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Chairman: Mr. Andrés AGUILAR M. (Venezuela).

AGENDA ITEM 98

Question of Korea:

- (a) Withdrawal of United States and all other foreign forces occupying South Korea under the flag of the United Nations (A/8044 and Add.1-3, A/C.1/999, 1000, 1002, 1007-1009, A/C.1/L.524);
- (b) Dissolution of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea (A/8045 and Add.1-3, A/C.1/999, 1000, 1002, 1007-1009, A/C.1/L.525);
- (c) Report of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea (A/8026, A/8046, A/8168, A/C.1/999, 1000, 1002, 1007-1009, A/C.1/L.531)

1. The CHAIRMAN (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Committee will now begin its consideration of the substantive aspect of the question of Korea.

2. Of the documents relating to this question, I should like to mention in particular the three draft resolutions that have been put before the Committee on this item. They are as follows: Under sub-item (a), draft resolution A/C.1/L.524, of which Iraq has now also become a sponsor. Under sub-item (b), draft resolution A/C.1/L.525, of which Iraq has now also become a sponsor. Under sub-item (c), draft resolution A/C.1/L.531, of which Rwanda has also become a sponsor.

3. It will be recalled that the Committee, in completing its consideration of the invitation aspects of the Korean question at its 1747th meeting, adopted draft resolution A/C.1/L.521. In accordance with that decision, I now invite the representative of the Republic of Korea to take part in the discussion on this item, without the right to vote.

At the invitation of the Chairman, Mr. Kyu Hah Choi (Republic of Korea) took a seat at the Committee table.

4. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): Before explaining the position of the Soviet Union on the questions relating to Korea now under consideration by the General Assembly, the Soviet Union delegation wishes to express its deep regret that these questions are again at the current session being considered in the absence of representatives of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

5. A discriminatory and imperialist decision to prevent representatives of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea from taking part in the discussion has again been imposed on the First Committee. This decision is an outrage to elementary justice and flagrantly contradicts the provisions of the Charter, the rules of procedure and United Nations practice with respect to the discussion of important political questions affecting the interests of States which are not members of the United Nations. When such an important matter is being discussed both of the interested parties, not just the South Korean puppet of the United States of America, should be heard.

6. By preventing the representatives of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea from taking part in the discussion of questions relating to Korea those who voted in favour of this decision have deprived the First Committee of the possibility of obtaining an accurate and full account of the true state of affairs in the area and of gaining an understanding of the position of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and of the national and patriotic forces of the Korean people.

7. It is in these abnormal circumstances that the General Assembly and its First Committee must consider the questions relating to Korea. At the request of a large group of socialist and Afro-Asian States, the Committee is now proceeding to consider the question "Withdrawal of United States and all other foreign forces occupying South Korea under the flag of the United Nations".

8. Seventeen years have passed since the Korean Armistice Agreement was signed; but peace has not yet been restored on Korean soil. The problem of the reunification of Korea remains unsolved. The impediment to the establishment of a lasting peace in Korea and to the achievement of the vitally important goal of the Korean nation—peaceful unification—is, as it has always been, the illegal occupation of the southern part of that country by the forces of one great Power, the United States of America. For 17 years the occupiers and their Korean puppets have been trying to camouflage their occupation under the flag and name of the United Nations.

9. The question of the termination of the illegal occupation of the southern part of Korea by United States and

other foreign forces is vitally important to the fate of the Korean people and to the cause of peace in the Far East. This question directly affects the United Nations itself because the United States and other participants in this illegal action are using the name and flag of the United Nations to cover the presence of their forces in South Korea, thereby seriously impairing the prestige and authority of this international organization.

10. As a result of the presence and dangerous activities of foreign forces in the territory of South Korea, in the waters adjacent to its coasts and in its air space, an extremely tense and dangerous situation, which constantly threatens to break out into armed conflict, continues to prevail in this area.

11. In connexion with the General Assembly's discussion of the questions concerning Korea, the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, demonstrating its genuine concern to ensure the maintenance of peace on Korean soil, again appealed, in its memorandum of 22 June of this year [A/C.1/999], to the States Members of the United Nations and to all peace-loving States to give their most serious attention to the dangerous situation created in Korea by the aggressive armed provocations of the armed forces of the United States and the army of the Korean puppets against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the unceasing violations of its territorial integrity and sovereignty. The memorandum solemnly warns of the danger of war breaking out as the result of the multifarious aggressive actions and armed provocations by the United States forces and the army of the puppet régime of Seoul against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. The seriousness of the situation in the Korean peninsula is indicated by the many irrefutable facts reported by the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in that official document.

12. As that document states, during the first half of 1970 alone there have been 5,100 instances of various kinds of violation of the Armistice Agreement, or 6,500 over the past seven months, according to data provided by the Korean Central News Agency, including armed raids on military posts of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in the Demilitarized Zone, the shelling of these posts, the infiltration of armed spies and saboteurs, rifle and machine-gun fire on fishing boats, and so on.

13. The many facts cited in the memorandum to which I have referred demonstrate the nature and scope of the military provocations committed by the United States armed forces and the army of the puppet régime in Korea against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. On 21 and 22 April of this year, posts of the People's Army of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in the western sector of the Military Demarcation Line were fired upon; on 3 June, posts of the People's Army in the western and central sectors of that Line were shelled. Armed spies, equipped with modern espionage devices of all kinds, were infiltrated into the territory of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on 12, 13 and 27 March and on 11, 12, 24, 25 and 28 April of this year, and so on.

14. Everyone knows how tense the situation in the area of Korea became as a result of the provocations by the United

States military clique in connexion with violations of the territorial integrity of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea committed by the spy ship *Pueblo* and the EC-121 spy plane. However, that kind of hostile activity against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has not ceased. On 5 June of this year a second armed spy ship of the I-2 type intruded into the coastal waters of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in an attempt to carry out an act of espionage and to seize fishing boats. When a naval patrol of the People's Army of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea prevented this, the patrol and fishing boats were subjected to artillery fire from the shore and from fighter planes of the United States Air Force. No one can deny that such an action by the armed forces of the United States constitutes a serious provocation. At a press conference at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea held on 1 November of this year, documentary and material evidence about the incident was produced. A United States vessel which had violated the coastal waters of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and had been sunk on 5 June near the town of Haeju was raised from the bottom. An inspection of the ship showed that it was a reconnaissance vessel of the United States Navy. It had 44-mm automatic guns on board as well as the most up-to-date intelligence-gathering equipment. The documents found on the vessel showed that its crew was carrying out a special mission for the military command for the purpose of gathering intelligence data on the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Similarly, the continuing systematic and constant flights by United States reconnaissance aircraft and the patrols of B-52 strategic bombers loaded with nuclear weapons along and in direct proximity to the borders of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, which constitute a serious danger to peace in the area of Korea, cannot fail to arouse concern.

15. Such activities by the United States armed forces and the military incidents they have provoked in Korea on both land and sea are not accidental. They are premeditated actions designed to perpetuate a state of tension in Korea.

16. The propaganda ballyhoo which we have recently been hearing about plans for cutting back the number of United States troops in South Korea is clearly intended to divert the attention of world public opinion and of the States Members of the United Nations from the danger posed by the presence and activities of the United States armed forces in South Korea. In reality, the continuing far-reaching measures for further transforming South Korea into an imperialist, military and strategic stronghold of the United States are directed not only against the socialist State of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea but also against two other socialist States in that area, the USSR and the People's Republic of China. This stronghold is, in addition, being used for the purpose of combating the national liberation movement of the peoples of Asia and for the protection of the interests of the imperialist monopolies in Asian countries. A 60,000-man United States occupation army, equipped with the most up-to-date weapons, including special units armed with tactical nuclear weapons, is stationed on the soil of South Korea; 120 fighter-bombers are based at South Korean airports; powerful naval forces of the United States are concentrated in the area of Korea. The construction of new and the expansion of existing military buildings and installations, strategic highways that

can be used for aggressive military purposes, military bases, ports and port installations, heliports, airfields, rocket launching pads and so forth go on unceasingly.

17. The puppet régime in Seoul is being increasingly drawn into active military preparations. United States military aid to South Korea for 1970 totals \$210 million. Furthermore, a so-called "homeland reserve force" of 2 million men who are being hastily trained and armed has been set up. In the interest of a foreign great Power, South Korea has been transformed into an enormous military camp where everything is subordinated to the policy and purpose of preparing for war. The rearming of the South Korean army, which is being provided with the most modern weapons and military equipment, is being stepped up and its war-preparedness is being increased. The South Korean army has been given aircraft of the T-33 type, the notorious Phantom fighter, well known in the Middle East, and heavy transport aircraft of the C-54 type.

18. The United States and South Korean armed forces are more and more frequently holding joint military manoeuvres simulating war conditions. The representatives of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in the Military Armistice Commission in Korea have over and over again officially drawn the attention of the United States side to the numerous instances of violation of the Armistice Agreement in Korea. On 10 October of this year, the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea addressed a special letter to the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission in which it requested that Commission to give special attention to irrefutable evidence that the military potential of South Korea was being augmented in violation of the Armistice Agreement.

19. During the last few months, the puppet régime in Seoul and its overseas protectors have stepped up their military and diplomatic activity in connexion with talks concerning the alleged intentions of the United States to make some reductions in the number of its occupation forces in South Korea. The South Korean puppet rulers, in blind fear of their own people, have objected vociferously to any reduction in the United States forces. In so doing they have given themselves away, showing the whole world that foreign occupation troops are the despotic South Korean régime's sole support and that the South Korean puppets remain in power thanks only to the bayonets of a foreign occupation army. Park Chung Hee and his clique, fearing the anger of the people of South Korea, are openly demanding the continued occupation of South Korea by United States forces and are objecting not only to the withdrawal of the foreign forces on Korean soil but even to any reduction in their number. United States officials have been quick to offer soothing explanations and assurances that if any reduction in the number of United States forces should ever be made, it would not result in any substantial change in the occupation status of South Korea: in other words, the so-called United States "military presence" in South Korea under cover of the flag of the United Nations would remain unchanged. What is more, official statements have been forthcoming from Washington concerning the intentions of the United States side to strengthen still further that outpost in the Far East and the puppet army of South Korea has been promised greater air and naval support.

20. What is being planned under the pretext of supposedly reducing somewhat the occupation forces in South Korea is a significant expansion of military assistance to the Seoul régime. Washington promises to provide for this purpose over the next five years the astronomical sum of \$1,500 million for armaments and the modernization of the South Korean Army. At the same time, as we know, in the United Nations Preparatory Committee for the Second Development Decade and at the current session of the General Assembly, the United States has refused to state the amount of the funds it plans to make available for the development of the developing countries under this programme. There are funds for war but not for development. One quite natural and legitimate question arises: why are all these military activities by the foreign occupation forces and the puppet clique in South Korea and their armed provocations against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, which threaten peace in the Far East, being covered by the name and flag of the United Nations, and how long is this going to continue? There can be only one answer to this question: the time has come to put an end to the use of this cover—the emblem and flag of the United Nations—to deceive the peoples for aggressive imperialist goals and purposes.

21. The Seoul puppet clique has become an accomplice in and a docile executor of the dangerous plans and actions which are being directed not only against the Korean people but also against other peoples of Asia who are fighting for their freedom and national independence. It has sent an army of more than 50,000 South Korean soldiers and officers into South Viet-Nam as hired mercenaries to take part in the aggressive war being waged against the freedom-loving Viet-Nameese people and other peoples of the Indo-Chinese peninsula. In five years of war in Viet-Nam the Pentagon has spent one thousand million dollars to pay for the services of the South Korean mercenaries. And all this is being done under the flag and emblem of the United Nations. Who can deny that this is nothing but a monstrous and bloody business deal? On 16 September of this year the mercenaries of the South Korean "Blue Dragon" division committed brutal atrocities against peaceful Viet-Nameese inhabitants of the village of Binh Xuan in the Thang Binh district, province of Quang Nam, killing more than 100 persons. Women and children were the main victims of these savage atrocities. The butchery was on such a scale that in Viet-Nam they are now calling this village a "Second Songmy". And this is by no means the only case of atrocities by the South Korean mercenaries in Viet-Nam.

22. The South Korean mercenaries are committing unheard of crimes on Viet-Nameese soil. Yet, the so-called United Nations Commission for Korea, which certain delegations here will try to depict as some kind of objective international body, sets forth in its report, written under the dictation of the United States high command, the bellicose statements of Park Chung Hee, the Seoul puppet, about the so-called special importance of the mission of the South Korean mercenaries in Viet-Nam for the defence of "Free Asia". The authors of this latest mendacious report submitted to the Assembly on behalf of the so-called United Nations Commission for Korea are cynically trying to justify and whitewash the crimes committed by the corrupt Seoul clique not only against its own people but

also against the Viet-Nameese people and other peoples of Asia. Such are the facts. Such are the realities.

23. In its class blindness the ruling clique in Seoul, encouraged by its foreign masters, shows a pathological enmity and hatred towards the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. It is ready to engage in any kind of provocation against the latter and this further exacerbates the situation in Korea and makes it even more dangerous. As the military assistance they receive from overseas increases and their military preparations are expanded, the South Korean rulers make ever more open and blatant threats and counter the peaceful proposals by the Government and people of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea with all kinds of conditions and ultimata. Propaganda emanating from Seoul aggressively calls for "decisive action" against the North, the situation is being exacerbated and the anti-Communist ballyhoo under the slogan "Unification by victory over Communism" which has been so well known to us for so many years is being raised. It is time these anti-Communist propagandists realized that communism is invincible. There can be no doubt as to the danger of such irresponsible appeals. The active support of the reactionary anti-popular régime of South Korea by the forces of imperialism is clearly encouraging and contributing to the recklessness of the rulers in Seoul and poses the threat of serious new complications on Korean soil.

24. The danger of the situation is increased by the fact that in its military and strategic plans the great Power whose forces are occupying South Korea attaches special importance to its South Korean stronghold and assigns the South Korean régime a special role in connexion with its future military and political actions in Asia aimed at combating the movements of the peoples of that region for their national independence and social freedom. This is why the continued occupation of South Korea by United States forces threatens the security not only of the Korean people but also of the peoples of other Asian countries.

25. It is the duty of the United Nations to put an end to this whipping up of military hysteria, tension and pressure in the area of the Korean peninsula, to the dangerous concentration there of United States armed forces, and to the senseless fomenting and encouragement of the bellicosity of the South Korean puppets. This can be done only if the General Assembly adopts a resolution calling for the withdrawal of United States and all other foreign forces from South Korea, which they are occupying in the guise of the so-called "United Nations force".

26. In considering this matter in the United Nations, we can hardly fail to point out also that the situation in Korea has been complicated by the emergence of a dangerous new factor. In South Korea the military and political role and presence of Japan, within the framework of its military alliance with the United States of America and in relation to plans for militarizing Japan, which carry with them the danger of a resurgence of Japanese militarism, are becoming more and more evident and tangible. It is no secret to anyone now that certain circles in Japan are connecting the intensification of militarization with their hopes for renewed expansion in Asian countries, among which Korea is a major objective. We can hardly fail to be put on guard by

statements by Japanese political leaders to the effect that Japan has a "vital interest" in the "security of Korea" and that South Korea—I am quoting from Japanese statements—"is an essential element in the security of Japan itself". We must in this connexion also draw attention to Japanese objections to any reduction in the size of the United States forces in South Korea.

27. In order to justify the policy of continued occupation of South Korea by United States troops and to conceal the intensification of military preparations in South Korea, imperialist propaganda inside and outside the United Nations is being used in every possible way to make it appear that there is some kind of "threat" from the North and to spread silly fabrications about "the warlike intentions" of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

28. In reality there is no "threat from the North" to South Korea and there cannot be any such threat. For a long time there has not been a single foreign soldier in the territory of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. This peaceful socialist country, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, has never been and is not now a danger to the people of South Korea. The people of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea are busy doing peaceful, constructive work. Just as living organisms need air, they need peace in order to build their new socialist society.

29. In August of this year the Korean people and their friends throughout the world solemnly commemorated the twenty-fifth anniversary of Korea's liberation from the colonial yoke of Japanese imperialism. Those 25 years have brought about remarkable and fundamental changes in the life of Korea. Twenty-two years ago the first workers' and peasants' State was established on Korean soil: the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. During that relatively short historical period the Korean people have achieved truly remarkable successes. What was formerly a backward and under-developed colonial territory has now become a flourishing and developed socialist State. I saw this with my own eyes when I visited the Democratic People's Republic of Korea this past summer at the invitation of its Government. Despite its burdensome legacy of colonialism, despite the destructive three-year war imposed upon it by the United States during which United States bombers obliterated everything in North Korean territory, despite unceasing armed provocations against it for the past 17 years, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has carried out a historic transformation in all fields during these years. Its capital, Pyongyang, which, as I saw with my own eyes in 1953, was so devastated by the United States Air Force that not a single building was left intact, is now a splendid, flourishing city which a great many cities in the world might envy. Like the legendary phoenix, this city, having been destroyed, has risen from its own ruins, its own ashes. During those years, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has become an industrialized socialist State, in which industry is growing rapidly, agriculture is developing, the level of national culture and education is rising, and the welfare of the people is improving.

30. The socialist system, the people's enthusiasm for work, and the organizational will of the Party have enabled this country in only the past five years almost to double its production of cereals. Its gross industrial production

increased more than 11.6 times as compared with the figure for 1956. These successes have been achieved under the leadership of the Korean Workers' Party, headed by the Secretary-General of the Central Committee of that Party, Mr. Kim Il Sung.

31. The representatives of many countries in the United Nations have had an opportunity in the interval between the previous session of the General Assembly and this current one to visit the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and to see with their own eyes the remarkable successes which that country has achieved in the peaceful building of its economy. These successes of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, which in a short time has transformed itself from a backward country into a developed State, are an inspiring example to the developing countries of Asia and Africa which have embarked on the path of free and independent development or are fighting for their freedom. I, for my part, would advise every one of our colleagues here who represents a developing country to visit the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

32. If there is any threat to the security of South Korea and to peace in the Korean Peninsula, it comes from foreign armed forces occupying South Korea and stationed there for purposes having nothing to do with the interests of the Korean people or with the strengthening of peace. This is precisely the reason for the serious exacerbation of tension in Korea which is threatening peace. Only the withdrawal of all foreign troops from South Korea and the cessation of armed provocations against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea can completely eliminate the causes of tension in Korea and dispel the danger of the outbreak of a new armed conflict in this region, which would have the most serious consequences.

33. The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has been making and is continuing to make every effort to transform the armistice in Korea into a stable and lasting peace and to bring about a peaceful solution of the Korean question.

34. The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has again officially confirmed and asserted in its memorandum of 16 September 1970 [A/C.1/1008], as it has done repeatedly in the past, that "it has no intention to march south and has no intention to solve by force of arms the question of Korean unification".

35. In advocating Korean unity and the restoration of peace on Korean soil, the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has consistently and repeatedly made specific proposals for a democratic and peaceful solution of the problem of Korea. These proposals have been imbued with a sincere concern for the fate of the Korean nation and for the interests of peace in Korea and in the Far East generally.

36. In the light of the peaceful policy of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, which is in full accord with the common national interests of the whole Korean people and has been expressed in those official documents, we see clearly the groundlessness of the propagandistic fabrications about warlike intentions on the part of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea with

respect to South Korea, the "threat from the North" and other such fictions and absurdities.

37. In the proposals of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea contained in its official memoranda of 22 June and 16 September 1970, which have been circulated as United Nations documents, it is made clear that the first prerequisite for the peaceful unification of Korea is the withdrawal of all foreign occupation troops from South Korea.

38. The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea proposes that, after the withdrawal of the troops from South Korea, a peace agreement should be concluded between North and South Korea in which each side would pledge not to attack the other and to reduce its army to 100,000 men or less. It has constantly insisted that the unification of Korea should be achieved by peaceful means and by the Korean people themselves on the basis of democratic principles, without interference of any kind by outside forces and after the withdrawal of the United States and other foreign forces from South Korea.

39. The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea officially proposes that, for the fulfilment of these purposes, a unified central government should be established by means of free general elections in the North and the South on the basis of democratic principles and it states that it is prepared to convene a conference between North and South Korea, if necessary, as a transitional step pending the complete unification of the country, while retaining the existing differing social systems of the North and South as they are.

40. It also proposes that trade and economic co-operation and mutual intercourse and co-operation in the fields of science, culture, the arts and sports should be established between the North and the South. In addition it proposes that arrangements should be made to permit the exchange of correspondence and visits between the North and the South and that negotiations should be held between representatives of the different political parties and public organizations in the North and the South.

41. The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea again refers to the possibility, if necessary, of convening an international conference of the States concerned with the peaceful settlement of the Korean question.

42. All of these proposals are realistic and constructive and are based on peaceful, democratic and just principles.

43. None of the proposals made by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea will give it any kind of advantage over the South or place either side in a privileged position.

44. The United Nations can help to reduce tension in the Korean peninsula and create favourable conditions for settling the national question which is of vital importance to the Korean people, namely, the unification of Korea. To that end, the General Assembly must firmly and unequivocally call for the immediate withdrawal of United States and all other foreign forces occupying South Korea under

the flag of the United Nations. On behalf of a large group of sponsors—23 delegations from the socialist and Afro-Asian States Members of the United Nations—we are submitting a draft resolution on this question [A/C.1/L.524] for the consideration of the First Committee. This draft is fully in accordance with the objectives I have mentioned.

45. The Soviet delegation appeals to all delegations representing countries and peoples that cherish freedom and peace to support the twenty-three-Power draft resolution concerning the withdrawal of United States and all other foreign forces from South Korea and by so doing effectively to help the Korean people to fulfil their legitimate aspirations for unification.

46. In the light of these considerations, the Soviet delegation also calls for an immediate solution of another important question put before this session of the General Assembly by a large group of Afro-Asian and socialist countries [A/8045 and Add.1-3], namely, "Dissolution of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea". That Commission is being used to intervene in the affairs of the Korean people and to justify the occupation of South Korea by foreign forces. The existence and activity of the Commission are contrary to the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations and the interests of the Korean people and are an obstacle to the peaceful unification of Korea. This United Nations body is being shamelessly used by the United States as an instrument of its policy of continuing the occupation of South Korea by its troops and of perpetuating the division of the country. In this connexion, I should like to mention the noble action taken by the new Government of Chile in officially announcing its withdrawal from the Commission, which serves merely as a cover for the occupation of South Korea by foreign troops and is thus a disgrace to the United Nations and the noble purposes and principles for which this international organization was established.

47. The Soviet delegation fully supports the just position of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to the effect that the question of the unification and rehabilitation of Korea should be settled by the Korean people themselves without foreign interference of any kind and by peaceful means, on a democratic basis after the withdrawal from South Korea of United States and all other foreign forces.

48. The two draft resolutions which I have mentioned and which are sponsored by socialist and Afro-Asian countries [A/C.1/L.524 and 525] request the General Assembly, after the withdrawal of the so-called "United Nations Forces"—that is, United States and all other foreign troops—to dissolve the United Nations Commission on Korea.

49. The United Nations can make a useful contribution to the creation of the favourable conditions necessary for a peaceful and democratic solution of the Korean problem by adopting these urgent measures.

50. These draft resolutions provide for the only correct solution of the two Korean questions in the interests of the

Korean people. We ask the delegations of all countries which are interested in the just fulfilment of the noble purposes of the United Nations and the maintenance of peace and security in the Korean peninsula to support these resolutions.

51. Mr. BOUNKOULOU (People's Republic of the Congo) (*interpretation from French*): Once again our Committee is called upon to discuss the question of Korea. Speaking on behalf of several countries, I shall be very brief, because the head of my delegation, Ambassador Mondjo, will speak in this Committee to give the views of the Government of the People's Republic of the Congo on this question.

52. The delegation of the People's Republic of the Congo has been entrusted by the countries of Africa, Latin America, Asia and Europe which requested the inscription of the question of the dissolution of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea on the agenda of this twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly, with the task of introducing the draft resolution appearing in document A/C.1/L.525. That draft was prepared by the following countries: Algeria, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Guinea, Hungary, Iraq, Mali, Mauritania, Mongolia, People's Republic of the Congo, Poland, Romania, Somalia, Southern Yemen, Sudan, Syria, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Yemen and Zambia.

53. This draft, which is based on the principles of the United Nations Charter and the desire to put an end to the debates on Korea, reads as follows:

"The General Assembly,

"Considering that the problem of unification of Korea should be settled by the Korean people themselves in conformity with the principle of the right of self-determination of peoples,

"Noting that the 'United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea' not only has failed to make any contribution to a just solution of that problem but creates obstacles to such a solution,

"Decides to dissolve the Commission following the adoption of this resolution."

54. Twenty years ago, the American imperialists dragged this Organization of the United Nations into an inglorious adventure from which it emerged diminished in stature. By unleashing a war of aggression against Korea, the American imperialists and their allies hoped, by force of arms, to destroy the indomitable will of the Korean people to live in freedom. They hoped to reduce that people to slavery after wresting from it the independence that had been gained at the expense of a long and heroic struggle against Japanese occupation. The United States of America, however, should know that any people, however small it may be, provided it dares to take up arms and fight under a just leadership and in a good cause, is capable of vanquishing any foe. This lesson has been taught to the American imperialists in most striking fashion by the Korean people.

55. We all know the consequences of this unhappy adventure: the division of the country, the colonization of South Korea by the United States of America, which maintains an expeditionary force there of more than 60,000 men, thus disgracing, with impunity, the sacred emblem of the United Nations.

56. The United Nations is thus illegally associated with an imperialist enterprise that seeks to perpetuate the division of Korea. In fact, after 17 years, employing shabby tricks and delaying tactics of all kinds, the American imperialists and their allies still keep the United Nations enmeshed in a crude and dangerous fiction by having this Organization endorse their criminal aggression against a people whose only ambition is to live united in the independence and peace that they have won at the cost of untold suffering.

57. My Government wishes once again vigorously to denounce this moral chicanery and ridicule to which the United Nations is being subjected.

58. In firmly supporting the draft resolution that seeks to achieve the dissolution, at the earliest possible moment, of the so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea, and the draft resolution so brilliantly introduced by the representative of the Soviet Union, relating to the withdrawal of the United Nations troops and all other foreign forces occupying South Korea under the flag of the United Nations, the Government of the People's Republic of the Congo is acutely conscious of the fact that the question of Korea is fundamental to the strengthening of the United Nations as an instrument for peace, justice and progress. It is therefore not surprising that, faithful to the principles it professes, my Government has in the past, just as it does today, defended the soundness of this position, nor that it should have become one of the sponsors of the two draft resolutions that seek to settle this question in an equitable and definitive way.

59. The sponsors of draft resolutions A/C.1/L.524 and A/C.1/L.525 are convinced that the withdrawal of the American troops from South Korea and the dissolution of the so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea will make it possible for the brave Korean people, with their long history, their outstanding leadership and their considerable culture, to settle the problem of their unification and their country's future without interference from abroad.

60. My delegation, as I said earlier, reserves its right to intervene on the substance of this question, and particularly to give its views on the report in document A/8026 of the notorious Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea, a tool at the service of American imperialism that stubbornly insists on misrepresenting the facts by providing the Assembly with the falsest information.

61. In conclusion, I should like to recall the words of our brother Ambassador Yazid of Algeria:

"The Korean people is unanimous in its will to independence, to territorial unification and to progress. We must assist that people in its struggle and not place obstacles in its way. The flag of the United Nations is not the flag of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

It is the flag of the right of peoples to self-determination, to social progress and to economic development."
[1670th meeting, para. 8.]

62. Mr. MAZEWSKI (United States of America): The Committee now has before it the substance of the Korean question. We have heard opening statements by those who insisted that we debate this question at the present session, including that of the representative of the Soviet Union. Those statements made it painfully clear that their purpose in insisting on this debate was not to make progress towards the United Nations objectives in Korea, but simply to use this Committee once again as a platform for the abusive and vitriolic propaganda and inversions of the truth which are so dear to the hearts of the rulers of North Korea.

63. It seems to my delegation that speeches of that kind are a severe imposition on the patience and good nature of this Committee. To correct all the mis-statements they contain would take far too much time and would, in any case, be unnecessary since the historical facts about the Korean question are known to the world. Let me only say that I was amazed just now to hear representatives again alleging that my country and not North Korea was the aggressor in 1950. That is probably the most celebrated and the most discredited untruth in the history of the United Nations. I should think that anyone would have difficulty in repeating it without blushing.

64. However, substance is more important than rhetoric. The substance of the question before us is how to improve the long-standing objectives of the United Nations in Korea. These objectives, reaffirmed only last year by the General Assembly in its resolution 2516 (XXIV), which was overwhelmingly approved by this Committee, are: "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." It is in the light of these objectives that all proposals—brought before us on the Korean question must be evaluated.

65. In that light, then, let me first comment on the two draft resolutions which have again been proposed—in a form identical with that of draft resolutions which the Committee has often rejected in past years—by those among us who speak for the régime in North Korea. One of these [A/C.1/L.524] calls for the withdrawal from South Korea of all the non-Korean military forces in the United Nations Command. The other [A/C.1/L.525] proposes to abolish the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea. Between them these two draft resolutions would strip the Republic of Korea of the presence and protection of the United Nations and of its friends who are there at its express invitation, and would leave the future peace and reunification of Korea to be determined by the uncertain course of events in that particular part of the world.

66. Could such an abandonment of Korea by the United Nations possibly serve the cause of peace? One way to find the answer to that question is to recall the events in Korea just a few years after the Second World War.

67. In November 1947 the General Assembly called for the reunification of Korea through free, nation-wide elec-

tions under United Nations auspices. Such elections were held in 1948 in South Korea, and as a result the Republic of Korea was established. The authorities in North Korea refused to join in the elections or even to admit United Nations representatives north of the 38th parallel.

68. In 1949 virtually all the remaining United States forces were withdrawn from South Korea under United Nations observation. What was going on in North Korea at that point was not open to observation by anybody from the outside world. Shortly thereafter North Korea began sending agents and saboteurs into the South. That process continued until, in the early morning of Sunday, 25 June 1950, a massive military invasion of South Korea was launched by the North Koreans.

69. The United Nations quickly came to the aid of the victim of that aggression, and many countries including my own sent troops to fight under the United Nations Command. But the North Koreans had the advantage of surprise and of major help from their Soviet sponsors, and they very nearly overran South Korea before they were thrown back. Those facts were attested to by an impartial United Nations Commission which was on the scene, as well as by eyewitness reporters from many nations.

70. Then came a devastating three-year war with untold suffering and destruction for Korea and for the fighting forces of many other nations, including my own. In 1953 an armistice was reached and the security of the Republic of Korea was restored. It is little wonder that, following that tragic experience, the Government of the Republic of Korea asked the United Nations Command to remain and to help secure South Korea against any more attacks of that kind.

71. Certainly, if history teaches any lessons at all, the history to which I have just referred teaches that the removal of military defence forces from South Korea has already, once before, offered an irresistible temptation to a North Korean régime which was clearly bent on unifying and dominating all of Korea by military means. And likewise today, if we were to follow the advice of the Soviet Union and the other sponsors of the draft resolutions and withdraw the United Nations forces from South Korea, that too would be an invitation, not to peaceful reunification, but to renewed aggression from the North.

72. As was stated in the memorandum of the Government of the Republic of Korea dated 7 October 1970 and addressed to the General Assembly: "the United Nations forces are stationed in Korea by virtue of relevant resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly and at the request of the Government of the Republic of Korea for the exercise of influence to deter another act of communist aggression." [See A/C.1/1007, para. 29].

73. But the need for deterrence is not based solely on the sad experience of 20 years ago. The need is evident from the very recent conduct of the North Korean régime—its continued harsh, inflexible, domineering, aggressive policy, expressed in both words and deeds.

74. The reports of the United Nations Command, all of which have been made available to this Committee, give a

clear picture over the years of the continuous violations of the Armistice Agreement by North Korea. Since 1965 North Korean forces have provoked nearly 1,600 incidents of violence in the Demilitarized Zone and in the interior of the Republic of Korea. These incidents have cost the lives of 680 North Korean soldiers, 365 men of the United Nations Command, and 102 members of the Republic of Korea national police. Fortunately, there has been a sharp decline in the frequency of these attacks since 1968, but they still continue. In the first eight months of 1970, 48 significant incidents were recorded. One incident which might have had very tragic results took place last June in the national cemetery in Seoul, just three days before the 25 June memorial service. Two North Korean agents attempted to plant a high-powered remote-controlled bomb, evidently intended to assassinate ranking officials of the Republic of Korea who planned to attend the ceremony. One of the agents was killed when the device exploded prematurely.

75. Of course the North Koreans in the Military Armistice Commission have denied the facts on all such incidents and have, in turn, made many countercharges against our side. But they have consistently refused our proposals to have joint observer teams investigate all the alleged violations. From this fact impartial persons may draw their own conclusions as to which side is telling the truth.

76. I might add that North Korea maintains a standing army of more than 350,000 men, with modern tanks and other heavy weapons, as well as a modern air force with supersonic MIG-21 jets and a navy with submarines, guided missile boats and high-speed agent boats used to infiltrate saboteurs into South Korea.

77. These military facts must be taken together with the facts of North Korean policy towards South Korea, and specifically towards the question of reunification. All through the years their policy has been essentially the same: the North proposes to unify Korea by overthrowing the South. That this policy has not changed is evident from the report of Premier Kim Il Sung to the Fifth Congress of the Korean Workers Party in Pyongyang on 2 November, only the week before last. One whole section of his report, about 5,000 words, is entitled "For the South Korean revolution and the unification of the fatherland". Under this revealing title the leader of North Korea made three key points which I shall call to the Committee's attention.

78. First, that all those in South Korea who resist the domination of the North must be removed; or, as Premier Kim Il Sung puts it in his own peculiar idiom:

"For the accomplishment of the cause of national unification, it is essential to chase out the United States imperialist aggressors, the main obstacle to the unification of our fatherland, from South Korea and liquidate their colonial rule, overthrow the present military fascist dictatorship, and win the victory of the revolution".

79. Second, that all means are permissible in pursuing this goal. Again I quote:

"The South Korean revolutionaries and people should actively advance the revolutionary movement by rightly

combining diverse forms and methods of struggle—the political and economic struggles, the legal, semi-legal, and illegal struggles, the violent and non-violent struggles, the large- and small-scale struggles.”

80. Third, that—and again I quote:

“The people in the southern half are not alone in their revolutionary struggle. They have a powerful revolutionary base in the northern half. . . . The people in the northern half, being of the same nation, have the obligation and responsibility for actively supporting and encouraging the South Korean people in their revolutionary struggle.”

81. Those statements, I repeat, are not ancient history; they are the statements of the leader of North Korea, Kim Il Sung, made on 2 November 1970.

82. By contrast, the Republic of Korea has taken a consistently moderate and constructive attitude towards the unification question. Last 15 August President Park Chung Hee made a speech on this subject. He did not demand the overthrow of North Korea, nor did he call for a resolution in that area. On the contrary, he appealed for an easing of tensions. These are his words:

“Any approach towards unification by peaceful means is not feasible without the easing of tensions. Therefore, such an approach should be preceded above all by an unequivocal expression of attitude by the North Korean communists assuring the easing of tensions and its implementation. Accordingly, the North Korean communists should desist forthwith from perpetrating all sorts of military provocations, including the dispatch of armed agents into the South, and make an announcement publicly that they renounce henceforth so-called policies of theirs of communizing the whole of Korea by force and overthrowing the Republic of Korea by means of violent revolution, and prove their sincerity by deeds.”

83. Comparing those two positions of the leaders in North and South Korea, I do not think any impartial person can question which one is aggressive and which desires to turn away from violence and towards peace. Yet Kim Il Sung, in his 2 November report, dismissed this overture from President Park Chung Hee as mere “lies and deceptions”. He refused even to hold discussions with the lawful Government of the Republic of Korea. Nothing will do but to overthrow that Government and replace it by one which will be acceptable to the North Korean leaders.

84. The members of this Committee will recall that when the Soviet Union and others proposed in September that Korea should again be debated at this session of the General Assembly and that this debate should take place in the identical framework of proposals that have proved sterile in recent years, the United States expressed serious doubts that such a debate could achieve any useful result. I must say that the 2 November report of the North Korean leader, from which I have just quoted, simply demonstrates that our doubts were well founded. The obstinate and aggressive posture of North Korea has not changed and, as a result, the unification of Korea in peace and freedom remains a distant prospect.

85. Similarly, there has been no change in the annual proposals put forward by the advocates of North Korea in this Committee. Once again they are seeking a vote on the two draft resolutions which I mentioned earlier, both of which are designed to remove the presence and protection of the United Nations from the Republic of Korea and from the quest for unification, and to expose that country to the full force of aggressive pressure, sabotage and violence from the North. The General Assembly has refused many times to follow such an imprudent course of action. We are confident that these proposals, if again pressed to a vote, will again be decisively rejected. The United States will of course vote against both of them.

86. But since the question has been raised, it is not sufficient merely to defeat these unsound moves. There must be no room for doubt that the General Assembly remains faithful to its long-standing objectives in Korea, the peaceful unification of a free and democratic Korea and the full restoration of international peace and security in the area. To that end, the United States is privileged to present, with 18 other sponsors, a draft resolution [A/C.1/L.531] essentially identical to that adopted in previous years, reaffirming the historic objectives of the United Nations in Korea and renewing the mandate of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea to pursue those objectives. I do not for a moment pretend that the adoption of this draft resolution will eliminate magically the tragic division and tension that still prevail in Korea. No step in our power can do that so long as North Korea, with the deplorable encouragement of certain Members here, continues its present obstinate policy. But this draft resolution does encompass the most we can now peacefully achieve, namely, reaffirmation beyond any shadow of doubt of the will of the United Nations to be faithful to its historic charge in Korea.

87. The United Nations is dedicated by its Charter to the very precious principle of the sovereign equality of nations large or small and to the right of every nation to dwell in peace without being threatened, subverted or bullied by its neighbours. Korea is a substantial nation. Its people number some 42 million. But it is situated among nations far larger, and it has often found it difficult to remain master in its own house. Its present troubles, as the world knows very well, stem largely from interference by stronger neighbours on the Asian mainland. Without such interference it is very unlikely that the Korean people would have chosen for any part of their country the kind of dictatorship that has ruled the North for a whole generation. It is only due to the assistance of the international community that South Korea has been spared such a fate and has chosen a form of government under which the people can work out their own destiny without any external dictation. Under that Government the 30 million people of the Republic of Korea have made tremendous strides in economic and social development, in attaining the goals of their free institutions, and in fruitful relations with the community of nations. The United Nations and many of its Members, including my own country, have for many years been associated with those developments in Korea. It is a story that ought to be of the highest significance to Members of the United Nations in every region of this small world, for history in our time chose Korea for a major test of whether the community of nations can assure for its Members,

against any challenge that may arise, that precious right to find their own way—in other words, the right of national self-determination. When we vote to uphold that right for the Korean people we vote, by implication, to uphold it for all nations, and for ourselves. I think that that is a good, practical reason for every Member to support this draft resolution.

88. The CHAIRMAN (*interpretation from Spanish*): I now call on the representative of the Republic of Korea, His Excellency Kyu Hah Choi, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Korea.

89. Mr. CHOI (Republic of Korea): It is a distinct honour and privilege for me to represent the Government of the Republic of Korea before this important Committee of the United Nations. I wish to express my sincere appreciation to those representatives on the Committee who supported the invitation resolution that has enabled the Korean delegation to take part in the deliberations on the question of Korea.

90. For years this Committee has carried a motion to seat the delegation of the Republic of Korea for deliberations on the question of Korea while the solicitude of certain countries unconditionally to invite North Korea at the same time has invariably been negated by a substantial majority of the Committee. It is proper and fair that this great world Organization, dedicated to the cause of peace and justice, should draw a distinction between the legitimate Government of the Republic of Korea which, recognized as such by the United Nations, has consistently subscribed to the objectives and efforts of this Organization on Korea, and the North Korean communists, who have persisted in rejecting the rightful competence and authority of the United Nations to deal with the very question this Committee is now considering.

91. Before entering into the substance of my statement I wish to make a brief remark on the statement of the representative of the Soviet Union. It is extremely deplorable that that statement maliciously distorted the facts on the current situation in Korea with a view to misleading the deliberations of this Committee from the outset. Since I feel strongly that I am in duty bound to set the record straight in order to assist the Committee in obtaining a just and constructive conclusion, I reserve the right to refute at a later opportunity the statement of the representative of the Soviet Union.

92. On the memorable occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations the General Assembly, in its resolution 2627 (XXV), adopted a Declaration explicitly urging Member States to observe the Charter of the United Nations, to institute concrete measures for world peace and security and to fulfil faithfully the obligations set forth in the Charter for the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means. Convinced that it is incumbent upon non-members as well as Member States to uphold and observe the letter and spirit of that Declaration, I wish to assure the Committee that the Republic of Korea, although not yet a Member, will adhere to the Declaration whole-heartedly and fully support it.

93. The heart of the question of Korea is the effort of the United Nations to establish a unified, independent and democratic Korea through free elections to be held throughout Korea under United Nations supervision. In pursuance of that objective, a United Nations Commission, established by General Assembly resolution 112 (II), dated 14 November 1947, proceeded to Korea to help establish a government of all Korea on the basis of the free choice of its people. The Commission was, however, denied entry into the northern part of Korea by the military authorities of the Soviet Union.

94. Elections were then held under United Nations supervision in the South, and they led to the establishment of the Government of the Republic of Korea on 15 August 1948. This Government was recognized subsequently as the only lawful government in Korea in General Assembly resolution 195 (III) of 12 December 1948. In defiance of United Nations efforts, North Korean communists, aided by the occupying forces, hastily set up a régime through a process contrary to democratic principles and procedures.

95. In June 1950 the North Korean communists launched an unprovoked, all-out invasion against the Republic of Korea. The United Nations came to the aid of the Republic of Korea to help defend it from aggression. But for that successful collective security measure of the United Nations, undertaken for the first time under its flag, the whole Korean peninsula would have been conquered by force, against the will of its people.

96. Following the armistice in Korea in 1953, the Government of the Republic of Korea, in pursuit of national unification, attended the Korean Political Conference at Geneva in 1954 and presented a most rational and pragmatic proposal for unification on the basis of universal suffrage throughout Korea under the supervision of the United Nations. That proposal also was refused by the North Korean communists and their supporters. Their main purpose was to reduce the United Nations to the status of a belligerent so as to prevent it from exercising its rightful role in the solution of the question of Korean unification.

97. There can be no doubt at all on the part of any fair-minded observer as to wherein lies the real cause for perpetuating the artificial division of Korea and frustrating the efforts of the United Nations to settle this question. An eloquent testimony to the intransigence of the North Korean Communists in rejecting the United Nations efforts may be found in the manifesto of the North Korean Communist Party. It says that "The ultimate objective of the party is to build a communist society in Korea". No formula, no matter how rational or justifiable it might be, could have been acceptable to the North Korean Communists as long as it fell short of assuring the consummation of this Party objective.

98. I would now like to turn to the current situation in Korea where, unfortunately, a state of acute tension prevails due to the continuing acts of provocation and infiltration perpetrated by the North Korean Communists against the Republic of Korea.

99. In 1968, when the communist acts of provocation assumed alarming proportions, and again last year, I gave a

full account of their acts to this Committee. The year 1970 has witnessed no lapse of serious provocations on the part of the North Korean Communists, engaged in sporadic but well-planned hostile activities along the Demilitarized Zone in violation of the Armistice Agreement. They have also been resorting to more diverse means, mainly sea-borne infiltration of their armed guerrillas on islands and rear coastal areas of the Republic of Korea, using heavily armed high-speed boats fitted out with sophisticated equipment and specially designed for such purposes.

100. The communist acts of provocation and infiltration have been specifically intensified since last summer. This upward trend of violence may be explained by the fact that the North Korean Communists felt the need to uplift what they call in the communist jargon "revolutionary zeal" with an eye towards the approaching Fifth Congress of the North Korean Communist Party, which was held in Pyongyang from 2 to 13 November 1970. The increasing violence has also been calculated, I believe, to foster and promote unrest and disorder among the populace in the South.

101. More detailed accounts of communist provocation and infiltration are given in the memorandum of the Government of the Republic of Korea in document A/C.1/1007. However, I would like to invite the attention of the Committee to certain instances in which the lives of innocent civilians were gravely endangered.

102. On 11 December 1969, at the gun-point of a communist agent, a passenger plane of Korean Airlines was forced to divert its flight to Pyongyang with 46 passengers and a crew of 4 aboard. It took more than 2 months before the 39 passengers were released from the north. The rest of the passengers and all the crew, totalling 11, together with the aircraft and cargo, are still in the hands of the North Korean Communists against their will and in total disregard of international law and humanitarian principles. Among those returned was one civilian whom the communist interrogators in Pyongyang caused to become insane by giving him an injection of unidentified chemical in the course of torture.

103. Another inhumane act was committed on 22 June 1970 when an attempt was made to kill *en masse* Government leaders and innocent people who were expected to attend the ceremony on 25 June observing the twentieth anniversary of the Korean war. A time-bomb was planted on the roof of the Memorial Gate of the National Cemetery in Seoul, but the bomb exploded prematurely.

104. Menacing and dangerous as these acts of provocation and aggression are, we must look beyond them and find the basic cause underlying the tense and precarious situation on the Korean peninsula. Since the armistice in 1953, the North Korean Communists have been concentrating their efforts on reconstructing and strengthening their military forces. Especially since the early 1960s the North Korean régime put forward a military goal in the slogan of "arming the whole people and fortifying the entire land". This militant policy was apparently designed to prepare fully the entire population of the North for another major hostility in Korea. It also resulted in exacting unbearable economic hardship from the innocent people of the North.

105. At the opening of the Fifth Congress of the North Korean Communist Party about two weeks ago, Kim Il Sung, the so-called Premier of North Korea, stated:

"As a result of the successful completion of the party programme calling for cadre responsibility for the rank of the army and the modernization of the entire armed forces, our People's Army has now become a matchless cadre military force efficiently indoctrinated in political ideology and powerfully trained in military technique, as well as invincible revolutionary zeal. One of the most important achievements in carrying out the strengthening of national defence capability has been that we armed everyone and fortified the entire land."

106. I would like to call the attention of the representatives to certain basic data which should be taken into account in evaluating the war preparedness of the North Korean Communists. The North Korean armed forces, which numbered only 270,000 at the end of the Korean war, now total more than 470,000. This military strength represents roughly 4 per cent of the entire population of the North as against 2 per cent for the Republic of Korea. Besides this enormous standing armed force, the North Koreans are boasting of the existence of 1.4 million militia, well-trained and heavily equipped, which can be mobilized into fighting units at a moment's notice.

107. As for their military expenditure, the North Korean Communists spent \$692 million in 1969, an amount equivalent to 25 per cent of the total national product of North Korea in the preceding year. For 1970, 35 per cent of their budget totalling \$746.3 million, an increase of more than \$54.3 million, or about 8 per cent over the amount of the previous year, was to be devoted to war preparations. Considering all these facts, it is not difficult to judge how harshly the people of North Korea have been victimized for the sake of war preparations.

108. Why have the North Korean Communists, with a population of only 13 million and limited means, spent such a preponderant portion of their over-all resources to build up such a formidable military power? No one would believe that they have done so in an attempt to thrust their power into the North—into Communist China or the Soviet Union.

109. What could be the real intent and purpose of the North Korean Communists? Kim Il Sung himself, who has master-minded this military build-up with ruthless dictatorship, has given us the answer. At this Committee last year I pointed to a statement made by Kim Il Sung. On 7 September 1968, he said:

"We are making full preparation for mobilization for the decisive struggle to accomplish the national liberation revolution and attain national unification. . . . Only by using the revolutionary method can the people win power. The decisive struggle can be brought to victory only by a forcible method. . . . It is nothing but a naïve illusion to think that in South Korea people can take power by some peaceful means without violent struggle."

He again declared on 1 July 1969:

"The peaceful unification of the country can be materialized only after the Government of the Republic of Korea is overturned."

110. This North Korean communist policy of unification by force was manifested in their memoranda of 22 June and 16 September 1970, which were submitted to the United Nations. I also wish to refer to an editorial of the North Korean Communist Party organ, *Rodong Shinmun*, dated 22 August 1970, which stated as follows:

“Comrade Kim Il Sung taught us that ‘Peaceful unification is unthinkable as long as the United Nations forces and the Government of the Republic of Korea are allowed to remain in South Korea. Unification can be realized only after the United Nations forces are driven out and the Republic of Korea is overthrown’ ”.

And it went on to say that:

“If the Government of the Republic of Korea is overthrown and a people’s régime is established or democratic progressive forces seize power, then we will peacefully negotiate with them on the question of unification.”

111. In order to conceal their ulterior purpose and to mislead world public opinion, the North Korean Communists have been waging a series of propaganda campaigns. They have advanced the idea of a “federal system” of the South and North, advocating at the same time the conclusion of a non-aggression pact and the mutual reduction of armed forces.

112. No sensible observer of the current international scene could be so deceived as to put the faintest credibility in these shallow propaganda campaigns. No amount of sweet and deceitful words could camouflage the aggressive designs of the North Korean Communists or implant the false impression that they have forsaken such designs by blinding the wisdom and intelligence of freedom-loving peoples all over the world.

113. Part of the policy of the North Korean Communists for the communization of all Korea is to use propaganda machinery extensively for launching inflammatory campaigns for “peaceful unification”. It is to be noted that the terms “peace” and “peaceful” are not accepted by the North Korean Communists as the peoples in the free world understand them. Peaceful unification, as indicated in the statement of Kim Il Sung “Does not mean that Communists are going to give up the social structure and the institutions which the Communists have already constructed in the North, or discard the communist objective to build a socialist society in the southern half of the country. In any case there would be no concession in the accomplishment of social revolution.”

114. It was manifested in a lengthy article in the issue of *Rodong Shinmun* dated 27 January 1964, that “peaceful co-existence is nothing but a design to deceive the people. . . . If we resort only to non-violent methods and do not prepare for violence, revolutionary force will not be able to meet actively the changing situation.”

115. Furthermore, the concept of a “federation” on an equal footing between South and North simply runs counter to democratic principles when we consider that there are now 32 million people living in the South whereas only 13 million live in the North.

116. As for the oft-rehearsed, preposterous communist claim that, “the only lawful state of the Korean nation is the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea”, this is a fraud which is calculated to confuse the minds of the peoples of the world with a view to creating an international atmosphere conducive to their so-called “peace offensive”. The United Nations recognized the Government of the Republic of Korea as the only lawful Government in the whole of Korea, in General Assembly resolution 195 (III) of 12 December 1948. This fact alone clarifies more than ever the absurdity of the North Korean claim.

117. It is encouraging to note that in many corners of the world forces are emerging seeking negotiation rather than confrontation, pursuit of mutual interest rather than doctrinaire, ideological rivalry, and peace and construction rather than egocentric ventures. Contrary to such development, North Korean communism under Kim Il Sung is a jealously-guarded, closed society where a most dogmatic communist rule is firmly entrenched, personality cult is still the norm and fanatical leftist adventurism prevails over rationalism. Herein lies the difficulty in attaining a peaceful unification. However, the Republic of Korea is determined to pursue this goal with tolerance and patience.

118. His Excellency Park Chung Hee, President of the Republic of Korea, put forward a positive and realistic step towards the unification of Korea in his address to the nation commemorating the twenty-fifth anniversary of national liberation on 15 August 1970. As to our basic position, President Park Chung Hee declared:

“We must avoid a war that exacts the bloodshed of our people, even though it is a supreme mandate for our people to achieve unification. However tortuous and treacherous the road for unification may be, we must work for a peaceful settlement with unrestrained patience and utmost wisdom.”

119. Furthermore, he stated his thoughts on the method of approach in the interests of laying the foundations for peaceful unification by saying:

“There are prerequisites that must be fulfilled. As long as the North Korean Communists persist in aggressive and provocative acts such as they are engaged in now, whatever they profess, it is nothing but a disguise, camouflage or fraud. Any approach toward unification by peaceful means is not feasible without the easing of tensions. Therefore, such an approach should be preceded, above all, by an unequivocal expression of attitude by the North Korean Communists assuring the easing of tension and its implementation. Accordingly, the North Korean Communists should desist forthwith from perpetrating all sorts of military provocations, including the dispatch of armed agents into the South, and make an announcement publicly that they renounce henceforth their so-called policy of communizing the whole of Korea by force and overthrowing the Republic of Korea by means of violent revolution, and prove their sincerity by deeds.”

120. In case the North Korean Communists accept, and comply in deeds with, these prerequisites, and the United Nations verifies the same, President Park Chung Hee

declared that he would be prepared to suggest epochal and more realistic measures with a view to removing, step by step, various artificial barriers existing between South and North on the basis of humanitarian considerations.

121. It is no accident that the proposition for an easing of tension in the Korean peninsula and a gradual but steady approach towards unification in a peaceful manner set forth in President Park's address coincides with the spirit and purpose of the Declaration on the Occasion of the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations [resolution 2677 (XXV)]. If this proposition were to be accepted by the other side, a breakthrough could be found towards ways to reduce the present tension on the Korean peninsula. This could ultimately lead to the realization of the long-cherished goal of the Korean people for national unification.

122. The Presidential address was most enthusiastically received by the Korean people. It was also acclaimed as a just and realistic approach by world public opinion. Nevertheless, it was flatly rejected by the North Korean Communists, for they feared that such an approach would undermine the basis of their policy of communizing the whole of Korea by force. Driven into a corner, they have stepped up their invective and slanderous propaganda campaign against the Republic of Korea.

123. As I stated earlier, the Korean peninsula is today in the throes of a tension which has never been more strained since the armistice of 1953. The foremost objective of the Republic of Korea, as well as of the United Nations, I believe, is to forestall the outbreak of another war in the Korean peninsula. Yet, the present precarious tension could erupt into a major conflagration at any time the North Korean Communists consider the circumstances to be propitious for them.

124. The major restraint against such a development is the presence in Korea of the United Nations with the prestige and authority of the world peace Organization—in specific terms, the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea and the United Nations Command with the forces under its authority. The presence of those United Nations political and military arms makes it impossible for the North Korean Communists to invade the Republic of Korea without attacking the United Nations itself. Thus, those organs are functioning as the most effective and powerful deterrent against the renewal of communist aggression.

125. No one is more acutely aware of the peace-keeping role of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea and the United Nations forces in Korea than the North Korean Communists. It is the very reason why they have been clamouring so desperately for the withdrawal of the United Nations forces from Korea and for the dissolution of the Commission.

126. I am obliged to point out that the draft resolutions put forward by certain countries before this Committee calling for the dissolution of the Commission and the withdrawal of the United Nations forces from Korea are only a faithful reflection of the North Korean scheme. Those draft resolutions are tantamount to calling upon the

United Nations to discard its obligations under the Charter and to acquiesce in the renewal of an aggressive war.

127. If the most crucial deterrents against aggression in Korea were to be removed, there would virtually be no restraining the aggressive forces from launching an all-out military venture. I should then like to pose a question to those representatives who have sponsored the draft resolutions concerned whether it is in their interests to see major hostilities resume in Korea. Would it be their intention to embroil the Korean people once again in a devastating war.

128. The United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea and the United Nations forces are in Korea in pursuance of the resolutions of the United Nations and at the request of the Government of the Republic of Korea. The mission entrusted to those organs by virtue of the pertinent United Nations resolutions is to establish a unified, independent and democratic Korea by peaceful means and to restore and to maintain international peace and security in that part of the world. Although we have spared no efforts to attain those objectives, they are still far from being realized.

129. The Government and people of the Republic of Korea have followed a consistent policy of co-operation to the fullest extent with the United Nations in its efforts to achieve its objectives in Korea; I wish to take this opportunity to point out that the unco-operative and militant North Korean Communists are demanding the repudiation of all United Nations resolutions relating to Korea.

130. Though burdened with the necessity of resisting such armed provocations and infiltrations by the North Korean Communists, the Republic of Korea has carried forward economic development programmes as remarkable as those of any developing nation in the world. As a result, our standard of living has scored a notable rise.

131. For the years from 1961 to 1969, the annual economic growth rate registered an average of 9.3 per cent and the domestic investment rate grew from 11.3 per cent to 34.5 per cent. This trend will be kept by maintaining an annual growth rate of 10 per cent until 1971, the target year of the second Five-Year Economic Development Plan. Exports in 1969 have again expanded by 41.7 per cent, the average expansion rate maintained since 1961. Manufactured goods, which are our principal export commodities, now account for 74 per cent of our total exports.

132. In the international community, the Republic of Korea maintains diplomatic or consular relations with more than 90 countries. The policy of my Government is the pursuit of peace, goodwill and positive co-operation with all the peaceful and freedom-loving nations of the world. My Government is now contemplating a plan to establish trade relations with some Eastern European countries in the belief that such improved relations would contribute to the promotion of mutual interests. I hope that, unlike certain hard-core militant groups in Asia and elsewhere, they will reciprocate our goodwill in the interest of better relations and international peace.

133. As President Park Chung Hee made clear, what is most urgently required in Korea is the easing of tension,

thereby creating peaceful conditions. This would indeed be the primary prerequisite for achieving the United Nations objective of establishing a unified, independent and democratic Korea. To maintain peace and security in Korea is the most pressing and important mission of the United Nations.

134. In order to achieve those goals, we consider it of the utmost importance and necessity for the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea to follow the situation there with continual vigilance and to keep the United Nations informed of any development threatening peace and security in that area. It is no less important and necessary for the United Nations forces to continue to perform their mission as a deterrent against the possible renewal of aggression from the North.

135. Therefore, on behalf of the Government and people of the Republic of Korea, I respectfully request the United Nations to continue to station the Commission and United Nations forces in Korea.

136. My President posed a meaningful question in his address on the twenty-fifth anniversary of our national liberation on 15 August 1970:

“Are the North Korean Communists interested in participating in a competition—a *bona fide* competition in development, in construction and creativity—to prove which institution, democracy or communist totalitarianism, can provide better living conditions for the people and which society is a better place to live, instead of committing any longer the crime of war preparations at the sacrifice of the welfare of our innocent brethren in the North?”

137. I am convinced that, instead of persisting in their militant and aggressive posture, the North Korean Communists ought to respond to the call of peace and reason and to undertake constructive efforts towards a peaceful solution of the Korean question. Indeed, it is our sincere and earnest hope and prayer that the North Korean Communists would substitute the acts of provocation and aggression for the easing of tension, their repudiation of the United Nations efforts for the acceptance of the competence and the authority of the Organization, and their war preparations for *bona fide* competition.

138. In concluding my statement, may I express my belief and desire that the representatives in this Committee, exercising their wisdom and judgement, will reject draft resolution A/C.1/L.524 calling for the withdrawal of the United Nations forces from Korea and draft resolution A/C.1/L.525 for the dissolution of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea, and thus demonstrate to the world once again the determination of the United Nations to achieve its noble objectives in Korea. The delegation of the Republic of Korea further urges full support for the draft resolution before this Committee contained in document A/C.1/L.531. I am convinced that the adoption of that draft resolution by an overwhelming majority of the States members of this Committee will serve the cause of peace and security in the area and will help to ease the tensions there, thus creating the necessary conditions conducive to the eventual achievement of the peaceful unification of Korea.

139. Mr. HSUEH (China) (*translated from Chinese*): His Excellency Kyu Hah Choi, Foreign Minister of the Republic of Korea, is well known to this Committee. Addressing us in person on a number of previous occasions, he has well acquainted us with the will and aspirations of the people of Korea on the question of the peaceful unification of Korea. We feel privileged to have heard him again this year. On behalf of my delegation I should like to extend to him a sincere welcome and to thank him for the statement he has just made to this Committee.

140. In his statement the Foreign Minister referred to the commemorative address of 15 August 1970 by President Park Chung Hee of the Republic of Korea. In that address, as we recall, President Park Chung Hee posed a question which, because of its importance, I should like to quote verbatim:

“Are the North Korean Communists interested in participating in a competition—a *bona fide* competition in development, in construction and creativity—to prove which institution, democracy or communist totalitarianism can provide better living conditions for the people, and which society is a better place to live, instead of committing any longer the crime of war preparations at the sacrifice of the welfare of our innocent brethren in the North?”

141. In the view of my delegation, the question posed by the President points to the crux of the matter with regard to the question of Korea. The solution of the question of Korea, which has evaded us for more than 20 years, can be so near and yet so far.

142. It is evident that President Park Chung Hee's proposed competition envisages the full implementation of the principle of self-determination for the people of all Korea. Its acceptance would also lead to the restoration of peace and security in the area. The final result of the competition can only be the establishment in peaceful conditions of a unified, independent and democratic Korea. In that event, not only would the presence of the United Nations forces in Korea no longer be necessary, but also the mission entrusted by the General Assembly to the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea will have been successfully achieved.

143. Regrettably, this solution of the question of Korea is still so far away because the proposed competition is not likely to be accepted in the foreseeable future. The question posed by President Park Chung Hee has so far remained unanswered. Nothing has since been heard from North Korea that indicates any interest on the part of the Communists in the proposed competition. Like their comrades elsewhere, the Communists in Korea know full well that in such a competition they are bound to lose. Instead, the war preparations in North Korea go on unabated amidst the vows and pledges that the South must be “liberated”, that is, brought under communist control, by force if necessary.

144. However, while the proposed competition has been ignored by the Communists, the Government of the Republic of Korea has not been deterred from dedicating itself, in President Park Chung Hee's own words, to

development, to construction, to creativity and, in general, to providing better living conditions for the people. The Republic of Korea is an open society, accessible to all who are interested in Korea. The results of the efforts of the Government and people in the Republic are readily known. In particular, they are objectively observed and regularly reported by the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea.

145. The latest report of the Commission, now before us [A/8026], while having little to say about the progress of the question of unification, contains a remarkable record of political developments, of activities relating to international co-operation and of economic achievements in the Republic of Korea. According to the report, the rate of economic growth of the Republic has attained in the 1969-1970 period the highest level ever achieved. Not only has there been a record crop of food grains, but manufacturing output and foreign trade have also increased rapidly. At the same time exports of manufactured goods are being expanded and diversified continuously. A programme of industrialization is being carried out successfully. All these achievements in the Republic of Korea assure the people, in the language of the Charter of the United Nations, of "social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom".

146. In striking contrast, we have not heard from any impartial authority about anything that is being done in the northern part of Korea under communist control for the promotion of the well-being of the people. All that we have heard from that part of Korea is the shouting of tired slogans of anti-Americanism and warlike activities, aiming at the overthrow of the Government of the Republic of Korea.

147. The latest report of the United Nations Commission, Chapter III, under the heading "Review of Security Problems in the Area", contains a long list of the warlike activities of the Korean Communists. I do not wish to go into details, but these activities consist of communist attacks in the Demilitarized Zone, infiltrations by sea in violation of the Korean Armistice Agreement, hijacking of airplanes, sinking of vessels of the Republic of Korea, planting of bombs in South Korea and espionage activities against the Government of the Republic. As a result, the tension in Korea is heightened and the security problems in the area continue to be serious.

148. It is these warlike communist activities that necessitate the continuing presence of the United Nations forces in Korea. The United Nations is deeply indebted to these forces which have played the vital role of peace-keeping in Korea and in the surrounding area. Their withdrawal in the present circumstances would only invite the Communists to invade the South again and to communize the whole of Korea by force. That is why the Communists regard the United Nations forces as an obstacle to what they call the unification of Korea, which means the unification of Korea by communist military conquest. The United Nations, whose responsibility it is to maintain international peace and security, cannot ignore the appeal of the Government of the Republic of Korea that the United Nations forces remain in Korea as a safeguard against renewed communist aggression from the North.

149. Three statements made by the Korean Communists on 22 August, 31 August and 8 September 1970 have been circulated by the United Nations. They are largely devoted to vicious attacks on the United States and on the majority of the Members of the United Nations. Tucked somewhere among these slanderous statements are what they call proposals for the solution of the question of Korea. Even taken at their face value, these proposals are not worth the paper on which they are printed.

150. One of these proposals is found in document A/C.1/999. It states that "Korea's unification should be achieved by peaceful means and independently by the Korean people themselves...". This proposal is quickly negated by another proposal further on, which states that "the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea reclarifies that an international conference of countries concerned may be convened, if necessary, to peacefully settle the Korean question". These two contradictory statements taken together can only mean, if they mean anything at all, that the Communists do not want any part of the United Nations in the solution of the question of Korea because the United Nations cannot act without regard to the principles of the Charter.

151. Another such proposal of the Korean Communists is found in the same document. It proposes: "to set up a Confederation of North and South Korea as a transitional measure, if necessary, before complete unification, while leaving the present different social systems in the North and South as they are". Forgetting this proposal, the Korean Communists proceed to assert, in document A/C.1/1000, that "the only State for the Korean nation is the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea alone represents the real national interests and will of the entire people of North and South Korea". Thus, in the proposed confederation, both North and South Korea would naturally be represented by the so-called Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Is there anything more ludicrous and absurd than this proposal?

152. I have cited these examples to show that the Communists in North Korea have no intention of settling the question of Korea on the basis of the will of the people. The meaningful competition proposed by President Park Chung Hee is like the sound of music that, as a Chinese proverb goes, has fallen on the ears of the bulls. In these circumstances, it is all the more important that the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea should continue to exercise its functions and to redouble its efforts on behalf of the United Nations in bringing about the establishment of a unified, independent and democratic government of all Korea.

153. My delegation has no illusion that the objectives of the United Nations in Korea could be achieved in a short time. What is important is that the United Nations must continue, patiently and persistently, to concern itself with the fate of this important East Asian country and the future of its peace-loving and freedom-loving people. Although President Park Chung Hee's proposal has not been accepted, competition has, in fact, already begun to make the difference between the two ways of life plain for all to see. The day will come when the people of all Korea will

decide, in the words of President Park Chung Hee, which institution to choose, democracy or communist totalitarianism. The United Nations has a solemn obligation to ensure respect for the choice of the people of Korea. It is only with the help of the United Nations forces and the United Nations Commission that this obligation can be fulfilled.

154. The CHAIRMAN (*interpretation from Spanish*): We have exhausted the list of speakers for this afternoon's meeting. I should like to announce that it is my intention

to propose, at the beginning of tomorrow afternoon's meeting, that the list of speakers on this item be closed at 6 p.m. tomorrow. Moreover, I would express the hope that the Committee will complete its consideration of this item no later than Tuesday morning, 24 November. May I also remind the Committee that on that same day, and in accordance with the decision of the Committee, we shall resume our consideration of the remaining items relating to disarmament.

The meeting rose at 5.45 p.m.