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Chairman: Mr. Otto R. BORCH (Denmark).

AGENDA ITEM 41

Question of Korea (A/9027, A/9145 and Add.1-5, A/9146, A/C.1/1034, 1038, A/C.1/L.644 and Corr.1 and 645):

- (a) Report of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea;
- (b) Creation of favourable conditions to accelerate the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea

1. The CHAIRMAN: Members of the First Committee will recall their agreement to my statement at the 1922nd meeting regarding the informal consultations that resulted in a consensus to invite the two Korean delegations to participate in the discussion of the question of Korea—agenda item 41—without the right to vote.

2. Members will also recall that I informed them during our 1923rd meeting that, according to the Committee's decision to invite the two Korean delegations, the Secretary-General had addressed, on 1 October 1973, two communications to the Governments concerned informing them of the decision of the First Committee and requesting them to inform him of the names of their representatives.

3. On 3 October 1973, the Secretary-General received a communication from the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea informing him that the Government had decided to send a delegation to attend the discussion on the Korean question. Similarly, the Secretary-General received a communication dated 4 October 1973 from the Permanent Observer of the Republic of Korea to the United Nations informing him that the Government of the Republic of Korea would be represented by its Foreign Minister.

4. In accordance with the decision of the First Committee to invite representatives of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and of the Republic of Korea, I now have the pleasure of inviting the representative of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Mr. Li Jong Mok, Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs, and the representative of the Republic of Korea, Mr. Tong Jim Park, to take places at the Committee table.

At the invitation of the Chairman, Mr. Li Jong Mok (Democratic People's Republic of Korea) and Mr. Tong Jim Park (Republic of Korea) took places at the Committee table.

5. The CHAIRMAN: I welcome the two representatives to participate in the discussion on the question of Korea without the right to vote.

6. Mr. RAHAL (Algeria) (*interpretation from French*): No one could have any doubt about the importance of the question which is under discussion here in the First Committee this morning or of the true importance of the essence of this question. The controversies raised by the problem of Korea for a quarter of a century have certainly brought into conflict contradictory concepts of the role of the United Nations; but they have had the merit of throwing into relief the conduct of its Members and of making it possible, with the perspective afforded by the passage of time, to pass an impartial but stern judgement of the decisions whereby the United Nations found itself involved in Korea.

7. The development of the situation in Korea is closely linked with the very history of our Organization, all of whose activities it has almost constantly dominated. The responsibilities of our Organization in this problem are immense and they must be raised today particularly, not solely in order to determine its future attitude on Korea, but also and above all to undertake a critical examination of the way in which its responsibilities were assumed. No one should entertain any doubt whatsoever that our debate on Korea cannot be limited simply to the elements of the problem itself but that our debate must also be focused on the actions of the United Nations, the objectives it has set itself and, in the final analysis, its real capacity to fulfil its original mission, that of maintaining peace in the world.

8. We all know that the division of Korea was, above all, the result of the cold war and that the American presence in South Korea, which dates from the end of the Second World War, stemmed from the objectives of United States strategy which found in Korea "an ideal battlefield which could be decisive for all American successes in Asia"—to quote the words used by President Truman in 1946.

9. The United Nations was misused by the United States to cover up its military intervention and to perpetuate the division of the territory, which provided such a convenient opportunity for it to fulfil its ambitions. The United Nations was therefore a mere instrument of the aggressive policy of the United States at a time when, by reason of its composition, it was dominated by American influence. Incidentally, it is interesting to note that, while the Korean question was brought to the United Nations by the United

States itself, the United States which regularly each year called for the holding of a debate on this item, it was the United States delegation which opposed such a debate at the last two sessions. This change of attitude, in spite of the arguments put forward, which may or may not be acceptable, results obviously from the fact that the United Nations could no longer resign itself to following docilely in the wake of the United States.

10. Thus the United Nations did not take up the problem of Korea because it constituted a threat to international peace but in order to serve the strategic objectives of the United States, whose military intervention in Korea preceded, in any case, any decision of the Security Council.

11. Today the United Nations is involved in this problem. The United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea (UNCURK) was set up and continues to function. A United Nations Military High Command was set up in South Korea and American troops in South Korea are operating under the United Nations flag.

12. This many-faceted presence of the United Nations in Korea and the responsibilities stemming therefrom involve all Member States and it is our duty, even more than it is our right, to discuss the justification for this and to determine its limits. The, to put it mildly, suspect conditions in which those decisions were taken make it imperative for us today to undertake an examination of them. Furthermore, we would stress that almost two thirds of the present Members of the Organization, which at that time were outside the framework of the work of the United Nations because for the most part they had not yet achieved independence, cannot confine themselves to rubber-stamping decisions whose validity they challenge and whose orientation they condemn.

13. We may be told that we should bear in mind the international climate of the cold war period in order to understand the conduct of the United Nations, and it is in the context of the balance of forces at that time and the division of the world into blocs that we should place these discussions and resolutions of the United Nations. Certainly we cannot dissociate these attitudes from their historical environment and from the particular context in which they evolved. But today, now that the international context has changed, the super-Powers have renounced confrontation and a trend towards détente has emerged in the world, should we still tolerate the consequences of decisions which owe more to the will of the United States to exercise supremacy than to a sincere desire to ensure peace in the world? And, at a time when the great Powers are proclaiming the virtues of détente and international co-operation, should the United Nations continue to play the role of an instrument of the cold war, a role which it assumed by becoming involved in the Korean affair?

14. The normalization of international relations and the establishment of lasting peace in the world make it imperative, first, to reunify a country which has always constituted an inseparable entity and whose division was imposed by circumstances outside the will of the Korean people. We know what that will is. Whether they be from the North or from the South, all Koreans want their country to be unified and to participate together in its

development and its future options. The situation created over the last 30 years has entailed many difficulties which will have to be smoothed out so that the whole of the country can recover a climate of confidence which will promote a return to unity. But all these problems are a matter for the Korean people themselves, who must freely seek solutions to these problems and, in complete independence, lay the bases for their future life. No one has the right to replace the Korean people in determining its options and expressing its preferences.

15. That is why, in our view, it is not for us a matter of discussing its internal problems. And in this respect we are happy that the Korean people is represented here at this debate. I should also like to take this opportunity to welcome particularly the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, which, after having been arbitrarily kept outside our debates up to now, can at last associate itself with our discussions and be the most authentic and most reliable interpreter of the feelings of the Korean people. The representatives of Korea better than anyone else can set forth the aspirations of their people and tell us what they expect from the United Nations in helping them to overcome the obstacles to the reunification of their country and to remedy a situation which was imposed upon them and of which they alone are the victims. By inviting them to participate in our debate, our Organization has righted a wrong and registered a success which we welcome as a first victory of reason and justice and as a positive gesture from which the United Nations itself will be the first to benefit.

16. If we leave the representatives of Korea to speak on behalf of the people of Korea, our statement in this debate should then be devoted to the role that the United Nations has played in the past and the one it will have to play in order to achieve a settlement of the Korean problem. We have already said what we thought of the conditions that accompanied the involvement of the United Nations in Korea. The decisions taken on this are not arguable solely because of the irregularity of the procedures involved; they are even more challengeable in the light of the results to which they led over 25 years. One would have to be naive to think for a single moment that the presence of the United Nations in Korea succeeded in ending a conflict, or that it was able to prevent the outbreak of a new war. From this point of view, it is quite clear that it confined itself to sanctioning the American intervention and allowing itself to be used as a cover for the presence of American troops in South Korea. Nor do we believe that this presence has really done anything to facilitate the reunification of Korea. If contacts have finally been established between the leaders of the North and the South, if discussions have begun between them and if a certain détente has emerged in the region, we do not find it easy to credit the United Nations with these developments, although, indeed, we have every desire in the world to see it winning the laurels that it should win in its task.

17. To realize this, it suffices to read the report of the famous United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea. What place is there in this report for the action of the Commission itself? If it assures us that it "has taken every opportunity to cultivate an atmosphere of peace and reconciliation between North and South Korea" [A/9027, p. 25, para. 102], then these opportunities

must have been extremely rare if indeed they existed at all, since they are not mentioned in the report. And this Commission has existed for over twenty years; it has been financed out of the United Nations budget, that is to say, by each of our countries, to maintain what is in the final analysis a dangerous fiction. It will be easy to understand how enthusiastically we endorse the findings of the members of the Commission when they "express their considered judgement that the presence in Korea of UNCURK is no longer required and they accordingly recommend that UNCURK should be dissolved". [*Ibid.*, para. 106.] It is never too late to face realities, but I have no doubt that it would have been in the interest of all, and particularly in the interest of Korea itself, for this truth to have been discovered rather earlier, and for a rather more attentive ear to have been lent to what we have ceaselessly proclaimed.

18. But this is not the only myth which should be ended. There are unfortunately others that still haunt our Organization and that have certainly done much to discredit it. What about the myth which provides the cover of the United Nations flag for the American troops stationed in South Korea? What about the myth of the presence there of the United Nations Military High Command? I speak of myths, because no one can possibly have any illusions about the real nature of these arrangements. It is no secret that the only foreign troops in Korea are American troops and that, in spite of the presence of its flag and of its High Command, the United Nations has no authority or control over these troops.

19. The Members of the Organization cannot go on tolerating indefinitely and lending themselves to such a masquerade, thus becoming accomplices of the policy of hegemony of the United States of America. It is time for the Organization to return to its true nature and emerge at last in the eyes of the world as the authentic expression of the desire for peace of its Members, and not as the accomplice of an imperialism that does not even have the courage to act openly. It is time to forbid the American troops in Korea to use the United Nations flag and it is time to dissolve the United Nations Military High Command in Korea.

20. But, we are told, this United Nations Command is a signatory of the armistice agreement of 1953¹ and for that reason should continue to exist. First, the United Nations Command was not acting as such when it signed the armistice agreement, but on behalf of the United Nations, which, itself, is a party to that agreement. Abolition of the Command would not remove a party to the armistice agreement because it would not abolish the United Nations. Furthermore, and still within the context of the legalities, being one of the parties to the armistice agreement, the United Nations is not bound to ensure its presence in Korea in the form of a military command. Lastly, if instead of clinging to narrow legalism we consider the facts themselves, we have to realize that it is not the establishment in Korea of the United Nations Command which can really ensure lasting peace in that region. That lasting peace can be based only on the will of the two parts of Korea to

renounce the use of force, to reduce their military forces and their arms and to negotiate a peace treaty. These proposals are precisely the ones made on several occasions by North Korea. But they have not been accepted by the Seoul authorities which, certainly, seem to find advantage in the maintenance on their territory of American troops under cover of the United Nations flag. The argument put forward by the Seoul authorities to convince the Organization that it should maintain a presence which is so well calculated to serve its interests are not arguments that we can accept. If, by withdrawing its High Command from South Korea, the United Nations were to succeed in persuading the leaders of South Korea to seek with the leaders of the North ways of establishing lasting peace in the region, it would be serving in the most effective way the very cause of the peaceful reunification of Korea. In any case, the evidence to the contrary is conclusive, since the maintenance for 25 years of this Military Command has done hardly anything to contribute to progress towards rapprochement between the two parts of Korea. We therefore feel that, in proposing the dissolution of this Command, we would be putting an end to an ambiguity which does a disservice to the Organization and we would be creating true conditions for better understanding between the leaders of the North and of the South.

21. When the United Nations has forbidden the use of its flag and dissolved its Military Command in South Korea, the Korean problem will become both clearer and simpler. If the United States is still to keep its troops there, those troops will at least appear in the light of their true nationality and the presence of those troops in South Korea will reveal its true significance about which, in any case, no one should have any illusions. It will be difficult for the United States to convince us that the stationing of its troops there has the purpose of protecting South Korea against so-called aggressive intentions from the North, because we know the volume of armaments provided by the Americans to Seoul and we know the military strength of South Korea. On the subject of this military strength, which is said to have achieved the figure of 700,000 men, what additional reinforcement can be represented by 40,000 American troops? In order to understand Washington's true intentions, I think reference should be made once again to the statement by President Truman which I quoted at the beginning of my statement, and which places Korea in the very centre of a much broader strategy in the pursuit of vastly more ambitious aims. But what was valid in 1946 and even 20 years later cannot be valid today. To our knowledge, the United States has in recent years embarked on a policy of rapprochement with the People's Republic of China; it is no longer pursuing a policy of encircling the territory of the People's Republic of China; it has established with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics peaceful coexistence and wants to work for the establishment of an era of détente in the world. Why then does it still maintain in Korea and elsewhere in Asia military bases which are at variance with its declared aims of détente and peace? When we call for the withdrawal of American troops from South Korea, it is clear that we are putting to the test the sincerity of American policy in favour of international détente. It is also clear that we want to remove one of the major obstacles to progress towards the peaceful reunification of Korea, which should be brought about without foreign interference and without the unde-

¹ Official Records of the Security Council, Eighth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1953, document S/3079, appendix A.

niable threat constituted by the presence of American troops in the South.

22. This year many delegations have expressed their pleasure at the increasingly universal nature of our Organization after the admission of new Members at this session. Naturally, we welcome that development. It is something we have long wished for, something we have ceaselessly striven to attain.

23. But today, on the pretext of expanding that universality even further, there is being put forward the idea of simultaneously admitting to the United Nations the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Republic of Korea. That proposal seems harmless enough at first sight, and furthermore it seems to be based on the best intentions in the world. But we should give this matter serious thought, because those who are now crying for the Organization to be truly representative have not always been so enamoured of that idea, and it was not so long ago that for years they resorted to every possible procedural ploy and exerted all the weight of their influence to deprive of its representation in the United Nations a people numbering 700 million—the people of the People's Republic of China. That is something we should ponder, because all members of the Assembly will recall that the United Nations has in the past already been faced with proposals for separate membership for the two Koreas. It was at the height of the cold war, at a time when the conflict between the North and the South was at its height. The admission of the two Koreas was then viewed as providing new scope for the development of the struggle between the two parts and, in a wider context, between the two blocs. Although the present international context is not the same, there is nothing to show that the presence in the United Nations of two separate and still rival delegations speaking on behalf of the people of Korea would be favourable to the settlement of their differences and to a rapprochement between the two sides. Quite the contrary: it would serve to make somewhat more permanent the partition of Korea and would introduce among the Members of the Organization an additional division deriving from the need to choose between the positions of the two sides and to favour the stand of one side and oppose that of the other. In endorsing the proposal before us to that effect, the United Nations would be involved in prolonging the Korean conflict and reducing the positive role it can still play in helping to solve that problem.

24. It is by looking the facts in the face that one can do something positive about them. The realities of Korea are well known, and we have just gone into certain aspects of the matter. It is these difficulties that we should try to overcome, and with regard to the United Nations itself we have made concrete proposals which focus directly on the obstacles we have mentioned.

25. The proposal for the admission of two Koreas to the United Nations is in fact nothing but one more attempt to disregard the fundamental problems and to channel the efforts of the United Nations in secondary directions which would leave intact the present situation and would certainly do nothing whatsoever to reduce its seriousness, and still less to bring about a settlement. If we study carefully the proposals made by the United States and some of its

friends in Western Europe, we find that in the end they boil down to calling for maintenance of the present situation. The only effort of imagination that can be detected therein is the hope which is expressed that the two Koreas will become Members of the United Nations. We believe the United Nations can do better, particularly in a problem that has existed for so long and has a direct bearing on its own responsibilities.

26. The Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries held at Algiers at the beginning of last September called upon the Organization not to shirk its obligations but to rid itself of the remaining vestiges of the cold war. In a resolution on Korea, it called upon the General Assembly of the United Nations, at its twenty-eighth session, "to consider the question of Korea, and to decide on the withdrawal of foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the United Nations flag and on the dissolution of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea with a view to facilitating the peaceful and independent reunification of Korea", and declared "that Korean membership in the United Nations can only be achieved in the name of a single State, after the complete reunification of the country or after the establishment of a confederation of North and South".

27. Those non-aligned countries are all, with very few exceptions, countries that were not yet Members of the United Nations when the Organization became involved in Korea. They are the countries which undertook tireless efforts to end the cold war period and to ensure that the confrontation between the great Powers did not degenerate into a world war. It is precisely those countries which today want the détente that has emerged in relations among the great Powers to extend also to the whole of the third world and to be a factor in relations between the great Powers and the small Powers. These are the countries that want the United Nations to recover its prestige and its authority as well as its faithfulness to the principles for which it was founded.

28. It is for that reason that we have come here today to call upon the United Nations to throw off the remnants of the past and to become aware of its influence and its effectiveness, which have been so long compromised by its submissiveness to the will of a bloc. We want the Organization to realize that it can regain its lustre only if it places itself above all in order better to serve all peoples and to keep the promises which it implicitly gave to the peoples of the world—to guarantee humanity a future of peace and understanding. The present international situation has already made it possible for the United Nations to recover some of its prestige and to appear once again in the role of the pre-eminent instrument for the maintenance and strengthening of world peace. The problem of Korea can also contribute to the consolidation of this rehabilitation of the Organization if we are able to recognize the weaknesses of the past, release ourselves from the stranglehold which they impose on us, and confront with courage and clarity the problems facing us all in their profound truth and with the sincere will to reach a just and lasting solution.

29. The CHAIRMAN: I now call on the Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Mr. Li Jong Mok.

30. Mr. LI JONG MOK (Democratic People's Republic of Korea):² The delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is taking part in the discussion of the question on Korea in the United Nations at the unanimously approved invitation of the First Committee at the twenty-eighth session of the United Nations General Assembly.

31. First of all, I wish to express, in the name of the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, my deep thanks to you, Mr. Chairman, and those representatives who have accorded us welcome and to the representatives of all those Member States of the United Nations who have undertaken many years of active struggle to enable the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to participate in the discussion of the question on Korea at the United Nations.

32. At the same time I express my heartfelt thanks to the representatives of friendly countries who have extended support and encouragement to the just cause of the Korean people for the independent and peaceful reunification of our fatherland through their statements during the general debates at the United Nations General Assembly, and offer my deep gratitude to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, the President of the United Nations General Assembly and other United Nations officials for their co-operation and facilities extended to our delegation in its work and activities.

33. The participation of the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in the discussion of the question of Korea at the United Nations as the party concerned is, indeed, the first of its kind in the last 26 years since the beginning of the discussion of the question on Korea at the United Nations.

34. I think it is good for the United Nations to have invited the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and regard it as a brilliant fruition born of the joint efforts made by all the peace-loving countries of the world to defend the noble ideals and principles of the United Nations. This clearly shows that a just cause is bound to win eventually and that nothing can check the trend of history.

35. Now I should like to clarify the principled stand and viewpoints maintained by the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on the question on Korea placed on the agenda of this session for discussion, as the party directly concerned. I shall stress our viewpoints on such questions as why Korea was divided, why it has not yet been reunified, what the main obstacle blocking its reunification is and where the key to its solution is.

36. A long period of 28 years has already elapsed since the artificial division of Korea and 26 years have passed since the discussion of the Korean question was started at the United Nations without finding any solution.

37. It is clear to anyone that this is not a normal state of affairs. The Korean people are a homogeneous nation who

have lived in harmony for thousands of years in the same territory with one language and one culture and custom.

38. The division of the country was unthinkable for the Korean people from the outset. The division of Korea has brought indescribable national misfortunes and sufferings to our people. Owing to the division, our nation has failed to achieve a uniform development of the country and the gap between the North and the South is widening with each passing day. Parents, wives and children, relatives and friends separated in the North and the South are in a miserable condition in which they cannot even exchange letters inquiring after each other's safety, to say nothing of meeting each other. It is said that even mountains and rivers change in a decade. But owing to the division that has lasted such a long time a new generation has grown up in such stern circumstances that sons in the North cannot recognize their mothers in the South and wives in the South cannot recognize their husbands in the North, and even the national identity of our people formed over a long history is fading gradually away. Because of the division, our people underwent a war and even today the continuation of this division remains a main source of tension in Korea and a threat to peace in Asia.

39. Ever since it has been involved in the Korean question, the United Nations has neither solved the question, nor can it wriggle out of it, having shouldered the heavy burden thereof for more than a quarter century. This, we believe, is a calamity for the United Nations.

40. The division of Korea should not last any longer, either from the national point of view of our people, or from the humanitarian point of view or in the light of world peace. To restore the unification of Korea, the root cause of its division should be removed first of all.

41. Then, what is the root cause? Since history is not only a record of past facts, but also a lesson and warning for today and tomorrow, we do not think it would be a bad idea to look back for a while at the historical facts of how Korea was divided. The division of Korea was caused precisely by the interference of outside forces in our country. No Korean would desire national division. No complicated problems would have arisen in restoring the unification if it had been left to the Koreans themselves, even when it is presumed that the temporary division of Korea was due to some inevitable causes. It was because of the interference of outside forces that Korea was divided and for this reason alone, and it is the interference of outside forces that has prevented Korea from achieving its reunification to date.

42. The question originated from the time when the United States army landed in the zone south of the 38th degree north latitude on 8 September 1945, more than 20 days after the liberation of Korea, under the pretext of disarming the defeated Japanese armed forces.

43. The United States army had no sooner landed in South Korea than it proclaimed the enforcement of its military government. It repressed and dissolved all the people's organs of power already set up by the Korean people themselves. It blocked the 38th parallel like a border line cutting off all traffic and communications between the

² Mr. Li Jong Mok spoke in Korean. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

people in the north and the south, which had been freely available till that time. Thus was Korea tragically divided.

44. The Foreign Ministers' Conference comprising the Soviet Union, the United States and the United Kingdom, held at Moscow in December 1945, adopted a decision to "re-establish Korea as an independent State" and "set up a provisional democratic government" in Korea; but the United States unilaterally abrogated this decision and conducted a separate "election" in South Korea to frame a separate "régime", with the result that the temporary division of Korea eventually became frozen.

45. The United States provoked the aggressive war against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in order to extend its new colonialist ruling system, set up in South Korea, to the whole area of Korea. However, having suffered a defeat, the United States signed the Armistice Agreement. Yet even after that, it has been violating the Armistice Agreement systematically while tightening its colonial rule over South Korea and stepping up preparations for war. All this constitutes the biggest obstacle to the reunification of Korea today.

46. How did the United Nations get involved in the Korean question?

47. Its involvement originated from the fact that the United States forcibly brought the Korean question to the United Nations by using the dominant position which it held temporarily in the United Nations when the majority of the present Member States were not yet affiliated with the United Nations, in order to justify all its illegal acts under the name of the United Nations—dividing the Korean nation, reducing South Korea to its colony and military base, provoking the war, maintaining the state of military confrontation between the North and the South and so on.

48. Bringing the Korean question to the United Nations was a violation of Chapter XVII, Article 107, of the Charter of the United Nations, which excludes the discussion of the questions of post-war settlement. It was also a violation of Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter, which prohibits the discussion of domestic affairs of any State.

49. From the first days of the country's division, the Korean people have opposed the interference and nation-splitting machinations of the foreign forces of aggression and made every effort to safeguard firmly one Korea and to achieve the peaceful reunification of the country.

50. The Korean people founded the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on the basis of socio-economic transformations effected in the northern half of the country after liberation. This was done in the course of a nation-wide struggle against the policies of the foreign imperialist forces for colonial enslavement and national split, that became more and more undisguised every day.

51. The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has sustained the principles of independence, self-reliance and self-defence in all fields of its State activity, as the patriotic and anti-imperialist Power inheriting the brilliant tradition established in the long-

drawn-out yet glorious revolutionary struggle against imperialism, for the restoration of the fatherland, and as the genuine people's power embodying the unanimous aspiration of the entire Korean people for freedom and independence.

52. In the field of its foreign activity, too, the Government of our Republic exercises its right to complete equality and sovereignty and holds fast to the principle of strengthening internationalist solidarity and co-operation with the peoples in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the rest of the world, fighting against imperialism, colonialism and racism for peace and democracy, national independence and social progress, standing firm on the common front with them.

53. With the founding of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, our people have indeed become a mighty and dignified nation which no one would dare to flout, shedding for ever the former bitter fate of a ruined people and becoming the resourceful people of a sovereign, independent State who are building their country through their own efforts.

54. The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has invariably taken the position that Korea should be reunified and the question of reunification should be solved by peaceful means, out of the intrinsic nature of its socio-state system which has liquidated all forms of exploitation and oppression, and out of the lofty responsibility it assumes before the entire nation.

55. Comrade Kim Il Sung, President of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the respected and beloved leader of our people, said earlier, with regard to the basic line of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for national reunification, the following:

"The stand of our Government on the question of Korean reunification is clear. We have consistently maintained that the reunification of Korea should be realized in an independent and peaceful way on democratic principles without any interference from outside forces."

56. On the basis of these principles, the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the political parties and social organizations in the northern half of the Republic have made proposals for peaceful reunification more than 130 times from the date of liberation until now.

57. The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea made a proposal, as the basis for the country's reunification, to establish a unified central government composed of representatives of people of all strata through free North-South general elections to be held in a democratic way without the interference of any outside forces, after the withdrawal of all foreign troops from South Korea.

58. We also proposed to enforce a North-South confederation as a transitional step and to realize economic and cultural exchange, travel, correspondence and so on, if the South Korean authorities could not accept the holding of free North-South general elections right now.

59. We further proposed the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea, the conclusion of a peace agreement, between the North and the South, to refrain from attack against each other and the reduction of armed forces of the North and the South to 100,000 men or fewer, respectively.

60. The proposals made by the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, historically, for the independent, peaceful reunification of the country proceeded from the fundamental principle that one should hew out one's destiny by one's own efforts in accordance with the sacred principle of national self-determination. These just and reasonable proposals were advanced with full consideration of the different situations created by the division between the North and the South.

61. If any of these fair and reasonable proposals of ours had been translated into practice, the question of Korean reunification would have been settled long ago.

62. Entering the 1970s, new changes took place in the internal and external situation of our country.

63. In such circumstances Comrade President Kim Il Sung, in his historic speech on 6 August 1971, elucidated a new line for wide-range negotiations between the North and the South, expressing our readiness to make contacts at any time with all the political parties, including the Democratic Republican Party, social organizations and individual personages of South Korea.

64. This epochal proposal marked a decisive momentum that led at last to a thaw in the long-standing state of freeze between the North and the South and opened a door to dialogue and contact in Korea.

65. When Comrade President Kim Il Sung advanced this proposal, the pressure of the South Korean people increased and the voices of the peoples of the world became irresistibly higher in the demand for the realization of the proposal. This compelled the South Korean authorities, who had so far been dead-set against all contacts between the North and the South, to enter into dialogue with us, though in the form of talks between the Red Cross organizations. We were very glad of this and welcomed it. We made every sincere effort to make the Red Cross talks a success and, at the same time, strove to arrange wider-range political negotiations. This resulted in the announcement of the South-North Joint Communiqué on 4 July 1972³ which contains in its essence three principles of independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity.

66. Indeed, the publication of the Communiqué was a great event of historic significance in the struggle of the Korean people for the reunification of the fatherland.

67. This showed glaringly once again that the policy of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea—which had endeavoured to achieve the reunification of the country independently by peaceful means and on a democratic principle on the basis of solving national affairs

through ones own efforts and on ones own responsibility—was absolutely correct. It demonstrated that Korea is one, that the Korean nation demands reunification and the Korean people are capable of and resourceful in solving the question of reunification by themselves.

68. The Governments and peoples of all peace-loving countries of the world, to say nothing of the entire Korean people, warmly welcomed and highly appreciated the publication of the South-North Joint Communiqué and expressed unanimous hope for its future success.

69. After the publication of the Communiqué, our side continued positive efforts to translate the agreed points of the Communiqué into practice at the earliest possible date in order to satisfy the long-cherished desire of the entire nation for reunification.

70. First of all, we proposed collaboration between the North and the South in all political, military, diplomatic, economic and cultural fields, as a concrete effort towards fulfilling in earnest the three principles of national reunification clarified in the South-North Joint Communiqué.

71. In particular, we put forward a five-point proposal for abolishing the present state of military confrontation between the North and the South—to cease arms reinforcement and the arms race, to make all foreign troops withdraw, to reduce armed forces and military expenditure, to ban the introduction of weapons from foreign countries and conclude a peace agreement—the key points of the most pressing urgency and importance in dispelling mistrust and misunderstanding between the North and the South and in creating an atmosphere of mutual trust between them to promote a dialogue.

72. For collaboration in the economic field, we proposed to develop jointly mineral resources that are abundant in the northern half, open fishing grounds in the North and South for joint fishing, undertake joint irrigation projects in the southern half and so on.

73. For collaboration in the scientific field, we proposed to carry out joint research work for co-ordinating our national language, and to make a joint study of the history of our country to add lustre to the peculiar national traits of our people, exchange cultural groups and sports teams and enter jointly the international arena by forming a single national cultural organization and a single sports team.

74. These concrete proposals of ours were aimed at deepening mutual understanding, tearing down the barriers of division and providing a practical basis for national unity, thereby actively paving the way to reunification.

75. We expected the South Korean authorities to accept our proposals readily since they had agreed with us on achieving national reunification peacefully without recourse to armed forces, and independently on the principle of national unity of the South-North Joint Communiqué.

76. But, to our regret, none of our proposals received the due response from the South Korean authorities. The authorities continued to refuse to respond to our proposals which no doubt were acceptable to them, while contin-

³ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 27, annex I.

uously delaying the dialogue, talking about confrontation, competition and coexistence, instead of the unity, collaboration and reunification demanded by us. In the end, they made public the so-called "special foreign policy statement on peace and reunification", openly revealing their ulterior motive to divide Korea into two States, in complete violation of the South-North Joint Communiqué.

77. This came like a bolt from the blue for the entire people in the North and the South of Korea. It was as though a knife had been thrust into the bosoms of all the Koreans who aspire to reunification to frustrate their aspirations.

78. This fully exposed the South Korean authorities in their true colours as double-faced, division-seeking elements who speak fine words when they sit face to face with us at the conference table but who, when they adjourn, hatch plots and clamour about confrontation for over a year. The South Korean authorities who have intensified their harsh suppression and murder of the South Korean people aspiring for reunification and opposing the concept of two Koreas, went to the length of going to Tokyo and openly committing the abduction in broad daylight of Mr. Kim Dae Joong, a famous South Korean democratic figure who demanded peaceful reunification.

79. All the facts glaringly show who is really striving for peace and reunification of the country and who is really seeking division, running along the road of aggravation of antagonism and tension in Korea.

80. We demand one Korea but the South Korean authorities cry for two Koreas; we propose collaboration and unity as a nation, but they want confrontation among fellow countrymen while collaborating with outside forces.

81. Korea, which has been one organic body from its origin cannot live divided. All the Korean people, whether they live in the North or in the South, unanimously desire our nation to be reunified into its former self as one; none of them wants its division. Only reunification into one Korea fully conforms with the interests of peace in Korea and in Asia. In the future, too, no matter what obstacles may come, the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea will surmount them courageously and fight on resolutely for one Korea alone.

82. It is indisputably clear that the root cause of the failure of Korea's reunification and its long-standing sufferings as a result of division lies in the occupation of South Korea by foreign troops and continued foreign interference in our internal affairs.

83. The developments during the year since the publication of the South-North Joint Communiqué have proved more clearly that an end must be put to the interference of outside forces before anything else in order to preserve peace in Korea and achieve the peaceful reunification of the country. It is none other than the interference of outside forces that has led the dialogue between the North and the South to the brink of rupture without making any progress, in spite of our sincere efforts and the unanimous expectation of public opinion at home and abroad.

84. Even after the publication of the South-North Joint Communiqué, the United States has stubbornly pursued the policy of making Koreans fight Koreans, employing the doubled-faced tactics under the "Nixon doctrine". The United States State Department announced on the very next day after the publication of the South-North Joint Communiqué that the United States would keep its troops in South Korea and "continue to help modernize the ROK army", even if the dialogue were started between the north and the south, and that it would foster the ability of the South Korean authorities to "negotiate with confidence from the position of strength in the contacts with North Korea".

85. This is an open rejection of the South-North Joint Communiqué and an act of abetting the South Korean authorities in the policy of confrontation by strength, instead of peaceful reunification.

86. The United States has stepped up the arms race and war preparations in South Korea not only in words but also in deeds. Last year alone the United States provided South Korea with a huge amount of military and economic "aid", while United States army units, together with the South Korean army, conducted large-scale joint military exercises one after another in simulated attacks on the northern half of the Republic and perpetrated frequent military provocations against the northern half of our Republic.

87. An appendix of information on the actual arms reinforcement and war preparations made by the United States side after the publication of the 4 July Communiqué has been circulated [A/C.1/1043].

88. The United States authorities are engaged in increasing their military expenditure and conducting war exercises and military provocations under the pretext of backing the dialogue. But how can one interpret it as backing the dialogue? This is nothing but an attempt to destroy the atmosphere of peace, to create a war climate and to instigate antagonism and distrust between the North and the South in order to perpetuate the division.

89. Besides, the United States is actively involving Japan in its machinations to freeze the division of Korea. According to American and Japanese news agency reports, at the United States-Japan summit talks held in Washington late last July the United States "urged Japan to take over the economic and military aid to South Korea for the defence build-up and modernization of the South Korean army as part of the concrete realization of the Nixon doctrine in the Far East", and they reached an agreement on pushing ahead with their policy of two Koreas in presupposition of defending South Korea with strength.

90. Japan has already started to behave as the second master, next to the United States, in South Korea and is running amok at the forefront in hampering the reunification, to convert South Korea into its commodity market by permanently dividing the country into two. In August last, it colluded directly with the South Korean authorities in the conspiracy of abducting a South Korean democratic figure who advocated reunification, in the very centre of Tokyo, and taking him to Seoul in broad daylight.

91. Revived Japanese militarism has posed itself as another big stumbling-block in the way of the peaceful reunification of Korea and a threat to peace in Asia. The interference of the above-described outside forces of all sorts must be eliminated in order to preserve peace in Korea and to achieve the peaceful reunification of Korea.

92. The "United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea"—a tool of the outside forces for interference—should be dissolved, the foreign troops under the name of "United Nations forces" withdrawn from South Korea, the Japanese army prevented from coming into South Korea after the pull-out of the United States army and the Korean question left to the Korean people themselves.

93. The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has demanded time and again that, for the successful conduct of the North-South dialogue that followed the publication of the South-North Joint Communiqué, the outside forces should get out, and that it is necessary for the United Nations to take measures for the withdrawal of these outside forces since they are in South Korea in the name of the United Nations.

94. We consider that the current, twenty-eighth, session of the General Assembly should take the necessary measures for removing the basic obstacles in the way of the peaceful reunification of Korea so that the United Nations can give genuine help to the independent, peaceful reunification of Korea, in conformity with the trend of the present time.

95. The draft resolution presented to this session by Algeria and 34 other countries [*A/C.1/L.644 and Corr.1*] correctly embodies this demand of the times and vividly reflects the stand for peace, independence, patriotism and reunification.

96. Contrary to this, the draft resolution submitted by the United States and other colonialist Powers [*A/C.1/L.645*], both of the past and of the present, stresses the necessity of maintaining an unstable armistice instead of a lasting peace in Korea, seeks the continued presence of foreign troops in South Korea under that pretext and calls for keeping Korea divided into North and South instead of for its reunification.

97. These two opposite draft resolutions prove that the discussion of the question on Korea at the United Nations is, in essence, characterized by the struggle between the newly emerging forces that have embarked upon the creation of a new life since the Second World War and the old forces of colonial domination that attempt to block the former.

98. The United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea already in the process of collapse, is destined for dissolution at the present session of the General Assembly, under the increasing pressure of world public opinion. But the Commission has failed to abandon its true colours up to the last moment before it disappears from the scene. It has again told a string of lies on its activities and the developments in Korea, completely reversing black and white, in its report to the General Assembly. It has attempted to cling to another political

plot of conspiracy by clamouring in that report that, though UNCURK is to come to the end of its existence, the United Nations forces should continue to remain in South Korea. But that is a self-contradictory argument. The designers of this plot are falling into a trap set by themselves. UNCURK has become a good-for-nothing body that has no choice but to dissolve itself, leaving behind only scandals in the world. This proves that it was wrong from the outset to set up this Commission, which has gone bankrupt. Is it not true that if UNCURK, which claimed to represent the United Nations in South Korea, has come to an end, that means also that the United Nations forces, based on the same ground as UNCURK, will also have no more excuse to remain in South Korea any longer?

99. In fact, there is no ground whatsoever for foreign troops to remain any longer in South Korea. They must get out as soon as possible. There are no foreign troops whatsoever in the northern half of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. The occupation of other territories by foreign troops is itself a flagrant violation of territorial integrity and sovereignty. The continued occupation of South Korea by foreign troops is a violation of the Korean Armistice Agreement, which envisages the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea, and a contravention of the South-North Joint Communiqué, which provides for reunifying the country independently, without the interference of outside forces.

100. All foreign troops have withdrawn even from South Viet-Nam, where the war ended recently. Why, then, should foreign troops stay on still in South Korea only, when more than 20 years have already passed since the armistice was signed? Furthermore, it stands to reason that they cannot remain there under the name of the "United Nations forces". It is known to the whole world that the United Nations forces stationed in South Korea were established in violation of United Nations principles from the outset, that they are not under the jurisdiction of the Secretary-General and that they have so far acted without any relation to the United Nations. On what ground can the United Nations forces remain in South Korea today, when a long time has already elapsed since the armistice in Korea and when Korea is not in a state of war?

101. As a matter of fact, only one country keeps its troops there under the United Nations Command today. The only foreign troops left there are soldiers of the United States Army. Why should the United States Army continue to enjoy the signboard of the United Nations forces?

102. It is anachronistic to keep the "United Nations forces" in South Korea any longer. The United States claims to keep its troops in South Korea to "protect" it. Who on earth is protecting whom? The United States pretext of threat of southward aggression is untenable in view of the fact that the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has made it clear time and again that it has no intention of invading the South and that the South-North Joint Communiqué has been made public. The United States Army in South Korea is by no means an army protecting the South Korean people, but it is an occupation force which has been engaged in a national insult to the Korean people, suppressing and murdering them and plundering Korea of its natural resources. That has been

revealed irrefutably by a couple of incidents that occurred only recently.

103. According to the South Korean news agency, on 7 October last more than 200 United States troops in Paju County, South Korea, again raided the civilian residential streets of the district where they were stationed, inflicting heavy damage upon the inhabitants; and on 12 October more than 50 United States soldiers in Pyongtaek County broke into civilian shops to plunder them, committing the atrocity of causing heavy wounds to a number of the inhabitants. That is the "protection" of the South Korean people by the United States troops. To talk about what they call protection from the threat of southward aggression and the like is, in the final analysis, no more than nonsense that has been concocted artificially to justify the occupation of South Korea by the United States Army and camouflage its neo-colonialist rule over South Korea.

104. Unable to find any pretext to convince others of the necessity for the further presence of the United Nations forces in South Korea, the United States and the South Korean authorities are now even spreading the argument that if the current session of the General Assembly approved the draft resolution calling for the withdrawal of the United Nations forces without any counter-measures it would rather incur danger, as the Armistice Agreement would disappear in Korea and a vacuum would be created. That is an argument also devoid of any validity. What is the vacuum? There was a war and there is still a danger of war in Korea simply because foreign troops are stationed in South Korea. Accordingly, if foreign troops pull out of South Korea the danger of war will decrease that much. When the foreign troops pull out of South Korea, there will remain in Korea only the armed forces of the North and the South. In that case, since there exists the South-North Joint Communiqué in which the North and the South have pledged not to fight with each other and to prevent all armed clashes, big and small, that Communiqué will guarantee peace in Korea so long as the South Korean authorities do not violate it.

105. Furthermore, we have proposed to conclude a peace agreement between the North and the South to replace the Armistice Agreement.

106. It is no more than gossip derived from an evil design to talk about a vacuum and the like, ignoring our clear-cut proposal. What kind of vacuum can be created when a peace agreement is concluded immediately after the withdrawal of the foreign troops and military expenditure is cut? There will be no vacuum. The problem in fact is that the United Nations forces constitute a wart on the face of Korea. Only when this wart is removed can unity and collaboration between the North and the South be achieved and peaceful reunification realized. The question is whether or not they have an attitude of true sincerity in keeping peace in Korea.

107. We will immediately conclude a peace agreement with the South Korean authorities if they respond to our suggestion after all the foreign troops withdraw from South Korea in the future and we will continue to make all efforts to solve the question of reunification independently and peacefully on the principle of great national unity as

provided for in the South-North Joint Communiqué without fail. Korea will be reunified peacefully by the Korean people themselves when all outside forces get out of Korea.

108. The draft resolution presented by the United States side to this session contains an abnormal question of simultaneous entry into the United Nations by two Koreas, which runs counter to the vital interests of the Korean people. It is even unthinkable for the Korean people, who have lived as a single nation for thousands of years, to enter the United Nations separately, divided into two Koreas, in our generation. If our country of one nation by its origin enters the United Nations while divided into two parts, it will be recognized internationally as two States and its division will be perpetuated. For the Korean people, division is a road leading to treachery, national ruin and death, whereas reunification is the only way to survival.

109. The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has already made clear its principled stand of absolutely opposing the simultaneous entry into the United Nations of two Koreas, through the memorandum issued on 26 September last [A/C.1/1034]. The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea regards it as natural for the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to enter the United Nations and accepts with deep gratitude the sincere wishes of many friendly countries which support the admission of our Republic to the United Nations. But, in the light of the unanimous desire of the whole nation to prevent the division of the country and to accomplish its reunification, the Government of our Republic maintains the position that our country should not enter the United Nations before the reunification of the country but should enter it as one Korea after reunification is achieved or at least a confederation of the North and the South is instituted. It is clear to everyone that if Korea, originally a single national State, enters the United Nations as two Koreas, that will lead to the perpetual division of the country.

110. The sponsors of the draft resolution calling for simultaneous entry into the United Nations of two Koreas allege that a two-Koreas membership of the United Nations will not perpetuate the division, describing it as if it were a means of maintaining peace in Korea and promoting its reunification in an attempt to camouflage the true state of affairs. If a two-Koreas membership of the United Nations could really be a means of maintaining peace in Korea and accelerating its reunification, as they allege, then why have they so far, for over a quarter century, doggedly prevented the representative of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea from even coming to the United Nations to make statements when the question of Korea was discussed here? We believe that a two-Koreas membership of the United Nations can never be a means of maintaining peace in Korea and accelerating its reunification, that it runs counter to the principles of the United Nations to raise the question of admission to the United Nations as a means of solving outstanding issues.

111. The United States and the South Korean authorities claim that membership in the United Nations of the North and the South would promote mutual trust and reduce the possibilities of armed conflict, but it is nothing but another crafty trick to make a mockery of the world's peace-loving

people, who cherish expectations of goodwill from the United Nations. How can one allege that the split of a single national State into two parts will constitute a means of promoting reunification? Granted that the North and the South would enter the United Nations, betraying all the principles and basic spirit of the South-North Joint Communiqué which was unanimously welcomed and supported throughout the world and leaving in a deadlock the dialogue which has been arranged, what sort of atmosphere of trust can be created and what kind of guarantee for peace provided therefrom? If we give up the dialogue which has been conducted so far among one nation and fellow-countrymen and move the theatre to the United Nations to meet each other on a State-versus-State basis here, it will not bring the two sides closer but cause an estrangement between them. The South Korean authorities say that they cannot trust us when we propose to conclude a peace agreement nor can they put trust in us even though they have put their signature on the South-North Joint Communiqué together with us, a statement whereby both sides pledged not to fight each other. Such being the case, how can they trust us when both the North and the South enter the United Nations?

112. Tension is persisting in Korea today and the danger of war is still lingering there not because of the failure of membership of the United Nations for the North and the South but because of the continued presence of foreign troops in South Korea.

113. It is a foolish fantasy of those who are indifferent to the sufferings of others to believe that the forced membership into the United Nations of such a single national State as Korea with its long history, divided into two, in spite of these stern realities and under the pretext of what they call maintenance of the *status quo*, can constitute a means of maintaining peace. This will never help the stabilization of the situation or the maintenance of peace in the Korean peninsula but will further create tension and the source of constant discord and strife in the area.

114. Our nation has remained divided into two owing to the artificial division of the country and to this date millions of our people have been suffering from the bitter tribulation of being unable to meet their parents, brothers and sisters ever since they were forcibly separated from each other. Such being the reality, how can the people endure their sufferings if they are forced to live separated for good by dividing their country completely into two parts instead of restoring its unification? They will rise to fight against the forces opposing the reunification when it turns out to be intolerable for them. Nobody can foresee the consequences that might result therefrom. How can it be expected that they would not run a risk, even going through water and fire?

115. Hence, the simultaneous entry into the United Nations by two Koreas does not conform in fact with the principles of the Charter aimed at the maintenance and consolidation of peace.

116. Our nation cannot be divided nor can it live separated. This is neither a matter of classes nor a matter related to the northern half alone. It is a matter of kinship which is related to the whole of Korea. Even according to

the South Korean authorities, 5 million people were forcibly taken from the north to the south during the Korean war, and 10 million people are said to be separated from their families. The South Korean authorities themselves once said that these people must be allowed again to meet each other freely and get reunited. Then, why do they suddenly start to claim that the country be divided into two? This is an act of betrayal.

117. Do they believe that they can live in peace for ever and their régime be maintained after committing such an inhumane act as completely restricting countrymen of one kinship from each other, by forcibly freezing the split of the nation?

118. Of late, the struggles of the people against fascism and the régime have erupted again in South Korea. In early October last, tens of thousands of student youths waged a massive anti-Government demonstration in Seoul, shouting, "Down with the Park régime. Dissolve at once the Central Intelligence Agency, the brewhouse of Fascist intelligence policy. Establish the independence of economy and ensure the right of the people to existence" and "Give us freedom or death".

119. The South Korean authorities are harshly suppressing them. But on 5 November the students of Kyongbuk University, in Taegu, North Kyongsang Province, waged a massive resistance struggle, shouting: "Park Chung Hee, quit. Down with revitalizing dictatorship." On the same day, democratic figures of various strata in South Korea made public a declaration on the situation calling on the entire people to fight with might and main for democracy.

120. It would be even more preposterous if the simultaneous entry into the United Nations by two Koreas was aimed at reviving the South Korean régime by putting a nice hat on it, a régime which is gasping in the face of the distrust and opposition of the people and in isolation from the people.

121. As the struggle that the South Korean people have waged against the successive rulers of South Korea shows clearly, their struggle against fascism and social democracy has always been a struggle against a national split and for reunification. Today the overwhelming majority of the South Korean people, with the exception of a tiny handful of traitors, are opposed to the permanent division of the country into two Koreas and the South Korean opposition parties, too, are opposing a national split.

122. The argument of those who have proposed the simultaneous entry into the United Nations by two Koreas is a baseless lie and a trick from every angle.

123. We maintain that the proposal for simultaneous entry into the United Nations of two Koreas should logically be eliminated, for it has nothing to do from the start with the question which is now being discussed here.

124. It is an intervention in the internal affairs of the Korean people and an insult to them that third parties have proposed in haste such a question as simultaneous entry into the United Nations by two Koreas, something which the Korean people themselves do not want and which the

parties concerned in the North and the South of Korea have not agreed on. This glaringly proves that they are pursuing a purpose entirely different from the reason they put forward outwardly.

125. If they have no wild ambition for aggression to turn Korea into their permanent military base and if they have no colonial ambition to convert even South Korea alone into their commodity market, why should they try to divide our nation into two permanently? "Divide and rule" is an old method of the colonial rule of the imperialists. All peoples of the third world, who were subjected alike to suppression by imperialism and colonialism in the past are fully aware of the heinous and crafty method of colonial rule of the imperialists and colonialists. It is our judgement that the proposal for simultaneous entry into the United Nations by two Koreas is another crafty trick, in the final analysis, for covering up, in the name of the United Nations, the imperialists' old method of divide and rule for colonial domination.

126. The United States has relied on the United Nations forces and the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea and the like for a long time to conceal its manoeuvres of aggression and intervention against Korea. But when it is going into bankruptcy, it is trying to save the situation through a new trick of simultaneous entry into the United Nations by two Koreas. But in this it is also doomed to failure.

127. Analysis of the statements made by the representatives of various countries of the world during the general debate at the current session of the General Assembly shows that they unanimously hope to see Korea reunified through a successful dialogue between the North and the South and that none of them hopes to see Korea divided. Why should Korea be split into two States when the whole world so much wants its reunification?

128. The United Nations is a universal organization. It should no longer side with anyone to become his tool for interference in the internal affairs of another country or for neo-colonialist rule over it. It should not perpetuate the tragic division of a nation but should help it to realize its reunification. Today, in this forum, we appeal to all representatives who have taken part in this session and all the countries of the world to regard the heart-rending realities and hardship our people are undergoing due to the long-standing national split as the pains of their own peoples and to make positive efforts to prevent Korea from being divided and to realize its reunification.

129. Through its contacts with the representatives of many countries at this meeting, our delegation has come to realize more clearly that it is the common desire of all peace-loving peoples and countries to see the dissolution of UNCURK and withdrawal from South Korea of all the foreign troops under the signboard of "United Nations forces". Today it is an irresistible trend of the times that all the countries and nations of the world, big and small, are taking the road of liberation and independence. The Korean people will be fully able to accomplish the historic cause of national reunification by themselves in a peaceful way if UNCURK is dissolved, if the foreign troops under the

signboard of "United Nations forces" withdraw from South Korea and if an end is put to foreign interference in the internal affairs of the country.

130. On 23 June last, the respected and beloved leader Comrade President Kim Il Sung spelled out anew a five-point programme of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for national reunification out of an earnest desire to tide over the difficulties in the way of reunification and realize the long-cherished aspirations of our nation for peaceful national reunification as soon as possible.

131. The main contents of the programme are as follows. First, to improve relations between the North and the South of Korea and accelerate the peaceful reunification of the country, it is necessary first of all to eliminate military confrontation and ease tension between the North and the South. Secondly, to improve north-south relations and expedite the country's reunification, it is necessary to materialize many-sided collaboration and interchange between the North and the South in the political, military, diplomatic, economic and cultural fields. Thirdly, in order to settle the question of the country's reunification in conformity with the will and demand of our people, it is necessary to enable the masses of people of all strata in the North and the South to participate in the nation-wide patriotic work for national reunification. To that end, it is necessary to convene a great national congress composed of representatives of people of all walks of life and of political parties and social organizations in the North and the South. Fourthly, what is of great significance in the speeding up of the country's reunification is the institution of a north-south confederation under the title of a single State. It is essential to convene the great national congress and achieve national unity, and on that basis to institute the north-south confederation, leaving the two existing social systems in the North and the South as they are for the time being. The confederal State shall be named the Confederal Republic of Koryo. Fifthly, our country should be prevented from being permanently split into two Koreas as a result of freezing the national division, and the North and the South should also work together in the field of external activity. The North and the South should not enter the United Nations separately. If they want to join the United Nations before the reunification of the country they should do so as a single State under the name "the Confederal Republic of Koryo", after the confederation is set up.

132. This new programme is a truly patriotic, great national salvation programme reflecting the unanimous desire and will of the entire nation to prevent the perpetual division of the country and to achieve the reunification and unity of the nation. It is a reasonable programme acceptable to everyone as the most realistic proposal which fully conforms with the trend of present times towards peace and independence. The programme accords not only with the interests of the Korean people but also with the interests of world peace. It constitutes a great contribution not only to the establishment of a durable peace in Korea but also to the defence of peace in Asia. Therefore this five-point programme of national reunification enjoys the absolute support of and has been welcomed by not only the entire Korean people but also the peace-loving countries and peoples of the world.

133. The Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Algiers, unanimously adopted a resolution on the Korean question in active support of the just struggle of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Korean people to reunify the country independently and peacefully without interference from any outside forces.

134. In the resolution, the Conference:

"Calls for the withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed in South Korea and an end to foreign interference in all its forms in the domestic affairs of Korea;

"Further calls on the United Nations General Assembly, at its twenty-eighth session, to consider the question of Korea and to decide on the withdrawal of foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the United Nations flag and on the dissolution of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea with a view to facilitating the peaceful and independent reunification of Korea;

"Declares that Korean membership in the United Nations can only be achieved in the name of a single State, after the complete reunification of the country or after the establishment of a confederation of North and South."

135. That resolution constitutes a great inspiration to our people fighting to accomplish their just cause, as a reflection of the unanimous will and demand of the entire Korean people and the progressive peoples of the world for the peaceful and independent reunification of Korea.

136. The joint draft resolution proposed by the delegations of 35 countries, including Algeria, accords with the resolution of the Conference.

137. A moment ago, the delegation of Algeria made a fervent and fine statement expressing its support for the just struggle of the Korean people for the independence and peaceful reunification of our fatherland. We were deeply moved, and we express our thanks.

138. The delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea expresses its sincere hope that the current session of the General Assembly will take fair and reasonable steps to dissolve the "United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea", to strip the foreign troops stationed in South Korea of their "United Nations forces" helmets and have them withdraw, thus making an epochal contribution to the acceleration of the reunification of Korea and maintenance of a durable peace in Asia, marking a new page in the history of the United Nations.

139. At this forum we wish to express the hope that the South Korean delegation present here will not seek division but will strive to recover unity as a single nation and one State, that it will not depend on outside forces but will take a stand on national independence, that it will not take the road of war and arms race but will take the road of peaceful solution, and we call upon it to make joint efforts for national unity, rejecting confrontation, and to promote

collaboration in the economic and cultural fields, as we solemnly pledged to do in the South-North Joint Communiqué.

140. To this end, the South Korean authorities should show their sincerity to reorganize the North-South Co-ordination Committee as soon as possible to normalize the dialogue. As in the past we shall in the future also, show all sincerity and make all our efforts to ensure a successful dialogue between the North and the South with a view to promoting the cause of national reunification which is the supreme task of the nation.

141. We should like to stress the following, again with the sentiments of our compatriotism to the entire South Korean people, to the political parties and social organizations and to the South Korean authorities. Let us not take the internal affairs of the nation out of our country, but let us sit around a table inside our country and negotiate with open hearts to settle problems as we are a single nation that cannot live separated in any case.

142. The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, on the basis of its independent, peace-loving foreign policy, has always fought against imperialism, colonialism and racism and for peace and democracy, national independence and social progress in unity with all peace-loving peoples of the world and has rendered active support and encouragement to the just struggle of the peoples of all countries against imperialism and colonialism.

143. We shall continue to develop the relations of friendship and co-operation with all countries of the world that approach our country with goodwill and that wish to establish good relations with us, on the principles of complete equality, independence, mutual respect and non-interference in each other's internal affairs.

144. We are convinced that, in the future, too, our cause of national reunification will receive ever-greater support and encouragement from all peace-loving countries and peoples across the world.

145. Mr. HUANG Hua (China) (*translation from Chinese*): First of all, the Chinese delegation would like to express its warmest welcome to the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea that is attending the discussions of the Korean question at the current session of the United Nations General Assembly. After surmounting numerous obstacles, the United Nations has for the first time formally invited the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to take part in the debate on the question of Korea. This is a victory for the Korean people as well as for the people of all peace-loving and justice-upholding countries.

146. Since ancient times, the Korean people have been a single nation with the same language and culture, living on the same soil, and the 3,000-ri beautiful land of the Korean peninsula was originally one unified country. However, after the Second World War, Korea was artificially divided as a result of United States imperialist aggression and intervention. In the past 28 years the Korean people have suffered a great deal from the division of their fatherland. It is the strong desire of the entire Korean people to realize

the peaceful reunification of the fatherland at an early date. Over a long period the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has made unremitting efforts for the realization of the independent and peaceful reunification of the fatherland, and has put forward a series of positive views and proposals.

147. In May 1972, President Kim Il Sung put forward the three principles of independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity, which led to the issuance of the South-North Joint Communiqué in July of the same year, and thus opened the door for contacts between the North and the South and a new prospect for the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea. On 23 June this year, President Kim Il Sung further put forward the five propositions on the independent and peaceful reunification of the fatherland, namely: to remove the state of military confrontation and ease tension between the North and the South; to realize many-sided collaboration and interchange in all the political, military, diplomatic, economic and cultural fields; to convene a great national assembly composed of representatives of people of all strata, political parties and social organizations both in the North and the South to resolve through consultation the question of reunification of the country; to institute a North-South confederation under a single name of the State; and the North and the South should advance jointly in the field of foreign relations and should not enter the United Nations separately. President Kim Il Sung also stressed that the United States troops should be withdrawn from South Korea at the earliest possible date and the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea should be dissolved.

148. All this has reflected the common aspiration of the entire Korean people, has pointed to the correct way for the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea and has been warmly welcomed by the entire Korean people as well as all the peace-loving countries and peoples of the world. The Chinese Government and people firmly support these righteous propositions and reasonable demands of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

149. As is known to all, it was precisely because of the support and connivance of the United States that the South Korean authorities have dared to reject and oppose the series of reasonable proposals put forward by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, thus raising serious obstacles for the dialogue between the North and the South. Furthermore, the South Korean authorities have stepped up their arms expansion and made clamours about "reunification by prevailing over Communism" and "a test of strength". They have intensified their Fascist rule in South Korea and their repression of those patriotic personages and mass movements that desire the reunification of the country. The South Korean authorities have stubbornly obstructed and sabotaged the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea.

150. With United States support, they openly propagated the creation of "two Koreas" in an attempt to legalize, solidify and perpetuate the division of Korea. This runs diametrically counter to the principle agreed upon by the North and South of Korea, that is: "great national unity as one nation shall be sought above all, transcending the

differences of ideology, ideals and social system". Such an attempt is utterly unacceptable to the entire Korean people.

151. Some people argue that since the two Germanys could be admitted into the United Nations, why cannot the North and South of Korea join the United Nations simultaneously? Everyone knows that the two Germanys were the outcome of the Second World War. Both recognize the reality that there exist two German States, and both agree to enter the United Nations separately. But the present division of Korea was simply imposed on the Korean people as a result of United States aggression and intervention after the Second World War.

152. To restore the unification of the country is the universal demand of the entire Korean people, as well as the principle confirmed in the joint statement between the North and South of Korea. Hence the question of Germany is totally different from that of Korea and the two must not be mentioned in the same breath. The absurd proposal aimed at forcing the North and the South of Korea to join the United Nations under the pretext of the admission of two Germanys into the United Nations is, of course, totally untenable.

153. President Kim Il Sung said last June that the North and the South of Korea should not enter the United Nations separately and that if they wanted to enter the United Nations before the reunification of the country was achieved, they should enter it as one State, at least under the name of the Confederal Republic of Koryo, after the confederation was enforced. This is perfectly reasonable and deserves the sympathy and support of all justice-upholding countries. The General Assembly should also respect this just position of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. No one, whether the United States or any other country, can ever succeed in their scheme to create "two Koreas".

154. It must be pointed out that in the past two decades and more, the United Nations has played a dishonourable role in the question of Korea and has served the United States policy of intervention and aggression in Korea. The armed aggression against Korea in 1950 was carried out under the flag of the United Nations. To date, foreign forces are still using the name of the United Nations for continued interference in the internal affairs of Korea. The so-called "United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea" has been illegal from its very inception. It is a tool of outside forces for intervention in Korea. Over a long period, it has kept on vilifying and slandering the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

155. In the so-called annual report of this year, it has again made unwarranted attacks on the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and even absurdly proposed that the United Nations "... maintain political oversight of the situation in the Korean Peninsula" [A/9027, para. 107]. In other words, the United Nations is asked to continue its interference in the internal affairs of Korea. This certainly is intolerable. In fact, this illegal organization has long been discarded by history and should have long been dissolved unconditionally.

156. The so-called "United Nations Command" is an out-and-out tool for aggression. The United States troops, which have continued to be stationed in South Korea under the flag of the United Nations Command have grossly interfered in the internal affairs of Korea. They are a stumbling block in the way of the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea and are the root cause of the exacerbation of tension in the Korean peninsula.

157. The Korean people, as well as all the peace-loving and justice-upholding countries and peoples throughout the world, strongly demand the complete withdrawal of the United States troops from South Korea and the dissolution of the United Nations Command. Full 20 years have passed since the armistice of Korea. Back in 1958, the Chinese People's Volunteers, who had fought shoulder to shoulder with the Korean People's Army against aggression, unilaterally, unconditionally and completely withdrew from the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

158. One may ask: what can justify the continued stationing of United States troops in South Korea? Some people assert that the withdrawal of foreign forces will make it impossible to maintain the stability of the situation in the Korean peninsula. This assertion is totally untenable. The maintenance of the stability of the situation in Korea should not depend on outside forces, still less on foreign troops, but only on the guarantee by the North and the South of Korea and the entire Korean people. The North and the South of Korea have agreed that they will refrain from committing armed provocations, big or small, and that they will take active measures for preventing incidents of unexpected military conflicts.

159. Is this not the best guarantee for the maintenance of the armistice and the stability of the situation in Korea? Others argue that the United Nations forces were dispatched in accordance with the resolution of the Security Council, and that, consequently, the question of troop withdrawal and the dissolution of the United Nations Command should be submitted to the Security Council for discussion. This is obviously an argument with ulterior motives.

160. As everyone knows, the so-called Security Council resolution of the past was completely illegal. To put it bluntly, the suggestion for resubmitting this question to the Security Council for its consideration is aimed at using the veto of a big Power to prolong the life of the United Nations Command indefinitely. Of course, we are firmly against it.

161. The Korean people are the masters of Korea. The question of the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea can only be settled by the Korean people themselves, and no foreign countries or international organizations have the right to interfere. As a matter of course, the so-called "UNCURK" should be dissolved immediately; the so-called "United Nations Command" should be disbanded, and all foreign troops should be completely withdrawn from South Korea. An end must be put to the anachronism of interference by foreign forces in the internal affairs of Korea in the name of the United Nations. The military confrontation and tension between the North and the South of Korea must be eliminated. The peace in the

Korean peninsula must be safeguarded and strengthened, and the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea must be realized at an early date. It is our hope that the discussion of the Korean question at the current session of the General Assembly will help to promote the realization of these objectives.

162. The draft resolution on "Creation of Favourable Conditions to Accelerate the Independent and Peaceful Reunification of Korea", sponsored by Algeria, China and other countries [A/C.1/L.644 and Corr.1], is in accord with the genuine interests of the Korean people and the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations. We hope that this draft resolution on the Korean question submitted by the United States, the United Kingdom, Japan and other countries [A/C.1/L.645] is not conducive to the settlement of the question of the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea, but will create a pretext for continued interference in the internal affairs of Korea by outside forces. The Chinese delegation is resolutely against it.

163. China and Korea are neighbours, as closely linked as the lips and the teeth, and the Chinese and Korean peoples are comrades-in-arms and brothers bound by flesh and blood and sharing weal and woe. Whether in the past, at present or in the future, the Chinese people always stand together with the Korean people and fight together with them. The Korean people's cause is entirely just. We are convinced that the entire Korean people, with the firm support of the people of the whole world, will certainly overcome all difficulties and hardships on their road of advance, eliminate all outside aggression and intervention, and finally attain the noble goal of the independent and peaceful reunification of their fatherland. Victory certainly belongs to the Korean people.

164. The CHAIRMAN: I should like to make one brief comment. In order that we may be able better to programme the work of the Committee and so offer representatives at least an approximate idea of the times at which they will be called upon to speak, I would request future speakers to indicate to the Secretariat the estimated duration of their statements.

165. I call on the representative of Algeria on a point of order.

166. Mr. RAHAL (Algeria) (*interpretation from French*): First of all, I apologize to you, Mr. Chairman, and to all the representatives in the Committee for detaining you for a few minutes. Before this first meeting devoted to discussion of the question of Korea is adjourned, I wish to recall that a number of delegations have become sponsors of draft resolution A/C.1/L.644 and Corr.1 which we introduced on this question. I know very well, Mr. Chairman, that at the time you announced the additions to the list of sponsors. However, the addition of other sponsors did not give rise to the publication of the customary documents that are issued as names in the list of sponsors of a particular draft resolution are added or changed.

167. When I pointed this out to the Secretariat, I was informed that the procedure had been abolished by virtue of a General Assembly resolution for the purpose of economy in the operations of the various United Nations

bodies. I am quite prepared to accept this explanation of the Secretariat, because I must confess that I was unaware of the existence of that resolution, as no doubt I am unaware of the existence of many other resolutions. But, for my personal information, I asked to be provided with a copy of that resolution, or at least with the reference number, which would enable me to consult it. I have not yet been given this information, but I have no doubt that, with their customary goodwill, the members of the Secretariat will very soon provide me with that text.

168. However, I must add that, even if we acknowledge the existence of that resolution, I have noticed—as, incidentally, all my colleagues have been able to see—that up to now, in the case of other draft resolutions, addenda have been distributed regularly giving the list of additional names of sponsors of such resolutions. This is the first time that I have received a reply of this kind and that anyone has refused to distribute addenda or corrigenda to documents giving the new list of sponsors. I must add that, even with the existence of such a document, a corrigendum was already issued to our draft resolution when Cuba and Zaïre added their names to the list of sponsors. It was felt then that it was desirable to distribute a document indicating those additions.

169. I do not know what justification there is for this discrimination, and I would not wish to ascribe to it any reasons that I would not wish to voice here; but, like you and all my colleagues here, I hope you will not be surprised at the importance I attach to this question. I must confess that, as far as I am concerned, this is not an isolated case. I must recall here the refusal of the Secretariat to issue as United Nations documents the documentation provided by the Group of Non-Aligned Countries, relating to the conclusions of the Summit Conference at Algiers. The Secretariat refused to issue those documents, although I officially requested it to do so and despite the *démarches* that I carried out on this question.

170. However, I must remind the Committee that at present many documents are distributed and disseminated as United Nations documents, and those documents are certainly not as important as the ones we wished to have issued as documents emanating from the Group of Non-Aligned Countries. I have in fact received United Nations documents reproducing statements of non-governmental organizations; we even received official United Nations documents reproducing statements by a Zionist organization. When I recall here that the Group of Non-Aligned Countries represents over 70 Members of this Organization—more than half—you will realize why I am surprised at this refusal to which I have referred.

171. I said this morning in my statement on the question of Korea that the United Nations had served as the instrument of the cold war and had placed itself at the service of the interests of a great Power. This entailed the loss of its prestige and effectiveness. After what I have just told you, I believe that our Organization is truly colonized and that its problems should not be referred to a committee entrusted with the task of reviewing its methods of work, but rather to the Committee of 24, which should first and foremost implement resolution 1514 (XV), granting independence to colonial countries and peoples.

172. The CHAIRMAN: May I suggest that I ask the Secretariat to make a complete list of those who have been added as sponsors to the draft resolutions in documents A/C.1/L.644 and Corr.1 and A/C.1/L.645, for me to read out at this afternoon's meeting. It will then be reproduced in the verbatim record under the discussion on the question of Korea. I think that would take care of the first of the representative of Algeria's problems.

173. I believe the second problem is of a more general nature and it is not for me to express an opinion upon it.

The meeting rose at 1.35 p.m.