating to the restoration of peace in the Far East, which are affected by that settlement, can be taken unless the Soviet Union, as a great Asian Power, is invited to take part.

10. We have made this invitation to the Soviet Union subject to the expression of a like desire by the other side because, since the Soviet Union plainly cannot be regarded as representing our side, it could only be invited to the conference if the other side so desired.

11. As to the invitation to the Government of India [A/2450, draft resolution C], the French delegation has always considered it desirable that that great country should participate in the political conference. Its position as a great Asian Power, the moral prestige it enjoys among all the nations of the free world and, moreover, the major—perhaps decisive—role it played in preparing the armistice ultimately concluded on the basis it had proposed, all gave it, in our view, an undeniable right to be present. But its participation, however desirable, was not in our view indispensable. The discussion in the First Committee and the attacks, however unacceptable in form and substance, made upon India by one invited delegation showed that India's presence at the conference would create an obstacle to the work of the conference that might prove insurmountable and would probably jeopardize its success. We faced a fact which was deeply to be regretted, but which we were compelled to recognize. Diplomacy, like politics, is the art of the possible. The French delegation was unable to vote for a draft resolution whose adoption might have made impossible, at the first stage of the negotiations, the restoration of peace, to which all our efforts must be directed and by which all our decisions must be governed.

12. The French delegation has already expressed the hope that the settlement of the Korean problem will be a prelude to the restoration and consolidation of an indivisible peace in the Far East. This second task cannot be undertaken without the co-operation of India, which will then take the place, which now remains empty, at our side.

13. In abstaining from the vote in the First Committee, the French delegation wished to take into account the facts of the present situation and to allow for all future developments. In his statement this morning [430th meeting], Mr. Menon gave fresh proof of his country's spirit of conciliation and peace. His speech gave further justification of the hope and

the confidence placed by the free world in the great Indian Republic.

14. Lastly, when we vote on the draft resolution [A/L.154/Rev.1] which pays tribute to the soldiers of the Republic of Korea and of the United Nations who fought and died for the cause of freedom and peace, no delegation will signify its support with deeper thought or with greater sincerity than will the French delegation. We humbly offer our sympathy to every mourning home, first and foremost perhaps to those in this our host country, which from the beginning has borne the heaviest share in our burden.

15. More than a century and a half ago, the soldiers of France and the United States shed their blood together on the battlefield of American freedom. Twice in the last third of a century they have fought side by side on the battlefields of world freedom. I should like all my listeners in this country who have lost a dear one in Korea to know with what fraternal respect France, which in the last two wars has sacrificed millions of its sons to our common cause, bows before their sorrow and their pride. All these men fell in a just war. Their death shows the living where their duty lies. May we tomorrow, through the efforts of us all, see the harvests of peace ripen on their graves.

16. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly will now proceed to consider the fifteen-Power draft resolution contained in document A/L.154/Rev.1. Certain delegations have expressed a desire to comment on that draft resolution, which was not discussed in the First Committee.

17. Mr. LODGE (United States of America): I should like, in the first place, to thank the representative of France for his extremely generous remarks about my country; they touch us deeply, and we appreciate them.

18. The draft resolution [A/L.154/Rev.1] now before the General Assembly was not considered in the First Committee, and it is therefore incumbent on us, one of its sponsors, to say a few words about it.

19. First, the draft resolution recalls all the previous resolutions dealing with the United Nations action against aggression in Korea. It is important that the history of the United Nations action against aggression should be stated clearly and beyond question, particularly in the face of persistent efforts to rewrite that history.

20. After noting with profound satisfaction that the fighting in Korea has ceased on the basis of an armistice, the draft resolution salutes the heroic soldiers of the Republic of Korea and of all United Nations Members which fought to resist aggression. It then pays a special tribute to those who laid down their lives in this cause. Finally, it expresses satisfaction that this first effort in human history to repel armed aggression by collective military means under the auspices of an international organization has been successful.

21. The draft resolution is self-explanatory. It has deep meaning for us and for all those whose sons have endured the unspeakable horrors of the communist prison camps, have returned home shattered in health, or have fallen on the field of battle. We are, of course, certain that the essence of the draft resolution appeals to all lovers of peace and liberty, regardless of whether their sons were in Korea.

22. Sixteen United Nations Members contributed forces to the Unified Command. Although I shall perhaps not be misunderstood if I say, frankly, that we wish other countries had made such a contribution, fairness compels me to make an observation which I have often made to my fellow citizens: that many governments simply could not do so. The countries of some Member States are very small and have few, if any, forces. Other Member nations were compelled to maintain military forces at home or on their own borders because of local threats to peace. Then, there were instances—and I have personal knowledge of some of those instances—in which contributions of troops were offered but the practical arrangements were not consummated. Naturally, we hope that a considerably larger number of nations will send troops to serve in Korea in present conditions; of course, this service will have to be on a rotation basis and in full accord with the provisions of the Armistice Agreement. Naturally, what I have said in this connexion does not refer to the small minority of nations which were in active and flagrant sympathy with the aggression.

23. Let a word also be said for the countries which did not contribute armed forces but which made other contributions. We think of the hospital ship contributed by Denmark, of the medical units contributed by India, Norway and Sweden, and by Italy, which is not yet a Member of this Organization. We think of the forty-three governments which contributed to the Korean relief programme. We remember Burma, Mexico, Thailand, the Philippines and Ecuador, which sent rice; Cuba, Denmark and Belgium, which sent sugar; China, the United Kingdom and Greece, which sent salt; Argentina, New Zealand, Pakistan and Viet-Nam, which sent meat, grain and powdered milk; Peru, Japan, Venezuela and Uruguay, which sent clothing and blankets. Among the countries sending medical supplies were Austria, Switzerland, the Federal Republic of Germany, Ethiopia, France, Australia, Greece and India. For the relief effort in Korea, rubber was sent from Liberia, lumber from Cambodia, cod-liver oil from Iceland, citrus fruit from Israel, sisal from Haiti. Other countries—notably Iran, Turkey and Nicaragua—offered material contributions which, because of the difficulties of transportation, the rigours of climate or other circumstances, could not be accepted. As regards cash, contributions of more than \$18 million were made by eighteen countries, including Belgium, Canada, Honduras, Indonesia, Lebanon, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Paraguay, Saudi Arabia and Monaco. In addition, pledges of contributions in cash or kind totalling more than \$5 million have been made by Chile, the Dominican Republic, Egypt, El Salvador, Panama, Syria, Brazil and Uruguay; many of the countries I have named have made several contributions of different kinds.

24. One particularly vivid illustration of international co-operation occurred in 1950, when the appeal for food for Korea went out to the Members of the United Nations. Thailand and the Philippines responded immediately with gifts of rice. In order, however, to be of any use, the rice had to be transported, and it could not be transported without bags. A request to India, a great producer of jute bags, brought a prompt response. The rice from Thailand and the Philippines

was thus placed in bags by India and transported to Korea in United States ships.

25. Today marks a significant milestone, not only in the brief history of the United Nations, but in the long search of the human race for peace. The tragedy of Korea evoked a response from the United Nations which was unique in human history. The aggressors have been thrown back to beyond the line from which the aggression began in June 1950, and small as well as large nations will find comfort and security in what has been achieved in Korea. The hope of the peoples of the world that they may not again have to face the scourge of a third war has been raised. There is more reason to hope and to believe that international questions will in the future be settled by peaceful means, as the Charter requires, and not by war.

26. The Korean tragedy does not, it is true, engender extravagant optimism about the political conference, but we hope that the other side may be prepared to show respect for the overwhelming wishes of the people of Korea and the judgment of the people of the world. We hope that they are ready to negotiate in good faith a settlement which would leave Korea free and unified, secure against aggression and subversion and able to devote all its energies to the tremendous task of rebuilding its war-torn homeland.

27. The governments which will represent our side at this conference will negotiate in good faith. If the other side will only do likewise, Korea may yet see the end of its martyrdom, and the Korean people the dawn of a brighter day.

28. What we did in Korea in a military way was without precedent; but what we have done here in New York in the last ten days in making recommendations for the political conference is equally without precedent. Of course, the record, being human, is not perfect and it can be argued that more could have been done and that what was done could have been done with greater speed. But we can be everlastingly proud of what was accomplished. Obviously, the United Nations has not developed as the founders planned, but equally obviously, it has fully justified its existence.

29. In the draft resolution before us we pay tribute to our dead. In so doing we can say to them that we have tried to keep the faith and that, as fallible human beings, we are here today doing the best that we can to make a world worthy of their sacrifice.

30. Mr. VON BALLUSECK (Netherlands): As one of the Member States of the United Nations which responded to the recommendation of the Security Council of 27 June 1950 [S/1511] to furnish such assistance to the Republic of Korea as might be necessary to repel the armed attack and to restore international peace and security in Korea, my country had the honour to take an active part in this first effort, under the auspices of the United Nations, to withstand aggression by collective military measures. The collectivity of soldiers of free nations, united on the battlefields of Korea with the common aim of resisting armed aggression and paving the way for a just and peaceful settlement, may well mark a turning point in the development of a world which is trying to promote a process of organized international relationship based on individual and national freedom protected by law and order.

31. But the price which was paid in Korea in blood, in human lives and in human misery has been very heavy indeed. It was the toll to be heroically offered so that established freedom might live in the face of the dark forces of destruction and oppression, and it is altogether fitting that in this General Assembly of the United Nations, guardian of the Purposes and Principles of the Charter, spokesmen of "We the peoples" who have declared themselves determined "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war"—it is, I say, altogether fitting that we, the living, here and now should pay tribute to those who fought and died in the cause of freedom and peace.

32. Now that the firing has ceased, we make up the appalling balance-sheet. Cold figures stare us in the face. Permit me to quote the relevant and unembellished passage from the special report of the Unified Command which was placed before us at the beginning of this month of August:

"The forces of the United Nations Command", says the report in its factual, but hence so eloquent language, "suffered many casualties during the thirty-seven months of fighting. The number of killed, wounded and missing from the armed forces of the Republic of Korea exceeded 300,000. The total casualties of the United States armed forces were approximately 141,000, and of the armed forces of the other fifteen Members of the United Nations, approximately 14,000 [S/3079].

That brings the total casualties up to somewhat less than half a million.

33. As to the civilian population of the war-torn Republic of Korea, it also bore the full brunt of the tragedy which was inflicted upon it by the aggressors and which devastated its homes and lands. The fact that the aggressor suffered even heavier casualties in no way diminishes the magnitude of the sacrifices on the side of freedom. Yet there is a vital difference. On the one side, blood was needlessly spilled in the service of a needless, armed and unprovoked attack. On the side of the defenders, blood was dedicated to the cause of the security of freedom. It is to this latter cause that we, here, in paying tribute to our soldiers, renew our lasting loyalty.

34. When we look back over the last three years, let us realize our immeasurable indebtedness to those who gave their lives under the banner of the United Nations. When we look forward, as we must, to completing by peaceful means our unfinished task, let us be as determined in peace as they, our soldiers, were in battle.

35. My country is proud to have been represented, to the extent of our limited possibilities, amongst the armed forces under the Unified Command which hastened to the assistance of the gallant soldiers and people of the Republic of Korea. In absolute figures our contribution may appear to be modest compared to that of more powerful countries; compared, first and foremost, to the magnificent effort sustained by the United States. But our military contribution, viewed in proportion to our population and in the light of our heavy military commitments to the security of another dangerously exposed sector of the free world, namely, Western Europe and the Atlantic area, was one which we have proudly presented for the benefit of the collective resistance against a common danger.

36. During the three years of the Korean war, almost 3,200 ground troops from the Netherlands and Surinam—volunteers all—have, in rotation, served—and, on the strength of two distinguished unit citations, I believe I can say with distinction—under the United Nations flag. Three destroyers and one frigate of the Royal Netherlands Navy have, in turn, been made available in Korean waters. Our total war casualties number almost 500.

37. To all our soldiers and sailors, the living and the dead, and to all their comrades in arms, living and dead, from all the other nations which fought under the Unified Command, we pay our tribute, and express our admiration and our gratitude. With their courage, their devotion, and at the risk of their lives, they have upheld the cause of peace and freedom. In doing this, they have also furthered the maturing process of the purposes of the United Nations and of its evolution along the uphill path of law and justice and decency. It is for us and for the peoples whom we represent to build anew upon the noble fundamental values which they have sought to protect and to keep alive.

38. I am reminded of an immortal phrase delivered ninety years ago by a very great American during the painful birth of another unity of spirit and principle and after a crisis as sorrowful as the conflict in Korea. President Lincoln, in his Gettysburg Address, said:

"It is for us the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us—that from these honoured dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion—that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain. . ."

39. To those words, which are as applicable to our problems of today as they were then, I can only add respectful silence. In the draft resolution now before this Assembly, the sponsors, of which we are one, have I think tried to express kindred thoughts and feelings in the language of our own day and of our own circumstances. We trust that the General Assembly, in this solemn moment, will join with the fifteen sponsoring nations in what should be one collective single voice of gratitude and confidence.

40. Sir Percy SPENDER (Australia): The draft resolution which we have co-sponsored is one which I hope will receive, without any dissension, the support of this Assembly. It is a matter of "profound satisfaction that fighting has now ceased in Korea"—to use the words of the draft resolution—that young men no longer die and that families will not be bereaved by further casualties. Yet nothing we can do can still the sadness of those whose loved ones will never return or the personal tragedy and loss from the wounds and mutilations of war. This draft resolution, important though it is, can only be but a poor tribute to those to whom we owe so much.

41. Young men go out to wars which other men bring about. The peoples of the world do not want war. I do not imagine that the peoples of the Soviet Union hate war less intensely than we do in my own country. If it were left to the peoples of the world, war would

be no more and swords in truth would be turned into ploughshares. But evil men or men who love power above all other things or prostitute power to their own selfish or wicked ends or, indeed, men lacking in sufficient wisdom—sometimes deliberately, sometimes inadvertently, sometimes by blundering—bring wars about. Over such events, young men and women, those who are called upon to make the great sacrifices of war, have little or no control. Yet when the tocsin sounds, it is they who pay the penalty by giving their lives or taking upon themselves and their bodies the mutilations of combat. In the full bloom of youth they die, whilst we, their representatives here in this Assembly, who have for the most part of us lived more years than we have yet to live, can only pay them, in humble reverence, the inadequate tribute of words.

42. They are dead and yet they live. They live in our memories and in our hearts, and they live with the countless of our dead of the wars of this bloody century. They have given all that life can give that we may live. In Rupert Brooke's moving words:

"They poured out the rich red blood of youth. They have died that freedom and liberty may survive. They cry out to us from their resting place that we, whose representatives they are, shall not abandon the faith for which they died."

43. Here we must rededicate ourselves to that cause which finds noble expression in the high purposes of the Charter of the United Nations, to the cause of international peace. They died as free men, that freedom might not perish. They died in resisting tyranny, so many of them so far away from the shores of their homeland and from those they loved. But their sightless eyes will peer through eternity at the people from whom they sprung and for whom they suffered to see that we bear on high the torch which they handed to us for safekeeping.

44. The remembrance of their sacrifice will fortify us who remain and the generations of their peoples who follow in the resolution and determination to resist tyranny and to maintain freedom wherever we may throughout the world. For tyrants and evil men should know that there will always be found free men and women who not only resist them but, in the end, triumph over them.

45. We must make it clear that the path of the aggressor leads inescapably to his own ultimate destruction.

46. Every country has its national day of remembrance, when it recalls the sacrifices in battle of its sons and daughters. We, of course, have ours. I cannot pay any more eloquent tribute to the men of my own country and to the men of all the nations which served in this great international crusade under the banner of the United Nations—and here I pay a special tribute to the sacrifices made by this nation in whose country we are today—than to repeat the words which we reverently intone on that day of remembrance in my country when the first rays of a new dawn strike across the countryside. I do so especially since they mean so much to Australians. We hear them on every Anzac Day. They are:

"They shall not grow old as we who are left grow old. Age shall not weary them, nor the years condemn. At the going down of the sun, and in the morning, we will remember them."

47. Mr. KYROU (Greece): Greece is among the fifteen Member States which sponsored the draft resolution before us.

48. It is, I submit, fitting for the United Nations to salute "the heroic soldiers of the Republic of Korea and of all those countries which sent armed forces to its assistance", and secondly to pay "tribute to all those who died in resisting aggression and thus in upholding the cause of freedom and peace" under the banner of our Organization.

49. Among those from many lands who now rest in the military cemeteries of Korea are 169 Greek soldiers, representing almost one-fourth of our casualties, numbering 715 young men.

50. Grievous though these losses are—especially for a country which has already made costly sacrifices in the over-all good fight—they were not, we hope, suffered in vain. It matters little that these men from Greece and other countries breathed their last in Korea. For great men and glorious soldiers every land is a sepulchre. This paraphrase of a dictum from the funeral oration attributed to Pericles by the great historian of ancient Greece, Thucydides, must appropriately apply to the soldiers we honour today, for most of whom Korea was just a spot on the map and who, side by side with the heroic people of that distant land, made the supreme sacrifice in the defence of an ideal.

51. Let us hope that this first successful endeavour of collective security under the auspices of an international organization will have some value in the future, more as a deterrent to potential aggressors than as a precedent for law-abiding nations. Let us hope that in the days to come collective security will be more of a preventive than of a repressive force and that today's comrades in arms, turning their swords into ploughshares and their spears into hooks, will be tomorrow's fellow workers in a peaceful world ever advancing along the path of social, cultural and economic progress. Let us hope that the collective measures of international security will henceforward be translated into a collective effort of human brotherhood to meet, not the follies of men but the acts of God beyond our control, in crusades of mercy. To such a crusade the President referred at the beginning of our resumed session [429th meeting], when he spoke of the earthquakes that have devastated three Ionian islands, and I welcome this opportunity to convey to him and to the General Assembly our deep gratitude for their kind expression of sympathy.

52. These words of mine, these words of hope stem only from the conviction that peace has victories which are more real and lasting than those of wars. Our hope however, will not materialize unless we keep our vigilance and maintain our preparedness.

53. Whatever course humanity chooses to follow, Greece will, as in the past, do its full share.

54. I have a few words to say concerning the amendment [A/L.160] submitted by Chile, Ecuador, El Salvador, Honduras and Mexico to this draft resolution. Of course I have not had the time to consult with the other sponsors, and I am speaking only on behalf of my delegation in saying that we gladly accept it.

55. Sir Gladwyn JEBB (United Kingdom): In some ways the draft resolution before us hardly demands

speeches on our part. As our Dutch colleague said, it expresses in simple language the emotions of the great majority of us here on this great occasion, and underlines what most of us believe to be true. And yet, if there ever was a time when some Members of the United Nations must feel the need of making a speech it is surely now, for the draft resolution which we are about to adopt, as I think our United States colleague said just now in words more eloquent than mine, marks a definite stage in man's slow progress towards a time when the barbarous method of solving international differences known as war will be forgotten and when imperialism, masquerading as idealism, will no longer be able to impose its devastation on the suffering earth.

56. A long way off, yet, such a millennium. And yet not so long, perhaps, if measured by historical time. Who would have thought, even a few years back, that an aggression, openly or covertly backed by two great Powers, could have been repulsed and frustrated by the free world, acting through the United Nations, without entailing a world war? Who would further have imagined that the United Nations not only would survive such a convulsion—and survive as a universal organization—but would also, having imposed its will, be in a position powerfully to influence that peace which must surely follow three cruel years of war? I suggest that if anybody, even at the conference of San Francisco, had ventured to predict such a victory in such circumstances, he would have been roundly condemned as a starry-eyed idealist.

57. And yet so it was. The impossible occurred. The young men of our armies who fought in Korea—by far the largest numbers were, of course, the young men of the Republic of Korea and of the United States—by their valour and their endurance achieved what men have been seeking to achieve ever since the full horror of modern war dawned upon an appalled society, namely, a vindication of the principle that aggression must be resisted and, above all, of the principle that aggression does not pay. Today, we, who this time did not fight ourselves, soberly acclaim those who did. Our hearts go out to the injured and their relatives. We salute those who sleep eternally in the dusty hills of Korea. They knew what they died for. In the noble words already quoted by my Australian colleague: "They shall not grow old, as we who are left grow old."

58. My own country is an ancient, embattled land. We think we know something of the horror, the frustration, the irony and the sadness of war. We also believe that we have done something to demonstrate the futility of aggression. Two-and-a-half million dead and many more million injured in forty years is a heavy price to pay for a country of under 50 million people. Nevertheless, when aggression came again in 1950, we and our sister countries of the Commonwealth sent all the forces that we could to Korea. I believe that about 60,000 of our soldiers, 1,200 of our airmen and 20,000 of our sailors have now served there. The Commonwealth Division was always a bulwark of the line. In the initial stages our naval contingent, I believe, was the strongest at the disposal of General MacArthur. We do not think that this was a mean contribution, given our commitments in other parts of the world.

59. But if all this has proved that we can and will resist aggression, it has also made us aware of the supreme necessity of so organizing international society that there will be no aggression to resist. So it is that, in spite of disappointments, eyes are turned in hope towards the building in which we sit today. In a time of cold war, which I fear may continue at any rate until certain great political issues are satisfactorily settled, it would be folly to neglect our own strength and that of our allies. But, over and above that, we always cherish, visionary although it often appears, the possibility that our disputes will some day be solved, not by the clash of hideous modern weapons, not even by the erosion of time on a glacial *status quo*, but with the aid of a body in which both sides are represented, in other words, by the United Nations. But if such a dream is to become a reality, our Organization cannot be the exclusive property of one side or another, or, indeed, of any side; for I do not see why, in our seething modern world, political sides should be limited to two. If the Organization is to be of any real use, it must, if possible, include all sides, because only thus can it become what the Charter says it should be, "a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends".

60. And so I suggest that, on this day of all days, we look forward and try to think in very long terms. It may be that our Organization will have to experience fresh rebuffs in the months or even in the years that lie ahead. It may be, for instance, that the political conference to decide on the long-term future of Korea will prove more difficult to get going than the signatories of the armistice foresaw. Perhaps so; but a year ago some of us were beginning to despair of an armistice in Korea, and still it came. In the United Nations, patience is above all necessary. We must never despair, and if our hopes may often be dupes, our fears also may be liars. Today, when we salute our dead, hope must surely be our uppermost emotion, for if the recent battles in Korea lead the countries concerned to conclude not only that aggression is doomed to failure, but also that, even if temporarily successful, it can only produce wars of extermination, which in their turn will only result in general extermination, then the youths who gave their lives in the struggle will indeed not have lost their lives in vain.

61. Mr. FRANCO Y FRANCO (Dominican Republic) (*translated from Spanish*): In the history of the world, 25 June 1950 will forever mark the beginning of that execrable action which was destined to bathe the unhappy soil of Korea in blood, cover its land with ruins, inflict enormous sufferings on its people, exterminate much of its population and fill with indignation the hearts of nations that love peace, liberty and justice.

62. Aggression, which had been planned and carefully prepared for some time, was unleashed and thus invasion of the soil on which the Korean people were living a happy, free and democratic life became a reality. That action constituted from its beginning an inexcusable crime against Korea and against humanity. Surely its conception, development and execution were not really the work of fellow Koreans in the north but of the principles of hate, domination and destruction of the international order which unfortunately hold sway in a great part of the world.

63. Up to the very moment when they made their way into the country chosen as victim by the forces of international communism, the organizers of the cruel venture undoubtedly looked forward in their baneful work to the complacent acceptance which has so often, too often, crowned the *fait accompli* and the triumph of force. Indeed the strong love of peace of the free peoples and their unwavering attachment to conciliation and peaceful international relations were such as to make the aggressors doubt the possibility of any international reaction.

64. But, against the armies of aggression which broke across the frontier parallel, the United Nations resolutely rose up in a supreme effort to restore peace and justice. In the military action so undertaken to repel communist aggression soldiers of seventeen countries, of the most different backgrounds and the most diverse races and religions, fought heroically for the victory of the ideals of the United Nations. Thousands of them are now laid to rest in the soil of the country to whose defence they had sprung and for which so many others have suffered the horrors of war and the cruel treatment inflicted upon them while in enemy lands. It is to the bravery, selflessness, heroism and sacrifice of those soldiers that the victory of the cause of the United Nations and the defeat of aggression are chiefly due.

65. In view of the supreme services rendered to the ideals of our Organization, which are the hope and the guarantee of the world's salvation, the delegation of the Dominican Republic joins whole-heartedly in the tribute which, through the joint draft resolution, voices our deep gratitude to the heroic soldiers of the Republic of Korea and to those of all the other countries which sent armed forces to its aid, including first and foremost, because of the magnitude of the effort it has made and the sacrifices its great and noble people has so generously accepted, the United States of America, and our beloved sister people of Colombia. My delegation joins especially in the grateful and reverent homage so justly paid to those who gave their lives resisting aggression and gloriously defending the cause of peace and liberty.

66. The Dominican Republic is also honoured to share the justified satisfaction, expressed in the resolution, at the success of the first efforts under the auspices of the United Nations to repel armed aggression by means of appropriate and effective collective measures. My Government has consistently given evidence of its faith in the organization of collective security, which is one of the most important objectives of the United Nations Charter. With that in mind, it made a timely offer to send a military unit to the devastated soil of Korea in order to co-operate, to the extent that it was able, in the struggle against the communist aggressors.

67. In view of the success achieved by the United Nations, there is good reason for cherishing the heartfelt conviction that the proof thus shown of the effectiveness of collective security will contribute much, as the resolution so aptly puts it, to the maintenance of international peace and security. The action undertaken and carried forward by the world Organization constitutes a severe warning, in favour of just and peaceful co-existence of all nations, firmly addressed to the aggressive governments which are keeping the war in Indo-China aflame, a region where the noble

people of France have seen thousands of their best sons fall and where the magnitude of its efforts makes France, too, deserving of our warmest gratitude.

68. The delegation of the Dominican Republic, which has done all in its power to help to bring about a proper solution of the Korean question, expresses its fervent hope that this resolution may serve as a solid foundation for a true and lasting peace.

69. Mr. JOHNSON (Canada): Before closing our proceedings, it is fitting that we should remember the men who by their valour and sacrifice made possible this moment in history. I am glad to have the opportunity of joining with others in paying solemn tribute to all those who, in the words of the draft resolution we are co-sponsoring, "died in resisting aggression and thus in upholding the cause of freedom and peace".

70. As we honour the dead, we remember also the sorrow of those who have been bereaved, and I am thinking now especially of those Canadian families who have suffered a loss which even the success of our cause can hardly assuage. Our draft resolution gives pride of place to the forces of the Republic of Korea, for not only did they suffer the greatest losses, but many of them, in addition, had the tragic experience not shared by the rest of us, of seeing their families suffer, their homes destroyed and their lands laid waste. We also acknowledge our great debt to the forces of the United States which, with those of the Republic of Korea, bore throughout the brunt of the fighting. But for their prompt response, our whole collective effort could hardly have been effective.

71. Let me conclude on this note: we here in the United Nations in New York passed resolutions condemning aggression, but had it not been for the forces under the United Nations Command, including, I am proud to say, many thousands of young Canadians, our resolutions would scarcely have been worth the paper on which they were written.

72. Mr. MUNRO (New Zealand): I wish to render homage to all the brave men who, on land and sea and in the air, have given their lives or have suffered wounds so that liberty should not be destroyed in Korea.

73. I speak on behalf of a country whose young men went to Korea as volunteers. They fought and some of them died in that war-torn peninsula. They went to Korea from homes in a green and pleasant land so that people whom they did not know, but in whose cause they always believed, might survive and live their lives free from oppression.

74. It is always the way of war that the young men go out to fight before they have savoured life. As was said of youthful warriors nearly three thousand years ago, "they resigned to hope their unknown chance of happiness, but in the face of death they resolved to rely upon themselves alone". In the last three years, all those who fought in Korea did so for a mighty cause. They formed an army of many nations determined to fight as one because one nation was threatened. In the phrase of today, they fought for the cause of collective security, the first of such actions on behalf of the United Nations. It is more simply put when we say that men from many distant lands have gone to a place in Asia and for long and weary months have

fought and bled so that peace should be secured not only there but throughout the whole world.

75. Some have made sacrifices greater than others. The men, women and children of Korea itself have lost far more than all of us. The soldiers of the United States, whose Government took the lead in this quest for collective security, suffered heavily and we salute the soldiers and the peoples of both countries today.

76. There is a price to leadership, a price that history exacts from nations as well as from individuals. The world, desperate as may be its need for leadership, cannot demand this price of any and all nations. We must therefore be profoundly thankful that the United States has shown by the part it has played in the Korean war, in addition to its unparalleled generosity to the devastated and the weak in recent years, that it is prepared to pay the price and accept this leadership.

77. Nevertheless, sacrifices by one country are not enough. They would indeed be futile unless other countries were willing to respond to the same call of duty. A system of collective security can work only if it is collective. Freedom cannot be maintained, and there can be no progress towards an enduring peace, unless we are all prepared to pay the cost of collective security.

78. We shall never forget the sacrifices of that great company of men from each of the sixteen countries which have fought so long, so arduously, that the way of the aggressor should be halted, and that he should be thrown back to the place whence he came. As we pass this resolution, we resolve that the sacrifices of the men we honour shall not prove to have been in vain, and we trust that the political conference which we have set up may commence speedily upon its labours and usher in by its success a new era for mankind, not only in Asia and the Pacific, but in the rest of the world.

79. Mr. VYSHINSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (*translated from Russian*): The USSR delegation has listened carefully to all the preceding speakers, and has also given careful consideration to the draft resolution [A/L.154/Rev.1] before the Assembly.

80. The Soviet Union delegation is bound to say, with that full sense of responsibility which characterizes all its statements, that it cannot agree with a single word spoken by the various representatives who have preceded me. Those speakers have lauded the war which was forced upon the Korean people, a war which in the course of three and a half years has devastated the heroic People's Democratic Republic of Korea and has brought untold distress to the heroic Korean people. In spite of all the evidence and all the facts cited here by my delegation and by others for years now (three and a half years, in fact, which is a very long time), not only at the recent meetings of the First Committee but also in 1950, 1951 and 1952, in spite of all these facts which definitely establish the identity of the real aggressor and prove that the People's Democratic Republic of Korea was the victim of aggression and foreign intervention, the representatives who have spoken here have tried to distort the facts. They do not take the trouble to refute a single one of the numerous facts cited in support of the stand which I am now again defending as I have done

in the past. They praise, in the name of the United Nations, that which should be condemned and which cannot be lightly treated by anyone who respects the principles enshrined in the Charter of our Organization, and the great task of maintaining international peace and security, which is the purpose of the United Nations and the very reason for its existence.

81. During the three odd years of the war in Korea, the USSR delegation tirelessly resisted all such attempts. It brought numerous proofs, none of which has ever been refuted in any way, showing who the real aggressor was in the Korean war. Numerous documents submitted by us proved that the foreign interventionists who, together with Syngman Rhee's troops, attacked North Korea in 1950, bear the responsibility for the war into which the Korean people was plunged. Only yesterday, in the First Committee, I recalled what Syngman Rhee—and not he alone but his agents and hirelings too—said in 1949, disclosing their plan of attack against North Korea which they carried out the following year. He said: "We can and we must drive the Korean people into the hills and starve them out there." That was his solution of the problem of the unification of Korea. I need hardly, at this late hour in our work, again remind representatives of these many facts. But facts they were, facts that were adduced on this rostrum, down to the very map, the strategic map of the projected attack on North Korea which I displayed here in 1952 and which is a striking proof of who the real aggressor was.

82. We can only marvel at the extraordinary hypocrisy of the speeches made today from this rostrum in praise of the armed forces which, under the flag and in the name of the United Nations, fought, not for freedom; as has been alleged here, for free men and free nations, but to annex North Korea to South Korea, by carrying out a plan of attack upon it, so as to subject it to the barbarous reactionary régime prevailing in South Korea under the leadership and command of Syngman Rhee and his powerful foreign patrons. All this is now ignored by the speakers who applaud the victories and the merits of the soldiers of South Korea and their foreign allies in their fight against a heroic and truly free and democratic people, a fight conducted under cover of the name and flag of the United Nations, as if the war had really been one of liberation, waged for the principles which must guide all Members of the United Nations.

83. Our delegation cannot join in the triumphant chorus of the preceding speakers in the Assembly who praised the aggressor and tried to turn the victim of aggression into the aggressor. Such metamorphoses do not occur in real life. The preceding speakers have forgotten this; they seem to believe that they can distort history and dress up reality as they will and exhibit it in that disguise, in order to conceal the truth, fearing to reveal the facts lest they expose themselves to the contempt and indignation of millions of people throughout the world. We refuse to take part in such a travesty.

84. I must say that the false report that has been going the rounds of the delegations during the past years, to the effect that North Korea was the aggressor, was refuted as far back as 1950 and has since been refuted every succeeding year as new proofs and facts have kept emerging, disclosing the truth about the war

in Korea. In these circumstances there is no justification for trying to say, as various speakers here have been doing and as is said in the draft resolution [A/L.154/Rev.1] before us, that such action, that is to say, the action taken under the flag and in the name of the United Nations against the Korean people, will in any way contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security.

85. The signing of the Armistice Agreement and the cessation of hostilities in Korea were greeted with sincere jubilation by all the peoples of the world. The cessation of bloodshed in Korea is certainly a major victory, but it is a victory of the forces of peace over the forces of aggression. The forces of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea and the Chinese volunteers who came to the aid of their Korean brothers, repelled the armed aggression of the United States in Korea.

86. The peace-loving nations of the world are filled with deep admiration for the heroism, gallantry and fortitude of the Korean people who repelled the attack on their country. All progressive men and women are proud of the noble deed of the gallant Chinese volunteers who came to the assistance of the heroic Korean people. The Korean people, the great Chinese people and all peace-loving peoples will hold sacred the memory of those who gave their lives in the fight against the aggressors, for the freedom and independence of the Korean people.

87. The draft resolution under consideration, as I have already said, represents the foreign intervention in Korea as an act of aggression committed by North Korea; it tries to place upon North Korea the responsibility for the crime that was committed against the Korean people who were the true victims of foreign aggression and intervention.

88. Without going into further details on this question, which has been discussed at three General Assembly sessions and in the United Nations in general for more than three years, I shall merely state that for the reasons which I have just given, the USSR delegation will not vote in favour of this draft resolution. That text distorts historical facts; at the same time, its contents clearly constitute a hostile move and a demonstration against the Soviet Union, the People's Democratic Republic of Korea and the People's Republic of China. We shall vote against that draft resolution, which is not worthy of the United Nations.

89. Mr. NISOT (Belgium) (*translated from French*): The draft resolution [A/L.154/Rev.1] on which we are about to vote is of the greatest moral significance. It seeks to pay a proper tribute to those who fought in Korea.

90. The men who fought in Korea understood that although discussion at the conference table was necessary, it was not enough. They made no speeches. Their sense of reality told them that aggression could not be halted by words alone. They acted. They shed their blood. Many of them died. They restored the balance which had been temporarily destroyed by the invader's forces. They repelled the aggressors and brought them to a standstill. In so doing, they attained their objective, which was to enable us to prepare the way for a lasting peace. Free men owe them a heavy debt. It rests with us now to ensure that the results of their efforts are not jeopardized.

91. The Belgian delegation is one of the sponsors of the draft resolution before the Assembly. It sponsors the draft with a feeling of deep gratitude to the Belgian volunteers and their comrades in arms who have given the world a noble example of abnegation and self-sacrifice. We are particularly grateful to the soldiers of the United States. Of all those who came to the assistance of the Republic of Korea, they bore the heaviest burden. The Belgian delegation wishes to pay special tribute to them.

92. Mr. NASZKOWSKI (Poland) (*translated from Russian*): The Polish people, like millions of peace-loving people throughout the world, greeted the signature of the Armistice Agreement in Panmunjom with feelings of joy and profound relief, for the armistice marks the cessation of hostilities and destruction and the end of the bloodshed and sufferings of the Korean people.

93. For us, the armistice has another, highly important meaning. It marks the victory of the theory on which the foreign policy of our country and of other peace-loving States is based, the theory that there are no controversial international problems that cannot be settled around a conference table and that only a desire to settle international disputes by negotiation can strengthen peace.

94. The draft resolution [A/L.154/Rev.1] submitted to the General Assembly by fifteen Powers whose forces fought in Korea under the command of the United States is contrary to the spirit of mutual understanding and co-operation which millions of peace-loving people throughout the world expect from us. It is a contradiction of the appeals which we heard from many delegations during the discussions in the First Committee for a constructive solution of the problems before the Organization and against returning to the recent past. If we mention this, it is not because we are afraid to recall the past. On the contrary, all our efforts in the past and all the proposals of the Soviet Union and other peace-loving States have been aimed at the quickest possible cessation of bloodshed in Korea, and the conclusion of an armistice represents the triumph of our policy.

95. At the present moment, however, that is not the issue. What we have to do is to create the atmosphere in which our Organization will be able to adopt constructive decisions in the interests of peace. We must discuss questions which can unite all the Members of the United Nations in a common effort, not submit draft resolutions to the Assembly which can only result in troubling the international atmosphere.

96. The draft resolution before us seeks to extol the aggressive action of the interventionists in Korea as a proof of the efficacy of the United Nations efforts in the field of collective security. It even tries to make out that foreign intervention in Korea was a positive contribution to the maintenance of international peace. There can be no doubt, however, that many of the resolutions on the Korean question adopted by the majority which has submitted to the pressure of United States policy and, in particular, the illegal decisions taken by the Security Council in June and July 1950 in the absence of two permanent members of the Security Council, can never be regarded as an achievement of our Organization. On the contrary, history will appraise some of the resolutions referred to in

the preamble of the draft resolution as a flagrant violation of the provisions of the Charter, which are directed towards the maintenance and strengthening of international peace, security and co-operation.

97. The United States representative went so far as to state here that his country's military achievements in Korea were unprecedented. Indeed, the extent of the destruction of peaceful towns and villages and the use of the cruellest methods of slaughtering innocent people in this unjust war have no precedent in the history of warfare. That is what Mr. Lodge tells us from this rostrum. That is why this draft resolution is being foisted on the General Assembly.

98. It was not the troops of foreign States and of the Syngman Rhee régime, fighting illegally in Korea under the flag of the United Nations, who were defending a just cause, but the Korean people who heroically resisted imperialist aggression. The Korean people fought for their right to independence and for liberation from foreign intervention. They defended their right to a free life, based on principles democratically established by the people. Mankind will not forget this selfless struggle of the Korean people; nor will it forget the heroism of the Chinese People's Volunteers, who came to the assistance of the Korean people. Thus, if we are to pay tribute where it is due, we must honour the self-sacrifice of the heroic Korean people, who did not flinch before the superior forces of the aggressors and, with the unstinting aid of the sons of the great Chinese people, defended their freedom and independence.

99. But that is not the aim of the draft resolution before us. A fresh attempt is made in this draft to sanction aggression. The authors of the draft are seeking to add yet another page to the notorious collection of unjust and mistaken decisions taken by the majority on the Korean question.

100. I should like to stress as strongly as I can that we are not indifferent to bloodshed or to the victims of this war, irrespective of the side on which they fell. It is a tragic fact that in the battles in Korea, in the ranks of the aggressors against the Korean people, thousands of young citizens of the United States and of other countries died because they had been forced to fight for a cause which was altogether foreign to them. Their deaths and the maiming of tens of thousands of wounded soldiers are being mourned by families in all the countries which took part in the intervention.

101. The hypocritical wording of the draft resolution on this subject cannot diminish the guilt of those who are responsible for this war and, above all, of the Government of the United States, which, moreover, is continuing, even after the signature of the Armistice Agreement, to pursue a policy directed against the peaceful settlement of the Korean problem. The draft resolution submitted to the General Assembly is a kind of psychological appendix to the resolution just adopted [430th meeting] by the majority on the question of the composition of the political conference—a resolution which is a mistake from the point of view of the peaceful settlement of the situation in Korea and the Far East.

102. For these reasons, the Polish delegation resolutely opposes this draft resolution. We consider it to be historically incorrect and politically harmful. We ap-

peal to those delegations which really wish to establish better conditions for international co-operation, to decrease international tension and help the Korean people to unite and rehabilitate their country, to vote against this draft.

103. Prince WAN WAITHAYAKON (Thailand): The delegation of Thailand associates itself wholeheartedly with the tribute paid to the heroic soldiers of the Republic of Korea and of all the countries which sent armed forces to its assistance, especially those soldiers who have made the supreme sacrifice of their lives.

104. Collective security is a most important principle and purpose of the United Nations and a most important basis of peace in the life of nations. But is an abstract term to the peoples of the world whose understanding and support are required in order to make it a living reality. This is what the forces under the Unified Command in Korea have done. The events there have brought home to the people of my country what collective security means for world peace and that it means, in particular, that aggression will be resisted and repelled. So the heroic soldiers whom we salute have not fought or died in vain.

105. Mrs. SEKANINOVA-CAKARTOVA (Czechoslovakia): This session of the General Assembly was convened on the basis of the resolution [705 (VII)] unanimously adopted on 18 April of this year. In the preamble to that document the General Assembly reaffirmed its unswerving determination to spare no effort "likely to create conditions favourable to the attainment of the purposes of peace and conciliation embodied in the Charter of the United Nations".

106. The draft resolution before the General Assembly now is in sharp contradiction to this solemn affirmation to which all the delegations present subscribed. It is a demonstration against peace and understanding and against those delegations which persistently defend these principles.

107. The Czechoslovak delegation, in the same way as other delegations, has, ever since the outbreak of the war in Korea, pointed out that this was a war of intervention imposed on the Korean people against their will. The Czechoslovak delegation, expressing the deep desire of the Czech and Slovak peoples for peace, has availed itself of every opportunity to contribute to the cessation of this unjust interventionist war which has brought untold suffering and destruction to the heroic people of Korea. That is also why the Czechoslovak delegation has always given its warm support to the proposals of the Soviet Union which, in accordance with the aspirations and interests of peace-loving people all over the world, has time and again called for an end to the hostilities and for the cessation of bloodshed in Korea.

108. The draft resolution which is now before the General Assembly is intended to uphold and perpetuate the historical lie refuted long ago by a number of indubitable facts which the delegations of the Soviet Union, my country and other countries have brought before the United Nations. World public opinion knows all these irrefutable facts, which have, moreover, never been disproved, and it therefore harbours no doubts as to who committed aggression in Korea. Neither has it any doubt as to who is guilty of and

bears the responsibility for the millions of destroyed human lives, the senseless and ruthless bombardments, the use of prohibited weapons of war, and all the sufferings and hardships of the Korean people.

109. In drawing up the balance-sheet of the Korean war, the United States Secretary of State, Mr. John Foster Dulles, said that North Korean territory "is largely wasted", and that "of the 10 million people of North Korea, one out of every three has died". These data and the fact that Mr. Dulles considered it appropriate to boast of them on the very first day that United States bombers had to stop carrying death to Korean towns and villages speak, I believe, for themselves. These data include the sufferings and the heroism of men and women, of old people and children. Names such as Koje, Cheju and Pyongyang will remain for all time in human memory as examples of unparalleled cruelty. In the same way, the thousands of towns and villages, schools and hospitals, churches and cultural institutions which have been wantonly destroyed by United States bombs will never be forgotten.

110. Tribute to those who were forced to lay down their lives for foreign interests will not mitigate the responsibility of the aggressors. We know very well the tragedy of those young men who, against the interests of their own people, were made to take part in the aggression in Korea, who were torn away from their homes and their work to bring death and destruction to a small country thousand of miles away which has never been a threat to anyone. It is a well-known fact as well that the soldiers who were dragged into the intervention against the Korean people considered this war an unjust one and that, among both the soldiers and the peoples of the countries involved, it was extremely unpopular.

111. The draft resolution before the General Assembly cannot lessen the responsibility of the Assembly which, for three long years, in opposition to the profound desires of mankind, rejected the proposals which would have put an end to the horrors and sufferings in Korea. Nor does this draft resolution lessen the admiration of all peace-loving people for the heroic people of North Korea who became victims of aggression and who, with the timely aid of the Chinese volunteers, made untold sacrifices to the cause of world peace, freedom and democracy. This heroic nation has once again proved to the whole world that a people fighting for their nation and their independence and deeply convinced of the justness of their cause can be defeated neither by modern weapons nor by mediaeval barbarism.

112. My delegation does not intend once more to set forth the facts as to the aggression to which the people of North Korea became a victim and which they have so valiantly repelled. In referring explicitly and openly to those resolutions by which the United Nations most seriously and most dangerously deviated from its mission, the fifteen-Power draft resolution only underlines the fact that the Korean war has never been anything else than a war of the United States of America. Innumerable are the facts to prove this and very expert United States representatives have confirmed it many times.

113. Let me recall quite briefly just what was said in this respect in the hearings before the Armed Serv-

ices Committee and the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the United States Senate in May 1951. Statements of prominent United States representatives showed how the United States was using military power in Korea even before the illegal Security Council resolution of 27 June 1950 was adopted. It was General Bradley who said:

"On 26 June, the instructions were furnished General MacArthur by the Joint Chiefs of Staff providing for the employment of United States naval and air forces against North Korean units south of the 38th parallel only."

And Senator Byrd summarized:

"The fact is, then, that you were actually in conflict with the North Korean units one day before the resolution was passed by the United Nations."

It was General MacArthur himself who, in reply to Senator Russell, made this most revealing declaration:

"Senator, my connexion with the United Nations was largely nominal. There were provisions made that the entire control of my command and everything I did came from our own Chiefs of Staff, and my channel of communication was defined as the Army Chief of Staff. Even the reports which were normally made by me to the United Nations were subject to censorship by our State and Defense Departments. I had no direct connexion with the United Nations whatsoever. The controls over me were exactly the same as though the forces under me were all American."

114. No resolution reiterating old, time-worn and many times refuted assertions about this so-called collective United Nations action can lessen the victory of the forces of peace of the entire world reached in Korea. The Czechoslovak delegation rejects the draft resolution which is now before the General Assembly with all emphasis as contrary to the interests of peace, and will vote against it.

115. Mr. BELAUNDE (Peru) (*translated from Spanish*): I shall certainly not make the mistake of continuing in this forum a debate which has already lasted three years and upon which the conscience of mankind has, I believe, already passed judgment. I shall therefore confine my remarks, as I did in the First Committee, to expressing, on behalf of my delegation and Government, our profound satisfaction at the signing of the armistice through which the cease fire and the hope of peace have become realities.

116. The armistice is not only an auspicious and moving fact; it has enshrined a principle for which the United Nations has fought and which, by virtue of the agreement signed at Panmunjom, has been endowed with the authority of international usage. I refer to the principle of non-forcible repatriation of prisoners of war.

117. Furthermore, many an important lesson may be learned from this armistice. I shall refer chiefly to one which has not yet been mentioned in this Assembly: the extraordinary unity of the United Nations throughout three years of war, a great moral factor in the signing of the armistice based on principles of justice. If the fifty-five nations which cast their votes in an inspiring display of unanimity had failed to maintain that unity the United Nations would have been struck

a mortal blow. The continued support which our struggle received from public opinion may be attributed to that moral unity which was given magnificent expression in the valour of the sixteen nations which fought in Korea.

118. For that reason, the Peruvian delegation wished this to be a tribute in keeping with the solemnity of the occasion, and if that solemnity has been marred by the requirements of our rules of procedure and by an unnecessary and untimely debate, may these words restore us to that frame of mind in which we may fittingly consider the sacrifices that have been borne and the hope which we all cherish for future peace.

119. I hereby pay tribute to those sixteen countries in the order of their sacrifices. To the people of South Korea, who contributed 63 per cent of the fighting men despite the fact that its territory was twice laid waste. To the United States of America which contributed more than 500,000 men, an army which suffered 141,000 casualties, including 25,000 dead. To the two divisions to which I referred in the First Committee, consisting of the soldiers of fifteen countries who, in their glorious struggle, heroically exemplified on the field of battle that spiritual unity in which fifty-five nations ordered them to fight and die for the freedom, independence and sovereignty of Korea.

120. And in this tribute to the dead, I cannot introduce a single note of censure or of blame, for the death of those of the other side who have fallen is ever deserving of respect. I believe that many of them fought in good faith, the victims of mistaken leadership, of lust for power, of dreams of domination. Poor deluded youth! I am deeply moved by their suffering and death. If mine were the eloquence of Shakespeare I should say: "Put a tongue in every wound" of those dead that should speak to mankind, and if the wounds from the dead of both sides could speak they would speak a message of reconciliation and of peace.

121. That is the message which the Peruvian delegation wishes to hear, as do all the small countries whose only role in the United Nations is to defend the right and to proclaim peace. That is the note of solemnity and emotion which I want these words of mine to strike on this auspicious occasion.

122. We hallow the memory of those who by their heroic sacrifice have made this armistice possible and, at the same time, let us before all mankind send forth in a spirit of generosity a message of peace that will be hallowed by future generations.

123. Mr. URQUIA (El Salvador) (*translated from Spanish*): I wish to make a short statement concerning the draft resolution [A/L.154/Rev.1] which we shall vote upon shortly.

124. It is with the utmost pleasure and sincere emotion that my delegation will support this draft which rightly and fairly, recalling the resolutions of the Security Council and of the General Assembly on the problem of the aggression in Korea, notes with satisfaction that fighting has ceased in Korea, salutes the heroic soldiers of the Republic of Korea and of all those countries which came to its assistance, pays tribute to all those who died in resisting aggression and thus in upholding the cause of freedom and peace, expresses satisfaction that the first efforts to repel armed aggression by collective military measures have

been successful, and expresses its firm conviction that this proof of the effectiveness of collective security will contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security.

125. We should nevertheless have preferred the final paragraph of the draft resolution not to have stated that those efforts against aggression, against what a vast majority in the United Nations considered to be aggression, had been made "under the auspices of the United Nations", but to have used the language normally used throughout the war in official documents, the Press, the radio and other information media; we should have preferred to say simply that those efforts had been made "by the United Nations". That is the language used in the Armistice Agreement, throughout which reference is made to the Unified Command of the United Nations.

126. We do not wish to provoke a debate on the question, since that would not serve any useful purpose; we hope, however, that the Assembly will approve the amendment which we had the privilege to introduce, as a co-sponsor, with the delegations of Chile, Ecuador, Honduras and Mexico [A/L.160]. Our amendment merely replaces the words "under the auspices of the United Nations", in paragraph 3 of the draft resolution [A/L.154/Rev.1], by the words "pursuant to the call of the United Nations", which are more expressive, more in keeping with the real position of the United Nations. It is the wording adopted this morning by a large majority in this Assembly when it approved the amendment [A/L.158] proposed by several Latin-American States. The wording used in two similar documents adopted on the same day with respect to the same subject would thus be completely consistent.

127. In conclusion, I should like to observe that the representative of the United States, in referring to the various contributions made in support of the action of the United Nations in Korea, reminded us that one of the countries which contributed medical units, was despite the fact that it is not a Member of the United Nations, Italy.

128. My delegation—and I am sure that all the other Latin-American delegations, the French and Belgian delegations and those of many other countries would agree—considers it only fair that, now that we are paying well-deserved tributes, we should express our gratitude to the great Latin nation which thus did honour to its magnificent traditions.

129. Mr. MUNIZ (Brazil): The Brazilian delegation gives its whole-hearted support to this draft resolution, which pays a well-deserved tribute to the gallant soldiers of the Republic of Korea and of all the Member States which contributed to the military action against aggression. Were it not for their prompt, just, endeavours, their heroic sacrifices and accomplishments, often above and beyond the call of duty, the forces of aggression would have been able to conquer South Korea and to stifle the just aspirations of the young republic for the peaceful development of democratic institutions. The resistance of the South Korean forces to the armies of the invaders, their stubborn resolve to defend their motherland and their success in manning two-thirds of the battlefield, will remain in the pages of history an outstanding example of bravery and love of freedom.

130. The contribution of the United States was decisive in upholding the principle of collective security. In Korea, the main burden of the United Nations police action fell upon the shoulders of the American GIs, and it will be sufficient to recall the 140,000 casualties, including 25,000 dead, to realize the magnitude of United States participation in the Korean campaign.

131. The United Nations must also be grateful for the selfless and courageous behaviour of the soldiers of fifteen other Member States, who fought shoulder to shoulder with United States and South Korean forces to make possible the fulfilment of the military objective of the United Nations. To all those countries, to all those men who died that others might live in freedom, to the bereaved families of the dead, the Government and people of Brazil offer their homage and the expression of their deep admiration.

132. Mr. LOPEZ (Philippines): This draft resolution, which the Philippines has co-sponsored, seeks only to give the members of the United Nations forces their due, to honour all the brave men, living and dead, who fought against aggression in Korea, and thus helped mightily to uphold the cause of freedom and peace in the world.

133. The record of the successful struggle to uphold the principle of collective security would not be complete, and the United Nations would not discharge fully its debt of gratitude, if the General Assembly failed to make this gesture of homage to the valiant soldiers of many nations who toiled, fought, suffered and died in order that the security of the free world might be safeguarded and in order that the United Nations itself might continue to live.

134. I should like, on behalf of my country, to acknowledge the generous references which Mr. Lodge, the representative of the United States, has made to the modest contribution which the Philippines has made to the United Nations action in Korea. I would only wish to say that this contribution, though modest, was by no means trifling in relation to our material resources at a time when we needed all we had, and more, to rebuild our own war-devastated land and to resist and crush communist-inspired uprisings at home. We are happy, however, to have done our share, both at home and abroad, in defending the ideals of freedom and the principles of the Charter, which we cherish with special devotion.

135. Today, as we salute the memory of our honoured dead, we speak without bitterness and without anger towards anyone. It would surely have been better if, on this solemn occasion, the familiar hostile voices—happily few—which have been raised in bitter recrimination had been still, but although we have heard these voices again, they have not made us bitter or angry, but only sad.

136. In the spirit in which our young men have served the cause of peace and freedom in Korea, the Philippines wishes to give a solemn pledge that it will contribute its utmost to the success of the political conference. We shall endeavour to help to bring about, at the conference and thereafter, a spirit of conciliation and the reality of peace, which are absolutely essential to the salvation of the Korean people and to the maintenance of peace in our part of the world.

137. The PRESIDENT: We shall now proceed to a decision on the draft resolution [A/L.154/Rev.1] submitted by Australia, Belgium, Canada, Colombia, Ethiopia, France, Greece, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, New Zealand, the Philippines, Thailand, Turkey, the United Kingdom and the United States, to which an amendment [A/L.160] has been submitted by Chile, Ecuador, El Salvador, Honduras and Mexico. That amendment calls for the replacing of the words "under the auspices", in paragraph 3 of the draft resolution, by the words "pursuant to the call".

138. The Assembly will vote first on the amendment [A/L.160].

The amendment was adopted by 54 votes to 5.

139. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now vote on the draft resolution [A/L.154/Rev.1] as amended.

The draft resolution, as amended, was adopted by 53 votes to 5.

140. The PRESIDENT: That concludes the consideration of the item on our agenda dealing with the Korean question, and I should like to say just one word as President of the General Assembly. One stage in the long and arduous road to peace in Korea, and possibly in the Far East, was concluded when the armistice which ended the fighting was signed. We, in the General Assembly, have now completed our part of another stage, and we may take some modest satisfaction in the fact that we have taken the necessary steps, the steps which are open to us, to constitute the conference which is required to convert the armistice into a peace. This stage, however, cannot be completed without corresponding action being taken by others, to whom our resolutions will now be forwarded by the Secretary-General.

141. There will then remain the most difficult and important task of all, the working out at the political conference of a peace settlement which will bring liberty and a free democracy to a united Korea and which could pave the way for an easing of tension in Asia generally. All men of good will—if I may say so, those of us who from personal experience and personal tragedy know what war and slaughter means—all men must now pray for and strive for the successful conclusion of this next and vital stage in our United Nations work of peace and healing and reconstruction in Korea.

142. Does any representative wish to introduce any other business before we reach the closing items on the agenda?

Opening date of the eighth session

143. Mr. CARIAS (Honduras) (*translated from Spanish*): First of all, I wish on behalf of the Latin-American delegations to take this opportunity to congratulate the President on the brilliant way in which he has conducted the historic proceedings of this General Assembly. The session which is closing today will go down in the annals of our world Organization as one of the most decisive in the history of mankind. We wish to pay tribute to you, Mr. Pearson, as President of the General Assembly and as an outstanding statesman who has shown great vision at this time of great international uncertainty.

144. I should like to say a few brief words regarding the future work of the General Assembly. As we all know, the eighth session of the General Assembly is due to meet on 15 September. We should, however, bear in mind first that the second part of the seventh session did not end until late April, and secondly, that the permanent representatives have had to be ready at twenty-four hours' notice to attend special meetings to be called after the signing of an armistice in Korea. Thirdly, many representatives have been unable at first hand to consult their governments on the very important items that will be discussed at the eighth session. Fourthly, thirteen additional agenda items were announced only three days ago. Of these thirteen items, nine are submitted by the Economic and Social Council. The Council's report and other documents have not been distributed in time to permit the careful study which matters of this kind require.

145. I am therefore taking the liberty of suggesting that before this session closes the Assembly should be consulted to find out the general opinion regarding the desirability of postponing the eighth regular session until 29 September. All the delegations present will I am sure give favourable consideration to any explanations that may be given if there are insuperable difficulties which make it impossible to postpone the opening of the General Assembly. The majority of delegations are no doubt thinking about the Christmas holidays, but it should be possible to set a closing date now to enable us to overcome this difficulty.

146. The PRESIDENT: I give the floor to the representative of India on a point of order.

147. Mr. MENON (India): My point of order does not concern the first part of the speech made by the representative of Honduras. The second part of his speech was not in the way of a suggestion but in the way of a submission to the Assembly which must be regarded as a proposal and notice of one. I should like to know whether it is not *ultra vires* of rule 1 of the rules of procedure of this Assembly, which lays down that:

"The General Assembly shall meet every year in regular session commencing on the third Tuesday in September."

In English the word "shall" in that context does not denote simple futurity. It is mandatory that the Assembly should meet on the third Tuesday in September. Therefore, if another decision is required, it would mean the altering of these rules of procedure for which there is provision elsewhere. Rule 162 states the following:

"These rules of procedure may be amended by a decision of the General Assembly taken by a majority of the Members present and voting, after a committee has reported on the proposed amendment."

148. If I may say so, not only is a proposal of this kind *ultra vires*, but a question of the courtesy due to all of us is involved when we are asked at the last moment to make a decision of this character, which is of great importance. I propose to speak on this matter if there is further discussion.

149. The PRESIDENT: Before there is any further discussion on the second point of the statement made by my friend the representative of Honduras, I should

like to thank him for the first point that he has made, and which was not the subject of a point of order by the representative of India. I should like to express my gratitude for all the kindness and help which I have received from all the representatives and from the members of delegations while I have been trying to carry out the duties of President. Having said that, I would like to move the closure of the discussion on that item.

150. With regard to the other question raised by the representative of India, as to the date of the next session of the General Assembly and whether this is *ultra vires*, may I say that, as I understand it, the date of the opening of the Assembly is fixed by our rules of procedure, but there is also a rule of procedure, rule 162, which lays down a way of amending the rules of procedure. Normally that is done by a motion which is referred to a committee and then there is a report to the Assembly after discussion in the committee. That is the normal way of changing a rule of procedure. Having said that, I should, however, complete the story by saying that in the past the General Assembly has discussed and decided on a date of the next session, though not, if I am not mistaken, at the very closing moment of the session. I should not like, in the circumstances, to rule as out of order the suggestion made by the representative of Honduras, in view of the precedents in the matter and in view of the fact that we are now talking about a rule of procedure, and the Assembly is of course the master of its procedure.

151. Sir Percy SPENDER (Australia): I support the view expressed by the representative of India and, whilst it is true that the Assembly is master of its own affairs, the rules are there and it is our firm view that they ought to be observed. It seems to us, and my respectful submission to the President is, that there cannot be any alteration of rule 1 of the rules of procedure until after some committee has reported on the proposed amendment and it then comes before the General Assembly. But leaving aside that approach on the substance of the proposal put forward, I would hope that the representatives will agree that 15 September, the normal date, should be adhered to.

152. I can appreciate to the full what the representative of Honduras has said. I know the arduous conditions under which members of this Assembly have worked. But, at the same time, there are some countries, particularly countries such as my own, which make their arrangements a long time in advance, and it does seem somewhat cavalier that, at this late stage, when all arrangements have been made inside my own country for subtracting from our trained personnel—and we are not over-rich in trained personnel, in common with most small countries—persons to be sent here, we should at the last moment be faced with a suggestion that the Assembly should not meet again until 29 September.

153. We have had experience before of sessions which have begun late, and we know that when we start late there is a tendency to split the session and to go over into the following year. I would hope that, if we start early enough, we might conclude our main deliberations before the Christmas recess.

154. We have not heard at all whether it is convenient for the Secretariat to postpone the opening

of the eighth session until 29 September. I would have thought that all arrangements had been made by now to enable us to proceed and that a postponement would present substantial inconvenience to the Secretariat.

155. In the circumstances, I would appeal to delegations, on behalf of my own country for which I speak here, to give consideration to some of the small countries whose delegations have to come a long way and to make their arrangements far in advance. I very much hope that we shall adhere to the scheduled date.

156. The PRESIDENT: The Secretary-General would like to make a statement concerning this suggestion, and I am sure that the Assembly will be glad to hear him.

157. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: Before the intervention of the representative of Honduras in favour of a postponement of the opening of the eighth session I had, in fact, drafted a letter on the matter which I had intended to send to representatives tonight. I think that the best way for me to clarify the situation would be to read parts of this draft letter.

158. As is well known, and as has been pointed out and stressed here by the representative of India, it is in accordance with the rules of procedure that the General Assembly should meet for its eighth session on the third Tuesday in September, that is to say, on 15 September. The rules state that Members shall be notified at least sixty days in advance of the opening of the regular session. Such notification was sent to delegations on 17 July.

159. As the President has pointed out, when the opening date of the regular session has been postponed in past years, it has been not only by a decision of the General Assembly changing the rules of procedure but also, in some cases, after consultation with the Members and on agreement of the majority. This latter procedure has been followed in analogy with, for example, rule 9 of the rules of procedure.

160. With the legal and administrative rules in force I have, personally, considered it obvious that the Secretary-General should make an inquiry of Members in order to ascertain whether they would be agreeable to postponement of the regular session only if he were formally and in due time required to do so. Alternatively, he should not take an initiative to that effect himself unless he was aware of, or his attention had been drawn to, urgent reasons for postponement of concern to a number of Members. So far no such request has been made, nor has any such situation arisen as would, in my view, have justified an initiative for postponement from my side.

161. For some time there have been reported expressions in favour of a postponement of the opening of the eighth session of the General Assembly until 1 October. It is not new today. Informally I have, therefore, in the last few days of this resumed session, asked various delegations if, in their view, any reasons of a general and overriding nature exist which would make necessary a postponement at this very late stage. The result, as I understand it, has been negative.

162. I fully appreciate that it might be practical for some delegations to have more time at their disposal for the preparation of their participation in the eighth

session—more time than will now be available. But, on the other hand, in very many cases a postponement, as already stressed here by the representative of Australia, would be of great inconvenience to delegations because of personnel travel plans and other arrangements already made in anticipation of an opening on the regular date, and because of the fact also that delegations from far-away countries have already arrived in New York for the resumed seventh session.

163. I must also draw attention to the financial consequences of a postponement at this stage. Of course we have had to make our plans in the Secretariat. Those plans, in circumstances which are explained here, have been made on the basis of the assumption that the session would be held at the regular time. Any postponement would cost money and, indeed, a lot of money.

164. In view of these various circumstances, and in view also of the strong reasons of those who are speaking in favour of an adherence to the rules laid down in the rules of procedure if that is possible, I hope that the question of postponement will not be raised in the closing moments of this Assembly.

165. Mr. SANDLER (Sweden): After the statement made by the Secretary-General, I have not very much to say. If the suggestion made by the representative of Honduras is a motion I should like to say, on behalf of my delegation, that I beg to declare our opposition to such a motion.

166. This move to open the question of the postponement of the next session of the Assembly on the last day of the present session comes as a surprise to my delegation and, perhaps, to many other delegations. I ask myself, and I ask my colleagues, if it is possible, in applying an orderly procedure, to take here and now any decision regarding the opening date of the next regular session of the General Assembly which is already fixed in accordance with the rules of procedure. A change at this late hour could not but upset all the plans made for the eighth session by many delegations, and it would certainly do that for us. I also find it exacting, to say the least, to ask us, without previous consultation with our governments, to decide now on our attitude in this matter.

167. This is not only a question of practical consequences but also one of principle. The whole work of this international organization depends to a great extent on regularity and observance of rules once they are established. I should like in conclusion to ask this question. Is it really fair to press a vote on such a motion in the present circumstances? If the motion should be put to a vote my delegation would certainly vote against it.

168. The PRESIDENT: In view of what has been said by two delegations and by the Secretary-General, and in view of the fact that this idea was put forward merely as a suggestion for consideration, I should like to ask the representative of Honduras now whether he wishes to press his suggestion to the point where we would have to decide, first, whether we would discuss the question, which I think it would be fair to do. If we do decide to discuss it we shall then have to decide upon a date. One date has already been suggested. In view of all these considerations, I should like to

ask him whether he wishes to press his suggestion to consider this matter now.

169. Mr. CARIAS (Honduras) (*translated from Spanish*): The considerations mentioned by the Secretary-General are, I think, weighty and personally I have no objection to withdrawing my suggestion. Nevertheless I should like to leave the matter open in order to see whether the Assembly wishes to accept the suggestion which, I venture to say, reflects the views of the majority of the delegations. As far as I am concerned, I am withdrawing it; however if anyone wishes to take it up, he is at liberty to do so.

170. The PRESIDENT: If no other representative wishes at this time to sponsor this suggestion, it has now been withdrawn as far as he is concerned by the representative of Honduras, who, as Vice-President of the General Assembly, has always been most helpful. If no other representative wishes to take up the sug-

gestion I, as President, would suggest that we allow the normal rule of procedure to prevail and that the eighth session should meet on the scheduled date.

It was so decided.

Minute of silent prayer or meditation

171. The PRESIDENT: Before closing the seventh session of the General Assembly, I invite representatives to rise and observe a minute of silent prayer or meditation, in accordance with our custom.

The representatives stood in silence.

Closing of the session

172. The PRESIDENT: I declare closed the seventh session of the General Assembly.

The meeting rose at 5.50 p.m.