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President: Mr. Corneliu MANESCU (Romania).

Statement by the President

1. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): It is more than thirty days since the General Assembly decided, on the basis of a unanimous agreement, to suspend its work [1591st meeting]. Apart from the general feeling that the suspension was necessary in order to create favourable conditions for consultations and negotiations, the agreement also entailed an appeal that the time thus made available should be used to find a worthy and equitable solution, acceptable to all parties, to the gravest problem on the agenda of this session, namely, the Middle East.

2. During this period there have been numerous meetings and discussions between delegations. I myself have had consultations with the representatives of the various groups of States, and with the President of the Security Council and the Secretary-General.

3. I should like to emphasize that throughout this period the Committees have been working at a normal rate, giving the plenary Assembly the opportunity to take a number of decisions, among which I have particular satisfaction in singling out the unanimous adoption of the Declaration on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women [resolution 2263 (XXII)].

4. It should be noted, however, that during this period the plenary Assembly has held only six meetings.

5. If this interruption of the plenary Assembly's normal activities had been prolonged any further, it would have placed us in a position where we would have had to deal with an excessive accumulation of work towards the end of the session, or where we might have even found it impossible to complete the consideration of certain items.

6. I am now in a position to report that, as a result of the consultations we have held, general agreement has been reached in favour of resuming the plenary Assembly's normal activities.

7. During the meetings of today and tomorrow, we shall examine the recommendations of certain Committees. On Monday, 20 November, we shall go on to discuss one of the items specifically allocated to the plenary, namely, item 93 (Restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations). Item 94 (The situation in the Middle East) of course retains its priority and may be discussed at any time.

8. I should like to take this opportunity to appeal to all delegations to contribute to the full to the constructive consideration of the problems before the General Assembly.

AGENDA ITEM 72

Financial reports and accounts for the financial year ended 31 December 1966 and reports of the Board of Auditors:

- (a) United Nations;
- (b) United Nations Development Programme;
- (c) United Nations Children's Fund;
- (d) United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East;
- (e) Voluntary funds administered by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/6889)

AGENDA ITEM 76

Appointments to fill vacancies in the membership of subsidiary bodies of the General Assembly:

- (a) Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions;
- (b) Committee on Contributions;
- (c) Board of Auditors;
- (e) United Nations Administrative Tribunal

REPORTS OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/6891, A/6892, A/6893, A/6895)

Mr. Lynch (New Zealand), Rapporteur of the Fifth Committee, presented the reports of that Committee and then spoke as follows:

9. Mr. LYNCH (New Zealand), Rapporteur of the Fifth Committee: In its report on the financial reports and accounts for the financial year ended 31 December 1966 and reports of the Board of Auditors [A/6889], the Fifth Committee has recommended the adoption by the Assembly of five draft resolutions: draft resolution A concerns the financial report and accounts of the United Nations for the financial year 1966 and related reports of the Board of Auditors; draft resolution B deals with the financial report and accounts of the United Nations Development Programme for the financial year 1966; draft resolution C relates to the financial report and accounts for the United Nations Children's Fund for the financial year 1966; draft resolution D relates to the accounts for the financial year 1966 of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East; and draft resolution E concerns the accounts of the voluntary funds administered by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees for the financial year 1966. The Fifth Committee trusts that these draft resolutions will meet with the General Assembly's approval.

10. The remaining four reports to be presented on this occasion relate to appointments to fill vacancies in subsidiary bodies of the General Assembly. The first of these reports relates to the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions [A/6891]; the second concerns the Committee on Contributions [A/6892]; the third relates to the Board of Auditors [A/6893]; and the fourth concerns the Administrative Tribunal [A/6895]. In each instance the Fifth Committee has recommended a draft resolution for adoption by the General Assembly and I trust that the Assembly will accept the Committee's recommendations.

Pursuant to rule 68 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the reports of the Fifth Committee.

11. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): The Assembly will vote on the recommendations of the Fifth Committee. On item 72 the Committee has submitted five draft resolutions, A to E, which appear in paragraph 12 of its report (A/6889). If there are no objections, I shall take it that the Assembly adopts these draft resolutions.

Draft resolutions A, B, C, D and E were adopted without objection.

12. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): We shall now take agenda item 76. The Fifth Committee's

draft resolution on item 76 (a) is in paragraph 5 of its report (A/6891). If there are no objections, I shall assume that the Assembly adopts the draft resolution.

The draft resolution was adopted without objection.

13. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): The Fifth Committee's draft resolutions—A and B—on agenda item 76 (b) are in paragraph 9 of its report (A/6892). If there are no objections, I take it that the Assembly adopts these draft resolutions.

Draft resolutions A and B were adopted without objection.

14. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): The Fifth Committee's draft resolution on item 76 (c) is in paragraph 5 of its report (A/6893). If there are no objections, I shall assume that the Assembly adopts the draft resolution.

The draft resolution was adopted without objection.

15. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): The Fifth Committee's draft resolution on item 76 (e) is in paragraph 5 of its report (A/6895). If there are no objections, I take it that the Assembly adopts the draft resolution.

The draft resolution was adopted without objection.

AGENDA ITEM 33

The Korean question:

- (a) Report of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea;
- (b) Withdrawal of United States and all other foreign forces occupying South Korea under the flag of the United Nations;
- (c) Dissolution of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea

REPORT OF THE FIRST COMMITTEE

Mr. Örn (Sweden), Rapporteur of the First Committee, presented the report of that Committee and then spoke as follows:

16. Mr. ÖRN (Sweden) (translated from French): Rapporteur of the First Committee: I should like to recall that it was as a result of decisions by the General Committee [1564th meeting] that at this session the agenda item entitled: "The Korean Question" was split up into three sub-items.

17. I should also like to note that the First Committee has adopted by 67 votes to 23, with 23 abstentions—only one draft resolution—which appears in paragraph 18 of its report (A/6906). It is this draft resolution that I have the honour, on behalf of the Committee, to submit to the General Assembly for approval.

Pursuant to rule 68 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the report of the first Committee.

18. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I shall give the floor to those representatives who wish to explain their vote before the vote.

19. Mr. FEDORENKO (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (translated from Russian): In our view, the

First Committee's report to the General Assembly illustrates very clearly the conflict between two diametrically opposed policies on the question of Korea. The purpose of one of these policies, which has been resolutely defended and upheld by a number of Afro-Asian and socialist States, including the Soviet Union, is to ensure that the General Assembly adopts, as a matter of urgency, measures which would create the conditions necessary for the reunification of Korea, for the elimination of foreign interference in the affairs of the Korean people, which has gone on for many years, and for the prevention of further aggravation of the present situation in the Korean Peninsula.

20. The discussions in the First Committee show quite conclusively that the continuing occupation by United States forces of the southern part of Korea is the main obstacle to the achievement of the Korean people's primary goal, i.e. the peaceful reunification of their country. During the consideration of the question of Korea, numerous indisputable facts were adduced to show that the foreign occupation forces and the puppet authorities of South Korea have recently intensified their armed provocation against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, on whose territory, as is well known, there is not a single foreign soldier.

21. The acts of provocation of the United States occupation forces and the puppet Government along the armistice line on the thirty-eighth parallel are seriously aggravating the situation in the Korean Peninsula and increasing the danger of war in the Far East.

22. These discussions in the First Committee have also shown that South Korea has become a major strategic military stronghold of the United States, to be used to suppress the national liberation movements of the peoples of Asia, and their attempts to achieve freedom and independence. Not only is the United States exploiting the territory of South Korea as its military base and stronghold for aggression in Asia, but is using ever-increasing numbers of hired South Korean soldiers as cannon fodder in its shameless war against the heroic Viet-Nameese people.

23. As was convincingly shown during the discussions in the First Committee, the so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea is still being used as a camouflage for the continued occupation of South Korea by United States forces, and as a justification for this occupation and the continued flagrant interference by the United States in the affairs of the Korean people. Year after year, this body brazenly falsifies the real facts about the situation in Korea, and either distorts or ignores the important proposals made by the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea—proposals aimed at achieving the unification of a truly independent Korea. The discussions in the First Committee leave no doubt whatsoever that the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea not only is making no contribution to the solution of the question of Korea in the interests of the Korean people, but is a major obstacle to the attainment of that objective.

24. The States which in the First Committee, defended the interests of the Korean people and the strengthening of peace in the Far East put forward and defended the proposals for immediate withdrawal of all United States and other foreign forces occupying South Korea under the United Nations flag [A/6906, para. 10]. Those States also proposed the dissolution as quickly as possible of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea which is an instrument for foreign interference in the affairs of the Korean people [*ibid.*]. After the discussions in the First Committee, it can be stated quite definitely that the adoption of such measures would undoubtedly create the conditions necessary for a peaceful settlement of the Korean problem and for the peaceful unification of North and South Korea in accordance with the earnest wishes of the Korean people as a whole.

25. As in the past, the United States of America and some of its allies in military blocs have followed a policy designed to prevent the General Assembly from adopting a solution which would be in the interests of the Korean people. As may be seen from the said document, the delegations of those countries advocated that the present dangerous situation in Korea should be maintained, that the occupation of Korea by United States forces should be perpetuated, and that interference in the affairs of the Korean people under the flag of the United Nations should be continued [*ibid.*].

26. The delegations of those countries, which were reluctant to take into account the interests of the Korean people, and were endeavouring to prevent any just solution of the Korean question, once again objected to the proposal to invite the representatives of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to participate together with the representatives of South Korea in the consideration of the question of Korea. This discriminatory and totally unjustified point of view was further convincing proof of the obstructionist policy adopted by Washington and the countries that supported it in the question of the settlement of the Korean problem.

27. We can only regret that the United States and its allies have used the votes of a considerable number of other countries to make the First Committee adopt a resolution [A/6906, para. 18] which accords with Washington's aggressive aspirations, but which cannot advance the settlement of the question of Korea by one step.

28. This draft proposes that the United Nations should continue to follow the same policy on the Korean question which has been foisted upon it by Washington year after year. It sanctions the continued occupation of South Korea by United States forces under the flag of the United Nations, and proposes that the mandate of the notorious United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea should again be extended. Such are the main features of the draft.

29. Of course, the adoption of such a resolution by the General Assembly cannot and will not contribute to a just solution of the question of Korea, or further the cause of peace in the Korean Peninsula and in Asia. The draft resolution submitted in the report of

the First Committee is clearly unworthy of the United Nations, and can in no way contribute to the useful activities of the United Nations.

30. It is regrettable that on this occasion a decision which runs counter to the Korean people's interests has been supported not only by countries that are allies of the United States, or are bound to it by other obligations, but by a considerable number of other States, which, for a variety of reasons, did not dare on this occasion either to adopt the right position of principle with respect to the question of Korea, or yield to inertia.

31. The Soviet Union voted in the First Committee against the draft resolution which is now before the General Assembly and, for the reasons given above, will vote against it now. We hope that the delegations of all those countries which hold dear the purposes and principles of the United Nations, the cause of justice and peace in the Far East, and the independence and self-determination of peoples, will vote with us against this draft resolution.

32. Irrespective of the final result of the vote on the draft resolution submitted by the First Committee, the Soviet delegation is convinced that the comprehensive review of the question of Korea at the present session of the General Assembly has given many delegations an opportunity better to evaluate the situation in Korea, to understand the Korean people's genuine aims and aspirations, and to realize the sordid political manoeuvres of Washington, which is opposed to the unity of Korea and to a lasting peace on Korean soil. The discussions opened the eyes of many delegations to the policies and aims of the United States, which is still cynically endeavouring to use the flag and authority of the United Nations as a shield for its aggression against the Korean people. This the Soviet delegation regards as a definitely useful result of these discussions.

33. Mr. CERNIK (Czechoslovakia) (translated from Russian): The Czechoslovak delegation has asked to speak at this plenary meeting in order to explain briefly its view on the draft resolution recently adopted by the First Committee on the question of Korea. We consider the draft resolution contained in the report under consideration [A/6096] to be unacceptable and unlawful; in contravention of the principles of the United Nations Charter and intervention law, it flagrantly violates the sovereign rights of the Korean people, interferes in their domestic affairs, and imposes upon it a decision which is at variance with its interests and with the interests of our Organization. The resolution adopted by the First Committee reflects the purposes and policies of the United States Government, and that Government is not interested in a just solution of the question of Korea—i.e., a solution which takes into account the interests of both North and South Korea.

34. In the view of the Czechoslovak delegation, certain conditions must be established before the Korean problem can be solved. The delegations of the socialist countries and of certain African and Asian States proposed that two independent items should be included in the agenda of the present session of the General Assembly; the first called for the withdrawal of United States and all other foreign forces which are

illegally occupying South Korea under the flag of the United Nations; the second demanded the dissolution of the so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea. During the work of the First Committee, draft resolutions were submitted on both these items, the adoption of which would have ensured the implementation of these demands. The States referred to requested the inclusion of these two items because they were convinced that the consideration and adoption of the relevant resolutions would bring about a realistic and just solution of the question of Korea, and would create conditions in which the Korean people might themselves decide the ultimate fate of their country and undertake its peaceful reunification. The way the discussions developed in the First Committee strengthened our conviction that the draft resolution submitted were, and still are, correct and justified.

35. Nevertheless, at the present session of the General Assembly the United States and some of its allies have once again demonstrated their reluctance to adopt a constructive attitude towards this problem, in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter. First and foremost they ensured yet again that the question would be discussed in an atmosphere of discrimination, without the participation of the representatives of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea, as one of the directly interested parties. In this connexion, the Czechoslovak delegation is once again obliged to state that it considers the discussion of the question of Korea without the participation of the representatives of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea as illegal, since it is in flagrant violation of the Charter and of the practice of our Organization.

36. The United States resolution adopted by the First Committee will help to maintain a situation in Korea which cannot in any way contribute to the solution of the question of Korea and which, above all, is extremely prejudicial to the prestige and authority of the United Nations. The continuing occupation of South Korea by United States forces and the unlawful activities of the so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea constitute interference in the internal affairs of the Korean people that deserves to be condemned in every way and creates tension which threatens the peace and security of the people in that region.

37. The debate showed clearly enough why the United States wishes to maintain an abnormal situation in the area. This situation enables it to foment and to conduct an aggressive and interventionist policy against people fighting for their freedom and independence. The United States attempts to prevent any progress on the question of Korea at the present session of the General Assembly is clear evidence of their imperialist anti-peace policy.

38. Genuine ways and means of reaching a peaceful solution to the Korean problem and the reunification of that country do exist, and have been put forward on numerous occasions by the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. May I draw attention to the statement made by that Government on 21 August 1967 [A/6696/Add.2], in which its proposals are presented in detail. Those proposals con-

stitute a realistic and long-term programme of action, and the United Nations should play an active part in their gradual implementation. Our Organization must take the necessary steps for the withdrawal of United States and all other foreign troops from Korea and the dissolution of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea, so that the Korean people may at last settle its own affairs in its own country in accordance with its inalienable rights as laid down in international law and in the Charter of the United Nations.

39. For all these reasons the Czechoslovak delegation considers that the draft resolution under consideration on the question of Korea is totally unacceptable and illegal, and it will vote against it. I should like once again to appeal to all delegations, especially those whose peoples have also fought for their freedom and independence, to show their respect for the vital interests of the Korean people by likewise rejecting the draft resolution.

40. Mr. CHIMIDDORJ (People's Republic of Mongolia) (translated from Russian): The General Assembly is now considering the report of the First Committee on the three agenda items of the twenty-second session relating to the question of Korea [A/6906]. The delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic deems it necessary to make a few comments on the discussion of those agenda items in the First Committee and to explain its attitude towards the resolution adopted by the Committee [*ibid.*, para. 18].

41. The discussions covered the following items: the withdrawal of United States and all other foreign forces occupying South Korea under the flag of the United Nations; the dissolution of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea; and the report of that Commission. The discussion, which definitely confirmed the urgent need for and importance of a solution to the question of Korea and the unification of that temporarily divided country clearly demonstrated the relevance of the inclusion of the first two items proposed by the socialist countries and a number of Afro-Asian States, as well as the urgency of solving these problems so as to ensure that the necessary conditions would prevail for the restoration of a united Korean nation.

42. Many members of the Committee indicated with good reason, and in full awareness of the present situation in Korea, that the occupation of the southern part of Korea by United States forces was the main obstacle to the normalization of relations between North and South Korea and to the reunification of that country on a peaceful and democratic basis.

43. As on previous occasions, it was noted with indignation that the continuing use of the United Nations flag by the United States was both intolerable and incompatible with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and with the sovereign rights and dignity of the States Members of this Organization.

44. Neither can we ignore the fact that the presence of a large contingent of American forces in South Korea, the noticeable activation of military circles in the Far East and the further escalation of United States aggression in Viet-Nam are creating even

greater tension in that part of the world, which may in turn have serious consequences for the whole world.

45. In close connexion with the all-important question of the withdrawal of foreign forces, the question of the dissolution of the so-called United Nations Commission for the Reunification and Rehabilitation of Korea was also examined. This Commission compromised itself long ago by its ineffectiveness and lack of objectivity, thereby demonstrating the illegality of its existence from the very beginning. It has been used by the United States military command in South Korea to conceal the occupation of South Korea, and as a tool for United States interference in the domestic affairs of the Korean people. It is well known that such interference, more particularly when perpetrated under the flag of the United Nations, is prohibited by the Charter of the United Nations and condemned in the well-known Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention in the Domestic Affairs of States and the Protection of their Independence and Sovereignty [resolution 2131 (XX)].

46. As a result, while the Commission continues to exist, the United Nations itself would seem to be participating in illegal activities, a situation which in our view, cannot be tolerated by any State Member of the Organization. That is why many Member States continue to demand the immediate dissolution of the so-called United Nations Commission for the Reunification and Rehabilitation of Korea, for the removal of the so-called question of Korea from the agenda of the General Assembly, and for an opportunity for the Korean people to decide the question of the unification of their country without external interference.

47. Nor can we overlook the fact that these items were discussed in the First Committee after the proposal to invite representatives of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea, which is one of the parties concerned in this debate, to participate in the discussions, had been rejected once again, as a result of the manipulations and obstructionist tactics used by the United States and some of its allies, and also, quite evidently as the result of one-sided information. The fact that only the representative of South Korea was present demonstrated the futility and irrelevance of the discussion of the question of Korea in the United Nations without the participation of a representative of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea, and clearly left its mark on the vote in the First Committee on the draft resolutions.

48. This was due to the fact that the members of the First Committee had access only to one-sided and totally distorted information on the situation in Korea, and did not have the opportunity to hear a representative of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea.

49. It should be emphasized that although the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea had clearly stated its readiness to take part in the discussion of the question of Korea and of Korean problems, renewed attempts were made to impose upon a sovereign State—the Democratic People's Republic of Korea—premature, unacceptable and illegal conditions, and to distort without any justification that State's domestic and foreign policy, and

its peace-loving and constructive attitude towards the question of Korea.

50. Those were the circumstances in which the First Committee adopted a resolution which is designed to legalize the occupation of South Korea by United States forces under the flag of the United Nations and to perpetuate the division of Korea. It also intends to prevent the reunification of that country by peaceful democratic means in the interests of the Korean people as a whole and of the maintenance of peace and security in the Far East and throughout the world.

51. The Mongolian delegation states categorically that the resolution submitted to the General Assembly, like illegal decisions previously taken by the United Nations on the question of Korea, is an example of the most flagrant violation of the United Nations Charter and is a document which can have neither legal nor moral force. It can only undermine the authority and prestige of the United Nations, and demonstrate the General Assembly's inability to face the facts as they really are in Korea and to adopt a realistic approach to the situation.

52. For these reasons, the delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic will vote against the adoption of the resolution [A/6906], as it did in the First Committee.

53. Mr. RAMIREZ (Philippines): On behalf of the Philippine delegation, I wish to thank you, Mr. President, for giving me an opportunity to explain briefly the Philippine vote on the recommendation of the First Committee [A/6906, para. 18].

54. It has been argued that the presence in the southern part of Korea of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea (UNCURK) and the United Nations forces is the cause of the failure 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 the area. Such an assertion is far from the truth. The report of UNCURK [A/6712 and Corr.1] is factual and documented. It presents a true picture of the political and external relations and economic development in the Republic of Korea, to which it has access. If the report lacks complete information about North Korea in those fields the explanation is that UNCURK has no access to the records of the Government of North Korea and has been denied any direct contact with its authorities.

55. Nevertheless, UNCURK has been intensifying and will continue to intensify its efforts to bring about unification. Since the early days, the Commission has appealed to the North Korean authorities to co-operate and work with it. It is available at all times to discuss proposals for unification. The United Nations forces still remaining in the Republic of Korea constitute a shield against possible military action from the North which might occur during the present armistice. Since its presence in the territory of the Republic of Korea is at the request and with the approval of that sovereign Republic, there is no interference in the domestic affairs of the Republic of Korea.

56. The abolition of UNCURK and the withdrawal of the United Nations forces—some representatives call them "foreign troops"—from the Republic of Korea would jeopardize peace and security in the Korean peninsula. It would create a situation which could be a prelude to a possible intensification of hostilities and increased subversive activities from the northern provinces above the military demarcation line.

57. Since the Armistice Agreement was signed in 1953 there has been steady economic growth in the southern part of Korea. The Republic, which has produced thousands of professionals in medicine, engineering, architecture, education, the arts, nursing and many other fields, is trying very hard to build a nation that can contribute to the welfare of the international community. It is a free society and anyone can stroll along the newly built boulevards and the newly widened streets in the urban and rural areas and see hundreds of children lining up to enter a public school or library in search of higher education so that they may assume greater responsibilities in their community. Thousands of humble people are busy ploughing their farmlands, unaware of the deliberations in this body. Hundreds of young workers are busy in the newly built factories and plants. Thousands of small merchants and businessmen are busy trying to establish contacts with many parts of the world.

58. Shall we in the United Nations disturb the tranquillity and peace now existing in the Republic of Korea by a decision which could precipitate an intensification of tension? If the unification programme has not progressed as fast as we wanted, which is not the fault of the United Nations or its agencies, will the United Nations pull out completely and suddenly from the Korean peninsula without providing any substitute arrangement or guarantee that the existing generally peaceful conditions there, although punctuated by occasional incidents, will remain?

59. In view of the foregoing considerations and its statements made during the general debate, the Philippine delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution recommended by the First Committee.

60. Mr. TOMOROWICZ (Poland): It is the contention of my delegation that the draft resolution contained in the report of the First Committee [A/6906, para. 18] reflects and underscores the discriminatory platform imposed upon the Committee during the discussion of the Korean question. Against all rules of law and logic, against its own best interests, the Committee started with a determined effort to prevent the participation in its debates of one of the parties most directly concerned, the Korean People's Democratic Republic. It went on with a biased, one-sided report—for that is what the report of the so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea was proved to be—as the basis for its discussion. It passed over the constructive realistic proposals of the Korean People's Democratic Republic, which are fully consistent with the interests of the Korean people and with the principles of the United Nations Charter. In those conditions the result could not have been other than what is now before us—a one-sided draft resolution reminiscent

of some of the chilliest of cold war years, harmful in the highest degree to the cause it is supposed to serve.

61. In spite of those conditions, the debate on the Korean problem in the first Committee has helped to establish beyond doubt some facts of the greatest importance to the problem of Korea. It was in the course of that debate that the Polish delegation put some pertinent questions. It was also during that debate that we were offered clear answers both by representatives and by the Secretary-General himself. We can no longer run away from the fact that we know that the so-called United Nations military forces in Korea are almost exclusively composed of American troops and are supplied with American equipment. We know that the sole source from which they receive orders is not the United Nations but the Pentagon. We know that not even reports of the activities of those forces come to the United Nations. In fact, we all know very well that what we are confronted with in this instance is nothing else but an American military base in South Korea.

62. The proposed draft resolution is intended to help to maintain that state of affairs, which is highly detrimental to the interests of the Korean people, and to maintain it for yet another year. Directly linked to that fact is another, which is that the title of the United Nations command is being usurped in practice, just as it is being usurped from the legal point of view, since there is no basis whatsoever for its assuming such a title. It follows further that the flag of the United Nations is being illegally used, or rather misused, by American and South Korean troops in Korea, and even outside Korea, as was the case with South Korean mercenaries who joined in the aggressive war against the Viet-Nameese people.

63. On the basis of these facts the Committee had two alternatives. One alternative was to liquidate the highly detrimental and dangerous fiction of a fake United Nations presence and the United Nations command in Korea, to call for the withdrawal of United States and other foreign troops occupying South Korea, to terminate the activities of the body which, for reasons impossible to justify, is called the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea. The Committee was seized with proposals offering an approach to the Korean problem truly consistent with the aspirations of the Korean people to unity in peace and sovereignty, with the interests of peace and security in the Far East, and with the interests of the United Nations. We upheld that alternative and from this rostrum we wish to thank all the delegations which supported it with us.

64. The other alternative was to continue the occupation of South Korea by United States and other foreign troops, to maintain the division of Korea, to keep simmering the dangerous hotbed of tension—all of this under the banner and at the heaviest cost to the prestige and authority of the United Nations. We reject, as we have already rejected, this so-called alternative. We shall therefore vote against the proposed draft resolution.

65. Mr. SHAW (Australia): We are considering a draft resolution on Korea [A/6906, para. 18] which was endorsed in the First Committee by 67 votes in

favour to 23 against, with 23 abstentions. That draft resolution, which is recommended to us by the First Committee, first of all reaffirms that the objectives of the United Nations in Korea are to bring about by peaceful means the establishment of a unified and independent Korea under a representative form of government, and the full restoration of international peace and security in the area. Secondly, the resolution expresses the belief that arrangements should be made to achieve those objectives through genuinely free elections. Thirdly, the resolution requests the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea to intensify its efforts to achieve these objectives and to continue to carry out its tasks. Finally, the resolution notes that the United Nations forces formerly in Korea have in greater part been withdrawn, that the sole objective of the United Nations forces at present in Korea is to preserve the peace and security of the area and that the Governments concerned are prepared to withdraw their remaining forces from Korea whenever the Government of the Republic of Korea so requests or whenever the conditions for a lasting settlement as formulated by the Assembly have been fulfilled.

66. My delegation had not expected to renew the debate on this question at this time, Mr. President. As you yourself recall, the whole Korean question has been very fully discussed in meetings of the First Committee, and earlier in the General Committee and at some lengthy meetings of the General Assembly and finally we had considered that probably the debate on this question should have been exhausted.

67. In all these discussions, the supporters of North Korea have, we believe, chosen to overlook certain essential differences between the attitudes of the North Korean régime and of the Republic of Korea towards the United Nations. We have pointed out that there are differences. On the one hand, the Republic of Korea, as early as 1947, submitted to free elections supervised by the United Nations in all the territory under its control and it has since developed a vigorous and active political life; it has been able to emerge from the devastation caused by the aggression against it and to raise its rate of economic growth to a very high level. On the other hand, we have pointed out that the North Korean authorities planned and fought a war of aggression, first of all against their neighbours and then against the forces of the United Nations. The North Koreans have repeatedly rejected resolutions of this Assembly. They have refused to co-operate with any of the three subsidiary organs which this Assembly has set up to deal with the problem of reunification. The North Koreans have denied, in abusive language, the competence of the United Nations even to discuss the Korean question. In equally blunt language, they have reaffirmed their determination to impose their will by force on the other three quarters of the population of Korea.

68. In response to the resolution recommended by the First Committee what other propositions have been put forward by the supporters of North Korea? One of them was that the United Nations forces currently in Korea should be withdrawn within six months and that the Korean question should never again be discussed in the United Nations. In reply to those propositions

it was pointed out in the debates in the First Committee that the United Nations forces were in Korea as the residue of the force sent there in response to a completely legal Security Council resolution [84 (1950)] to repel the aggressive attempt by the régime of North Korea to occupy the South, that aggression from the North having been witnessed and attested to by observers from the United Nations. The United Nations forces are also in Korea in response to the specific and continuing request of the elected Government of the Republic of Korea, and I should like to point out that in certain other countries of the world there are forces of other States present at the request of those countries. The public statements made by the North Korean Government and the record of its increasing use of force against the South in recent months in our view fully justify the fears of the Government of the Republic of Korea.

69. The proposal that the United Nations forces be withdrawn was defeated in the First Committee by a vote of 59 to 24 [1523rd meeting]. Furthermore, it was argued in the First Committee by the supporters of North Korea that the United Nations Commission on the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea should be dissolved in two months' time. That proposition was defeated in the First Committee by 60 votes to 24 [*ibid.*]. The argument was sustained that while the United Nations Commission could make little progress at present, the reason for that was basically that North Korea refused to respond to it in any way. In such a situation it was surely more reasonable to ascribe the responsibility for that failure to the obstinate party rather than to the available instrument which that party obstinately refused to use. It seemed to us, and to a majority, that it would be folly to remove the United Nations presence from Korea at this time. Indeed, one must question the motives of those who insist on the removal of the United Nations presence from this troubled area. Do they wish simply to leave the way open for further aggression?

70. From what I have said it is obvious that the propositions of those delegations whose representatives have continued the debate here have already received very fully consideration. My delegation urges simply that the draft resolution referred to the Assembly by the First Committee should be endorsed with very general support.

71. Miss BROOKS (Liberia): In explaining the affirmative vote by the delegation of Liberia on the proposed draft resolution [A/6906, para. 18], we wish to make the following comments.

72. The Security Council, in its effort to establish and maintain peace in Korea, approved of forces being sent to the area and authorized them to operate under a unified command. My delegation therefore feels that until the purpose of the United Nations has been achieved in Korea the United Nations has to be cautious about the withdrawal of troops from that area of the world. However, we feel that all forces operating under the United Nations flag must be under the control of the United Nations and that the reports from the military command should be forwarded regularly to the Secretary-General of the United Nations for the information of the Security Council and of the Member States of the General Assembly.

73. We have some reservations on paragraphs 1 and 2 of the proposed draft resolution. We believe that if the purpose of the United Nations is to establish by peaceful means a "unified, independent, and democratic Korea under a representative form of government, and the full restoration of international peace and security in the area", it is necessary to hear the views of the interested parties. As regards the second paragraph, which deals with the arrangements to be made for genuinely free elections to be held in accordance with General Assembly resolutions, we hold that no free elections can be carried out successfully in Korea unless both sides have an opportunity to express their views on the question.

74. The question of the unification of the peoples of Korea is very vital. We do not feel that a rigid interpretation of the rules or of the Charter provisions should be made to debar an interested party from expressing its views on a question which is vital to it. Therefore, we would ask that the States directly or indirectly concerned use their influence so that, if peace is to be preserved in that part of the world and if unification is to come in the interest of the peoples directly concerned, the views of those peoples directly affected will be heard here in the United Nations.

75. Mr. ALARCON de QUESADA (Cuba) (translated from Spanish): During the debate in the First Committee, the Cuban delegation had the opportunity of stating its position fully with regard to the so-called Korean problem. We now wish to explain in advance our vote on the draft resolution contained in the report of the First Committee [A/6906, para. 18], which is now before the Assembly.

76. This draft resolution is an attempt to renew an aggressive, illegal and intolerable policy which the Organization has been pursuing against the Korean people, by order of the Government of the United States of America. The draft resolution repeats the gross interference of the United Nations in the internal affairs of Korea, confirms the continued Yankee military occupation of the southern part of that country, perpetuates the division of the Korean nation and renews the mandate of the so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea, a body which is not only illegal but ineffective.

77. All the provisions of the document which will be put to the vote openly violate the United Nations Charter, contravene the norms and principles of international law and treat with contempt the inalienable rights of the Korean people to be independent and to settle their domestic problems for themselves without outside interference of any kind. My delegation will therefore vote against this draft resolution and, furthermore, declares that so far as we are concerned its adoption will be totally invalid.

78. In a few moments, we shall be observing a spectacle that eloquently demonstrates the impotence of this Organization and the bankruptcy of its principles. In a few moments, the Assembly will be making a mockery of itself; it is, without a doubt, going to adopt the recommendation of the First Committee, the draft resolution which speaks of the reunification of Korea but begins by excluding one of the parties directly interested in this matter; the draft resolution which ratifies the presence of so-called United Nations

troops in Korea, despite the fact that, as was genuinely proved in the Committee's debates, no such forces exist and despite the fact that the commanders of the forces concerned have themselves told us time and again, without hiding or camouflaging themselves against anyone, that those forces are part of the United States forces.

79. The Assembly will be ratifying the presence of those troops despite the fact that, as was proved in the Committee's debates, the competent organs of the United Nations do not know what its troops are doing or what their activities are and despite the fact that, as has been stated, they report not to this Organization but to the competent authorities of the United States Government. It is going to renew this resolution—the mandate of the so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea—despite the fact that, as was proved in the First Committee's debates, that body, apart from being an instrument of intervention in Korea, has not taken the trouble to make a single specific proposal to us for reunifying or rehabilitating Korea.

80. My delegation wishes to reiterate that the only Korean problem, the only problem in that region of the world, is the United States military occupation of the southern part of the country, Yankee intervention and United Nations interference. Once more, therefore, we reaffirm that the only solution to the so-called Korean problem is the immediate withdrawal of the United States troops occupying the southern part of the country, the dissolution of that instrument of intervention known as the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea, and the cessation of discussion which is totally illegal, intolerable and incompatible with the principles of the Charter of this Organization.

81. My delegation wishes to take this opportunity to reaffirm once more the complete solidarity of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba with the fraternal Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and its confidence in the victory of the Korean people in its struggle for the unification of its homeland, despite all the manoeuvres of the imperialists and the servility of this Organization.

82. Mr. ABE (Japan): The delegation of Japan was a co-sponsor in the First Committee of the draft resolution now before the Assembly [A/6306, para. 18]. It is needless for me to go into the details of our reason for co-sponsoring the draft resolution since they were amply explained by the Japanese representative in the debate in the First Committee [1511th meeting].

83. I should like simply to state on this occasion, however, that the Republic of Korea is a very close neighbour of Japan. We know this country; we know its people; we are acquainted with the situation in the Korean Peninsula. Above all, we are aware of the very serious situation prevailing in the demilitarized zone and across the border between the Republic of Korea and North Korea. We are very acutely aware of the dangerous situation that would arise if the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea were to be dissolved and if the United Nations forces were to be withdrawn from the Republic of Korea—in other words, if the United Nations had no role to play in Korea, as some Member States have

been advocating again this year in the debates on the Korean question. We speak with conviction when we say that their proposals entirely ignore the realities of the situation.

84. My delegation will therefore cast its vote firmly in favour of the draft resolution before us which, as is clear from the text, ensures the continued role of the United Nations in Korea, the only possible means of achieving a peaceful unification of Korea.

85. Mr. BROOMFIELD (United States of America): The report of the First Committee on the Korean question [A/6906] which we have before us today is based on careful and lengthy consideration of the subject by the First Committee. The Committee spent twelve meetings discussing the Korean question in all of its aspects and it concluded that full discussion and examination by reaffirming the continuing responsibility of the United Nations in Korea and the continuing association of the United Nations with the Korean people and its support to them in the achievement of a unified, independent and democratic Korea.

86. The draft resolution which the First Committee has recommended for our approval [*ibid.*, para. 18] is one which my delegation supports fully and enthusiastically. The United States joined with fourteen other countries, representing a broad geographic cross-section, in sponsoring this draft resolution because we believe that the United Nations continues to have an important role to play in the realization of the aspirations of the Korean people and in the restoration of international peace and security in the area. The contrary view that the United Nations should abdicate its responsibilities in Korea and turn its back on its creditable and valuable record of accomplishment there was put forth at some length and in a variety of forms by a small minority. However, the First Committee turned down all efforts, whether in the form of resolutions or amendments, designed to make Korea "off limits" to the United Nations. It adopted decisively, by a vote of 67 to 23, the draft resolution which is now submitted for our consideration and recommended for our approval.

87. As I stated in the First Committee [1518th meeting], the concept of the draft resolution is simple and the draft resolution itself is straightforward and direct. It recognizes that the continued division does not correspond to the wishes of the Korean people and constitutes a source of tension which prevents the full restoration of international peace and security in the area. It also recalls the rightful authority of the United Nations under the Charter to seek a peaceful settlement in Korea and expresses the hope that conditions can soon be created to bring about the reunification of Korea on the basis of the freely expressed wishes of the people.

88. To accomplish these ends, the draft resolution first reaffirms the basic objectives of the United Nations in Korea, that is, to bring about by peaceful means the establishment of a unified, independent and democratic Korea under a representative form of government, and to restore fully international peace and security in the area. Second, it expresses the belief that arrangements should be made to achieve these objectives by means of free elections held in

accordance with past resolutions of this Assembly. And third, it asks UNCURK to intensify its efforts to achieve these objectives and to continue the task assigned to it by the Assembly. Finally, it notes that the United Nations forces which were sent to Korea in accordance with United Nations resolutions have, in large part, already been withdrawn, and that the only reason any of those forces remain in Korea is to preserve peace and security in that area.

89. This draft resolution is entirely consistent with the past record of the United Nations on the Korean question. It is also completely consistent with the obligation which the Organization has assumed in the Korean problem. It is entirely in accordance with the commitment of responsibility to the Korean people which this Assembly has undertaken and repeatedly reaffirmed. I therefore take this occasion to reiterate my delegation's strong support for the draft resolution and for the course of action by the United Nations which it represents.

90. The draft resolution reaffirms the determination of the United Nations to continue working for the very right and very just objectives to which it has committed itself in Korea, and we are confident that this course of action offers the best promise of achieving those objectives. I am also confident that the Assembly will vote today to reaffirm its commitment of responsibility to the Korean people by adopting the recommendation which the First Committee has made on this important subject.

91. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I now invite the Assembly to vote on the draft resolution submitted by the First Committee in paragraph 18 of its report (A/6906). The United Republic of Tanzania has asked for separate vote on paragraph 4. If there are no objections, I shall put this paragraph to the vote first.

Paragraph 4 was adopted by 66 votes to 24, with 23 abstentions.

92. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I now invite the Assembly to vote on the draft resolution as a whole. A request has been made for a vote by roll-call.

A vote was taken by roll-call.

Liberia, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Liberia, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Malta, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Barbados, Belgium, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dahomey, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, France, Gabon, Gambia, Greece, Guatemala, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Iran, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Laos, Lesotho.

Against: Mauritania, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, Sudan, Syria, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, Yugoslavia, Zambia, Albania, Algeria, Bulgaria, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cambodia, Congo (Brazzaville), Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Guinea, Hungary, Iraq.

Abstaining: Libya, Morocco, Nepal, Nigeria, Pakistan, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Tunisia, Uganda, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Afghanistan, Burma, Cameroon, Ceylon, Cyprus, Finland, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lebanon.

The draft resolution was adopted by 68 votes to 23, with 26 abstentions [resolution 2269 (XXII)].

The meeting rose at 5.10 p.m.