

United Nations GENERAL ASSEMBLY

SIXTEENTH SESSION

Official Records



FIRST COMMITTEE, 1229th
MEETING

Wednesday, 20 December 1961,
at 11 a.m.

NEW YORK

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Chairman: Mr. Mario AMADEO (Argentina).

AGENDA ITEM 20

The Korean question: reports of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea (A/4900 and Add.1, A/C.1/858, A/C.1/859, A/C.1/860, A/C.1/861, A/C.1/862, A/C.1/863, A/C.1/864, A/C.1/865, A/C.1/L.302, A/C.1/L.303, A/C.1/L.305) (continued)

1. Mr. TSEVEGMID (Mongolia) said that, after the Second World War, two States had emerged in Korea and evolved in different directions. One of them, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, had been permanently liberated from foreign domination, had chosen the path of socialist development leading to progress and freedom, and was advancing rapidly towards political, economic and cultural well-being. It was now an industrial-agrarian State. In the period 1957-1960, it had increased its industrial output 3.6 times; by the end of 1960, the annual total of that output had been eight times as great as in 1944. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea had created a machine-building industry which was now supplying 90.6 per cent of the country's needs. At the same time, consumer goods industries were developing rapidly, and substantial advances were being made in agriculture. As a result of the progress made in rural electrification, 92 per cent of all schools and 62 per cent of all farms were now provided with electricity. Such progress was evident in other fields as well. Compulsory seven-year education, which had begun in 1958, was now universal, and compulsory nine-year technical education was being introduced. Universal free medical care had been instituted; in 1960 the death rate had been only half as high, and the rate of population increase 2.7 times as high, as in the period before the country's liberation. National income had been 2.1 times as great in 1960 as in 1956. In short, the people were consistently progressing towards the establishment of socialism.

2. In the other Korean State, which had retained the capitalist system and had for many years been under *de facto* foreign occupation, the picture was altogether different. In South Korea, the most elementary democratic rights and freedoms had been destroyed by the régime, which was one of terror. The economy was on

the verge of bankruptcy. The country was beset by widespread unemployment, poverty and famine, and its economy was controlled and retarded by the United States. The present standard of living was lower than the miserable standard that had existed under the Japanese imperialists. According to the report of UNCURK (A/4900, para. 88), South Korea's major problems were still the division of the country, unemployment, a relatively low standard of living, a high rate of population increase, dependence on foreign aid, a highly unfavourable balance of trade, a shortage of electric power hampering industrialization, a lack of capital, and the necessity for reforms in the social, economic and financial fields.

3. In 1960, the people of South Korea had overthrown the reactionary and despotic Syngman Rhee régime, whose members had falsified elections, murdered opposition leaders, and taken advantage of their positions to acquire huge fortunes. The Syngman Rhee régime had been succeeded by the puppet Government of Chang Myun, which had been subservient to the United States and incapable of solving South Korea's problems. In May 1961, recognizing that the Chang Myun régime would sooner or later be overthrown by the people, the forces of reaction in South Korea, hoping to receive the support of their overseas masters, had set up an undisguised military-fascist dictatorship. Martial law had been in force for the past seven months. Parliament had been dissolved, all political parties and organizations had been banned, the people had been deprived of their elementary rights, and brutal repressive measures had been taken against persons favouring the peaceful unification of the country.

4. Despite the conditions which he had just described, however, the existence of two Korean States was a fact that could not be disregarded. It was for those States and their people to solve their own internal problems, including the problem of whether Korea should be reunited and, if so, on what basis and under what conditions. Any outside interference in Korean affairs was illegal and contrary to the United Nations Charter. There was no reason for the United Nations to concern itself with the question of Korean unification—any more than with that of post-war Germany's reunification—and experience had shown that attempts to do so could only undermine the Organization's prestige. There was no reason for the United Nations to supervise elections in Korea. Past elections in South Korea supervised by the United Nations had been described as free and fair by UNCURK, but their true nature had subsequently been revealed. His delegation would like to see truly free elections held in South Korea as soon as possible, without outside interference. Such elections would surely lead to the formation of a government that was genuinely representative of the South Korean people. Such a government could speedily agree on unification, without any assistance from the United Nations or anyone else, on the basis of the

constructive proposals made by the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

5. There was, however, one aspect of the Korean question which directly concerned the United Nations in view of the latter's obligation, under the Charter, to maintain international peace and security—namely, the existence in South Korea of foreign troops and military bases, which constituted a genuine threat to the peace and security of the Far East. The United States had violated the Korean Armistice Agreement of 27 July 1953^{1/} immediately after its signature by concluding a mutual defence treaty with the Syngman Rhee régime. That was an endeavour to legalize the indefinite occupation of South Korea by United States forces and the conversion of the territory into a strategic military base for the United States in its aggressive activities in the Far East. More recently, unilaterally annulling paragraph 13 of the Armistice Agreement, the United States had brought atomic weapons, missiles and other modern arms into South Korea. It had spent, in the second half of 1960 alone, some \$10 million on the construction and expansion of United States military bases in South Korea. While it reportedly had about 60,000 troops of its own there, it had created and equipped with modern weapons a 700,000-man South Korean Army, which absorbed 70 per cent of impoverished South Korea's total budget. That huge army was surely not needed for defence against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, whose Government had called for the peaceful unification of the country, a reduction of armed forces in both parts of Korea, and the conclusion of a non-aggression pact between the two Korean States. It represented, rather, a part of the aggressive policy pursued by the United States against the People's Republic of China.

6. The refusal of the United States to remove its troops and military bases from South Korea showed, moreover, that that country had not abandoned its plans to use force for the purpose of extending colonial rule to the whole of Korea. It should be noted in that connexion that General Magruder, the former United States commander in South Korea, had stated in June 1960 that the United States would unquestionably use atomic weapons within the limits of Korea if a war once more broke out in that region.

7. Government officials in the United States and other Western countries advocated, orally, an early solution of the Korean question, including the problem of the country's unification. However, the presence of United States troops in South Korea was hardly calculated to create an atmosphere of confidence in which the Governments of the two Korean States could peacefully, without foreign interference, resolve their internal problems.

8. The sponsors of the fifteen-Power draft resolution (A/C.1/L.305), who were linked by membership in military blocs, were supporting the United States thesis that foreign military forces should not be withdrawn from Korea until the "conditions for a lasting settlement laid down by the General Assembly have been fulfilled", i.e. until Korea was reunified. However, Korea could not be reunified so long as part of the country was occupied by foreign troops; thus the draft resolution would perpetuate both the occupation of South Korea and the partition of the country.

9. Recognizing that the presence of foreign troops in South Korea constituted a threat to peace in the Far East and was, at the same time, the main obstacle to the unification of Korea, his delegation had introduced draft resolution A/C.1/L.302, which invited the States maintaining armed forces in South Korea to withdraw those forces immediately from Korean territory.

10. His delegation also supported the Soviet draft resolution (A/C.1/L.303) calling for the dissolution of UNCURK. The Commission had been set up in order to provide international support for the reactionary régimes established in South Korea and to mask the aggressive policy pursued by the United States in Korea. Shamelessly deceiving the United Nations and world opinion, UNCURK had painted a picture of flourishing democracy and representative government in South Korea, disregarding the falsification of elections and the brutal repression engaged in by the Syngman Rhee régime. The overthrow of that régime by the Korean people had constituted an indictment of UNCURK. At the present time, it was attempting to justify the military-fascist régime which controlled South Korea with barbaric terror. The Commission had also sought to create the impression that South Korea's economy was progressing, although in actual fact that State was in the grip of unemployment and extreme poverty. It had lauded United States "aid", which actually served to undermine the Korean economy and promote the militarization of the country. Its activities were prejudicial to the interests of the Korean people and to the cause of international peace and security. Its utterly false reports on conditions in Korea tended to discredit the United Nations, and there was no justification for the large sums of money spent on maintaining it.

11. In view of the considerations which he had set forth, his delegation would vote against the fifteen-Power draft resolution.

12. Mr. MEZINCESCU (Romania), speaking on a point of order, said that no verbatim record of the previous night's meeting had been distributed. That was not the fault of the Secretariat, but it showed that the debate was taking place under improper conditions from a technical and political standpoint.

13. The CHAIRMAN said the Secretary of the Committee had told him that he would find out why the record had not been distributed.

14. Mr. ANUMAN RAJADHON (Thailand) said that the Korean people were bound together by ancient ties of nationhood and culture, and had the right to see their country reunited and to enjoy an enduring peace based on unity and independence. That could be achieved as soon as the North Korean authorities realized the futility of their unjust attempt to reunify Korea in their own way and accepted the competence and authority of the United Nations in the matter. The tragedy of a divided country was one which should evoke the sympathy of all who loved peace and freedom.

15. For those reasons his delegation had joined in sponsoring the fifteen-Power draft resolution (A/C.1/L.305), which represented the best way for the United Nations to reaffirm its competence, moral authority and determination to bring about, by peaceful means, the establishment of a unified, independent and democratic Korea under a representative form of government, and the full restoration of international peace and security in that area.

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

16. The fifteen-Power draft resolution called for the continuation of UNCURK, which had done excellent work. Some quarters had alleged that it could not achieve a just and peaceful settlement of the Korean question, and should be dissolved; but that allegation was baseless, because the Commission would have completed its task, and been dissolved, long ago if it had met with co-operation and good will, instead of obstruction and enmity, from the North Korean Government.

17. The USSR draft resolution (A/C.1/L.303) called for the dissolution of UNCURK, and the Mongolian draft resolution (A/C.1/L.302) demanded the withdrawal of the United Nations forces from South Korea. Both were designed to destroy the competence and authority of the United Nations in the settlement of the Korean question, and to expose South Korea once again to armed aggression from North Korea. Their sponsors desired a repetition of all the cruelties and atrocities of the 1950-1953 Korean war, and wanted the United Nations to surrender its soul. In considering the two draft resolutions in question, members of the Committee should recall the supreme sacrifice made by the thousands of men, from sixteen nations, who had given their lives on behalf of the United Nations, justice and universal peace.

18. His delegation appreciated the Commission's yearly reports, which proved that the Republic of Korea, unlike North Korea, was hiding nothing from

outsiders. It was strange that no one was allowed to visit North Korea, which was often described as a land of prosperity and peace.

19. The recent event in the Republic of Korea was not novel or extraordinary in character, since any great political and social upheaval, like the Russian or French Revolution, tended to bring forth dynamic forces which enabled the country involved to develop and to achieve prosperity and stability. But each Government of the Republic of Korea had affirmed its faith in the United Nations, accepted the competence and authority of the Organization and undertaken to respect its own international obligations, in order that it might play its full part in the international community.

20. Democracy could not be established in any country within a decade or even a century. It must pass through many adversities, of which the English and American civil wars were examples, before it could develop strong roots in new soil. The seeds of democracy had been sown in the Republic of Korea where, given time, opportunity, internal peace and security, its tree would grow as it had already grown in many lands.

The meeting rose at 12.5 p.m.