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

AGENDA ITEM 41 (concluded)

Question of Korea (A/9027, A/9145 and Add.1-5, A/9146, A/C.1/1034, 1038, 1042, 1043, A/C.1/L.644 and Corr.1, 645, 657, 661, 664):

- (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. TRAORÉ (Mali) (*interpretation from French*): The delegation of Mali has no objection to the consensus that was reached this morning since it was accepted by the main parties concerned. Nevertheless, we must stress once again the gravity of the Korean problem because of the implications of our Organization's involvement in this unhappy affair. The heroic people of Korea—which for aeons have not lost their national identity and unity despite the vicissitudes of history, and which have struggled for several thousand years to avoid enslavement—would not accept the partition that some wish to impose upon them under the banner of the United Nations. As we know, after the victory over Japan, the Soviet Union and the United States, which had no doubt about Korean realities, in 1945, with the participation of the United Kingdom and China, concluded the Moscow Agreement which, while setting up the trusteeship of the two Powers over Korea, created a mixed Soviet-United States Commission for the unification of the country and the formation of a provisional government.

2. The General Assembly of the United Nations, on 14 November 1947 put an end to that trusteeship by 43 votes to none, with 6 abstentions [*resolution 112 (II)*]. But the process of reunification of Korea was thwarted by the intervention of foreign forces. Despite the manoeuvres, the assembly of all the Korean people composed of 360 representatives of the South and 212 of the North, met in North Korea in September 1948, and created a single government with Marshal Kim Il Sung as its President.

3. Then the Security Council, urgently convened, met while the foreign air force and troops were still attacking

North Korea. By Council resolution 84 (1950) adopted on 7 July 1950, under pressure of the United States, an attempt was made to legitimize that aggression by placing the occupation forces under the United Nations flag and by dubbing General MacArthur Chief of the High Command.

4. I wished to cast this backward glance because I wanted to explain why we were ready to accept the consensus; it was imperative that the reasons for the United Nations' implication in the question of Korea should be made clearer. While affirming that United Nations forces should not remain anywhere in Korea longer than necessary to ensure the unification and independence of the country, the General Assembly, in its resolution 376 (V) of 7 October 1950, recommended that all appropriate steps should be taken to ensure conditions of stability throughout Korea and all constituent acts taken for the establishment of a unified, independent and democratic government in the sovereign State of Korea. It also recommended the co-operation of the two Koreas in this process.

5. It will therefore easily be understood that my delegation supports the recommendation, contained in the consensus, that an end should be put to the existence of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea (UNCURK). As a matter of fact, the Commission itself, aware of its inability to change the current of history, has just requested its own dissolution, while at the same time expressing the hope that the international community will in the future succeed in assessing the problem of Korea more realistically. That admission of failure, even though belatedly made, confirms our profound conviction that our Organization was dragged into a problem that fell exclusively within the sovereignty of the Korean people. If we wish to avoid the bankruptcy of the authority of the United Nations we must immediately act to disengage it from the war of colonial reconquest into which it was dragged in South-East Asia.

6. We must therefore begin by removing the United Nations endorsement of the troops occupying Korea and operating illegally there under the United Nations name. We must do so all the more promptly because the Korean people, which have lost their faith in the international Organization, have themselves created, through their Red Cross organizations, a body that will certainly enable them to bring about in practice their reunification. The United Nations must endeavour to regain its authority in the eyes of the international community by making a positive contribution to the reconstruction of the Korean nation.

7. Although my delegation regrets the fact that a consensus was not achieved on the question of the withdrawal of the troops and on discontinuing the use of the United

Nations flag, it is nevertheless our view that at this stage in the history of Korea, any foreign interference must be forbidden. In our view, the wise five-point proposals put forward by the beloved leader of the Korean people, President Kim Il Sung [see A/9027, para. 19], inasmuch as they take into account the profound aspirations of the Korean people, constitute a realistic basis for settling the Korean question, which, in spite of everything, is still the prime objective of the international community.

8. By encouraging the two parties to continue and to broaden their dialogue, and by removing the Korean question from the possibility of foreign interference, we shall be assisting in the peaceful reunification of Korea, which is the first aim that the United Nations set itself with regard to that country that had been torn apart by the last world war. One of the last and most grave vestiges of the cold war will thus disappear. The Land of the Morning Calm will once again find its strength, drawing from the bountiful history of its age-old past all the resources necessary for its reconstruction. The United Nations must never again allow itself to be dragged into this type of venture, which is contrary to all the principles it invokes and proclaims. We shall then have performed a useful task, becoming reconciled among ourselves first, and then with the martyred people of Korea, with the lofty ideals embodied in our Organization and, finally in the eyes of all mankind.

9. My delegation dares to hope that the provisions of the consensus we have just adopted will be respected and that next year we shall busily set about finding a final solution to the Korean problem.

10. The CHAIRMAN: I should like to take a moment at this stage to refer to a problem with which I find myself faced.

11. Under rule 130 of the rules of procedure, a sponsor of a draft resolution may not explain his position either before or after the vote. As the consensus we have adopted has replaced the vote on draft resolutions A/C.1/L.644 and Corr.1 and 645, that rule should apply to any sponsors of those draft resolutions whose names are inscribed on the list of speakers. However, I believe that it would be only fair to make an exception to the rules of procedure in this case and allow representatives to explain their positions if they wish to do so, even though they were sponsors of one or other of the draft resolutions.

12. As I hear no objection, I take it that the Committee agrees that we should proceed in that way.

13. Mr. GEHLHOFF (Federal Republic of Germany): Nobody will be surprised that the delegation of the Federal Republic of Germany is among those who are speaking on this item. I do so because anything that is said on the subject of divided countries is naturally of special interest to my delegation. And I am all the more pleased to speak on this subject since a consensus, as proposed by the Chairman at the 1966th meeting has been reached. My delegation welcomes this consensus and congratulates all those who have been instrumental in bringing it about.

14. During the debate, which we have been following with keen interest, three things have impressed me most.

15. First, there was the strong advocacy of the aim of the reunification of Korea, as already expressed in the wording of the agenda item and again underlined in all draft resolutions, and in the consensus as well. Equally strong emphasis was placed on the hardships which human beings suffer as a result of a nation's division. The passionate commitment shown by both Korean representatives in stressing this point left a deep impression, and not only on my delegation.

16. Secondly, it seemed remarkable to me that the speakers emphasized the right to self-determination as the basis for the reunification of Korea.

17. And, finally, I consider it symptomatic that most speakers placed the solution of the Korean question within the context of world-wide détente.

18. Starting from those impressions, I should like to say the following. We understand the Korean people's desire for unity only too well. We deeply sympathize with it and we support it wholeheartedly. We belong to a divided nation ourselves and we are familiar with the suffering which this inflicts on human beings, and especially on families that are torn apart. The concern for man has always come first in my Government's policy.

19. In the course of debate, some speakers have expressed legal views which cannot all go uncontradicted. I wish to state here that in our opinion the German Reich did not end either in 1945 or in 1949. Furthermore, some speakers pointed to certain differences between the situation in Germany and that in Korea, and one of them, referring to those differences, apodictically called the reunification of the German people "impossible".

20. My delegation does not fail to recognize that there are certain political and historical differences between Korea and Germany. They may be of interest. Yet there are many similarities too, and above all the core of the problem must not be overlooked, and that is the fact that both peoples are divided, although on account of their history, their culture and their language, by reason of family and other ties, and not least owing to the feeling of solidarity between them, both constitute a whole.

21. It has further been said—and also written, in the memorandum of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea of 10 October 1973 [A/C.1/1034]—that an essential difference between Germany and Korea lies in the fact that the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany, in contrast to the two States in Korea, have expressly agreed to join the United Nations as two States. That is true. The Treaty on the Basis of Relations between the two German States has indeed made it possible for them to become Members of the United Nations. But nobody should understand that to mean that we have resigned ourselves to the German division. As my Foreign Minister and Federal Chancellor, Willy Brandt, reaffirmed on the occasion of our accession to the United Nations on 19 and 26 September 1973 [2119th and 2128th plenary meetings], it continues to be the aim of my Government's

policy to work for a state of peace in Europe in which the German nation will regain its unity through free self-determination.

22. I will not go into this matter in greater detail now because we are discussing the question of Korea and the consensus adopted this morning. Permit me to come back to the question of self-determination to which such great importance is rightly attached in the case of Korea. We have noted with interest and approval the many statements that the internal affairs of each country should be solved by its own people on the basis of the principle of national self-determination. That is indeed our conviction.

23. The question of membership in the United Nations is not mentioned expressly in the consensus. It has been an important issue, however, in the debate. In our view, membership of divided countries in the United Nations does not prevent a people from obtaining the aim of national self-determination. We believe that such membership can be a means of promoting peaceful coexistence. That was reflected in operative paragraph 3 of draft resolution A/C.1/L.645, and it was not least for that reason that we sponsored the draft. I would add that also in that respect the draft did not anticipate the free decision of the Korean people.

24. Let me now come back to what I pointed out at the beginning. In discussing the Korean question we must take into account the wider context of international developments. With growing international détente we have for the first time seen emerge possibilities for a peaceful reunification of Korea. That is an encouraging development. But to be realistic we have to recognize that solving the problems of divided countries can be a difficult and lengthy process. Nobody knows that better than we. Without losing sight of the over-all objective, it should, in my delegation's view, always be considered what possibilities exist for practical steps.

25. Finally, I wish to emphasize that the problems of divided countries can be solved by peaceful means only. That has always been the declared policy of the Federal Republic of Germany and I am happy indeed to see this view strongly reflected in our consensus.

26. Mr. GHAS (Afghanistan): The name of the delegation of the Republic of Afghanistan was inscribed on the list of speakers in the general debate on the question of Korea. But in view of the developments of this morning, which resulted in the adoption of a consensus and the termination by the Committee of the general debate on this item, we shall refrain from speaking at length on the issue before us and shall of course offer no comments on the draft resolutions that were withdrawn.

27. We support the consensus as it was read to us by the Chairman this morning. We support it, first, because it reflects the consent of the principal parties and, secondly, because it underlines the importance in this particular case of dialogue between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Republic of Korea to expedite the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea and urges them to continue their negotiations.

28. In past years, whenever the question of Korea has been discussed in the First Committee, the delegation of Afghanistan has expressed the view that the representatives of both Koreas should without any pre-conditions be given the opportunity to participate in the debate related to that matter. From the very beginning we advocated the necessity of inviting the two parties to take part on an equal footing in the discussion of a problem that directly concerned them. In our opinion, that approach not only was logical and fair but would have better enabled the United Nations to assist the people of Korea in their search for peace and understanding. Moreover, it might have accelerated progress towards an early reunification of the Korean nation. But under the circumstances we were only afforded the occasion to listen to the views of the representatives of the Republic of Korea. Their statements, although informative, could not, obviously, acquaint us fully with all the aspects of the situation obtaining on the Korean peninsula.

29. We are happy that this year the discriminatory measures that have until now hampered the participation of the representatives of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in the deliberations related to their homeland are at last abandoned. That important step towards a just and peaceful settlement of the Korean issue was long overdue, and we wholeheartedly welcome it, as we welcome the establishment of an observer's office at the United Nations by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the presence of the representatives of the Republic of Korea in our midst.

30. The maintenance of international peace and security and the promotion of friendly relations and mutual confidence among nations, call for a speedy solution of the abnormal situation resulting from the division of certain peoples. This unfortunate state of affairs not only creates hardship and frustrations for divided nations themselves, but also gives rise to serious tensions. The division of Korea is a case in point. It is necessary that an end should be put to that situation, the continuation of which is detrimental to the interests of the Korean people and can affect adversely peace in Asia and indeed in the world as a whole.

31. Our attitude with respect to the question of Korea is determined primarily by our concern for the Korean nation, which has lived divided, through no fault of its own, for the last 28 years. The people of Korea in the South and in the North constitutes one nation with one common destiny. It has, therefore, the right to demand its reunification in order to achieve its aspirations as a nation in unity and in peace.

32. It is our considered opinion that the reunification of Korea has to be brought about independently in accordance with the right of self-determination, to which, like all other peoples, the Korean people is entitled. The reunification of the country should be achieved peacefully and without foreign interference. No matter what its form, foreign interference will affect adversely the conditions of peace and confidence essential for the reunification of the Korean nation and the safeguarding of its genuine interests. If these basic considerations are bypassed and the wishes of the Korean people as a whole, in all matters concerning them,

are not fully taken into account, no lasting solution can be possibly found for the problem facing us at present.

33. Whenever efforts are made with a view to assisting the Korean people to realize its long cherished aspiration for reunification, it is imperative that the reality of the situation as it stands at present in Korea be fully borne in mind. The sovereignty of the Korean people is exercised at present by two separate political entities, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Republic of Korea. Any solution for reunification that would not have the concurrence of the two Governments primarily responsible for the reunification of the Korean nation will not yield the desired results.

34. It can be deduced from these basic considerations that with regard to the problem of the unification of Korea and other related matters the agreement of both parties is necessary for the attainment of workable and satisfactory solutions. This could be achieved only through contact and dialogue between them. The two Korean States themselves, which happily started negotiations with a view to easing tensions in Korea and finding ways and means for the peaceful unification of their country, have well understood this necessity. It is because of the importance of dialogue between North and South for settling the Korean problem that we welcomed the beginning of talks held in August 1971 by the Red Cross Societies of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Republic of Korea that broke the deadlock, and the agreement in July 1972 by the two Governments to engage in direct negotiations through a joint South-North Co-ordinating Committee. We have equally noted with satisfaction the Joint Communiqué of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Republic of Korea<sup>1</sup> issued on 4 July 1972, in which they agreed to the three principles of national reunification.

35. We believe that the essential elements for a peaceful reunification of Korea are contained in this Joint Communiqué. We hope that on the basis of these principles, which are enumerated in the consensus adopted this morning by the Committee, the two Korean States will be able to take concrete measures leading rapidly to the peaceful reunification of the country and the satisfactory settlement of the issues separating the North and the South.

36. What is important for the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Republic of Korea now is not to lose the momentum created by the agreement reflected in their Joint Communiqué. The United Nations and other countries concerned can help by contributing to the emergence of favourable conditions that would promote the continuation of dialogue between the two Korean States in an atmosphere of confidence and understanding.

37. As I said a minute ago, our primary concern in dealing with the question of Korea is the well-being of the people of that country and the fulfilment of their aspirations. The Koreans have suffered the wounds of a terrible war and have remained divided for too long. It is high time that this valiant nation were brought together on the basis of

self-determination and given a chance to develop and prosper in unity.

38. Mr. PANYARACHUN (Thailand): It is noteworthy that recent significant and encouraging changes in the international situation as well as conditions in east Asia have made it possible for this Committee to invite simultaneously the representatives of the Republic of Korea and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to participate in the discussion of the Korean item. On behalf of the Thai delegation I should like to extend a cordial welcome to the Foreign Minister of the Republic of Korea, whose statement at the 1959th meeting to the First Committee was both constructive and forward looking. My delegation wishes also to welcome the Chairman of the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, who has taken part for the first time in the Committee's deliberation of this important item. We listened to his statement [1957th meeting] also with great attention. It was our earnest hope that the presence among us of the representatives of the two parts of Korea would have a positive impact on the debate on the item as well as its outcome. The consensus statement which you, Mr. Chairman, read out this morning bears testimony to such a constructive influence.

39. Many speakers have referred to the fact that the Korean question is closely related to the history of the United Nations. It can also be said that our Organization has been associated from the outset with the effort to unify Korea by peaceful and democratic means. It should be remembered that the question of Korea is a legacy of the Second World War and the already complex situation was further exacerbated by the cold war and the confrontation in the 1950's and the early 1960's. It redounds to the credit of our Organization that because of its constructive efforts and stabilizing presence during those difficult years, the conditions have improved sufficiently to enable the two sides to begin a dialogue which has led so far to the Joint Communiqué of 4 July 1972 and the establishment of the South-North Co-ordination Committee.

40. My delegation realizes that the United Nations has played a role in Korea that has been circumscribed by international requirements and the situation prevailing at the time. Although Thailand has proudly contributed to the United Nations efforts in Korea, it does not desire to see the costly and unnecessary perpetuation of the United Nations presence in any country or area of the world.

41. For that reason Thailand supports the decision taken within the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea to dissolve itself, even though Thailand has been a member of the Commission from the beginning and has endeavoured in good faith along with its other members to carry out the Commission's mandate. It is to our regret that the Commission was never given the opportunity to perform its functions to its fullest extent. But it may be said to have had some success in creating favourable conditions to accelerate the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea. The Thai delegation accordingly endorses the Commission's own recommendation in this connexion.

42. With regard to the United Nations Command in Korea, any decision should be taken by the appropriate United

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

Nations organ, namely, the Security Council. The original decision and resolutions to establish the United Nations Command were the actions of the Security Council, in accordance with the provisions of the Charter. The Security Council is, therefore, the proper organ to consider the future of the United Nations Command and take a decision on the matter after careful deliberation and with due circumspection. However, the United Nations, through its appropriate organ, is free to review its own role in the light of present circumstances, and whatever the outcome my country will abide by its decision.

43. My delegation appreciates that present circumstances evidently do not permit the two parts of Korea to become Members of this Organization. This means, in effect, that the people of Korea, both in the North and the South, will continue to be deprived of their right to participate in the decision-making process of the United Nations. Since there is no assurance that unification can be achieved in the immediate future, it would seem that the trend towards the achievement of universality will suffer a setback in the case of Korea. Be that as it may, my delegation takes note with satisfaction of the participation of both the Republic of Korea and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in the United Nations system. We are hopeful, furthermore, that under the right circumstances both North and South Korea will come to some agreement on the form and the timing of membership in the United Nations.

44. The delegation of Thailand joined with 26 other delegations in sponsoring draft resolution A/C.1/L.645. It has always been our view that the question of Korea can be solved through mutual goodwill and understanding, and not through confrontation. Accordingly, the sponsors had not been lacking in their efforts to ensure a calm and careful deliberation of the question and an outcome that would facilitate the peaceful reunification of the two halves of Korea and promote the just settlement of the Korean question in the interests of all the people of Korea and in the interests of the strengthening of peace and security in eastern Asia and the world at large.

45. The world situation has been transformed in recent years; the cold war is giving way to a new era of negotiations. My delegation has consistently supported this promising trend in the expectation that it will contribute to the reduction of tension in all parts of the world. The Korean question is indeed a test case, not of the sincerity of any particular major Power, but of the willingness and the ability of each and every major Power to demonstrate the viability of *détente*, not only in Europe, but also in other, less fortunate, parts of the world. Their policy of dialogue and negotiation should be applied on a non-selective basis and without discrimination to all parts of the globe. The Korean question is, therefore, an acid test to see whether all this talk of *détente* has real substance or is merely a mirage, and whether practical wisdom and statesmanship will prevail at all levels of international relations.

46. We earnestly hope that the two Korean States, the parties directly concerned in this matter, as well as other parts of Asia will benefit from the rising mood for peaceful coexistence and accommodation and that this positive trend as now reflected in the Committee's consensus

decision on the Korean item will be further promoted and carried to a successful conclusion.

47. Mr. SEN (India): Yesterday afternoon when I was preparing a full statement on the important problem of Korea which is before us, I received information that the negotiations which had started a day or so earlier had resulted in a solution which would, on the one hand, make it unnecessary to give any comprehensive analysis of the issues confronting us and, on the other hand, avoid voting on the various draft resolutions submitted by a number of delegations. We are indeed glad of this development, for it is clear to us that none of the draft resolutions could be adopted by the necessary majority without much bitter debate and that further efforts would be needed if any solution commanding wide and varied adherence were to be found. We are further pleased that a realistic formula has been found, and we are now confident that it does indeed reflect the consensus of the Committee.

48. Meanwhile, we have benefited from the views which the Republic of Korea and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea have presented to us through their Ministers. We welcome the participation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in our debate for the first time and appreciate the many gestures of kindness and courtesy that both delegations have made towards all of us. We have always held that no satisfactory discussion, much less a viable solution of the problem, could be expected if both sides were not given a hearing on the basis of equality and with the fullest freedom of expression of opinion.

49. Indeed, the United Nations approach to the Korean question has been marked, regrettably, by its tendency to take decisions on the views of one party alone. This unbalanced approach was to some extent put right when China took its rightful place among us after nearly 22 years; and, today, with the participation of both North and South Korea we are in a position to discuss the issues after all the interested parties have given their views on them.

50. Those considerations made us advocate last year—and mainly privately—that we should at least hear the parties, without debating the question, before they could proceed with their negotiations. However, many Members felt that the presentation of views by the parties would unavoidably lead to acrimonious debate that might stand in the way of satisfactory progress in the negotiations—a progress to which we, all of us, attach the greatest importance. In the afterglow of events, however, there is little doubt that if we had heard the parties last year we could have saved some time and perhaps made the parties more conscious, at an earlier date, of the climate of international opinion.

51. None the less, the Joint Communiqué of 4 July 1972 enunciating principles on which further progress, particularly on the reunification of Korea, can be made is a most useful document. We hope that after the present debate in the United Nations the parties will redouble their efforts to pursue the negotiation in all fields and come to agreement on various matters with the utmost speed and mutual goodwill.

52. The General Assembly's decision to dissolve the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Reha-



bilitation of Korea is also appropriate. It should be our effort to ensure that the people of Korea who have lived together for untold centuries will be able to build a common future for the peninsula without any interference of any kind from outside. Obviously, we have not heard the last of this and other connected problems, and we look forward to a better future for the Korean peninsula in spite of all the difficulties that lie ahead.

53. Mr. UPADHYAY (Nepal): My delegation has been firm in its opinion that the Korean people are a homogeneous people with a long and great tradition of civilized life and that they have a great potentiality for contributing to the peace and prosperity of the world.

54. We have been and we remain staunch supporters of the elimination of all unnatural barriers that have been created between the Korean people, so that they may play a vital role in the destiny of Asia in particular and of the world as a whole. We are only too eager to see the 50 million people unified in a single nation State, which, in our firm opinion, will be possible only through their own efforts. No outside interference or counselling, including that of the United Nations, can be more viable than their own efforts, based on the principles of national self-determination.

55. For those reasons we have welcomed the South-North Joint Communiqué issued by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Republic of Korea on 4 July 1972, in the firm belief that the principles contained therein are fully in conformity with the principles of the United Nations Charter. As a Member of the United Nations and a small nation which has unshakable faith in the United Nations, we express our great satisfaction at this Joint Communiqué.

56. Today, in the United Nations system, the Korean people have been represented by two separate Governments, which bear the burden of a legacy which has been passed to them because of the so-called understanding—followed by misunderstanding—among the great Powers during and after the Second World War. What is needed now is to promote understanding between the two Governments in Korea and among the Korean people themselves, and no one can help them better than they themselves.

57. My delegation expresses its great satisfaction at the outcome which you, Mr. Chairman, announced in your statement. We wish all success to the Korean people in their efforts to reunify their fatherland on the basis of the principles enunciated in the Joint Communiqué.

58. Before concluding, I should like to extend my delegation's warmest welcome to the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, whose presence and participation for the first time in the Committee's deliberations has been of great benefit to us all.

59. Mr. WALDRON-RAMSEY (Barbados): The consensus which you read out to us this morning, Mr. Chairman, represents, in the view of my delegation, an agreement between the Powers sponsoring the two principal draft resolutions before the Committee and, as such, it did not deal with the substance of the issue. As we understand the

consensus, it represents an agreement among the principal parties involved that they will desist from submitting any draft resolutions on the substance of the item before us. But because the views which my Government instructed me to advance in respect of the substance of the issue are still valid, my delegation feels constrained to advance them now.

60. My delegation would recall that Chapter I of the Charter of the United Nations deals with the purposes and principles of the Organization. The second purpose set out in that Chapter is postulated as follows:

"To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace".

61. My delegation cherished the hope that this year the question of Korea might be debated against the background of the three ingredients of the second purpose enunciated in the Charter: first, the development of friendly relations among nations; secondly, respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples; and thirdly, the taking of appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace.

62. The Korean people are one people but, through no fault of their own, they are divided into two nations, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in the north and the Republic of Korea in the south. Two separate and distinct States exist, both in law and in practice. Each engages in normal statecraft, exercising full and independent sovereignty on the bilateral and multilateral levels of international relations. Today both properly take their seats at this Committee table, participating in equal right, albeit without the right to vote, in the debate on the question of Korea, a question which is important to them in particular and to us in this Committee in general.

63. In a certain juridical sense, each State, North Korea and South Korea, represents a separate people, but in another more spiritual and anthropological sense those two separate and distinct political entities represent one indivisible people—the Korean nation. This indivisible Korean nation is an ancient and a great nation, whose history and legend are as glorious and heroic as those of *homo sapiens* and civilization itself. Over thousands of years many attempts have been made by their more powerful and numerous neighbours to subjugate and divide them. Sometimes they were conquered by the marauding hordes of powerful armies, advancing in human waves or traversing the waves of the Yellow Sea, but they were never defeated for long, because of the national paramountcy to retain their ancestral homogeneity and the integrity of the Korean nation.

64. Today the great Korean nation is once again divided along the 38th parallel into two separate peoples after 40 years of colonial rule, up to 1945, with approximately a million men under arms, facing each other in combat-readiness, along the 155-mile demilitarized zone. They are two separate nations today, divided, alas, by political ideology and the geographical boundaries of the armistice lines and the demilitarized zone.

65. But, all that notwithstanding, the Barbados delegation esteems that the second ingredient of the second purpose set out in Article I of the Charter should apply to the two Korean States—that is, they should be allowed to develop friendly relations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples. This single people, now divided into two peoples, should have the right to determine what is best for itself and how best the Korean nation should seek unity and pursue it.

66. As if Japanese colonialism for the 40 years up to 1945 were not enough, that aberration was compounded in 1945 when the victorious allied Powers, whilst removing the Japanese military and colonial régime from Korea, formally divided the country along the 38th parallel, the Soviet Union establishing itself in the north of Korea and the United States establishing itself in the south. As was the case with the German experience, that division of the country in a manner consistent with the wishes and desires of the conquering Powers as distinct from the welfare and interests of the Korean—or German—people led to the perpetuation of ideological cleavages, distrust, suspicion, dangerous brinkmanship and open military clashes and engagements. A great divide was created and a chasm of distrust and misgiving between the two peoples, or their leaders, of such enormous proportions was created that it would seem imprudent to expect to construct a bridge of easy friendship over the 38th parallel in the foreseeable future.

67. That is not to say that the Barbados delegation espies no vision of hope in meetings between the two Koreas, under the auspices of the Red Cross, to search for members of families and to reunite them; nor does our evaluation and analysis of the post-war situation in Germany and Korea blunt our desire for identification with the aspirations and objectives set out in the South-North Joint Communiqué of 4 July 1972, which called for national reunification without outside interference and without the force of arms and for the search for greater national unity through peaceful means. No, we endorse those objectives as both commendable and especially consistent with the United Nations Charter principles which enjoin us “to practise tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours”. We hold those objectives to be praiseworthy. But the Barbados delegation does more than that: we hold the principle to seek reunification through peaceful means to be valid not only for the two Koreas but for the two Germanys, for the two Viet-Nams and for all other divided States.

68. Peace must be our watchword. And this naturally leads my delegation into the element of discussion in the debate which treats with the admission into the United Nations system of the great Korean nation as two separate States or as one State. The line of argumentation we have utilized hitherto indicates of course that we are constrained to assert that we discern but little dissimilarity, if any, between the situation in the two Germanys and the situation in the two Koreas.

69. In 1945, for instance, both Korea and Germany were divided by victorious allied Powers into North Korea and South Korea and East Germany and West Germany. North Korea and East Germany were occupied, controlled and

dominated by the Soviet Union; South Korea and West Germany were occupied, controlled and dominated by the United States and its Western allies. North Korea and East Germany quite naturally embraced communism and the socialist and political philosophy attendant thereto as a way of life. South Korea and West Germany embraced the capitalist, free open-market democracy as a way of life. These rival political philosophies remained hostile, combative and competitive. They were nourished in antagonism and, in each case, they brought the great nations of the world dangerously close to a third world war, in their manifestations of the Korean War and the Berlin crisis.

70. The peoples of both Korea and Germany have always regarded themselves as one people and they have expressed a yearning for reunification in keeping with their historical destiny. The Governments of the two Koreas, like the Governments of the two Germanys, remain suspicious of each other and their relations are based upon mistrust and the practical elements of utilitarian principles and convenience. For that, in the view of my delegation, is the gravamen of Chancellor Brandt's *Ostpolitik*. An uneasy peace runs between them like an uncertain bridge over troubled waters.

71. In these conditions of clear political realities, the two German States have decided, quite rightly in the view of my delegation, to abandon the Alice-in-Wonderland world of political unrealities and take their proper place as two sovereign States in the international community of nations. That does not mean that if the great German nation as envisaged and created by Bismarck in the middle of the nineteenth century finds the season convenient for reunification in the future as one German State, it will not return to its historic ancestral destiny. A careful study of the German people will show that it has always been a very practical and realistic people.

72. If my delegation is correct in its thesis that the history of the political situations of Germany and Korea is very similar—almost identical—, then my delegation is driven by the logic of this argument and analysis to conclude that their short-term and long-term international expedients should be about the same. Hence my delegation is seduced by the argument that the two Koreas—the Democratic People's Republic and the Republic of Korea—should seek admission to this Organization without prejudice to the reunification of the Korean nation in the future, if that is the desire of the Korean peoples.

73. My delegation does not accept the counter argument that to admit two Koreas to the United Nations would be to freeze the situation indefinitely. Nothing is frozen indefinitely in this world, and much less in the international politics. The Americans and the Chinese are sipping tea in the Great Hall of the People in Peking. Comrade Brezhnev and President Nixon are riding around in golf carts at the Western White House and exchanging decadent cowboy pistols. Israeli and Egyptian commanders are shaking each other's hands and sitting under the same tent at Kilometer 101 somewhere between Cairo and Suez, where once they were locked in murderous combat. American astronauts are making giant steps for all mankind on the moon, a condition we thought was impossible only 25 years ago.

74. No, nothing is frozen in the future and we perceive all things to be possible. If it would assist to strengthen the fabric of peace in Korea and to reunite families in the North and the South and to remove some of the suspicions and tensions by having both Korean Governments represented in the United Nations, then it is our duty to assist them both to join this parliament of nations.

75. But my delegation proceeds from a vantage point of realism in this house. We know that if the Soviet Union and China do not want to have the two Koreas admitted as States in the United Nations, then they will not be admitted no matter what other States say. That is the actual political situation. It is the constitutional position too, because new States are admitted through the recommendation of the Security Council. China and the Soviet Union, both of which oppose the admission of two Koreas, have vetoes on this question in the Security Council.

76. It is sufficient only for my delegation to mention that both China and the Soviet Union agreed to—or did not oppose—the admission of the two Germanys this very year. Why not the Koreas? Developing countries, non-aligned countries, must address themselves seriously to the implications of this question. Both North and South Korea are developing countries of the third world. They suffer from the same maladies as the rest of us: poverty, ignorance and disease. The Korean peoples are non-aligned peoples too; if their Governments appear to be in some degree aligned, it is not of their own choosing. They have no choice. That choice was made for them in 1945. Why should the Germanys be allowed to benefit from full membership in the United Nations, without prejudice to future reunification, and the two Koreas be denied the right to take their rightful place at this table as full sovereign States? Why, I ask? Is there a justice for the Germanys that does not extend to the Koreas? Or is it because the Germanys are European States and the Koreans Asian? We of Africa and Asia should ponder these questions very seriously. These are the real questions the non-aligned countries must ask themselves. We must not be diverted along the known negative road of reunification first. Why was this prior condition not placed as an obstacle to the two German States?

77. With all due respect to my brothers from North Korea who are in an identical position with East Germany—properly the German Democratic Republic—my delegation cannot understand why, as far back as 1949 and again in 1952, the Democratic People's Republic, quite correctly, applied to the Security Council for admission to membership of this Organization as a separate State, and thereby rejected the prior condition of reunification. My researches show that legally these applications by North Korea for membership as a separate State are still on the unfinished agenda of the Security Council.

78. My delegation considered that action by the North in 1949 and again in 1952 to be proper and correct, and if we had already been in the United Nations we would have supported that application from the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. But today we see a transmogrification—a most unusual change, an almost spectacular change in its position. My delegation does not understand it, but we shall respect it. And since we accept the malleability of

political time and circumstance, we toy with the hope that with the effluxion of time our brothers in the North will review their standing in the international community in order to play their proper historic role. That choice must be made by the people and the Government of North Korea alone.

79. The third element of the second purpose of Article 1 of the Charter, which I recited earlier, speaks about taking "appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace". World peace is indivisible. An infraction of peace in any corner of the globe constitutes in the view of my delegation a threat to international peace and security. When Koreans die, we all die a little, because we are all involved in humanity.

80. It is the view of my delegation, as we review the whole history of the Korean question, that the Security Council acted properly and in consonance with the purpose set forth in Article 1, paragraph 2 of the Charter—to take appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace—when, by its resolution 84 (1950), it set up and constituted a Unified Command for United Nations Forces in Korea. My delegation further advances the contention that the Security Council was faithful to the obligation devolving upon it under Chapter VII of the Charter, and in particular Article 42, once it had determined that a breach of the peace or an act of aggression had taken place on the Korean peninsula.

81. In paragraph 4 of Security Council resolution 84 (1950) the Council requested "the United States to designate the commander of such forces". Bearing this provision in mind, and having regard to the fundamental law of the Charter and the standing composition of the Security Council, my delegation considers it somewhat ungenerous, if not slightly unworthy, for delegations to speak in this debate about the existence of foreign forces under United States command in South Korea. It is the same unified Command set up by the only organ or instance which could establish it under the United Nations system, namely, the Security Council. Under a strict interpretation of the constitutional law governing this matter, only the Security Council can disband or liquidate that unified Command which it set up on 7 July 1950, and which still exists pursuant to that self-same mandate.

82. Paragraph 5 of the same resolution reads:

*"Authorizes the unified command at its discretion to use the United Nations flag in the course of operations against North Korean forces concurrently with the flags of the various nations participating".*

83. That is the language and spirit of the mandating resolution of the Security Council. Delegations cannot be heard to say—indeed they are stopped from saying in this august chamber that there are American troops masquerading under the United Nations flag. The Council gave the Unified Command authority to use the United Nations flag as well as the flags of the various nations participating.

84. My delegation argues that only the Security Council, and not the General Assembly, can liquidate the Unified Command. The Assembly had no power to create a



command; it certainly has none to disband one created by the Security Council. And we argue further that even if the General Assembly had power to disband the Command, it should do so only after great deliberation and careful thought. So must the Security Council, for that matter. Not only is the Unified Command a party to the Armistice Agreement,<sup>2</sup> but to dissolve it would be to put the legality and integrity of the Agreement itself in considerable doubt.

85. Further, we are enjoined by the Charter "to take . . . appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace". The Unified Command has been doing that. This position cannot be denied or gainsaid. Nowhere in the Charter are we enjoined to dismantle the framework of peace. We should build and strengthen peace rather than weaken and cause a vehicle for peaceful settlement and reunification to disintegrate. We know that the United Nations Unified Command has been successful in holding a fragile peace together. We know what we have; we certainly do not know what we are likely to get, should the Security Council decide to remove the Unified Command. We might get war. Would anyone here dare to suggest that war definitely will not come if we disband the Unified Command? Can anyone make the bold assertion that the South will not attack the North, or that the North will not attack the South?

86. Our purpose here should be to encourage the North and South Koreans to continue their dialogue within the framework of the reunification committee. We should not concentrate on trying to destroy the fragile edifice of peace which the Security Council so carefully created in 1950. It has provided us with a respite for some 23 years now. To destroy rather than strengthen the framework of peace would be to run counter to the whole trend in international relations. After all, the three big Powers are meeting constantly trying to strengthen their bilateral bridges of peace. The United States strengthens its ties with China; the Soviet Union strengthens its ties with the United States, and China and the Soviet Union are moving gingerly—if snail like—towards each other. How can we in this Assembly move from a position of the known to a position of the unknown?

87. My delegation as at present constituted is a strict constructionist with regard to the interpretation of the powers and the provinces of responsibility laid down in the Charter for the various fundamental organs of the Organization. My delegation is instructed to assert that the constitutional capacity which the General Assembly would purport to ascribe to itself in dismantling the Unified Command would be *ultra vires* and null and void. Any such action of nullifying the provisions of Security Council resolution 84 (1950) on the United Nations Unified Command in Korea would be outside the constitutional province of authority of the General Assembly.

88. My delegation would like to direct the attention of the Assembly to focusing on encouraging the two parties to the dispute on the Korean question to intensify their efforts in the dialogue within the framework of the reunification

committee and the agreed principles laid down in the South-North Joint Communiqué of 4 July 1972, and on the necessity for the Security Council to retain the fragile—but holding—structure of peace that it has established between the warring parties since 1950, until it has a better alternative to put in its place.

89. We should seek to maintain a United Nations structure of peace in Korea to some measure, and to encourage the two Governments of Korea, both North and South, to intensify their dialogue within the declared principles and objectives they set for themselves in the South-North Joint Communiqué. My Government does not relish the thought of destroying the present peace-keeping arrangement in Korea, to replace it later with another Middle East model, costing the Organization something in the neighbourhood of \$30 million every six months.

90. My delegation salutes both Koreas and expresses the hope that one day this ancient and great people, with a glorious history, will find the rewarding peaceful reunification which it deserves and cherishes. My delegation stands ready to give them every encouragement and assistance possible.

91. Mr. DHARAT (Libyan Arab Republic): I have no choice but to explain very briefly my delegation's position on certain issues concerning the question of Korea and the developments which took place during the morning meeting of this Committee.

92. It is far from my delegation's intention to oppose the consensus which satisfies the two parties concerned, but please allow me to place on record the following remarks.

93. My country is a strong believer in the principle of unity for a people who share the same history, language, culture and customs. For that reason my country strongly supports the efforts of the Korean people in their struggle for unity. It is through unity that peace-loving people can play a major role in enhancing and strengthening international peace and security. Secondly, we strongly believe that the presence of foreign troops in South Korea constitutes a major obstacle to achieving this sacred goal. Therefore, the expulsion of all foreign troops must be the core of the issue.

94. Finally, I should like to reiterate that the Libyan people will continue lending its support to the heroic people of Korea in its struggle against world imperialism and against reactionary manoeuvres.

95. Mr. PUNTSAGNOROV (Mongolia) (*translation from Russian*): The delegation of Mongolia wishes to support the consensus that has been reached, as the first important step towards positive discussion of the Korean problem in the United Nations.

96. As is well known the Korean question in the past had repeatedly been a subject of the debates in the General Assembly. Our delegation at that time insisted that it would have been only logical and just to give an opportunity to all parties directly concerned to state in this forum their views and positions. We stressed that the discussion of the Korean question without the participation of the representatives 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 Democratic People's Republic of Korea would have been fruitless and defective.

97. The results of the discussion of the Korean question at the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly have confirmed the fact that one of the causes for the absence of progress in the discussion of that question, which has been for so many years on the agenda of our Organization, lay in the flawed policy of discrimination against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

98. It is therefore with great pleasure that we note that an end has been put to that abnormal situation and we have the opportunity to welcome here the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, headed by the Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs, Comrade Li Jong Mok, who is taking part for the first time in the work of the General Assembly.

99. This transformation has become possible, in our opinion, as a result of the increase in the authority and the strengthening of the international status of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. It also results from the tireless efforts of the socialist States, the non-aligned States and all other peace-loving, progressive forces in support of the just cause of the Korean people and the relaxation of international tensions.

100. Mongolia has long been historically and culturally linked with Korea. However, really brotherly relations between our countries started after the formation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, which is celebrating its 25th anniversary this year. A flourishing State of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, which has taken the road of socialist development, is a cause for joy for all its friends, including the working people of Mongolia.

101. Nowadays, when there are visible changes to the better in the international situation, when, owing to the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people, the fire of an aggressive war in South-East Asia has been extinguished and in Europe, where the two world wars had begun, constructive measures to ensure lasting peace and security are being taken, the just solution of the Korean problem will, undoubtedly, strongly influence further détente and the establishment of the solid basis for peace in Asia.

102. We wish to emphasize that the positive results achieved at this session of the General Assembly are due largely to the efforts of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to achieve the peaceful unification of the country. As a result of those efforts, we now see positive trends emerging in the Korean peninsula. A dialogue between the North and the South of Korea has begun, on the basis of the three principles of national unification as stated in the Joint Communiqué of 4 July 1972.

103. The Mongolian People's Republic has expressed its support for the new initiative of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, featuring the five points advanced on 23 June 1973 by the Secretary General of the Central Committee of the Korean Worker's Party, Comrade Kim Il Sung, in which we find concrete measures

for the improvement of relations between the North and the South and for hastening the unification of the country.

104. The First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Mongolian National Revolutionary Party and the President of the Council of Ministers of Mongolia, Comrade Tsedenbal, in his statement on 22 September at the meeting of the Presidential Committee of the World Peace Congress in Ulan Bator, indicated that the new initiative of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea might be viewed as a constructive basis for the settlement of the Korean question in the interest of ensuring peace and security in Asia.

105. In order to further the development of the new trends in the Korean peninsula, the United Nations must do everything within its power to remove the obstacles that have been raised along the path to the peaceful unification of Korea.

106. As has already been pointed out here by a number of speakers, the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea, set up by a decision of the fifth session of the General Assembly in violation of the United Nations Charter, has revealed its total inconsistency.

107. It would be impossible, of course, to expect impartiality from the Commission, many members of which participated in the Korean War side by side with the United States of America and are linked to it by military obligations. It is no wonder, therefore, that this Commission's recommendations had always avoided the main issue—the withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea.

108. The dissolution of the Commission, which has compromised itself because of its futility and lack of objectivity, is long overdue; it should have occurred years ago. However, we must not overlook the fact that the consensus, which is the result of compromise, is such that the most important elements of the Korean problem still remain to be resolved. Unfortunately there remains open, for instance, the important question of the presence of foreign troops in southern Korea.

109. For more than 20 years the blue banner of the United Nations has covered up the *de facto* occupation of South Korea by American troops. The United States still maintains on Korean soil an army of 42,000 men which has in its arsenal a tactical nuclear weapon. These armed forces have on the territory of South Korea numerous air and naval bases, silo launching sites, and other military installations. It is no secret that South Korea has been practically converted into a military bridgehead to serve against socialist countries and the national liberation movement of the peoples of Asia. This was demonstrated *inter alia* by the participation of tens of thousands of South Korean soldiers in the war of aggression in Viet Nam.

110. The location in the southern part of Korea of military bases and foreign troops is the basic obstacle to the unification of Korea by peaceful and democratic means and is an element that converts the Korean peninsula into one of the dangerous hotbeds of international tension, fraught with threats to international peace.

111. The withdrawal of the foreign troops occupying South Korea under the banner of the United Nations and the dissolution of the so-called United Nations Command are the key to the solution of the Korean problem. These measures would be in accord not only with the national interests of the Korean people, but also with the interests of the United Nations and the cause of strengthening peace in the Far East and throughout the world.

112. The delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic stresses the importance of the proposals of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea concerning measures for the prevention of military confrontation of both parts of Korea by means of stopping the escalation of the arms race, withdrawing foreign troops, considerable reduction of armed forces and armaments of both the North and the South, stopping of the traffic of arms and military materials from abroad and concluding an agreement on the non-use of force in the relations between the North and the South. The implementation of these proposals would be a turning point in the cause of the relaxation of tensions between the South and the North, and would constitute a guarantee for the peaceful unification of the country. At the same time, it would contribute to the freeing of enormous human, financial and material resources to satisfy the needs of economic development and help in raising the standards of living for the country's population.

113. In view of the clear-cut and concrete proposals of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, it becomes quite obvious that there is no foundation for the presence of any foreign troops in South Korea. We also see the inconsistency of the theory involving the danger of attack from the North. On the basis of the historical developments and after a quarter century of confrontation a dialogue has begun between the North and the South, and in both parts of the country efforts are being made towards reunification.

114. The delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic supports the position of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea concerning the admission of Korea to membership in the United Nations as a single State after confederation. In the position of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea we find the embodiment of the aspirations of all the Korean people to unification and consolidation in accordance with its highest national interests. Beyond any doubt much depends now upon the successful outcome of the dialogue between the North and the South. Of course, in order for progress to be made in that dialogue there must be a mutual striving for ways and means of solving the problem. We are convinced that the aspiration of the Korean people to live as a single family within the framework of a single State is, in the final analysis, invincible.

The just cause of the Korean people is broadly supported by world public opinion. This fact was attested to by the fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Algiers last September, and by the World Peace Congress held in Moscow last October.

Mongolia, as a socialist State of Asia which enjoys close ties of friendship and co-operation with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, sincerely hopes that the

national aspirations of the talented and industrious Korean people will be realized in the near future in the interest of welfare, peace and tranquillity in the Asian continent and throughout the world.

115. The CHAIRMAN: I now call upon the representative of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

116. Mr. LI JONG MOK (Democratic People's Republic of Korea):<sup>3</sup> In the last few days, during the discussion of the question on Korea in the First Committee, the representatives of various countries of the world have expressed warm congratulations and words of welcome to the representative of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on his participation in the meetings of this Committee. They have made a high appraisal of the consistent line of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for the independent and peaceful reunification of the country, including the five-point programme of national reunification clarified by the respected and beloved leader of our people, President Kim Il Sung, and expressed firm solidarity with it.

117. Our delegation is deeply moved by this. We have felt deeply in our hearts that we are among numerous friends of the world and that the just cause of our people, the independent and peaceful reunification of the country, enjoys the absolute support and encouragement of the peace-loving peoples of the world.

118. The delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea avails itself of this opportunity to express its heartfelt thanks to the representatives of various countries who have undertaken positive activities as sponsors of the draft resolution supporting the just position of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea and to the representatives of all the countries that have made excellent statements, thereby showing friendship towards us in the First Committee at the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly.

119. At the same time I express my deep thanks to the Chairman for extending to us active assistance in our work.

120. The whole process of the discussion of the question on Korea has once again glaringly shown two different positions and two different lines on this question. They stand out in contrast.

121. The delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the representatives of the socialist countries and the third-world countries supporting that Republic have strongly demanded that the foreign troops should get out of South Korea. But the representatives of the United States and the countries that follow it have openly asserted that the foreign troops should remain in South Korea.

122. We have demanded one Korea, but they have demanded two Koreas; we have demanded reunification, but they have demanded separation. We have demanded independence; but they have cried for intervention and

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Li Jong Mok Spoke in Korean. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

dependence; we have stood in a position of loving the country and loving the nation, but they have stood in the position of selling the country and betraying the nation. We have maintained the position of keeping the peace, but they have taken a position of instigating confrontation and antagonism.

123. Ours is an era of historical changes in which every country and every nation of the world is following the road of liberation and independence, grasping their destiny in their own hands.

124. Our demand for reunification, independence, patriotism and peace fully conforms with that basic trend of our times.

125. But the demand of the other side, which stands for separation, dependence, treason and confrontation, is against the current of the times. It is no more than a desperate attempt at trying to maintain by hook or by crook the outdated policy of intervention which has gone bankrupt.

126. Today the First Committee of the United Nations General Assembly has unanimously adopted a decision on the immediate dissolution of the "United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea", after expressing satisfaction at the South-North Joint Communiqué of 4 July 1972 and its hope that dialogue and many-sided exchanges will be promoted between the North and the South in the spirit of that Joint Communiqué.

127. It is indeed of great significance that the United Nations has discussed the question on Korea and adopted that decision in the presence of the representative of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea after 26 years of involvement in the Korean question.

128. This is a brilliant fruition of the joint efforts made by the entire Korean people and the peace-loving countries of the world for a long period to eliminate the interference of the outside forces in the internal affairs of Korea and a victory won in the consistent struggle of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the entire Korean people for the independent and peaceful reunification of the country.

129. The dissolution of the "United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea" means a defeat for those forces that have been hampering the independence and peaceful reunification of Korea and talking about an "election under United Nations supervision", which are going bankrupt beyond retrieve.

130. The dissolution of UNCURK has also proved more clearly that there is no ground or reason whatsoever for the foreign troops under the signboard of the "United Nations Forces" to stay on in South Korea any longer.

131. Furthermore, the attempt to bring about entry of two Koreas into the United Nations was rejected by the overwhelming majority of the Member States of the United Nations.

132. The dissolution of the "United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea" again demonstrated with authority that no force on earth can check the powerful current of our times towards independence and self-sustenance against imperialism and colonialism.

133. The fact that the Joint Communiqué of 4 July 1972 was welcomed in the decision adopted today by the First Committee is public acknowledgement before the peoples of the whole world of the correctness of the three principles contained in the Joint Communiqué.

134. It is very good that all the participants in the United Nations General Assembly expressed full support for and approval of the correctness of the principles of the Joint Communiqué and it is conducive to the realization of the peaceful reunification of our country.

135. The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea with the active support and encouragement of the peace-loving peoples of the whole world, will wage a resolute struggle towards the end of making all the foreign troops under the signboard of the "United Nations Forces" withdraw from South Korea and to achieve the independent and peaceful reunification of their country without any interference from outside forces.

136. No one can shake the steel-strong will of our people, who are determined to build their own destiny with their own efforts, and no force can reverse the powerful current of the Korean nation marching towards national unity and reunification.

137. We are firmly convinced that the day will soon come when the tragedy of national division will be terminated and our posterity may take over the unified fatherland and the whole nation may live a new, happy life in its prosperous fatherland.

138. The CHAIRMAN: I call on the representative of the Republic of Korea.

139. Mr. PARK (Republic of Korea): I should like to take this opportunity to thank the members of this Committee for the keen interest and understanding they have shown in the course of the deliberations on the Korean question. Our special thanks go to those friendly countries which sponsored the draft resolution A/C.1/L.645.

140. Today, this Committee has reached a decision by consensus that, in accordance with the principles contained in the South-North Joint Communiqué of 4 July 1972, the two parts of Korea should continue their dialogue to achieve the unification of Korea by peaceful means. In this connexion the Committee may recall that in his statement at the 1959th meeting, our Foreign Minister expressed his hope that the United Nations would reach constructive conclusions at the current session which could help develop the South-North dialogue aimed at the maintenance of peace in the Korean peninsula and towards the ultimate unification of Korea. We are pleased that our hope of precluding unproductive debate of the Korean question at the General Assembly has been realized. I should like to reiterate that there can be no unification of Korea without

peace, and for peaceful unification of Korea to become a reality, first, war must be prevented; secondly, tension must be reduced; and, thirdly, the dialogue between the two parts of Korea must be accelerated to remove the artificial barriers and foster mutual trust between the South and the North. It was in this spirit that my delegation welcomed the presence of our brothers from the North in this Committee.

141. For these reasons we welcome and fully endorse the decision of this august body and shall redouble our effort towards accelerating the realization of a peaceful unification of Korea through our dialogue with the North. We believe dialogue is the only way now to secure a lasting peace and to fulfil the aspirations of the 50 million Korean people to unify their beloved country.

142. Therefore, in compliance with the decision of this Committee today, we should like to urge our North Korean brothers to agree to an early resumption of the South-North dialogue without conditions. The delegation of the Republic of Korea takes note that the representative of North Korea said in his statement on 14 November: "let us not take the internal affairs of the nation out of our country, but let us sit around a table inside our country and negotiate with open hearts"—I repeat, open hearts—"to settle problems as we are a single nation that cannot live separated in any case." [1957th meeting, para. 141.]

143. The issues involved in the Korean question are of vital importance and might require patient efforts for solution. However, we in the Republic of Korea believe that our wisdom, together with the wisdom of our brothers from the North, inspired by this world body, can solve them. We have made our position quite clear through our memorandum of 25 October 1973 [A/C.1/1038] and the statement of our Foreign Minister, and therefore we do not wish to reiterate it at this meeting since there has been a certain understanding already reached this morning at the

1966th meeting. All I want to say is that we must be humble before truth and history. We must not deceive our own conscience. Wilful distortion of truth does not help solve the Korean problem.

144. Finally, I would conclude my short remarks by expressing on behalf of the delegation of the Republic of Korea our sincere admiration and appreciation for the impartial, efficient and highly intelligent manner in which you, Mr. Chairman, have presided over the deliberations on the Korean question whose complex and sensitive nature is obvious to all of us here.

145. The CHAIRMAN: I would like to extend to the representative of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Republic of Korea my own personal thanks for the continuing courtesy and co-operation which the two delegations from the outset of this General Assembly have extended to me, inside and outside this conference room, and thus made my task easy. I am very grateful for this spirit of co-operation.

146. I wish to apologize for the inconvenience caused to members inscribed on the list of speakers for the general debate by my proposal this morning to conclude that debate at an unforeseen early stage. I take comfort from the fact that the unanimous approval of that proposal signifies that those members also appreciate that the proposal was made solely for the purpose of ensuring a timely and happy conclusion to our deliberations on agenda item 41.

147. If there are no further remarks it is my pleasure to declare that the Committee's deliberations on that agenda item, the question of Korea, are concluded. A report will be forwarded as soon as possible to the General Assembly.

*The meeting rose at 5.15 p.m.*