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President: Mr. Stanisław TREPCZYŃSKI (Poland).

AGENDA ITEM 8

Adoption of the agenda

**FIRST REPORT OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE
(A/8800/REV.1)**

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I apologize for the delay in starting this meeting; it was due to the late hour at which the General Committee adjourned and to the fact that the Secretariat then had to prepare its report.

2. The agenda for this afternoon deals with the organization of the twenty-seventh regular session, the adoption of the agenda and the allocation of items. The Assembly has before it the first report of the General Committee, which has been circulated in document A/8800/Rev.1. We shall examine first the Committee's recommendations in section II, dealing with the organization of the session. These are contained in paragraphs 3 to 12 of document A/8800/Rev.1. In section II, paragraphs 3 and 4 deal with the schedule of meetings; paragraphs 5 and 6 deal with the general debate, paragraph 6 with the duration of the general debate and the closure of the list of speakers; in paragraph 7 the General Committee draws the Assembly's attention to certain recommendations concerning the exercise of the right of reply; paragraph 8 deals with the closing date of the session; paragraph 9 deals with the records of the Main Committees; paragraph 10 deals with seating arrangements during the session; and paragraphs 11 and 12 concern respectively the use of the General Assembly Hall and the mechanical means of voting.

3. If there are no comments or objections with regard to the paragraphs I have just mentioned, I shall take it that they are approved by the General Assembly.

It was so decided.

4. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): We shall now consider section III of the report relating to the adoption of the agenda. May I take it that the General Assembly takes note of paragraph 14, concerning the report of the Economic and Social Council?

It was so decided.

5. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): We turn now to paragraph 15, which contains recommendations made by the General Committee on various items proposed for deletion or for postponement until the twenty-eighth session. If there is no objection to the recommendation of the General Committee in paragraph 15 (a) regarding item 21 of the draft agenda submitted by the Secretary-General in his memorandum [A/BUR/179/Rev.1], I shall take it that the General Assembly approves that recommendation.

It was so decided.

6. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): May I take it that the General Assembly also approves the recommendation in paragraph 15 (b) regarding item 52.

It was so decided.

7. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): Next I put before the Assembly the recommendations of the General Committee contained in paragraph 15 (c), (d) and (e), regarding items 92, 93 and 94 respectively. If there is no objection, I shall take it that the General Assembly approves those recommendations.

It was so decided.

8. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): We turn now to the decisions of the General Committee contained in paragraph 16 concerning the inclusion of items 35, 36, 37 and 96, which were discussed simultaneously in the Committee.

9. Mr. RAHAL (Algeria) (*interpretation from French*): Once again, the General Assembly has received a proposal from the General Committee to defer the debate on Korea until the next session. This proposal of the General Committee applies to a new item which 29 Member States, including Algeria, asked to have included in the agenda of the present session [A/8752 and Add.1-10]. This item is entitled: "Creation of favourable conditions to accelerate the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea."

10. Last year the same procedure of delay was resorted to, and a majority of delegations was found in the Assembly to support it. Obviously, we presented our arguments in favour of an immediate debate and we stressed the fact that, by resorting to the same dilatory tactics year after year, the Assembly would ultimately postpone any debate on Korea indefinitely.

11. It is not part of the traditions of our Organization—and we heard a number of delegations make much of this when dealing, it is true, with other matters—to

refuse persistently to discuss questions proposed for inclusion by Member States. In the present instance the problem was submitted by 29 nations. Therefore, what we have here is a veritable procedural manoeuvre by which certain delegations would wish to have the Organization avoid a debate whose importance and urgency need no proof, and thus shirk its responsibilities and abdicate its basic prerogatives.

12. The United Nations has no right to do that, and it has much less right to do so when dealing with the problem of Korea, a question on which the Organization assumed specific responsibilities as early as 1950, and one on which the Assembly is accountable for the way in which it has fulfilled the obligations it assumed to lead that country to reunification. It is obviously very easy to seek refuge in an attitude of expectancy, to lay its flattering unction to our soul that matters are not going too badly and to wait until the situation settles itself, as though the very presence of the United Nations in itself could serve as a type of talisman through whose strength all ills would be exorcised.

13. It is hardly necessary here to review the conditions in which the United Nations found itself involved in the problem of Korea. It will be up to history to reconstruct those conditions, to analyse them and to pass judgement on the degree of responsibility borne by the Organization and by its Members. But we are too interested in the present situation in Korea and in the future of that country to wish to waste time mulling over what is now past and gone forever, to reopen old arguments, or old wounds, all of which would do a disservice to the very cause of the reunification of Korea.

14. Nor do we wish to speak of the attitude or responsibility of any one country. What is of interest to us today—and what we would invite the General Assembly to concentrate its attention upon—is the role which the Organization might play in order effectively to bring about understanding between the two parties in Korea and to establish a lasting and durable peace in that part of Asia. We contend that that role cannot and must not be the role of passive spectator merely recording developments and applauding any progress achieved. The United Nations is not a mere spectator in this tragedy to which the Korean people has been condemned.

15. Foreign troops are still on South Korean territory under the flag of the United Nations and under the military command of the United Nations. Their presence dates back to the period of the Korean war. In fact, those foreign troops are almost exclusively made up of contingents coming from the United States of America, which at present number 43,000 men, after a reduction decided upon by the United States itself. The decision regarding the number of troops and their use is not to be made by the Organization, and it is wrong, to put it mildly, for the United Nations to continue to cover that military presence in Korea when it exercises neither authority nor control over the troops. The responsibility assumed by the Organization in this field is absolutely fictitious, and it would be very difficult to pretend that the maintenance of that situation is a contribution to keeping the peace in Korea and even less to reunifying Korea.

16. There is also a United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea [UNCURK]. That Commission, originally composed of seven countries, is today in fact composed of only five members, since Chile officially withdrew in 1970 and Pakistan ceased to participate in its work in 1967. The terms of reference of UNCURK were to promote the objectives of the United Nations in Korea and try to find a rapid solution to the question of Korea. The time may now be ripe for the Organization to assess the results obtained by UNCURK since 1950 and the extent to which it has fulfilled the task entrusted to it.

17. We know that yearly UNCURK submits a report to the General Assembly on its activities, but the study of that report must obviously give rise to a debate, a debate which many are trying precisely to avoid by the dilatory manoeuvres that I have just denounced. A mere reading of that report is most edifying for anyone who wishes to judge objectively the capacity of our Organization to fulfil its peaceful mission. I have great respect for the eminent qualifications of the authors of the report and I have no doubt as to their sincere desire to fulfil the tasks entrusted to them as best they can. Yet I must say, with regret, that the report of UNCURK is rather reminiscent of propaganda pamphlets circulated by certain countries to make known their accomplishments or to attract foreign tourists; dissemination of this report through the auspices of the Organization and at the expense of the Organization makes it unnecessary for South Korea to engage in such publicity itself. But it is not UNCURK that should be made to bear the responsibility for such a distortion of its activities. Since the Democratic People's Republic of Korea refuses to recognize UNCURK, it is very difficult for it to balance its information and its judgements. But, then, how can it act for the creation by peaceful means of a unified Korea, to use the very words of the United Nations resolutions? Apart from scant declarations taking note of certain facts or commending contacts established between North and South Korea, the chapter of the report covering the activities of UNCURK reveals the ineffectual position to which it has been condemned by the force of events. But, as I said, we cannot blame UNCURK itself for the situation; there can be no doubt that if it had had any opportunity to do better, it would have done so. But it is the very principle of its creation, the very essence of its terms of reference and the conditions under which it acts that condemn it to the role of spectator and—doubtless in spite of itself—to the role of propagandist for South Korea. In the final analysis it is the United Nations itself that must be held to blame for the failure of UNCURK.

18. So much for the present role of the United Nations in Korea. We believe it to be the duty of the General Assembly to draw the obvious conclusions from an objective examination of the situation and to consider the decisions which are imperative if the Organization is to be able to participate effectively in achieving a solution to the problem of Korea. That is precisely the purpose of the debate for which we are calling at the present session. That debate is more necessary than ever today, when we note a tangible thaw in the situation, when the leaders of North and South Korea are establishing direct contacts with one another and when there is an obvious common desire to reach a satisfactory solution to their difficulties. We must

welcome as an important event the joint communiqué in which North Korea and South Korea together define the principles that must guide them in their progress towards the reunification of the country [A/8727, annex I]. That is a communiqué which deals with the very substance of the problem and which does not relate only to humanitarian aspects, such as the reunion of families separated since the division of Korea. In that communiqué, the two parties express their joint desire to work together for the reunification of Korea by peaceful means, without resorting to armed force, but also their express desire to avoid all foreign interference or intervention by foreign forces.

19. The Organization would be failing in its fundamental obligations were it only to note that event and welcome it, and to consider that to let the situation evolve in its own way will suffice. That is particularly so because it is false to believe that things ever do evolve by themselves. Our duty, our obligation as the United Nations is to see to it that nothing stands in the way of that progress and also to do all in our power to speed it up. We should echo the concern expressed by the leaders of North and South Korea, and consider the extent to which the presence of foreign troops under the United Nations flag in Korea and the activity of UNCURK are not contrary to the desire of the two Korean Governments to continue their discussions without foreign interference. Those are the purposes of the debate that we ask the General Assembly to start without delay. It is obvious that it is not for us to interfere in the domestic affairs of the Koreans, nor to stand in for the main parties to the discussion of problems which concern them alone. What we are asking the Assembly to discuss are those matters which directly affect the United Nations and its involvement in Korea.

20. The delegations who oppose a debate of this nature argue that our discussions might reawaken acrimonious controversies and also create obstacles to a proper solution of the problem of Korea. But those objections are unfounded and they disguise a dilatory manoeuvre which we must most energetically denounce. We must also stress the fact that those delegations, or most of them, did not hesitate to recommend the opening of a debate that would be surrounded by more passion than this Organization has ever witnessed, judging by what we heard in the General Committee. We are also extremely anxious to avoid complicating a situation which is already complicated enough. We wish to take account of a new situation in which encouraging trends are already noticeable and which we should strengthen by redefining the obligations of the United Nations and its role in the question of Korea.

21. These intentions are perfectly clear from the wording of the item that we have proposed for inclusion, which is "Creation of favourable conditions to accelerate the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea." These intentions are also obvious in the explanatory memorandum [see A/8752] and in the draft resolution which we have submitted in support of our request [see A/8752/Add.9]. Those documents clearly show the direction that we would want this debate to take and also our concern to comply with the will of the Koreans themselves, be they of the North or of the South.

22. Those who ask us again this year to postpone this discussion apparently wish to reduce the Organization to a culpable state of passivity at a time when it has before it for once a chance finally to shoulder its responsibilities with some chance of success. Some have tried to read into the progress already achieved in Korea proof of the wisdom of the last session of the General Assembly when it agreed to postpone the debate on Korea. But this is a specious argument; it might satisfy those who prefer inertia to action, because no one will convince us that a debate at the twenty-sixth session could have done anything but speed up this turn of events, which today might have made it possible for us to rejoice over much more positive results.

23. We therefore urge the Assembly not to shy from its responsibilities and to agree to examine objectively and in the light of over 20 years' experience how the United Nations should act now to achieve the goal it assigned itself in 1950. As we see it, it is not only an imperative need but an obligation for us to hold that debate and to compare our views. More than half the Members of the Organization did not exist as States when the decisions were taken to implicate the United Nations in the Korean problem. Those countries now have the right to express their views on a question to which they are committed whether they like it or not.

24. The Organization is in duty bound to ascertain whether the true will of its Members is still to keep its flag in Korea as well as the Commission which, on its behalf, is supposed to be concerned with the unification and rehabilitation of Korea. This is an elementary question of honesty, and it is difficult to concede that this discussion aimed at bringing about an indispensable clarification must necessarily lead to acrimonious debates. We do not accept this pretext by which a convenient way is being sought to deprive us of our right to make known our views. It is high time for us to give up these sterile procedural battles, resolutely turn to more constructive tasks and, courageously and clear-sightedly shoulder our responsibilities.

25. It is for those reasons that we make an appeal to the General Assembly not to follow the General Committee's recommendation to it but to decide on the immediate opening of a debate on the question that we have proposed.

26. Mr. PUNTSAGNOROV (Mongolia) (*translation from Russian*): As a sponsor of item 96, my delegation is reiterating its position which it has already stated at the General Committee's 199th meeting. I shall, accordingly, be very brief.

27. In our opinion, the General Committee's recommendation that this item should be postponed until the next session of the General Assembly is diverting the attention of the United Nations from one of the most urgent problems of the contemporary international scene. We have not been convinced by the arguments that the consideration of this item at this session of the General Assembly would adversely affect future talks between North and South Korea. On the contrary, in the present conditions when hopeful trends are developing in the relations between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and South Korea, a constructive solution of the

Korean question by the United Nations would hasten the removal of obstacles to the peaceful and democratic unification of Korea—obstacles which arose 20 years ago, unfortunately with the participation of the United Nations itself.

28. It is quite clear that the national problems of Korea must be solved by the Korean people themselves without any outside interference. The representatives of both parts of Korea have agreed on the basic principles for the independent and peaceful unification of the country. Meanwhile, however, the presence in South Korea of United States troops, under the cover of the flag of the United Nations, is preventing the application of these principles. Postponing discussion of the Korean problem is in fact tantamount to the United Nations sanctioning further United States military presence in South Korea; and that would certainly not promote a relaxation of tension in the Far East or a positive solution by the Korean people of their national problem.

29. The Mongolian delegation urges the General Assembly to include in its agenda for this session the item "Creation of favourable conditions to accelerate the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea" so that the United Nations can make its contribution to the settlement of the Korean problem.

30. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translation from Russian*): In connexion with the discussion by the General Assembly of the report of the General Committee, the Soviet delegation wishes to voice an extremely strong protest against the attempt by a number of delegations of Western countries once again to prevent the General Assembly from considering the Korean question at its twenty-seventh session. This item entitled "Creation of favourable conditions to accelerate the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea" has been proposed by 29 non-aligned and socialist countries, including the Soviet Union [A/8752 and Add.1-10].

31. It is absolutely indispensable to submit the question of Korea in this new formulation for discussion at this session of the General Assembly; this is justifiable in view of the new situation which is currently developing in Korea.

32. The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has taken important political initiatives to normalize the situation on the Korean peninsula and to create an atmosphere favourable to the peaceful unification of Korea on a democratic basis without any foreign interference whatsoever. These peaceful measures have been very widely supported by the Korean people in both parts of Korea.

33. The position taken by the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, namely that the Korean problem should be resolved through negotiations on a peaceful and democratic basis, has met with understanding and support from peace-loving States.

34. Right from the start the Soviet Union has consistently supported and it continues to support the constructive efforts by the Government of the Democratic People's

Republic of Korea to normalize the situation in Korea, to have the foreign troops withdrawn from South Korea and to achieve the independent unification of the country without any outside interference.

35. As a result of the contacts between the Governments of North and South Korea, a joint communiqué was issued in July this year by the North and South on improving relations between the two parts of the country and on the principles for the unification of Korea by the Korean people themselves without any outside interference. Subsequently, talks between the Red Cross societies of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and of South Korea took place, during which the problems involved in contacting and reuniting families and relatives who had been separated in the North and South were discussed. These facts reveal a positive trend in the development of the situation in Korea. In addition, the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has frequently stressed that the cessation of foreign interference is one of the most important conditions for achieving the peaceful unification of Korea by the Korean people themselves.

36. The Soviet Union strongly supports the just and legitimate demands for an end to outside interference in the affairs of the Korean people. The United Nations flag and name must not be used any longer to cover interference in Korean affairs.

37. In these conditions it is the clear duty of the United Nations to do all it can to help the Korean people end interference by the foreign forces which are preventing the uniting of Korea by the Korean people themselves. It is precisely in order to create an atmosphere in Korea favourable to its unification by peaceful means by the Korean people themselves that these proposals have been submitted by 29 States. The proposals have been submitted with due regard for the new political events which have been taking place on the Korean peninsula since the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly. It is perfectly clear that the extended stationing of foreign troops in South Korea is an obstacle on the road to the unification of the country and the normalization of the situation in the region. This question directly affects the United Nations itself because the foreign forces occupying South Korea are still camouflaging their illegal presence there under the flag and name of the United Nations.

38. Another serious obstacle to an independent solution of the Korean problem by the Korean people themselves is the continuing existence of the illegally established United Nations Commission on Korea. Removing these impediments to the unification of Korea would, without any doubt, help to create more favourable conditions for the peaceful unification of Korea and would be in the interests of all the Korean people.

39. If the United Nations were to take practical steps in this direction, this would be in full accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

40. The question of restoring the unity of Korea is a purely internal affair of the Korean people themselves. It must be solved by them independently, without any

outside interference even under the flag or through the various organs of the United Nations.

41. The Soviet Union has always taken this position of principle on this matter, and has therefore sponsored the proposals submitted by the 29 countries, and the draft resolution which provides for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from South Korea, the suspension of the activities of the United Nations Commission on Korea and the prohibition of any interference in Korean affairs [see A/8752/Add.9].

42. The opponents of the peaceful unification of Korea by the Korean people themselves are once again trying, as they have often tried in the past, to prevent the United Nations from at last adopting a correct and just position on this matter, which is of vital importance to the whole Korean people. In doing this they are using very strange logic. Those States which for years on end have been forcing the General Assembly to adopt resolutions on maintaining foreign troops under the United Nations flag in South Korea and on continuing the activities of the so-called United Nations Commission on Korea are now trying by every possible means to prevent the righting of this injustice which is being inflicted on the Korean people by the United Nations.

43. As many representatives have convincingly shown in their statements during the discussion in the General Committee and during the discussion of the Korean problem at previous sessions of the General Assembly, it is precisely the presence of foreign troops in South Korea and the activities of the so-called United Nations Commission which are serious obstacles to the unification of Korea by peaceful means and on a democratic basis.

44. The flag and the name of the United Nations are still being used to justify interference in the affairs of Korea. Yet at the same time an attempt is being made to prevent the General Assembly from discussing how the United Nations could promote the independent and peaceful unification of Korea by the Korean people themselves. Moreover, the most flimsy argument is being used, to wit, that a discussion at this session of the General Assembly could somehow or other jeopardize the contacts established between the two sides in Korea and halt the trend towards relaxation of tension in the Korean peninsula. According to this strange and far-fetched argument, the maintenance of thousands of foreign troops in South Korea is not interference in the affairs of the Korean people. Yet a discussion at the United Nations of what practical steps could be taken to help the Korean people bring to an end foreign interference in their affairs, including activities under cover of the flag and the name of the United Nations, would allegedly constitute interference in the affairs of the people of Korea. But it is surely obvious that this is all simply manoeuvres and obstructive tactics being employed by those who would like to prevent the unification of Korea by the Korean people themselves.

45. The Soviet Union cannot agree to this approach and vigorously opposes the proposal to postpone until the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly the item on Korea which has been proposed by 29 States. It is widely known that in the past the United Nations had been used

by forces hostile to the Korean people to cover up foreign intervention in Korea and to interfere in the affairs of the Korean people. An end must be put to this now. The United Nations must abandon its old approach whereby it was forced to take decisions going against the interests of the Korean people and their striving for unification and peace in Korea. The United Nations must help to create normal and favourable conditions for a solution to the Korean problem by the Koreans themselves through contact and negotiations between representatives of the two parts of Korea. The United Nations must direct its energies towards removing the obstacles which in the past have intentionally been placed on the path to the unification of Korea. By acting in this way the United Nations could make a useful contribution to the solution of the Korean problem in the interests of both the Korean people and general peace in the Far East.

46. In view of what has just been said, the Soviet delegation urges those delegations which stand for justice and firmly believe in implementing the Charter of the United Nations to vote for the inclusion of agenda item 96, which deals with Korea, in the agenda of the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly. We shall, accordingly, vote against the recommendation in paragraph 16 of the report of the General Committee on postponing this item until the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly, and we call upon other delegations to vote against it too.

47. Mr. MALILE (Albania) (*interpretation from French*): The General Assembly is now considering the question of including in the agenda of the twenty-seventh session an item entitled "Creation of favourable conditions to accelerate the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea". This is a very important question which is linked to a fair solution of the Korean problem. However, on groundless pretexts the General Committee has again this year recommended deferral of this matter to the next session of the General Assembly. The direct result of acceptance of this recommendation would be to put off a constructive debate in the United Nations.

48. As we know, the United States, resorting to various pretexts, managed to prevent the General Assembly from discussing the Korean question at its last session. The United States delegation, as well as other delegations, stated at that time [1939th meeting] that it did not want to delete the Korean question entirely from the agenda of the General Assembly but merely to postpone its discussion to the twenty-seventh session. However, at this twenty-seventh session the same manoeuvre is again being adopted. It is clear that, by this procedural move calling for a further adjournment of an essential debate on a serious question, the United States is trying to keep the United Nations linked to Korea by dint of illegal decisions adopted many years ago.

49. The creation of conditions to accelerate the reunification of Korea is a matter that cannot be ignored by the General Assembly, particularly when we know that the flag of the United Nations has been used by the occupation forces for keeping the country divided, for the oppression of the people and for the brutal violation of their most

sacred right to live free and independent in their own country.

50. The position of the Albanian Government on the question of Korea is very clear and well known. It has always contended energetically that the Korean people was waging righteous struggle against American imperialism and its instruments in South Korea to defend the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, to unify the country independently, to expel foreign troops from South Korea and to put an end to United Nations or any other intervention in the domestic affairs of the Korean people.

51. Consistent with that position, the Albanian delegation has opposed and continues to oppose any interference by the United Nations in the domestic affairs of Korea as well as any discussion of the report of the illegal Commission of the United Nations for the "unification and rehabilitation of Korea". At the same time, we believe that the question of the creation of favourable conditions for the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea is the one problem on which our Organization must adopt urgent measures in order to put an end to foreign intervention in the domestic affairs of Korea and withdraw from the American troops the right to use the name of the United Nations.

52. The unification of Korea is a general aspiration of the whole Korean people. It is a domestic question which falls exclusively within the competence of the Korean people and it can only be solved by them and independently. Any foreign intervention, whatever its origin, including the United Nations, is illegal and constitutes a grave violation of the principle of the self-determination of peoples, the standards of international law and the Charter of the United Nations. The Korean people must be left free to solve its own problems of the reunification of the nation in its own way.

53. To achieve this great national aspiration of the Korean people it is essential to remove all the obstacles which have been created for predetermined ends. We know that about 23 years ago the American imperialists committed an act of aggression against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea—an act which was condemned by all peace-loving peoples—and we know that they still occupy the southern part of Korea. These historic facts are universally recognized. But we want to stress that the presence of American troops in Korea is the main obstacle to the unification of the country; that it is the most serious form of encroachment upon the sovereignty of that country; that it denies to the South Korean population its inalienable right to decide its own destiny. That is why it is essential, first and foremost, that the American troops leave South Korea.

54. The right to the self-determination of peoples and foreign military occupation are mutually exclusive. By placing the southern part of Korea under its military domination, the United States divided Korea into two and caused the people of the country countless privations, depriving it for almost a quarter of a century of the sacred right to national unification. We must stress that, while tens of thousands of American soldiers are stationed in the south of Korea, there is not a single foreign soldier in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea; the Chinese volun-

teers that came to assist their Korean brothers in their struggle for national salvation left the territory of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in 1958.

55. The United Nations not only should not interfere in the domestic affairs of a people and a State, but should respect the right of the self-determination of peoples and in particular should condemn any intervention by imperialist Powers designed to impose their *diktat* on other peoples. In the case of Korea, the United Nations has allowed itself to be led on to a very wrong path, one absolutely contrary to the interests of the Korean people and the maintenance of peace in the Far East. The so-called United Nations Commission for Korea has served as the instrument to legalize the American occupation of the southern part of the country. It is a body that was created precisely to hamper the peaceful and independent reunification of Korea. The Commission is nothing but a vestige of foreign intervention in Korea.

56. The Albanian delegation believes that to maintain unjust decisions that were adopted during the troubled times of the Korean war means to maintain the intervention of the United States under the cover of the flag of the United Nations and to trample under foot the sovereign rights of the Korean people. The United Nations has no right to interfere in the domestic affairs of the Korean people. The activity of the United Nations on the question of Korea has seriously undermined its prestige and authority. Therefore, it is time to put an end to that situation once and for all.

57. The efforts of certain delegations to use the negotiations at present taking place between the two parts of Korea as a pretext to defer discussion of the question of the creation of favourable conditions for the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea until the next session of the General Assembly are completely groundless. Actually, this argument is designed to maintain the *status quo* in Korea, that is to say, to keep American troops on South Korean territory, to keep alive the United Nations Commission for Korea, to continue the division of Korea—and all this under the flag of the United Nations, as heretofore.

58. If the debate in the United Nations takes place in the spirit of the Charter, if it rests on the recognition of the right of peoples to self-determination, on respect for freedom, for the independence and sovereignty of peoples, if it takes place in the spirit of the recognition of the very grave errors committed by the United Nations against the Korean people and in a desire to redress these errors, then it will help to create favourable conditions for a solution to the Korean problem.

59. The Albanian delegation, like many other delegations, welcomes the efforts and the just struggle of the Korean peoples to repel foreign armies from South Korea and for the independent reunification of the country. We must stress the constructive efforts made by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for many years to arrive at a just solution of the Korean problem in keeping with the higher interests of the entire people, in both the north and the south of the country and in keeping with the interests of strengthening peace in the Far East.

60. The situation in Korea and the respect for the sovereign rights of the Korean people make it imperative that at the present session of the General Assembly we examine the question of the creation of favourable conditions for the independent reunification of Korea. This affects two problems basic to the unification of the Korean nation: the withdrawal of United States troops from South Korea and the cessation of United Nations interference in the domestic affairs of the Korean people. Without rapid action along these lines, it would be impossible effectively to reduce tension and to strengthen peace in the Korean peninsula.

61. We believe that the Member States that respect the right of peoples to self-determination and the principles of the Charter must reject the unjust recommendation of the General Committee to postpone discussion of the item on the "Creation of favourable conditions to accelerate the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea".

62. The Albanian delegation, in keeping with the policy of its Government, which firmly defends the just cause of the Korean people, fully supports the immediate examination of this problem and will vote against the recommendation of the General Committee.

63. Mr. KUI/AGA (Poland) (*interpretation from French*): Poland, together with 28 other delegations, has asked for the inclusion in the agenda of the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly of an item entitled "Creation of favourable conditions to accelerate the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea".

64. We have done this because of the interest we have always had in the Korean question and the solution of this problem: the reunification of Korea through peaceful means, without any foreign interference, in conformity with the wishes of the Korean people. We have been particularly mindful of new events in the over-all political situation, particularly in Korea, events amply described by previous speakers. We have sponsored this item deeply convinced that if the General Assembly considers this new initiative and adopts the necessary measures, it will contribute to facilitating the solution of a problem which for too long has been predicated upon a way of thinking and acting reminiscent of the most inflexible and coldest years of the cold war.

65. About 20 years have elapsed since the armistice agreement was signed. The world has changed, the United Nations has changed. Over half of the States which today are Members of the United Nations, many of which are sponsors of the request contained in document A/8752, were fighting for their independence at that time and, as we were just reminded by the representative of Algeria, they took no part in decisions whose consequences we are still feeling.

66. A more realistic spirit has begun to prevail in other parts of the world. And here, in this hall, the Korean question remains frozen in proportions and in a framework which have not changed in 20 years.

67. The reaction to a new initiative presented in a spirit of flexibility and taking into account opinions expressed by

many delegations during previous debates has not changed either. The reaction is still the same. In substance, it is in favour of maintaining the *status quo*, of maintaining foreign troops in South Korea, of maintaining the fiction of the presence of the United Nations and, hence, positions established 20 years ago favourable to one of the parties, discriminatory and unjust to the other and incompatible with the interests of the Korean people and the United Nations.

68. The debates in the General Committee have sometimes created a surrealistic impression. For some, it was not the presence of foreign troops in South Korea; it was not the abuse of the symbol and authority of the United Nations; it was not the perpetuation of the fiction of a United Nations Command and the existence of the United Nations Commission which were obstacles to a just solution of the Korean problem. For them, the obstacle was the discussion of the problem in itself, and the arguments concerning the need to avoid polemics sound a slightly hollow note if we read the report of the so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea that has just been published [A/8727]. This report contains some affirmations quite typical of that body and directed against the People's Democratic Republic of Korea. For our part, we think the Assembly can and must at this session contribute to the creation of conditions favourable to the solution of the Korean problem. We base this view upon facts and upon the initiatives taken by the People's Democratic Republic of Korea, which we support—its constructive proposals for the peaceful and independent reunification of Korea. We are equally mindful of the joint communiqué of 4 July 1972 [*ibid.*, annex I], which aroused so much interest in Korea and throughout the world.

69. We conclude from this that if we wish to arrive at the desired solution it is essential to eliminate the real obstacles to such a solution—that is to say, the continued presence in South Korea of foreign troops stationed there; the use and abuse of the flag of the United Nations by those troops; the continuing fiction of a military command of the United Nations.

70. These obstacles also include the activities of the so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea, which, as has been demonstrated by events, have contributed to neither the reunification nor the rehabilitation of Korea, because the rehabilitation of Korea, as we have witnessed in the People's Democratic Republic of Korea, has been achieved by the Korean people itself.

71. The Assembly can and must do away with the interference and the foreign presence which complicate the Korean problem. It is up to the Korean people itself, independently and free of foreign pressures, to deal with a problem which is crucial to itself and which is within its sole purview. To assure the Korean people of conditions for a solution consonant with its wishes, to extricate the United Nations from a situation into which it was forced by the cold war and thus to redress the damage done to the Organization's prestige and authority and, especially, to serve the normalization of Korea: that is our goal at this session.

72. We are firmly convinced that it is through consideration of the initiative of 29 Members and the adoption of appropriate measures that the United Nations can contribute to that cause. That is why the Polish delegation has joined 28 other States representing different parts of the world in presenting this new initiative. That is why we ask for the inclusion in this session's agenda of an item entitled "Creation of favourable conditions to accelerate the independence and peaceful reunification of Korea", and that is why we oppose the recommendation of the General Committee to postpone item 96 of the provisional agenda until the next session of the General Assembly. We hope the majority of the Assembly will concur with us in this.

73. Mr. HUANG (China) (*translation from Chinese*): Algeria and 28 other countries have asked for the inclusion of the item entitled "Creation of favourable conditions to accelerate the independence and peaceful reunification of Korea" on the agenda of the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly. This initiative has been supported and endorsed by all the justice-upholding countries and peoples.

74. The Chinese delegation cannot agree to the recommendation of the General Committee that the discussion of the draft resolution sponsored by Algeria and 28 other countries should be deferred. The Chinese delegation considers that the United Nations General Assembly is duty-bound to include this new item in the agenda of the current session and to discuss as early as possible the draft resolution proposed by Algeria and 28 other countries on the item.

75. North and South Korea used to be a unified country. The Korean people belong to a unified nation. Twenty-seven years have elapsed since the artificial division of Korea, and 19 years have since elapsed since the end of the Korean war. But to date only a military armistice agreement and no further arrangement—still less the reunification of Korea—have been achieved, and Korea remains in a state of division.

76. The prolonged division of North and South Korea has brought the entire Korean people untold miseries and sufferings. It is the common aspiration of the people of North and South Korea to realize the independent and peaceful reunification of their fatherland at the earliest possible date.

77. Not long ago, North and South Korea held high-level talks and issued a joint communiqué in which both North and South Korea affirmed the three principles for the reunification of their fatherland, namely: first, reunification should be achieved independently, without reliance upon outside force or its interference; second, reunification should be achieved by peaceful means, without recourse to the use of arms against the other side; third, a great national unity as one nation should be sought above all, transcending the differences in ideologies, ideas and systems.

78. These developments mark a good beginning for the cause of the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea and will have a positive influence on the development of the situation in Asia and the world. The contacts between North and South Korea and the progress made in settling the question of reunifying their fatherland have

won the great attention and warm sympathy of the peoples of the world. That shows that the demand of the 40 million people of Korea for the reunification of their fatherland has become an irresistible historical trend. The United Nations is duty-bound to take note of this development in the Korean situation and to do its utmost to encourage and accelerate that development and not continue to obstruct and undermine it.

79. The new item and the draft resolution proposed by Algeria and 28 other countries are aimed precisely at encouraging and accelerating such a development and at eliminating the whole series of man-made obstacles in the way of the cause of the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea. People can see clearly that compared with the two old items the new item and draft resolution submitted by Algeria and 28 other countries meet better the requirement of the new situation which has emerged in Korea. The discussion and adoption of such a draft resolution will surely create favourable conditions to accelerate the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea. As mentioned in the 31 July statement of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on the item concerning the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea proposed by Algeria and other countries to the United Nations:

"This new item of the agenda reflects the requirements of the new situation created in Korea with the announcement on 4 July 1972 of the North-South Joint Statement whose main content is that the reunification of the country should be achieved on the three principles of independence, peaceful ways and promoting great national unity; it represents the unbiased public opinion of the Governments of the progressive countries and the peace-loving peoples in the world who want to spare no positive co-operation with the entire Korean people in their just struggle to materialize the North-South Joint Statement, actively supporting and welcoming it." [*see A/8752/Add.7.*]

80. The key to the peaceful solution of the Korean question is to let the Korean people settle their own problems by themselves and free from foreign interference. The Chinese Government and people have consistently held that the affairs of a country should be handled by its own people and that there is no justification for any foreign interference. The Korean people are the masters of Korea. The question of the reunification of Korea must be settled by the Korean people themselves without interference from outside forces.

81. The United States aggression against Korea in the past was carried out under the name of the United Nations. There still exists a so-called "United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea" and a "United Nations Command" in South Korea. United States troops have continued to stay in South Korea. These foreign interferences imposed on the Korean people are the root-cause of the prolonged division of Korea and a serious obstacle to the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea. Now the Korean people have themselves opened up the road towards the independence and peaceful reunification of the fatherland. The same 31 July statement of the

Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea added:

“The sponsoring countries, including Algeria, are fully justified in having asserted, when presenting the new item on Korea, that now it is more important than ever before to re-examine the activities of the ‘United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea’ and the presence of the ‘United Nations Command’ in South Korea in the light of the new developments in Korea.” [ibid.]

82. In the present new situation the United Nations is duty-bound to take actions to eliminate the obstacles to the Korean people's independent and peaceful reunification of their fatherland. It should declare that the foreign troops in South Korea have no right to use the United Nations flag and that the activities of “UNCURK” should be suspended, thus leading to the withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea. Now is the time for the United Nations to discuss earnestly the Korean question and to take measures to create conditions to accelerate the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea. This will be conducive not only to assisting the Korean people's cause of the independent and peaceful reunification of their fatherland but also to retrieving the prestige which the United Nations has lost on account of the Korean question.

83. At the General Committee's 199th meeting on 20 September, the United States and the United Kingdom representatives asserted that the decision of the previous session of the General Assembly to postpone the discussion on the Korean question had led to negotiations between North and South Korea and that in order not to hamper these negotiations the General Assembly at its current session should again postpone discussions. This logic is most absurd. Would not such logic mean that the peaceful reunification of Korea would be most benefited only if the Assembly refrains from discussing the Korean question forever and only if such illegal institutions as the “United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea” and the “United Nations Command” are maintained permanently? What is the “United Nations Command” really for? This is clear to everyone and there is no need to say much here. As for the “United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea”, everyone is aware that its establishment and all its activities are for the sole purpose of perpetuating the division of Korea.

84. Some have said that the discussion of the Korean question now in the Assembly would produce an adverse effect on the negotiations between North and South Korea. This argument is also totally untenable. In fact, the start of negotiations between the two sides makes it all the more necessary for the United Nations to discuss the Korean question in order to create favourable conditions for the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea. If the discussion should be postponed to the next year because of the conduct of negotiations between the North and the South this year, does this mean that there will be no more negotiations between the North and the South next year? Does it follow from their assertion that the negotiations between the North and the South will be facilitated only by

maintaining the so-called “UNCURK” and “United Nations Command” permanently? This cannot hold water. There is another erroneous argument saying that the discussion of the Korean question will only aggravate the tension in Korea and make the positions of the two sides more rigid. The peaceful reunification of Korea is the internal affair of the Korean people and calls for no discussions in the United Nations.

85. The Korean people alone have the right to discuss the peaceful reunification of Korea, and the United Nations has no right to do so. The past United Nations discussions of this question were illegal and constituted a violation of the principles of the United Nations Charter. Nevertheless, what is to be discussed under the item proposed by the 29 countries is definitely not the question of Korea's peaceful reunification as such—which is purely its internal affair—but the question of how to eliminate foreign interference and create favourable conditions for the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea. Consequently, it is out of the question that the Assembly's discussion could cause tension and rigidity in the positions of the two sides. The people who feel tense and take a rigid stand and thus fear the discussion of the Korean question are none other than those who insist on interfering in the internal affairs of Korea and who stand for postponement year after year. These people even describe the correct demand made for the suspension of the activities of “UNCURK” and for the annulment of the right of the foreign troops in South Korea to use the United Nations flag as an outside interference in Korea, as if the maintenance of these illegal institutions in South Korea would, on the contrary, constitute no outside interference in Korea. This is to confound black and white and to turn things upside down. In short, the spread of these fallacies serves only one aim, that is, to perpetuate the foreign interference in Korea and the division of Korea, and thus to prevent further détente in Korea. If one genuinely wishes to create favourable conditions for the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea and has no intention of obstruction and sabotage, one will have no reason to oppose the earliest possible termination of foreign interference in Korea and the elimination of all man-made obstacles and consequently will have no reason to postpone discussion on the draft resolution presented by Algeria and 28 other countries.

86. In view of the foregoing, the Chinese delegation firmly opposes any erroneous idea of deferring the discussion on the Korean question and strongly demands that the item proposed by Algeria and 28 other countries be included in the agenda of the current session of the General Assembly.

87. Sir Colin CROWE (United Kingdom): The General Committee has recommended that there should be no debate this year on the situation in Korea. Two of the traditional items which have been discussed in this Assembly in the past have been recommended for deletion, and the General Committee has recommended that items 37 and 96 should be included in the provisional agenda of the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly next year. This recommendation was adopted by the General Committee by a very substantial majority, 16 votes to 7, with 1 abstention.

88. The events which have taken place in Korea in recent months have attracted the attention of all delegations in

this Assembly. They have been notable and hopeful developments.

89. The initiation of talks during 1971 between the Red Cross societies of South and North Korea attracted great attention at the time, since they were the first contacts, the first negotiations, that had taken place between the two sides since the unhappy events of the 1950s and, indeed, since the division of the country in 1945. The General Assembly last year decided [*1939th meeting*] to abstain from its usual debate of the situation in Korea so as to ensure that nothing should be done that would jeopardize the climate for those talks.

90. Since last year's Assembly session, those talks have continued. Their preliminary phase was concluded this summer with agreement upon the agenda for substantive talks. The first two rounds of those substantive talks have now taken place, and the citizens of Seoul and of Pyongyang have for the first time been able to welcome representatives from the other side of the thirty-eighth parallel. Further rounds of those substantive talks have been arranged to take place soon.

91. The talks between the two Red Cross societies have, of course, a humanitarian objective. That is an objective which is in itself of immense importance, since the number of people involved in the question of the divided families is of the order of 10 million. But we must all hope that these talks will also serve to pave the way later for more official contact between the two sides, on political and other matters. We may hope that a road has been opened leading ultimately to the reunification of the peninsula.

92. Fresh grounds have been given for such a hope by another major development, this time of a directly political character. I refer of course to the announcement made on 4 July by officials of South and North Korea. This was an announcement concerning nothing less than principles for reunification of Korea. These principles have been mentioned before, and I will now lay stress on only one of them, the first, which expresses the intention of achieving unification through independent Korean efforts without being subject to external imposition or interference.

93. For the past year, the two sides in Korea have in fact been allowed to make their efforts to achieve their great goal without external imposition or interference. That is in large measure due to the decision of the General Assembly last year to abstain from discussing the affairs of Korea. My delegation believes that at this hopeful time the best contribution that we can make is the same contribution as we made last year.

94. No doubt many delegations in this hall have views on what the South Koreans or the North Koreans, or both, should do in order to further the objective they have set themselves; but in the view of my delegation it is our duty to refrain from rehearsing our own preoccupations and to abstain from pressing on the Korean people our own ideas of the policies they should be following. For the last year the Korean people have made good progress because we refrained from pressing our views upon them. Let us take the same course again and wish them as much benefit in the

year that lies ahead as they have had in the year that has passed.

95. For many years this Assembly did debate the question of Korea, and our debates contributed little to the situation there except the violent and acrimonious language of the cold war. The sponsors of the new item, item 96, have in some measure restrained themselves from using that kind of language in the presentation of their proposal. But if we examine some of the documents that have been circulated during recent weeks, if we examine also the draft resolution which they submitted in the early days of this week and if we listened on 20 September, at the 199th meeting of the General Committee, to the tone of some interventions, we see that the objective of item 96 is the same as the objective of the old items, items 35 and 36, which have been recommended for deletion. I have little hope that any debate this year would have a more constructive outcome than the many debates we have held in the past.

96. I trust that the General Assembly will uphold the recommendations of the General Committee on this question. Let us allow the Koreans to conduct the debate on Korea between themselves.

97. Mr. HOLLAI (Hungary): Mr. President, since this is my first statement at this twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly, I should not like to begin even this brief statement without congratulating you on your election to the presidency and extending my friendly respect to you, although the Hungarian delegation will find in due time another occasion on which to congratulate you again.

98. The Hungarian People's Republic is one of the sponsors which have proposed [*A/8752/Add.4*] the inclusion in the agenda of the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly of the item entitled "Creation of favourable conditions to accelerate the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea". We are also one of those countries which, standing on a firm basis of principle, have always been urging actions to find a just and peaceful solution to the Korean question in conformity with the interests of the entire Korean people.

99. We are sincerely glad that, as this current session of the General Assembly opens, we have received good news from the much tormented land of Korea—encouraging talks have started between high-level official representatives and Red Cross delegations of the two parts of the country. We hope that the continuing talks will be successful and will benefit the Korean people and promote international peace and the process of détente.

100. We also hold the view that the Korean question should be settled primarily by the Korean people and their representatives. We are, however, most definitely opposed to the endeavours of some who wish again to impose upon the United Nations the role of a passive bystander and who demand that the draft resolution submitted by 29 States of Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America should not be considered by the General Assembly at its twenty-seventh session.

101. It is needless to remind the Assembly that at no time has the United Nations been merely a passive spectator of

the tragic events that have taken place on Korean soil. For this reason I think we can rightly emphasize here that it is the moral and political duty of the United Nations to do everything in its power to assist in creating really favourable conditions to accelerate the independent and peaceful unification of Korea.

102. In accordance with the spirit and letter of our Charter, the world Organization should always and in all places play its role in the consolidation of peaceful conditions, in the elimination of conflicts between countries and peoples and in the strengthening of détente, co-operation and friendship. That duty must not be deferred from session to session.

103. Another reason we cannot agree to the postponement of the consideration of the proposal of Hungary and so many other countries is that the United Nations should contribute to accelerating the independent and peaceful unification of Korea by removing from the path of the entire Korean people the obstacles raised there by this Organization itself. It is to be regretted that, as vestiges of an evil memory of a cold war era that we hope is definitely past, foreign troops under the flag of the United Nations are still stationed in South Korea, the activities of the

so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea have not yet been terminated, and the Commission's one-sided report slandering the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has recently been published, obviously in order to influence representatives to the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly.

104. We are firmly convinced that the United Nations should at last be able to play a positive role in the long history of the Korean question if, refusing to give in to any manoeuvre, it included the item proposed by us and so many other countries in the agenda of the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly. We could thereby render a great service, first of all to the Korean people and to the cause of peace and international détente in other regions of the globe as well, and secondly to the United Nations itself, which should rectify the role it has played thus far in Korea contrary to the principles of its Charter.

105. That is why the delegation of Hungary will not find it possible to vote for the recommendation of the General Committee contained in paragraph 16 of its report.

The meeting rose at 7.10 p.m.