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

AGENDA ITEM 41 (continued)

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, 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. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translation from Russian*): Before turning to the substance of the matter, I should like to express my great satisfaction at the fact that for the first time in the discussion of the Korean question in the General Assembly a representative delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is taking part. That is something which the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and many States friendly to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea have been fighting for more than 20 years. That fact and the recent establishment of its permanent official observer mission at the United Nations is a great victory for that country and for all the socialist and a number of other peace-loving countries, and is evidence of the strengthening of the international position and prestige of the socialist Korean State.

2. We take particular pleasure in welcoming here the head of the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the Deputy Foreign Minister, Comrade Li Jong Mok. The participation of his country's official representative in the Korean question discussion at the General Assembly and the statement by him of the position of his country on the Korean matter [*1957th meeting*] makes it possible for the United Nations as a whole and for all delegations at the Assembly to have a deeper understanding of and a more detailed insight into this important problem in all its aspects.

3. Accordingly, thanks to the restoration of justice and the ending of more than 20 years of discrimination in the United Nations against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the General Assembly and its First Committee, for the first time in the history of the discussion of the question of Korea, has had an opportunity to hear the

other side of the story, that of the official delegation of that country. Hitherto the Assembly and its First Committee have been obliged to content themselves with a one-sided, tendentious statement of information which was doled out to them in doses approved by the foreign command in South Korea. The epoch of such one-sided information on the Korean matter, information hostile to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, came to an end yesterday in the United Nations. Accordingly, the First Committee and the General Assembly now have an opportunity to obtain directly from that country information on the actual state of affairs in the Korean matter and in the Korean peninsula, and we are grateful to Comrade Li Jong Mok for his very thorough and well-argued statement.

4. The head of the Korean delegation, in his statement on behalf of his Government, put forward a broad programme of action which indicated the real ways and means of achieving a just settlement of the Korean question in the interests of all the people of Korea, in the interests of the strengthening of peace and security in the Far East. Such a thorough acquaintance by Member States of the United Nations with this programme will, we are firmly convinced, promote the working out of a general constructive approach to the whole complex of the Korean problems and will help us to hold a discussion in the Assembly in the spirit of a fruitful exchange of views and a business-like approach to solutions.

5. The Soviet delegation, guided by the interests of comprehensive support for the just position of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, a fraternal socialist country, is a co-sponsor of a draft resolution submitted by 35 States Members of the United Nations [*A/C.1/L.644 and Corr.1*]. This draft resolution provides for concrete measures designed to guarantee the creation of favourable conditions for the speedy, independent and peaceful reunification of Korea. This of course also determines the position of the Soviet Union on the question of Korea. As members know, this is not the first time that questions relating to Korea have been discussed in the United Nations, but, unfortunately, we are forced to note that so far action has been confined to the adoption by the General Assembly and the Security Council, through the machinery of mechanical voting, of resolutions which put a rubber stamp on the continuation of the existence of the illegally created so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea (UNCURK), which has intervened in the internal affairs of the Korean people; while constructive proposals, whose purpose was to clear the way for the peaceful settlement of the Korean problem, have each time been rejected by the same mechanical voting routine. By the arbitrary will of the opponents of a just decision on and solution of the Korean problem and the normal consideration of that problem in the United

Nations, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has been systematically excluded from discussing the question, and at the last two sessions of the Assembly such a discussion was deliberately and unjustifiably postponed. As the facts of life have shown, this not only did not facilitate things but actually hindered them.

6. Now in the conditions of the easing of international tension we find that more favourable conditions have been created not only for having a fruitful discussion of the Korean question in the General Assembly of the United Nations, but also for taking a decision which could eliminate the external obstacles to a settlement of the Korean question and ensure the creation of conditions that would facilitate the speedy, independent and peaceful reunification of Korea.

7. The situation in the Korean peninsula is now characterized by the emergence of new positive factors. This was the consequence of the important initiative of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and personal initiatives of the President, Kim Il Sung. The first steps have been taken along the difficult and complex path towards the restoration of the national unity of Korea. A dialogue has begun between North and South Korea, and agreement has been achieved on the creation of the North-South Co-ordinating Committee. That Committee has already met. In the South-North Joint Communiqué of 4 July 1972,<sup>1</sup> general principles are defined for the unifying of the country by peaceful means and through the efforts of the Korean people itself without any outside intervention. Accordingly, it remains to put into effect the agreement achieved and to translate the agreed positions of principle into concrete undertakings for their practical implementation.

8. The General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Comrade Brezhnev, speaking on 26 October this year at the World Peace Congress in Moscow, indicated in particular that the initiatives of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea designed to achieve the peaceful reunification of Korea has met with broad political response throughout the world. This has been demonstrated in particular by the general debate at the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly. In the course of that debate delegations of many Member States made a very high assessment of the peaceful initiatives of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and of its efforts to achieve the independent and peaceful reunification of the country without any foreign intervention. It has been acknowledged that in the present circumstances it is possible and necessary to approach the discussion of the Korean problem in a businesslike way, without any prejudices one way or the other towards those who support one side or the other.

9. The duty of the United Nations undoubtedly lies in seeing to it that, as objectively and impartially as possible, account is taken and use is made of the new positive development in the events in the Korean peninsula. By its authority, the United Nations, within the framework of its responsible mission for the maintenance and strengthening

of international peace and security and the protection of the rights of all peoples to self-determination, independence and independent development, should support the strengthening and deepening of the positive factors which have emerged in the development of the situation in Korea. The most important steps that should be taken for this purpose are measures to call a halt to foreign intervention in the internal affairs of Korea in all forms and manifestations; otherwise, all talks about the wish and intention of the United Nations to promote the peaceful and democratic unification of Korea will remain empty words and abstract statements. But the cause for the sake of which the Korean matter is being actually discussed in the United Nations is not making any progress.

10. Taking into account the situation that has now arisen in Korea, the statement can be made frankly and unambiguously: either an end will be put to foreign intervention—in which case there will be an even greater easing of tension in the peninsula and the necessary preconditions will be created for progress towards the peaceful, democratic unification of the country—or outside intervention, in old or new forms, will continue and the state of confrontation in the peninsula will be maintained in the future, and along with confrontation there will be a continuation of the division of Korea, with all its negative consequences. The Korean people quite rightly expect from the United Nations the promoting and ensuring of favourable conditions for the independent, peaceful unification of the country, without any foreign intervention whatsoever. The most effective way for the United Nations to do that would be, we are firmly convinced, to eliminate all means employed for purposes of foreign intervention in the internal affairs of Korea. That is the goal towards which the efforts of the United Nations and the General Assembly should be primarily directed.

11. The historic injustice that has resulted from the illegal decision of the United Nations of which the Korean people have been the victim should be remedied. The United Nations cannot shirk its direct duty to eliminate this injustice and to call a halt to foreign intervention in Korean affairs under the aegis of the Organization. This would help to ensure conditions necessary for a settlement of the Korean problem.

12. The more we go on the more clearly is revealed the pernicious effect of foreign intervention in the affairs of Korea on the independent, peaceful unification for which the Korean people have been struggling with the active support of their many friends. It seems that that simple truth has now been understood by those who for a long time have been pursuing an illegal policy of direct intervention in the internal affairs of the Korean people—a policy contradictory to the Charter of the United Nations—or, in one form or another, have been pursuing a policy of promoting such intervention because of their participation in this matter.

13. The primary point is the so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea, whose members have themselves now been forced to recognize the uselessness of that Commission and have recommended its dissolution. The Soviet Union has constantly expressed its opposition to that illegally established organ

<sup>1</sup> Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 27, annex I.

and its one-sided, tendentious reports. The inadmissibility of the one-sidedness of the work of that Commission and its hostility to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea was quite rightly mentioned yesterday in the 1958th meeting by the representative of Sudan. Accordingly, it would be putting it mildly to say that the work of that Commission has proved useless; it has actually been prejudicial throughout its existence, and its dissolution constitutes the legitimate and inevitable fate of that organ. In this regard we cannot fail to note the distressing fact that to maintain that unnecessary and actually prejudicial Commission throughout the period of its existence, the United Nations budget has had to disburse about \$5 million, not to mention the other expenditures, to be reckoned in millions, that have been imposed upon the United Nations by the foreign intervention in the affairs of the Korean people under the United Nations flag.

14. But the Commission is just one lever for the operation of foreign intervention in the affairs of the Korean people. There are still other extremely important and serious ways and means of exercising foreign intervention. We have in mind primarily the fact that after more than 20 years we still find foreign troops stationed in the territory of South Korea; and everyone is very well aware that they are not United Nations troops but the troops of one foreign State—the United States of America. Without any foundation whatsoever, they illegally call themselves “United Nations troops” and the command of those troops, with similar illegality, is named the “United Nations Command”.

15. And it is well known that the carrying out by the United Nations of operations connected with the use of armed force on behalf of the Organization and the setting up of a command over such armed forces are matters that fall totally within the competence of the Security Council, the United Nations body principally responsible for the maintenance of peace and security. A United Nations command created in such circumstances upon the decision of the Security Council [resolution 84 (1950)] is obliged to report regularly to that body. The military specialist who heads such a command of United Nations armed forces is to be appointed by the Security Council. Just a few days ago, for example, the Security Council, strictly in keeping with its rights and duties, considered the question of a commander for the recently created United Nations Emergency Force in the Middle East, set up upon the decision of the Security Council. The Security Council appointed a commander for those United Nations armed forces in the person of Finnish General Siilasvuo. The commander reports regularly to the Security Council, through the Secretary-General of the United Nations, on progress in accomplishing the mission entrusted to him by the Council in respect of those United Nations armed forces.

16. As is well known to all Members of the United Nations, throughout the existence of this fictitious command and these fictitious armed forces of the United Nations, not a single report has come in to the Security Council from the so-called United Nations Command in South Korea about what it is doing there and what the so-called United Nations armed forces under its command are doing there. Not a single report has been sent in by that Command to the Security Council in more than 20 years. The commander of those armed forces is sending those

reports to quite a different address, and it is high time to restore justice and eliminate this fiction.

17. These foreign troops, illegally covered by the United Nations flag, are being used for the implementation of plans which have nothing whatsoever to do with the task of preserving and strengthening peace in the Korean peninsula and the Far East. In practice they are serving only as an important bulwark for the South Korean authorities, who are unwilling to face the task of a just, peaceful settlement of the problem of the unification of Korea in the interest of the whole Korean people; and the fictitious titles of “United Nations armed forces” and “United Nations Command” are nothing but a screen for this.

18. The role of the United Nations at the present time, of course, lies in the following—in ending the use by foreign troops of the illegally appropriated United Nations flag. It is also necessary to end the fictitious existence of the so-called United Nations Command. The United Nations must wipe away this stain on its reputation and put an end to such pernicious practices which undermine the authority of the United Nations in the eyes of world public opinion.

19. The international moral duty of the General Assembly is, without any doubt, also to acknowledge that all foreign troops stationed in South Korea should be withdrawn. The General Assembly is, of course, entitled to have its own judgement on this matter in spite of the well known decisions of the Security Council, which are illegal since they were adopted without the participation of two permanent members of the Security Council.

20. It is well known that for a long period of time there have been no armed foreign troops in the territory of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Therefore, it is entirely logical, just and, from the point of view of international law, legal, to raise the question that both North and South Korea should be in an equal position in this important matter. Such a solution to this problem would ensure the creation of the necessary equal conditions for the peaceful, independent reunification of that country.

21. Fallacious references to the fact that foreign troops are in South Korea because of what is alleged to be a threat from the North cannot possibly convince or mislead anyone. Those references are without any foundation whatsoever. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea is pursuing a peace-loving policy and is putting forward sensible and constructive proposals which provide for the solution of the Korean problem by means of a peaceful and democratic settlement. It is precisely the Democratic People's Republic of Korea that is putting forward the proposal for a mutual and very substantial reduction of the armed forces in both South and North Korea, and for the conclusion of a peaceful agreement between the two parts of the country by means of an armistice agreement. The unfounded and artificial nature of such charges against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is shown by the readiness of that country to undertake a mutual reduction of armed forces in the South and the North up to the amount of 100,000 men, as was stated yesterday by the head of the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

22. Those who still assert today that maintaining foreign troops in the southern part of the Korean peninsula would, as they see it, promote the stabilization of the situation in that region, have been answered by the facts of history. The presence of foreign troops in South Korea stabilizes and strengthens just one thing, namely, the split of Korea. Therefore, such an approach is discredited and rebutted by the very facts of life. The duty of the United Nations, in these circumstances, is to cast out that incorrect and prejudiced approach which has been imposed on the Korean people from the outside.

23. There are some people within United Nations circles who are also spreading the trumped-up idea that the reconciliation of the parties and progress in talks between the North and the South can be promoted by the simultaneous admission of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and South Korea to membership in the United Nations. In fact, in the present circumstances everything is actually the other way around. The prime cause for the unsettled nature of the problems between South and North Korea do not at all lie in the fact that at the present time they are not Members of the United Nations. The essence of the matter is that such a long drawn out period of foreign intervention in the internal affairs of the Korean people and the presence of foreign troops in South Korea have been preventing the whole Korean people from living in conditions of peace, democracy and social progress in an independent and reunified fatherland. The problem of the reunification of Korea is the internal problem of the Korean people themselves, a problem which should be resolved by peaceful means as a result of the joint efforts of the whole people of North and South Korea, who have already embarked upon a dialogue.

24. The question of the admission to the United Nations of the two Koreas before the reunification of that country can be raised only by someone who really wants to create additional obstacles, which, in any case, are already considerable in number, and who wants to stand in the way of a just settlement of the Korean problem. On that question we support the well known position of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, which is that the North and the South do not need to enter the United Nations separately. However, if they do want to enter the United Nations before the reunification of the country, they must enter it in the capacity of a single State, at the very least after the creation of a confederation.

25. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea, whose constructive initiatives called into being the present dialogue between North and South Korea, is primarily striving to resolve the key problems and eliminate the fundamental obstacles to the creation of favourable conditions for the reunification of the country.

26. The programme of the peaceful, independent reunification of the country put forward by the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea [see A/9027, para. 19] has met with support from the whole Korean people and from all progressive forces of today. This is demonstrated, for example, by the resolution on the Korean problem adopted this year at the beginning of September by the Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries held in Algeria.

Those countries, along with the socialist States, constitute an overwhelming majority in the United Nations. The proposals of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea promote the further normalization of the situation in the Korean peninsula, meet the interests of strengthening security throughout the Far East and give impetus to the holding of fruitful talks between South and North Korea.

27. However, the whole set of measures proposed by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is being turned down by Seoul on the unfounded pretext of what it calls "their untimely nature".

28. It is quite clear that if the South Korean authorities were really concerned about easing tension in Korea and in the Far East, as their representatives declare, they would not be resisting the implementation of the urgent measures to reduce the strength of the armed forces of both parts of Korea, to call a halt to the growth of the military potential and to end the foreign military presence in Korea. All this points to just one thing, namely, that in Seoul they are not interested in carrying out effective measures to strengthen and make even more profound the trend towards the easing of tension in the Korean peninsula and to make a weighty contribution to the general improvement of the situation in the Far East.

29. To sum up what I have just said, I should like to stress once again that a further improvement of the situation in the Korean peninsula and the ensuring of successful progress towards the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea would be decisively assisted by the dissolution of the United Nations Commission, by the liquidation of the illegally appropriated right to use the United Nations flag—a right that has been appropriated by one side, by the elimination of the United Nations Command in Korea and by the withdrawal of all foreign troops from South Korea.

30. It is precisely such measures that are provided for in the draft resolution sponsored by 35 Member States comprising socialist and non-aligned countries. That draft resolution was most cogently introduced and explained by the head of the delegation of Algeria [1957th meeting]. The adoption of the draft resolution by the General Assembly would demonstrate in actual fact the interest of the General Assembly in seeing that the Korean people freely became masters of their own fate and resolved the problem of the reunification of their country by peaceful means, on a democratic basis and without foreign intervention. The carrying out of the urgent measures proposed in that draft resolution on the Korean question would be of tremendous significance not only on the level of the Korean people, but also far outside the borders of the area. The elimination of a hotbed of tension and a potential source of conflict in that part of the world—and this is precisely the purpose of the draft resolution—would to a considerable degree promote the strengthening of the trend towards international détente and the extending of that détente in all directions, giving to it an irreversible character.

31. The Asian continent is on the threshold of far-reaching changes. We note here the important improvements that are being made. Conditions are becoming ripe for dealing with such large-scale tasks as ensuring security in Asia on a

long-term basis by the combined efforts and with the participation of all Asian States without exception.

32. The resolving, step by step, of the contemporary problem of the present situation in Asia, which includes without any doubt a settlement of the Korean problem, would be a serious contribution to the creation of a favourable climate for the performance of this noble task. In its turn, the combining of the efforts of the Asian countries, their co-operation for the purposes of strengthening security in Asia on a collective basis, would promote a just settlement of the urgent, vitally important problems of their existence which now face the Asian peoples.

33. In a telegram of welcome, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers of the USSR, on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the foundation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, made the following extremely important statement on the position of the USSR in the Korean matter:

“The Soviet people have deep understanding and sympathy for the constant efforts of the Workers Party of Korea, the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the whole Korean people, to achieve the ending of military confrontation between the North and the South and ensure conditions for the national reunification of the country on a peaceful democratic basis. These purposes are served by the broad and constructive programme put forward by the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. And we consider that the question of the unification of Korea can and must be resolved by the Korean people itself without intervention from outside.”

34. The CHAIRMAN: I call now on the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Korea, Mr. Yong Shik Kim.

35. Mr. YONG SHIK KIM (Republic of Korea): First of all, I should like to express our sincere gratitude to you, Mr. Chairman, and to the members of the Committee for inviting the representatives of the Republic of Korea to participate in the deliberation of the Korean question in this Committee. I am highly honoured to have this opportunity to explain the true aspirations of the 50 million Koreans in this forum of the United Nations, whose objective is to save mankind from the scourge of war and to maintain international peace and security.

36. The North Korean delegation is here with us for the first time in the history of the discussion of the Korean question in the United Nations. Mindful of this meaningful fact, I extend my heartfelt welcome to our brothers from the North.

37. For the past several millennia, the Korean people have lived in the Korean peninsula as a single, homogeneous race sharing the same ethnic origin, culture, customs, language, national consciousness and common destiny. It is a matter of deep regret, therefore, that we Koreans here in this conference room, like two alien peoples, have to expound two different views on the solution of the Korean question.

38. This is not the first time that the question of Korea has been taken up in this Committee. The assistance of the United Nations towards Korea began in 1947, even before the establishment of the Government of the Republic of Korea itself. It continued through the dark and dismal days of the Korean War from 1950 to 1953. There are few countries in the world which from their beginning have had such a close relationship with the United Nations.

39. For almost three decades since its inception, the United Nations exerted much devoted endeavour for the peaceful reunification of Korea, and each year adopted resolutions for the peaceful settlement of the Korean question. Unfortunately, however, the United Nations efforts towards reunification have not as yet borne fruit. I earnestly hope that the United Nations will reach constructive conclusions at the current session which can help develop the South-North dialogue aimed at the maintenance of peace in the Korean peninsula and towards ultimate unification of Korea.

40. For the 20 years since the end of the Korean War in 1953, some 1 million troops of the South and the North have confronted each other across the 155 mile-long truce line. Nowhere in the world is there any precedent in which nearly 1 million troops, heavily armed, have faced one another for two decades across such a border. Under these precarious conditions the Korean people have been constantly calling out to the United Nations: “Peace for Koreans, too”. There can be no unification without peace. Unification by force is not a genuine unification, but a form of aggression.

41. It is an ardent and persistent aspiration of the Korean people to unify their country peacefully. In fulfilling this aspiration, they believe that they must prevent by all means the recurrence of any national tragedy such as the Korean War of 1950, which would again bring about fratricidal bloodshed. The problem in the Korean question today is how to achieve a lasting peace.

42. A just solution to a problem should always be based on truth. As the Committee is well aware, the artificial division of Korea at the 38th Parallel was a product of military expediency arranged among the allied Powers towards the end of the Second World War to accept the surrender of the Japanese forces in Korea. Originally intended as a temporary measure, this military demarcation line rapidly developed, during the cold war era, into an impassable border line dividing the country politically, militarily, economically and socially.

43. Every attempt by the allied Powers to reunite the country had failed. The Korean problem was brought to the United Nations in 1947.

44. In an effort to settle the thorny problem, the second session of the United Nations General Assembly, in 1947, recommended that free elections should be held throughout Korea to establish an independent democratic Korea under a representative form of government [*resolution 112 (II)*]. To carry out this objective, the United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea was dispatched to Korea. The then military authorities in North Korea refused to allow the Commission to enter their area to perform its assigned

duities. The Interim Committee of the General Assembly therefore decided early in 1948 to have free elections held in areas where such elections were feasible.

45. Pursuant to that resolution, general elections were held on 10 May 1948 under United Nations supervision in the southern part of Korea, where two thirds of the Korean people resided. As a result, the Government of the Republic of Korea was inaugurated on 15 August of the same year with Seoul as its capital, the age-old capital city for the Korean people. In December 1948, the third session of the United Nations General Assembly recognized the Government of the Republic of Korea as the only lawful Government in the Korean peninsula [*resolution 195 (III)*].

46. On the other hand, the military occupation authorities in North Korea proceeded to set up a separate régime in the northern part of Korea on their own terms.

47. Those unhappy developments only rendered the possibility of early unification increasingly remote. The dichotomy of the country only added fuel to the confrontation, enmity and distrust between the two parts with their diametrically opposed ideologies and systems. North Korea launched an unprovoked attack on the Republic of Korea on 25 June 1950 in order to unify the country by force after the allied forces had withdrawn from the Republic, leaving it virtually defenceless.

48. The Security Council determined that the armed attack had constituted a breach of the peace and adopted a resolution [*resolution 82 (1950)*] calling on North Korea to cease hostilities immediately and to withdraw their armed forces. North Korea wilfully ignored this Security Council resolution. On 27 June 1950 the Security Council adopted another resolution [*resolution 83 (1950)*] recommending that the Members of the United Nations should furnish such assistance to the Republic of Korea as might be necessary to repel armed attack and restore peace and security in Korea. On 7 July 1950 the Security Council again adopted a resolution [*resolution 84 (1950)*], in which it recommended that all Member countries providing military forces and other assistance pursuant to the above-mentioned resolution make such forces and assistance available to a unified command and specifically authorized the command to use the United Nations flag.

49. The United Nations forces, which represented the first collective security action in history, comprised troops from 16 different Member States. For three years, until the signing of the Armistice Agreement on 27 July 1953,<sup>2</sup> the United Nations forces contributed heroically to the implementation of United Nations resolutions on Korea in the face of great sacrifices and difficulties. In that manner the North Korean attempt to unify the country by force was thwarted, only after it had caused unprecedented tragedy and sacrifice in the more than four-thousand-year history of the Korean people.

50. In the spring of 1954 a political conference was held at Geneva among the countries concerned. Both parts of

Korea were represented in the conference, which discussed the problem of the peaceful reunification of the Korean people. However, the conference witnessed an exchange of demands which allowed of no settlement under the then prevailing international situation, with a severe East-West cold war confrontation. The Korean question, unsettled, was sent back to the United Nations.

51. As Members may recall, the question was placed on the United Nations agenda each year from 1955 to 1970. And, each time, this Committee adopted by an overwhelming majority a resolution reaffirming the principle of self-determination for the Korean people. The Committee asserted that the unification of Korea should be achieved by establishing an independent, democratic and representative form of government through free elections held throughout Korea under United Nations supervision. These resolutions have not been implemented, however, because of the intransigence of North Korea.

52. The situation which has developed in the Korean peninsula following the Korean war and South-North relations in recent years can be summarized as follows. First, the barrier between the South and the North has become higher and thicker. The military demarcation line did not remain as such but grew into a solid wall, preventing and precluding all exchanges, including the reunion of separated family members. Secondly, the societies in the South and the North have lost their homogeneity. For decades the two parts have lived in complete separation from each other and under different ideologies and systems. National homogeneity has diminished in all spheres, and especially the political, economic, cultural and social. Thirdly, mutual distrust and antagonism between the two have deepened. This is a direct result of the atrocities committed during the Korean war and the subsequent North Korean policy geared to military confrontation. North Korea has committed more than 20,000 violations of the Armistice Agreement during the last two decades.

53. Even after its attempts to unify Korea by force had been frustrated in the 1950s, North Korea maintained a military strength extravagantly out of proportion to its true capacity. Spurred on by this tremendous armed strength, North Korea is insinuating a military settlement, thereby threatening the Republic of Korea. For instance, a top North Korean leader declared at the Fifth Congress of the Workers' Party on 2 November 1970 that North Korea had completed its four major military objectives of arming the entire population, fortifying the entire land, training all the armed forces as cadres, and modernizing military armaments. The North Korean military strength, including aircraft, submarines and other types of weapons, is much superior to that of the Republic of Korea.

54. While the prospect of peaceful unification of Korea has grown increasingly remote with tension mounting between the two parts, we firmly believe that for peaceful reunification to become a reality war must be prevented, tension must be reduced and dialogue must be accelerated to remove the artificial barrier and foster mutual trust between the South and the North.

55. On 15 August 1970 the President of the Republic of Korea, on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of

<sup>2</sup> *Official Records of the Security Council, Eighth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1953, document S/3079, appendix A.*

the national liberation, called on North Korea to abandon its scheme to reunify the country by force and under communist rule. President Park, in keeping with this spirit, initiated the South-North dialogue.

56. The South-North Red Cross Conference was organized at our initiative in the autumn of 1971 to deal with humanitarian questions concerning the dispersed families. On 4 July 1972 the historic South-North Joint Communiqué was issued advocating peaceful coexistence between the two parts.

57. The 50 million Koreans whole-heartedly welcomed the South-North dialogue, convinced that it would eventually contribute towards the easing of tension in the Korean Peninsula and the peaceful reunification of their country. In view of this fervent national aspiration, the Government of the Republic of Korea is making every effort towards the success of the dialogue, which represents the first such undertaking among the Koreans in the course of a quarter-century of national division.

58. An overwhelming majority of the United Nations Member States also welcomed the dialogue. In its desire to see a successful outcome, the General Assembly voted to postpone the question of Korea for a period of two years, first in 1971 and again in 1972.

59. The South-North dialogue thus generated much hope and expectation in Korea and elsewhere. The Red Cross Conference met seven times in Seoul and Pyongyang, while the South-North Co-ordinating Committee had five separate meetings. In addition, a large number of working-level meetings has been held.

60. However, today we deeply regret to report to you that very little progress has been made so far towards the solution of practical problems.

61. We believe that the objectives of the South-North dialogue are to eliminate the deep-rooted distrust between the South and the North, replace it with mutual trust, consolidate peace and ultimately achieve unification through increasing and expanding South-North exchanges. If tension persists or heightens and armed clashes occur, it will unquestionably retard the unification for several decades and will directly threaten the peace. It is our basic position that the South-North dialogue should settle humanitarian questions in its first stage and endeavour to realize non-political exchanges in its second. The third stage would embody attempts to settle political questions.

62. In keeping with this basic position, my Government has made a number of concrete, practical proposals towards the reuniting of dispersed families. We have offered various forward-looking proposals in the South-North Co-ordinating Committee. These covered the establishment of a joint secretariat, the implementation of exchanges in the economic and social fields, and the complete opening of the societies in the South and the North to each other. In his special foreign policy statement of last June [see A/9027, para. 17], the President of the Republic of Korea proposed an interim measure, pending reunification, that the South and the North should join the United Nations simultaneously, while refraining from interfering in each other's

internal affairs. He also emphasized that "the Republic of Korea will open its door to all the nations of the world on the basis of the principles of reciprocity and equality. At the same time, we urge those countries whose ideologies and social institutions are different from ours to open their doors likewise to us."

63. Our position also regarding the dialogue is that the two parts should not interfere with each other's internal affairs and systems. We also believe that the dialogue should first handle non-political issues capable of solution at this stage and then move step by step towards more difficult and complicated political and military questions, once mutual trust has been established.

64. The North Korean posture contrasts sharply with our constructive and forward-looking approach. We have noted with deepest regret that there has been no change, despite the dialogue, in the basic North Korean strategy. The preamble to the charter of the North Korean Workers' Party which forms the core and nucleus of the North Korean power structure, clearly states as follows:

"The immediate objective of the Korean Workers' Party is to assure a complete victory for socialism in the southern half of the Republic, and to perform the tasks necessary for a pan-national, anti-imperialist, anti-feudalist and democratic revolution. The ultimate goal is to build a communist society."

65. That statement divulges in no ambiguous terms the ultimate objective of the so-called "peaceful unification" which North Korea is pursuing. Its basic position has been indubitably and irrefutably clear in the entire course of the South-North dialogue. At the Red Cross Conference dealing with humanitarian questions, North Korea demanded the repeal of the national security laws of the Republic of Korea as a prerequisite to any discussions concerning reunion of dispersed families. While they oppose our realistic proposal for material and personnel exchanges, the North Koreans repeat demands designed to bring about a military vacuum in the Republic of Korea. On 28 August of this year, North Korea unilaterally broke off the South-North dialogue. We have urged and still urge North Korea to abandon this attitude immediately and resume its role in the South-North dialogue.

66. We have repeatedly clarified our desire to carry on the dialogue. With all sincerity and patience we shall continue to seek to persuade North Korea to see the importance of continuing the talks. We believe dialogue is the only way to secure a lasting peace and to fulfil the aspiration of the 50 million Koreans to reunify their fatherland. This aspiration is an ever-burning, ever-renewing desire, to be neither snuffed out nor stifled by anyone.

67. I now wish to address myself to the two draft resolutions which have been submitted on the question of Korea. They differ greatly in their approaches and reasoning. I shall initially raise a few points concerning the approach.

68. First, in draft resolution A/C.1/L.644 and Corr.1, supporters of the North Korean position state that halting the interference of foreign countries in Korea's internal

affairs is the key to easing tensions—turning the armistice into a durable peace, promoting a smooth dialogue between South and North. This argument misrepresents the true situation.

69. I wish to point out that our internal affairs have never been interfered with or directed by a foreign Power. Nor will they ever be. Ever since the liberation in 1945, North Korea has flatly rejected the major principle of establishing a democratic, representative form of government through general elections throughout Korea.

70. North Korea has argued since the Geneva Conference of 1954 that the United Nations Command and the foreign troops in the Republic of Korea were interfering in the internal affairs of Korea. It has incessantly called for the dissolution of the United Nations Command.

71. We can only say that North Korea is still challenging and defying the competence and authority of the United Nations as well as the good sense and rationality of mankind; for North Korea invidiously terms the United Nations Command “foreign troops” and speaks of it as “occupation forces”, arguing that they are causing tension and friction in the peninsula. In truth, this body is in Korea by virtue of a Security Council resolution [*resolution 84 (1950)*], with our whole-hearted consent, for the sole purpose of maintaining peace and security.

72. Secondly, the same draft resolution expresses the desire that a peace agreement should be concluded and a many-sided collaboration and interchange realized in the political, military, economic, cultural and diplomatic spheres.

73. North Korea demands the dissolution of the United Nations Command and withdrawal of foreign troops as a pre-condition to settling any other questions in the South-North dialogue.

74. We experienced the national tragedy brought about by the unprovoked attack launched by North Korea on 25 June 1950, a few months after the complete withdrawal of United States troops from the Republic of Korea. The situation in those days is vividly recorded in the proceedings and relevant resolutions of the Security Council.

75. I should also like to point out that the so-called peace agreement which ostensibly advocates peace contradicts the North Korean opposition to the simultaneous admission of both parts to the United Nations. That proposal is also incompatible with the North's proposal that Korea join the United Nations as a single State to avoid a permanent division of the country.

76. It seems that the ulterior motive of North Korea in offering that self-contradictory proposal is its desire to see the United Nations Forces withdrawn from Korea and thus rattle the security framework of the Republic of Korea. That can be clearly seen from the fact that the North Koreans present it as a pre-condition for the resumption of dialogue.

77. I wish now to explain the position of my Government regarding the conclusions drawn in the draft resolution

submitted by Australia and 26 other Powers [*A/C.1/L.645*].

78. The first point concerns the dissolution of UNCURK. In its annual report this year to the United Nations [*A/9027*], the Commission has recommended its own dissolution. UNCURK was set up in October 1950 pursuant to General Assembly resolution 376 (V), adopted by an absolute majority of Member States, for the reconstruction and rehabilitation of Korea and its peaceful reunification. When the Commission first began its work, in 1950, Korea was a land ravaged by war, suffering from enormous refugee problems.

79. Once the Armistice Agreement had brought an end to three years of hostilities, the Commission mobilized all possible means and demonstrated extraordinary zeal and effectiveness in executing its difficult tasks. For that the Commission has earned the lasting gratitude and admiration of all the peace-loving nations of the world.

80. I take this occasion to express on behalf of the Government and people of the Republic of Korea heartfelt appreciation and admiration for the dedicated work done by the Commission in Korea. We shall uphold the above-mentioned recommendation of the Commission.

81. My second point relates to the presence in Korea of the United Nations Command. The Command, as a party to the Korean Armistice Agreement, has held a total of 344 Military Armistice Commission meetings since the conclusion of that Agreement to ensure its observance. The United Nations Command has effectively prevented the recurrence of war and has maintained peace and security in the area.

82. The dissolution of the United Nations Command would mean the elimination of a principal party to the Armistice Agreement and consequently its virtual invalidation. It would also cause the dissolution of the Military Armistice Commission and the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission, which constitute the only effective machinery to supervise the implementation of the Armistice Agreement as well as the only institutional deterrent against any recurring hostilities in Korea.

83. We must be mindful of the instances in which the withdrawal of the United Nations peace-keeping forces in the absence of effective alternatives invited tragic results.

84. We neither hope nor expect that the United Nations forces will stay permanently in Korea. But their withdrawal should come only after all necessary conditions have been created for a durable peace in Korea. I therefore believe it would be a sound and realistic approach for the Security Council, which established the United Nations Command, to take up the matter with the parties concerned at an appropriate time when the tension is eased and when the danger of a military clash is diminished.

85. North Korea demands the withdrawal of foreign troops from the Republic of Korea. I do not see any need to comment here in detail on the stationing of foreign troops in Korea, as it is done by mutual agreement and at

our request and lies within the sovereign right of the countries concerned.

86. I wish only to point out that foreign troops are today stationed in many other countries around the world under bilateral or multilateral arrangements. The stationing of foreign troops is an act of self-defence clearly endorsed by the Charter of the United Nations. Indeed, each nation has a sovereign right to decide for itself whether such a step is required.

87. For those reasons the Republic of Korea considers that draft resolution A/C.1/L.644 and Corr.1, proposed by Algeria and others, does not reflect the Korean situation but articulates only the uncompromising North Korean argument. On the other hand, we hold that draft resolution A/C.1/L.645, proposed by Australia and 26 other countries, represents an approach based on the realities in Korea which is conducive to encouraging developments and national reconciliation by ensuring peace and security.

88. Finally, I should like to address myself to the membership of both the Republic of Korea and North Korea in this world Organization.

89. Through its new foreign policy statement of 23 June 1973, the Government of the Republic of Korea amply clarified its position of not opposing joining the United Nations along with North Korea as a temporary measure pending reunification.

90. We find the North Korean argument that simultaneous admission would freeze the division of the country to be an exaggeration devoid of justification.

91. First, we know there have been numerous exceptions to the principle of single representation at the United Nations. We note instances where two or more Member States have been merged to become one Member State. That demonstrates that if they so desire Members can be united after admission to the United Nations. We maintain that the separate admission of the Republic of Korea and North Korea would by no means jeopardize our efforts for the reunification of Korea.

92. Secondly, I wonder how one can logically and coherently reconcile the North Korean argument with the fact that North Korea itself has been actively promoting the concept of two Koreas externally by expanding its diplomatic relations with individual States with which the Republic of Korea has already maintained full diplomatic relations and through its membership recently of the World Health Organization, the International Telecommunication Union, the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, and other international organizations of which the Republic of Korea has long been a member.

93. Thirdly, the contradictory nature of the North Korean position can be shown not only by its applications for United Nations membership in 1949 and 1952, applications which are still technically valid before the Security Council, but also by the fact that North Korea did not oppose the proposal submitted by a permanent member of the Security Council in 1957 to admit the Republic of Korea to the world Organization along with North Korea.

94. In conclusion, I think the Republic of Korea and North Korea should join the United Nations, in keeping with the principle of universality. The Government of the Republic of Korea, in the name of the entire Korean people, will resolutely oppose any eventuality wherein fictitious and specious proposals deprive the 50 million Koreans of opportunities to voice their views and wishes in the world forum, thereby contributing to world peace and international co-operation.

95. I have presented our case here for members' consideration. The Committee is discussing a vital question which has a direct bearing on the future of the 50 million Koreans and on the question of war or peace in the Korean peninsula.

96. As I remarked earlier, the greatest impediment to solving the Korean problem is above all a deep-rooted mistrust and hostility. It has been aggravated since the outbreak of the Korean war. The boundary has become a virtually solid wall between South and North. As time has gone on, the consequences of this division have been detrimental to the unity of the Korean people in both parts of Korea.

97. Until the pervasive air of mutual antagonism and suspicion resulting from this division is dissipated there can be no peaceful unification. I respectfully appeal to representatives in the Committee not to be misled in this respect. We should continue to recognize this stark reality rather than undertake premature and rash action which is fraught with possible failure and danger. Accordingly, the Republic of Korea advocates a carefully considered, gradual approach to bring the two parts of Korea into a peaceful relationship of mutual understanding. We do this not for ourselves alone but for the sake of all Koreans, for the sake of a valid peaceful unification and for the sake of peace in Asia and the whole world. We have thus initiated the South-North dialogue in an effort to bring our people in each part of divided Korea closer together by stages; through mutual efforts towards the solution of humanitarian and social problems. After this has been achieved and after mutual trust has been restored, we would move on to crucial political and military issues.

98. We of the Republic of Korea reaffirm the determination of our people not to tolerate a repetition of the aggression of 1950 and the devastating and cruel struggle that followed it. I repeat: unification is our goal, but through peaceful means. We do not intend to trade slander for slander but to speak and act in peace. To you, my North Korean brothers, I say: let us secure our rightful places in this world body and contribute to the United Nations and our beloved fatherland, and achieve an epoch-making pinnacle in the glorious history of our Korean people. The issue is vital, not easy to solve, but our wisdom, together with yours, inspired by this world forum, can solve it. We can thus lay a foundation for peace in our land, rectifying the tragic period in our recent history. This is our historical mission.

99. And to all others, including particularly those in our region, I reaffirm that we are not only eager to improve relations with them but also ready to discuss this matter. The peace and security of the Korean peninsula is a vital

factor for the maintenance of peace for all the countries in our region as well as the entire world.

100. I hope that all the representatives in this Committee will demonstrate that truth and justice will prevail in the United Nations, which is pursuing the goal of ensuring the peace and prosperity of mankind, for that is the ardent hope of the Korean people to achieve the ultimate objective of peaceful unification.

101. Mr. VEJVODA (Czechoslovakia): At the opening of my statement, I would express, in the name of the Czechoslovak delegation, our satisfaction at the fact that, following several years of delay, the current General Assembly has decided to include in its agenda the question of Korea and to deliberate on it for the first time in the history of the United Nations in the presence of the representatives of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. In this connexion, I should like to extend our sincere greetings to the delegation of the fraternal Democratic People's Republic of Korea, led by Comrade Li Jong Mok, Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs.

102. Twenty-six years have passed since the time when the question of Korea was placed before the General Assembly for deliberation for the first time. Allow me to remind representatives briefly how it happened that the United Nations became involved in this matter, in spite of the fact that originally no United Nations involvement was envisaged at all. At the Moscow talks held between the Foreign Ministers of the USSR, the United States of America and the United Kingdom in December 1945 it was decided, *inter alia*, to "re-establish Korea as an independent State and develop the country on democratic principles". In accordance with the decision of the Yalta Conference in February 1945, the independence of Korea was to be preceded by a temporary trusteeship which, in accordance with the talks held in Moscow, was to last no longer than five years and was to be jointly supervised by its signatories. To implement the agreed principles, a special Joint Commission was established, composed of military representatives of the USSR and the United States of America, and entrusted with the task of assisting in creating the provisional Korean Government. In agreement with that Government, it was to present proposals to the signatories of the Moscow agreement, which would be aimed at arranging the international status of Korea. However, in spite of this agreement, the imperialist Powers blocked the work of the Joint Commission and subsequently wrecked its further activities by means of various obstructions. Later, they used the inactivity of the Joint Commission, which they themselves had caused, as a pretext to request, on 17 September 1947, the inclusion of the Korean question in the agenda of the United Nations General Assembly, in defiance of the international agreements they themselves had signed. Thus, the United Nations was drawn into the solving of this question and the long history of our Organization's deliberations on the Korean question began.

103. At the second session of the General Assembly, in 1947, in spite of the fact that the representatives of socialist countries clearly proved that the course taken by imperialist Powers was in violation of international agreements, the mechanical voting majority adopted resolution 112 (II) on the establishment of the United Nations

Temporary Commission on Korea. Its work was later assumed by the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea. As a result of the consequent development, the 38th parallel, which served originally as a demarcation line for the Soviet and United States armies at the close of the war with Japan, turned into an artificial boundary, dividing the country. It is well known that subsequent events culminated in the so-called Korean war in which the whole United Nations as well as its flag and insignia were flagrantly misused. That war was a result of the ill-fated aggressive policy of the United States in Asia at that time, a policy which later brought about another set of developments in another part of Asia, namely, Viet-Nam. The representative of Algeria explained very clearly in his brilliant statement at the 1957th meeting how the United Nations was misused by the United States to cover up its military intervention and to perpetuate the division of Korea.

104. The majority of the Korean people have never agreed with the artificial division of their country. On the contrary, they support every effort aimed at putting an end to that state of affairs. That is why last year's talks between the representatives of North and South Korea which resulted in the adoption of the South-North Joint Communiqué of 4 July 1972, in which three fundamental principles for peaceful unification agreed on by both parties are embodied, have met with such a broad response.

105. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea, proceeding from its peaceful policy and taking into account the interests of the Korean people, has in all seriousness approached the implementation of the agreed principles relating to the unification of the country. It has therefore presented a number of constructive proposals and measures to give life to the agreed principles. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea has presented, among other numerous proposals, a principal five-point programme to eliminate the danger of a military confrontation between the two parts of Korea, a programme which might turn out to be one of the first steps to implementing the agreed principles for the peaceful reunification of the country.

106. It is in the light of the aforementioned facts that, in our opinion, we should regard the latest proposals by some delegations, mainly of Western countries, to admit both parts of Korea to membership of the United Nations. We emphatically reject that proposal, which is aimed at the strengthening of the division of Korea. We fully support the just demand of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea that only one, unified Korean State should be admitted to the United Nations. The admission of both parts of Korea separately not only would be against the stabilization of the situation in Korea but, on the contrary, would create a new hotbed of tension in Asia and a permanent threat to universal peace. Further, it would be a step contrary to the Charter of the United Nations. Durable and lasting peace in Korea can be secured only in one way: the peaceful unification of the country.

107. The enemies of unification are exerting efforts to achieve the permanent division of Korea and, in this context, to attain the admission of both parts of Korea, and are using every argument to justify in some way or other

their separatist intentions, which are contrary to the interests of the Korean people.

108. Citing the membership of both parts of Korea in some United Nations specialized agencies, they spare no effort to prove that the membership of both parts of Korea in the United Nations proposed by them would be, as a matter of fact, only a formality since such membership already exists in the specialized agencies. Such assertions must, however, be rejected as improper, since there is a difference of principle between membership of the United Nations as a world political organization and membership in the United Nations specialized agencies aimed at promoting international co-operation in the fields of science, technology, culture and other specialized fields of human activity.

109. Similarly, we must reject any effort to compare the present situation in Korea with that of the two German States, particularly with regard to the admission to membership of the United Nations of the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany. As the only State bordering directly on both German States, we are particularly aware of the difference between the two situations. The division of Germany has a different historical and political background which must be viewed in the broader context of European historical developments.

110. The solution of the whole question will certainly not be easy and will yet require the extensive efforts of all progressive forces. The Czechoslovak delegation believes that a realistic basis for durable peace and a new atmosphere of coexistence on the Korean peninsula, as well as for the gradual unification of the country, is represented by the latest five-point proposal of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, a proposal whose substance lies in creating conditions for the peaceful and democratic reunification of Korea.

111. That proposal—presented by Comrade Kim Il Sung, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea and President of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, on the occasion of the visit by the Czechoslovak Party and State Delegation to a rally in Pyongyang on 23 June 1973—would, in our opinion, contribute at the same time to the strengthening of peace and security in Asia. The Czechoslovak people highly appreciate the initiatives connected with the peaceful policy pursued by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and fully support the efforts of the Korean people to live in a unified and peaceful Korea. This unswerving support was expressed in the statement of Mr. Gustáv Husák, head of the Czechoslovak Party and State Delegation, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, at the above-mentioned rally for Czechoslovak-Korean Friendship at Pyongyang, who stressed that, together with the other progressive peoples of the world, the people of Czechoslovakia firmly believes that the Korean people will succeed in achieving its national aspiration: the peaceful unification of the country.

112. Changes that have occurred in our Organization during the past few years in accordance with the over-all trend towards international détente create one of the pre-conditions for restoring the prestige of the United

Nations in dealing with the Korean question. This year the General Assembly has an opportunity to contribute its share to the peaceful solution of the problem, which is an anachronism and a consequence of the injustice of the cold-war period. We view as a realistic path towards that solution the draft resolution proposed by Algeria and other countries [A/C.1/L.644 and Corr.1], which embodies in substance the following: the dissolution of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea; the abolition of the right of foreign troops stationed in South Korea to use the United Nations insignia and flag; and the immediate withdrawal of all foreign troops from South Korea.

113. The assertion of the just demands of the Korean people in its efforts to unify its country peacefully is the cause of all the peace-loving forces and peoples of the world. That is why the fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Algiers in September 1973, also gave its full support in the resolution it adopted to the demand that all foreign troops should be withdrawn from South Korea, that their right to use the United Nations flag should be abolished and that UNCURK should be dissolved and Korea admitted to membership of the United Nations only as a unified State.

114. The Czechoslovak delegation has always lent its support to the just demands of the Korean people, and has consistently been an interpreter of its interests in the United Nations, as underlined in the statement of Bohuslav Chnoupek, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, in the general debate at the current session of the United Nations General Assembly, who stated:

“We support these initiatives because their aim is to bring about a democratic reunification of the country by peaceful means, without external interference. We believe that it is essential for the United Nations to encourage these aspirations by endorsing unreservedly the justified proposals of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.”  
[2142nd plenary meeting, para. 149.]

115. That is why the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic has also this year become a sponsor of the aforementioned draft resolution, which, in our opinion, expresses the fundamental interests, aspirations and demands of the Korean people.

116. Mr. ALARCON (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): First of all, on behalf of my delegation I should like to extend the most fraternal welcome to our comrade Li Jong Mok and the members of his delegation. The presence here of the representative of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea constitutes a historic milestone for the United Nations. This event bespeaks a complete turning-point in a course that for more than 25 years was imposed on the discussion of the Korean question by imperialism and its allies. This is an undeniable victory for those of us who have consistently defended the right of the people of Korea to independence.

117. Now for the first time in the history of this Organization, the First Committee has taken up the question of Korea by hearing the true representatives of the

Korean people. For 26 years this Organization was forced to interfere in the domestic affairs of that country; the Organization was used as an instrument for both interference and aggression; it was forced to disregard its own Charter, and for all that period of time, through all sorts of manoeuvres and pressures, the door to this hall was closed in the face of the only ones who were authorized to speak on the destiny of the Korean nation, namely, the legitimate and worthy representatives of their people.

118. In stating the joy of my delegation at this new turn of events and in cordially welcoming the representatives of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, we read into their presence here the victory of all the peoples who are fighting against imperialism and struggling for their independence, as a proof of the fact that in the long run, regardless of the obstacles imposed upon them by their enemies, justice, the law and the will of peoples will always prevail. Through them we greet the heroic people that, under the leadership of Kim Il Sung and the Korean Workers' Party, have victoriously withstood imperialist aggression, persevered in their struggle to defend their inalienable national rights and defended and continue firmly to defend their independence.

119. When we heard the important statement of the Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea yesterday [1957th meeting], we recalled the earlier experiences in the debates on the Korean question. Yesterday's meeting appeared as a decisive milestone in the discussion of the problem and, looking back over the past as it was so eloquently described by comrade Li Jong Mok, we could clearly see the bankruptcy of the aggressive policy imposed by United States imperialism on the Korean people since the end of the Second World War.

120. The debate on the Korean question in the United Nations has been a long one. It has covered the entire history of the Organization. In the course of that debate, imperialism has resorted to all the manoeuvres and ruses imaginable. As the Organization has become more representative of the world of today, as new independent States have increased its membership and as the United States hegemony over this Assembly has crumbled, imperialism has had to devise and invent new manoeuvres. The immediate objective was always the same, namely, to prevent the Assembly from exercising its right to adopt just solutions to solve the Korean question once and for all, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and international law. The strategic objective did not change, either—namely, to perpetuate interference in the domestic affairs of Korea, to interfere brazenly in the life of the people, to try to keep South Korea tied to imperialism's plans of world domination and subjected to Yankee monopolies.

121. For over two decades the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea was slandered. It was accused of being the aggressor. It was held up to us as being the arch enemy of the United Nations. We were told for many years that the United Nations had a presumed duty to act as the means of reunifying Korea. For years the world was subjected to the argument that the instruments created by United States imperialism and poorly disguised

as international entities, such as the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea and the so-called United Nations Command, had a useful and necessary role to play in the solution of the problems confronting the Korean people. For years this hall resounded with the argument that the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea was responsible for the division of that country, whereas the Government in Washington and its allies and paid retainers were supposedly the defenders of Korean reunification.

122. Fortunately, however, outside this hall history marched on in its inexorable way. The irresistible process of the emancipation of peoples under colonialist and imperialist exploitation continued. The truth gradually emerged victorious for Korea too, and started to penetrate the walls of the conference room of the First Committee. One by one the imperialist arguments were worn threadbare; one by one the lies proved unavailing.

123. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea, despite the incalculable damage caused by the brutal Yankee aggression of 1950, was nevertheless able to create a prosperous, powerful and independent socialist economy. It expanded its contacts with foreign countries, it earned friends on all continents and it made the truth known. Precisely those delegations that for two decades had imposed the discussion of the Korean question on us here to repeat annually their slander against that country, suddenly in 1971 and 1972 wanted to avoid the discussion and proposed its postponement. Now we find that those same delegations, which for 26 long years refused to allow the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to participate in our debate, want it to become, with the South Korean régime, a Member of the United Nations. It is suggested today that the Security Council, which has not touched the matter since its illegal interference in the Korean question, should once again be called upon to study the question of the so-called United Nations troops. To complete the picture, those who until yesterday told us that UNCURK was playing a decisive and positive role, today recommend the dissolution of that Commission.

124. These apparent paradoxes can be explained very easily. They obey the same anti-Korean imperialist logic. In recent years the debate was avoided because the imperialists were afraid of the changes that it might bring about as a result of the deterioration of their old and worn-out automatic majority. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea was barred from participation in the discussion because the truths which it would speak were feared—truths that were ultimately heard yesterday by the Committee.

125. Today, the existence of two Koreas is being invented and it is sought to bring them into the United Nations in order definitively to crystallize the division of the country. Obviously, when the imperialists and their allies have been unmasked once and for all as those who are responsible for and are promoting the division of Korea, they can no longer uphold the existence of a Commission which, according to them, was to promote the reunification of that country.

126. With regard to the dissolution of the Commission, our position is well known. We have always insisted that that organ should cease to exist. We must say that the

product yielded by that Commission was thousands of useless pages of documents, teeming with lies and slander, and, furthermore, that the amount of money that Member States had to contribute to keep that spectre of the cold war in existence for so long was scandalous. The only positive thing the Commission has done in all that time is to have drafted paragraph 106 of its latest report [A/9027], where at last it recommends its own dissolution.

127. With regard to the contention that it is the Security Council that should discuss the matter of troops stationed south of the 38th Parallel, the intention again is obvious. Those troops were organized by United States imperialism. They are and have always been under the control and orders of the Pentagon. The only United Nations things they possess are the flag and the blue berets. Those who now allege a presumed Council jurisdiction over those troops should be asked why it is that for years it was here in the Assembly, and not in the Security Council, that they called for those troops to remain where they were. They should also explain to the Committee precisely how many reports on the activities of these troops have been examined by that or any other organ of the United Nations, who controls them, to whom they are accountable, who nominates their leaders, and so on and so forth.

128. The reality is well known. The troops occupying South Korea are basically United States troops. They receive orders from the Pentagon, and only from the Pentagon. Their sole mission lies in perpetuating Yankee intervention, upholding the South Korean clique, and standing in the way of the reunification of the country. The so-called United Nations Command is a cloak behind which to hide Yankee aggression. The clumsy manoeuvre of depriving the Assembly of the right to take decisions concerning those troops is intended to prevent the expression of the will of the majority of the Organization, which has nothing to do with the aggressive designs of the Pentagon, and to perpetuate the military occupation of South Korea, thanks to the United States veto.

129. The solution of the Korean problem lies within the grasp of the Assembly. The Korean nation is one. The Korean nation has existed as a unified and independent entity for many centuries. The artificial division of Korea is the result of United States aggression; and if it has lasted for a quarter of a century, it has been exclusively thanks to Yankee interference in Korean questions. The unification of Korea is a matter that falls squarely within the rights of the Korean people to solve, freed from foreign interference. The Korean people is quite able to solve this matter itself and will do so despite all the contrary plans that United States imperialism and its allies may elaborate.

130. Yet the United Nations and the First Committee in particular do have one duty regarding the problem of Korea, since this Organization was used as a tool of aggression against that country and even today its symbols are used by the aggressors who continue to interfere in the domestic affairs of the Korean people. It is for those reasons that I say that this Committee, without further delay, must adopt the decisions required to enable the United Nations to cease to be used as the tool for

interference in the life of that people, so that this Organization shall cease to be used to violate its own Charter and the principles of law.

131. The only way of redressing and correcting the mistaken conduct of this Organization, into which it was drawn by United States imperialism, is to approve at the present session the draft resolution that Cuba, together with a large number of countries, has the honour to sponsor [A/C.1/L.644 and Corr.1]. That draft resolution contains the basic elements that define the responsibilities and the duties of this Organization with respect to the decision which it must take and which sooner or later it will have to take.

132. Those elements have been stated and reiterated by us year after year in this Committee, and today they are supported by a large number of States Members of the United Nations.

133. First of all, the United Nations must decide to dissolve the Command and prohibit the use of the symbols of the Organization by the troops occupying South Korea. It must call for the withdrawal of those troops, which do not belong to the United Nations and are not United Nations troops but troops that were taken to Korea as part of the general aggressive planning of the Washington Government. The United Nations must decide to dissolve the so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea and it must stop interfering in the domestic affairs of that country.

134. That line of reasoning was unanimously supported at the Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, numbering more than half the membership of this Organization, when they met in September of this year in Algiers.

135. That line of reasoning, furthermore, is in keeping with the interests and the will of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, for whom the defence of national independence, the defence of the principle of non-interference in the domestic affairs of a people, constitute sacred principles that must be upheld at all times.

136. Today our Organization is once again being invited to follow the other line of conduct, the line of conduct which was imposed upon it by United States imperialism over two decades ago and which is designed to make this Organization an instrument of aggressive United States policies. A two-fold admission is planned, the two-fold admission of what they call "both Koreas"—as though that could be conducive to the unification of the country. The fact is that if we were to admit "both Koreas", as they are called in this document, to the United Nations, we would thereby be consolidating the division of the country, and the final and unappealable responsibility for that division would lie squarely with the United Nations.

137. I think it only appropriate to recall that 20 years ago this Organization was also invited to adopt decisions of a partitionist nature. Those decisions were to give rise to very serious international problems that have bedevilled the United Nations ever since. Twenty years ago an effort was

made here to present, as a solution to a problem, the partitioning of a country, ignoring the inalienable rights of its population and thereby not only committing a gross violation of the principles of law, but also creating one of the most acute centres of international conflict with which the Organization has had to deal since.

138. We cannot believe that in 1973 imperialism and its allies can again persuade this Assembly to repeat history; again to divide a single country; once again to ignore the sacred right to self-determination of its people; to create, in short, a new Palestine—surely not at this stage in the life of our Organization.

139. Before concluding, on behalf of my Government and my delegation I should like to state our whole-hearted support for the consistent positions adopted by the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on the question of the peaceful and independent reunification of Korea under the leadership of Comrade Kim Il Sung and the Workers' Party.

140. The Committee is debating this subject after having had a chance to hear for the first time not only the representatives of the South Korean régime but also the representatives of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Two messages have been heard by members here and it is up to them to weigh and understand those messages. One speaker yesterday defended with fervour and intransigence the right of his people to independence; the other today tried to justify the subjection of his country to foreigners. One speaker yesterday called for an end to foreign interference in the affairs of Korea; the other today asked that the occupying troops that govern Korea should remain. One speaker yesterday proclaimed the inalienable right of his country to national unification; the other today asked us to confirm the division of his country and make it definitive. One speaker represents the interests and ideals of all peoples struggling for independence and sovereignty; the other today echoed the interests of imperialism. One speaker yesterday represented the inevitable future; the other today insisted on preserving a past which this Committee is called upon to bury once and for all.

141. Mr. IPOTO EYEBU BAKAND'ASI (Zaire) (*interpretation from French*): It will be remembered that the question of Korea which the Committee is now considering is one of those issues which fuelled the cold war. In other words, the spirit which so long prevailed in international relations did not favour the settlement of this issue. Now that we are witnessing a gradual improvement in relations between the great antagonists of yesterday, there are grounds for believing that Member States will be able to make an effort to achieve a degree of impartiality in their judgement on the Korean question, and this suggests to the delegation of Zaire certain reflections which we would like to share with the international community as a whole.

142. At a time when the principle of universality is being enthusiastically affirmed by so many delegations on the occasion of the admission of the two Germanys to the United Nations, we find ourselves in a kind of dilemma, which is reflected in the draft resolutions before us. We would like to state immediately that we are in favour of the suggestions contained in the draft resolution of the

non-aligned countries in document A/C.1/L.644 and Corr.1, which reflects the aspirations of the two Koreas to live in unity as the basis for the harmonious flowering of the Korean nation in its cultural, economic and social life.

143. National cohesiveness is a positive element that helps States to achieve valuable progress in the affirmation of their national identity, sovereignty and political independence. Unity, as my country knows so well, strengthens the capacity of a State to resist foreign forces, while division weakens it and exposes it to foreign domination. That is why we want to encourage the trend towards unity which has been manifested ever since 1971.

144. The two Korean States have renewed their dialogue, thus ushering in a new era after a period during which there was no true communication. We are in favour of sincere dialogue between the parties in a form that will bring to the same table the children of the same motherland for the discussion of problems which are properly their own. The immediate effect of dialogue is to reduce tension and promote mutual understanding.

145. We unreservedly support the South-North Joint Communiqué which, *inter alia*, contains the following three principles: that reunification should be brought about in independence, with no intervention of foreign forces; that reunification should be brought about by peaceful means; and that the protagonists should surmount their ideological differences and promote the idea of close national unity.

146. Beyond the sphere of political, economic and cultural relations, the two entities should institute a human exchange that will be the precursor of integration, and other countries should do everything in their power to encourage the resumption of the interrupted dialogue.

147. We believe that the provisions of the draft resolution of the non-aligned countries take into account the principle of self-determination enshrined in the San Francisco Charter, a principle that should be applied in this situation together, moreover, with the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of States.

148. To resolve the dilemma that seems to be involved because of the need for ensuring universality, it suffices to quote the words of the President of the Republic of Zaire, who so judiciously pointed out a way of approaching the problem:

“Regarding the problem of Korea, the Republic of Zaire enjoys excellent relations with both parts of that land, North and South, that share the votes of the Korean people. For this reason, we suggest to all Members of our Organization that they refrain from taking any action that might widen the gulf between the two parties, and that, rather, they help them to pursue the course that they have freely chosen for themselves, namely that leading to reunification. In the meantime, they can be admitted as observers. And if they succeed, as we earnestly hope they will, in reaching unity, we will, needless to say, have a single Korean nation represented here by a single delegation. But if, unfortunately, the goal at present being sought is not reached, then we shall have to bow to the inevitable and admit two delegations, just

as we have done in the case of the two Germanys.”  
[2140th plenary meeting, para. 140.]

149. Zaire in no way intends to espouse the cause of either of the two Korean entities. If there is need of proof of this, it suffices to say here that the State Commissioner for Foreign Affairs of Zaire has just today completed his official visit to South Korea and is now beginning another official visit, this time to North Korea.

150. To examine the question of Korea, the delegation of Zaire would have liked to see placed before the Committee a draft resolution proposed jointly by the two Korean entities to resolve a problem which is essentially theirs. We do not believe that it is by now too late for the Committee to have before it a document of this kind, one that would serve the higher interests of the Korean people and at the same time facilitate our task.

151. The question of Korea should be left to the people of Korea themselves to solve without foreign intervention, even that of the entire international community.

152. The Committee will, we are convinced, refrain from adopting a resolution which, reflecting an effort to have done with a problem by acting hastily on it, would, instead of bringing the Korean question closer to a solution, only make a solution harder to achieve.

153. Mr. SCALI (United States of America): We are discussing the question of Korea, an item which has been on the agenda of the United Nations in one way or another since 1947. We are presented, at this twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly, with a historic opportunity to make fundamental progress towards resolving the problems that have defied us for so long.

154. I must, frankly, admit to some disappointment at the tone of much of the debate thus far. I think we should all remember that, whatever the positions we, the various Members of the United Nations, may take with respect to this complex problem, the Korean peninsula is an area where many thousands of men of many nationalities have fought, bled and died in loyalty to the different purposes or conflicting objectives they and their countries were serving.

155. We are dealing here with most sensitive human and political problems, problems that have been hallowed by the sacrifices of our fellow men on both sides of the issue. It seems to me that we owe it to the memory of those on both sides to deal with the special matter before us in a spirit of dignity and restraint and with compassion. Some of the statements we have already heard were, regrettably, full of gross distortions and intemperate language. This one-sided rhetoric was hardly in keeping with a subtitle of the item before us, "Creation of favourable conditions to accelerate the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea". Unhappily, it seems the fashion of some of our members to indulge themselves in this kind of abusive oratory as standard fare. I have no intention of replying in kind or of refuting in detail the distortions of fact and history which others have sought to put before us as representing truth. Let me say instead that I am impressed with the positive approach taken this morning by the Foreign Minister of the Republic of Korea. Minister Kim

was constructive and conciliatory, not contentious. He looked forward towards peace and reunification, not backward towards confrontation and division.

156. I have noted that one speaker yesterday told us of the wishes and desires of—and I quote him—"the entire Korean people". It is not clear to me who has authorized another delegation to speak for "the entire Korean people". Is not the principle behind this Assembly's invitation to the two Foreign Ministers that they are thereby enabled to speak for the entire Korean people? I think it would be best to let the representatives of the two parts of Korea speak for themselves.

157. My delegation sees no profit for anyone in refighting the Korean war each year here in the General Assembly. The United Nations archives possess a vast library of speeches and documents bearing witness to those sad events of the past. I think it profits us little to listen to uninformed or biased accounts of the origins and resolution of that conflict. There are, I know, countries where history can be rewritten to suit the needs of the moment. But the past remains unchanged. The real facts are unchallengeable.

158. The United Nations has brought peace to Korea and has contributed to the maintenance of that peace for 20 years. Is there any State represented here today that is in a position to guarantee, given the current state of relations between the parties concerned, that this peace would be maintained without the United Nations? I think not. Certainly the situation in Korea has changed greatly for the better in the past several years. In 1971 the Republic of Korea initiated talks between its Red Cross Society and that of North Korea. In 1972, again on the initiative of the Republic of Korea, talks were opened between the two Governments. These negotiations culminated in the South-North Joint Communiqué of 4 July of that year, in which both sides agreed to work for the ultimate reunification of Korea by peaceful means and to establish a Joint Co-ordinating Committee for that purpose.

159. In recognition of these promising steps, UNCURK has recommended that its mandate should be terminated. My delegation believes this recommendation should be accepted. My delegation pays a special tribute to the members of UNCURK for the valuable and honourable service they have performed—performed so well in fact as to eliminate the need for the continuation of the Commission.

160. All this represents progress to a degree that few would have believed possible a short time ago. But let us not delude ourselves. The situation on the Korean peninsula is not normal. We would not be here discussing it if it were. North Korea and South Korea are divided by a demilitarized zone, not a normal international boundary. The Korean Armistice Agreement ensures respect for that zone. The armistice in turn is monitored by a Military Armistice Commission which is comprised of the Korean People's Army, the Chinese People's Volunteers and the United Nations Command—the three signatories of the armistice. Such a structure may not be the ideal one to preserve peace and foster reconciliation in Korea, but it would be foolhardy in the extreme to impair its operation before a better alternative is put in its place. My Government stands

ready to work with the parties concerned and the members of the Security Council to see whether an improved arrangement can indeed be devised.

161. To clear up one possible misconception, I should note that United States military forces are stationed in Korea on the basis of a bilateral agreement between the United States and the Republic of Korea, in accordance with Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations. We are ready to withdraw these forces at any time at the request of the Republic of Korea or whenever the conditions for a lasting peace in the area have been fulfilled. We need not despair of conditions for such a peace being fulfilled. The Republic of Korea in June of this year announced a constructive and conciliatory policy which everyone genuinely interested in the peaceful unification of Korea can only applaud.

162. It is a matter of sincere regret to many that North Korea does not appear to be ready to assume the privileges and responsibilities of United Nations membership at this time, despite the fact that it recently insisted on observer

status in our Organization, but we, as reflected in the draft resolution we have sponsored, would be the last to force full membership upon it. However, we believe all here would wish it to be made clear that its absence from this body is self-imposed and not a result of any unwillingness on the part of the United Nations membership to see it sitting among us.

163. For the many reasons I have just cited, my delegation supports draft resolution A/C.1/L.645. This draft resolution represents a sincere effort on the part of all its sponsors to frame a consensus acceptable to the broad mass of the United Nations membership. Both this draft resolution's tone and its contents are reasonable. In putting this draft forward, its sponsors are genuinely seeking to encourage movement on the Korean issue in a direction acceptable to all. I am confident that the great majority of us here favour conciliation rather than confrontation. It is this positive spirit of conciliation that has inspired the draft resolution.

*The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.*