

United Nations
**GENERAL
ASSEMBLY**

TWENTY-FIFTH SESSION

Official Records



**FIRST COMMITTEE, 1768th
MEETING**

Monday, 23 November 1970,
at 10.30 a.m.

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

	Page
Agenda item 98:	
Question of Korea (<i>continued</i>):	
(a) Withdrawal of United States and all other foreign forces occupying South Korea under the flag of the United Nations;	
(b) Dissolution of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea;	
(c) Report of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea	1
Tribute to the memory of Mr. Yusof bin Ishak, President of the Republic of Singapore	14

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

AGENDA ITEM 98

Question of Korea (*continued*):

- (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, 1011, 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, 1011, 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, 1011, A/C.1/L.531)

1. Mr. SOLANO LOPEZ (Paraguay) (*interpretation from Spanish*): In accordance with the provisions of the Charter and by virtue of previously adopted decisions of competent organs of the United Nations, this Organization, by the peaceful means at its disposal, is trying to establish true peace and effective international security in the Korean peninsula. Through these same means the United Nations is also endeavouring to ensure that the two parts in which the peninsula is divided shall be unified as one free, independent, sovereign and democratic, Korea under a government that is the result of free elections, held under the conditions set forth in the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly.

2. In order to achieve these objectives the United Nations has created appropriate machinery and entrusted the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea with the implementation of the necessary measures to carry out its mandate.

3. Therefore my delegation believes that there is no doubt whatsoever regarding the nature of the goals sought by our

Organization as there is also no doubt regarding the competence of the United Nations to decide on measures leading to the achievement of such objectives.

4. The Korean nation is many centuries old and accordingly is direct heir to one of the most ancient cultures not only of Asia but of the world. Furthermore, it possesses a national identity that with the passage of centuries not only has overcome the many difficulties it has met with in its history but has emerged from very severe trials strengthened and consolidated.

5. The present tragic division, whose origins are known to all of us, must, therefore, be only temporary. Moreover, I am convinced that the common dream of all Koreans, whether from the North or from the South, must be to ensure the unification of those two parts into one political entity that will cover all under the same flag and that will be led to the achievement of its national destiny by one government, the result of free elections supervised by the United Nations and which, freed from all foreign influence, will represent the collective will of the entire Korean people.

6. However, at present Korea is unable to fulfil that noble aspiration. If the objectives of the United Nations have been well defined, if the necessary organs and machinery for the reunification of the Korean nation do exist and if, despite that, this noble endeavour cannot be achieved as yet, we are forced to ask what obstacles stand in the way of their fulfilment.

7. It is obvious that the first indispensable factor must be full and unreserved co-operation of the parties concerned. Here I think it would be appropriate to recall very briefly the recent sequence of events in the peninsula.

8. At the conclusion of the Second World War Korea was freed from foreign occupation only to see part of its territory once again fall under a new and different occupation. The United Nations made every effort to restore full sovereignty in Korea. Despite its efforts, however, only in the southern part were elections held and supervised by our Organization, and those elections led to the establishment of a truly representative government speaking for the people of the Republic of Korea, in August 1948, and which was recognized in December of the same year by the United Nations as the sole legally constituted Government.

9. In North Korea, for reasons well known to all, efforts failed, and the régime set up in that part of the country was established through procedures that were not only different from but contrary to democratic norms. Korea was therefore divided into two basically different parts that

differed in their organization as well as in their purposes. Subsequent events are well known but I must still recall what I said at previous meetings.

10. In the unhappy hour when the Republic of Korea was attacked, invaded and devastated by North Korea, it was only international solidarity acting through the United Nations that saved Korea from being completely subjugated and prevented the designs for conquest that motivated the régime which launched the aggression from succeeding.

11. Many years have elapsed since the Armistice Agreement of 1953, and that period has not been one of true peace that would have allowed achievement of the goals sought by the United Nations. North Korea has made it necessary for South Korea to maintain a constant, vigilant and very costly guard in which the United Nations has helped and thus avoided any repetition of the aggression of 1950. The possibility of such repetition, unfortunately, is evident. Of this there is ample proof; suffice it to cite the violations of the military Armistice Agreement listed in the report of the United Nations Command [S/9982] which covers only a very short and recent period of time. And they are not the only violations. As an additional example I would mention the hijacking of a Korean airlines plane taken by force to Pyongyang in December of 1969, almost a year ago. The plane itself, together with part of its crew and passengers, is still being held in North Korea in violation of the rules of international law.

12. Of the two parts into which Korea is divided, one of them, South Korea—the Republic of Korea—is ready to co-operate fully with our Organization in achieving the goal of unification already referred to. It has so stated and constantly reiterated it. But the régime in North Korea is not only not ready to co-operate, but is not even willing to accept the competence of the United Nations to carry out such purposes. For the moment, therefore, little can be expected in the way of positive action on the part of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea.

13. Under these circumstances, we believe that our collective duty must be to show the greatest of patience, in the hope that a better day will dawn when the present persistently negative attitude of North Korea will change, and, in the meantime, to maintain the existence of UNCURK, on the one hand, and, so long as the Republic of Korea so desires and requests, to continue to give that Republic the assistance that will allow it to protect itself against any aggression such as that suffered in the past.

14. The views I have just expressed will determine our vote when this Committee comes to decide upon the three draft resolutions before it. We shall vote in favour of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.531, and against the drafts appearing in documents A/C.1/L.524 and A/C.1/L.525.

15. Mr. CERNÍK (Czechoslovakia) (*translated from Russian*): After 25 years, the idea of peaceful coexistence among States with different social systems is gaining increasing support in the United Nations. However, this cannot obscure the consequences of the grossly unjust cold war period, during which, in defiance of the principles of

the Charter, the United Nations was abused for the purpose of shameless interference in the internal affairs of certain countries. One of the most reprehensible chapters of the history of our Organization is undoubtedly the occupation of South Korea by United States and other armed forces under the United Nations flag, which continues to this day. This chapter includes the so-called Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea, which is an obstacle to the peaceful unification of the country and a tool for deceiving public opinion and interfering with the exercise of the sovereign rights of the Korean people.

16. Has it not long been clear to everyone that the situation on the Korean peninsula cannot settle down and that unification of Korea cannot be achieved until the Korean people themselves can resolve these questions without foreign interference? Despite this fact, questions affecting the interests of the Korean people are again being discussed at this commemorative session of the United Nations General Assembly without the participation of representatives of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. This General Assembly session, which was expected at least to try once again to resolve some of the problems left over from the cold war period, has, as in previous sessions, failed to end the long-standing practice of discrimination against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. On the contrary, representatives of the population of the northern part of the country were again denied the opportunity to be heard here—an opportunity that was given to the South Korean puppet régime. Such an approach cannot advance our work and will not enhance the prestige of the United Nations. In this connexion, I consider it my duty to recall that the repeated refusal to invite representatives of the people of North Korea to our meetings has been pronounced despite the fact that the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, in its statement of 29 August 1970, contained in document A/C.1/1000, confirmed its support for the principles and objectives of the Charter of the United Nations and stated that it was prepared to take part in the discussion of the agenda item on the so-called Korean question. The statement of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea of 25 October 1970, contained in document A/C.1/1009, again declared:

“The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea always respects the United Nations Charter and its objectives. If the United Nations really wants to act in conformity with the principles and objectives of its Charter, it must invite unconditionally the representative of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to participate in the discussion of the question of Korea”.

17. Consequently, in the opinion of the Czechoslovak delegation, all the prerequisites had been met for inviting by right the representatives of both parts of divided Korea to participate in the discussion. If this did not occur, the main responsibility rests with the representatives of those countries whose troops peace-loving States have been endeavouring to dislodge from South Korea for years.

18. Like a number of my United Nations colleagues, I personally had the opportunity to visit the Democratic People's Republic of Korea this summer at the invitation of its Government. My stay there made a great impression on

me, not only personally but particularly because I was able to see for myself the real situation in that country and to witness the great creative efforts of the people of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and their yearning to achieve the peaceful reunification of their divided country.

19. During my stay in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea I saw that the twelve and a half million people in that country were living in freedom and happiness. As you know, in 1953, at the end of the devastating war, more than 80 per cent of the economic potential of North Korea lay in ruins. United States bombers had destroyed factories and hydro-electric power stations. Fields had been torn apart by bomb craters and ruined by tons of chemicals dropped from enemy planes. Today, throughout the country, we see new factories, power stations and farms; new towns and villages are growing up, an extensive irrigation system is being introduced, the soil is being tilled, and new cultural centres, sports stadia and rest homes are being constructed. The extensive irrigation system is particularly impressive, as it has enabled the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to ensure that the country is agriculturally self-reliant.

20. The exceptional diligence and hard work of the people of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, together with their will to overcome the consequences of the war and to create for every worker the very best living conditions, are the basic reasons for their successes in building the country. In the 10 years following the Korean war, the average rate of growth of industrial production in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea was 34.8 per cent, which is probably one of the highest rates in the history of any country. In 1967 the national income of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea was already nine times higher than it was immediately after liberation in 1946. All this has been accomplished by a socialist country whose Government and major political force—the Korean Workers' Party—inspire the people of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to engage in peaceful work.

21. As the people of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea carry out their constructive work, they find their country surrounded by a constant state of tension. Such provocations as the Pueblo incident of 1968, the EC-121 spy plane in 1969 or the United States AV-2 spy boat in June this year show that the presence of United States and other foreign troops in the southern part of the country remains a source of constant tension and danger to the Korean peninsula. The further provocations by foreign troops in the southern part of Korea are considered by the people of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to be a grave threat to their peace-loving way of life. Very recently, the Ambassador of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in Prague, Mr. Kim Yeng Sik, on the basis of the statement of 14 October 1970 of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, revealed some of the latest provocative acts against his country. According to this information, the interventionist army in three days alone—7, 8 and 10 October 1970—fired more than one thousand heavy artillery rounds on the western front in the Cape Kipho region against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and thereby created a situation in that area which greatly resembled a state of

war. Before this, on 23 and 27 September 1970, on the central part of the front, thousands of small-arms and artillery rounds were fired against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, and on 1 October, on the western front, a military aircraft was sent into the air space of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. According to the same information, armed bandits committed serious provocations on 9 and 12 October in the jointly controlled area of Panmunjom, during which citizens of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea were attacked while carrying out their official duties. The Korean Government views all these acts as a gross violation of the Armistice Agreement and considers that they are not only directed against the Korean people, but are likely also to develop into a wider conflict in Asia.

22. The constant tension on the Korean peninsula, caused by the presence and the activities of the imperialist forces, constitutes a grave danger to universal peace and security, which it is the task of our Organization to preserve. Instead of an effort by all peoples to eliminate peacefully all the dangerous sources of the conflicts which are threatening the stability of the contemporary world, we are witnessing the opposite tendency resulting from the global imperialist strategy in Asia. The presence of imperialist troops in South Korea is evidence of an effort to preserve and strengthen this part of the Korean peninsula as a base to be used against the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China, the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the national liberation movement in Asia and in the Far East.

23. Seventeen years after the acceptance of the Armistice Agreement, under which all foreign troops were required to be withdrawn from Korea, we read in the United States press reports about the Pentagon's plans for the 64,000-man United States Army. We read that there are units armed with tactical nuclear weapons, that the Army is being re-equipped with the very latest M-60 tanks, that "obsolete" M-48 tanks are being transferred to the South Korean Army, that F-4 Phantom military aircrafts are being moved from Japan to South Korea, and so forth. One does not have to be a military expert to understand that the United States has turned South Korea into one enormous military base. In the light of these facts, we naturally ask ourselves: why should our Organization have anything to do with Pentagon plans and how long will Pentagon activities continue under cover of the United Nations flag?

24. For years we have been hearing, even here in the United Nations, that the United States troops cannot be withdrawn from South Korea, since there is allegedly a constant threat of some type of aggression from the North. Extracts from a speech by the Chairman of the Cabinet of Ministers of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and Secretary-General of the Korean Workers' Party, Kim Il Sung, at a recent party congress have been quoted here in support of these fabrications. It is clear to everyone who does not tendentiously distort isolated facts and take them out of context, or who does not try to change the meaning and spirit of the speech, that Comrade Kim Il Sung's speech deals basically with the question of the peaceful unification of Korea through the efforts of the Korean people themselves in both parts of the country, without any interference from outside.

25. Allow me to quote from the memorandum of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea of 16 September 1970 [A/C.1/1008], which states the matter clearly:

"The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea clarified time and again that it has no intention to march south and has no intention to solve by force of arms the question of Korean unification.

"The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has consistently put forth most fair and above-board and realistic proposals acceptable to anyone for the peaceful unification of Korea and has made all sincere efforts for their realization."

26. As you know, the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has already made proposals on a number of occasions for the peaceful unification of the country, under which North and South Korea would solemnly pledge not to invade each other, the armed forces of the North and South Korea would be reduced markedly, and a central Government would be established on the basis of free general democratic elections in both parts of the country. As a transitional step, a confederation of the two Korean States could be established, in which both States would retain their existing social and economic systems.

27. What clearer proof could there be of the peaceful intentions of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea regarding the unification of Korea? Can aggressive intentions really be attributed to a State whose Government has for years been proposing plans for a marked reduction in the armed forces of both parts of Korea? The imperialists' tactic of trying to mask their own aggressive policies by loudly proclaiming a non-existent danger from the socialist States is not new. This tactic has been used for years, against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and other States. In fact, we see that the armed forces of the very States which propagate such fabrications against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea are occupying the southern part of Korea and, together with the South Korean puppet Government, are provoking conflicts which threaten to develop into a dangerous military confrontation.

28. It is as clear as day that the main prerequisite for genuine peaceful unification of Korea is the withdrawal of United States and all other foreign forces from the southern part of the country. Guided by this conviction, Czechoslovakia together with other countries of Africa, Asia and Europe has this year sponsored the item on 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]. The Czechoslovak delegation is also a sponsor of the draft resolution on the subject [A/C.1/L.524], which demands the complete withdrawal of all the troops deployed under the cover-up title "United Nations Forces" within a period of six months following the adoption of the resolution by the General Assembly.

29. Another prerequisite for the unification of the country by peaceful means is the dissolution of the so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea. The question of the unification of the

country is the concern of the Korean people and this question can be solved in accordance with the principle of the self-determination of peoples only through direct negotiations between both parts of this temporarily divided country. In any case, Korea cannot be helped by the United Nations Commission, which was established in violation of the Charter and which, after its years of ignominious activity, has compromised itself to such an extent that even some of its members have already begun to draw the logical conclusions from its illegality. If the United Nations in the coming years is to fulfil its task, as laid down in the Charter, it must at last find the necessary courage to rescind its illegal resolutions on Korea and immediately dissolve the so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea. Czechoslovakia, guided by this conviction, has, together with other countries of Africa, Asia and Europe, become a sponsor of the item on the dissolution of this ignominious Commission and a sponsor of the draft resolution on the subject, which is contained in document A/C.1/L.525.

30. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic has always firmly supported the Korean people and consequently has always defended the view that the United Nations would be most effective in helping the Korean people if it removed the obstacles which it has laid in their path itself—in other words, if it decided on the speediest withdrawal of all United States and other foreign forces occupying South Korea under the flag of the United Nations and the dissolution of the so-called Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea. Only in this way can conditions be established for the genuine peaceful unification of Korea by the Korean people themselves.

31. Mr. JAMIESON (United Kingdom): Since we last met, we have read in the press of the death of the Head of State of a fellow member of the Commonwealth, and I should like, on behalf of the United Kingdom delegation, to express our sympathy to the delegation of Singapore on the death of the President of Singapore.

32. On the question of the Korean issue, I shall try to be brief, but I cannot promise to be as brief as I was in my intervention over the invitational aspects of this item. It takes a little time to dispel a smoke-screen; and although I shall not attempt to deal with every particle of smoke, I think it is worth reminding ourselves of essentials.

33. During the debate on the invitational aspects I was rather dismayed by the remark of a representative who suggested that it was wrong for Member States to be maintaining troops in Korea, in distant lands far beyond their own shores. Is not this precisely what collective security is all about? Here we were, in 1950, faced with a clear-cut act of aggression. The response of the United Nations was an impressive example of its ability to act quickly and effectively in the interests of collective security. It was a burden not lightly or half-heartedly assumed. Fifty-one Member States of the United Nations supported the action of the Security Council when it recommended that Members should provide the necessary assistance to the Republic of Korea to repel the North Korean armed attack. Only five Member States out of the total membership dissented. Apart from those who gave other forms of assistance, 16 Governments provided forces.

My own Government was proud to do so. It was not the first time that British troops found themselves fighting in such a cause in distant lands far beyond their native shores, in places perhaps of whose exact geographical location and correct pronunciation many members of the British public were a little bit hazy.

34. It is worth-while recalling those events of 20 years ago, not in order to rake over the embers, or in order to indulge in the cold war rhetoric of North Korea's friends, but to remind ourselves why United Nations forces went to Korea and to ask ourselves whether our responsibilities there, which, as I say, were not lightly assumed, can be lightly thrown away. Some delegations have argued for the withdrawal of all United Nations troops in the interests of "the peaceful reunification of Korea on a democratic basis". Can we really say that a United Nations presence both in the form of troops and of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea is no longer needed? We are glad to see from the Commission's report that "there has been, in the period under review, a diminishing number of armed incursions from the Democratic People's Republic of Korea" [A/8026, para. 106]. But the report goes on to regret the fact that the North Koreans have employed certain categories of more sophisticated equipment to effect penetration into the Republic, that there is no diminution in the existing tension and consequently that the possibility of a resumption of hostilities cannot be excluded. We wonder just what the supporters of draft resolutions A/C.1/L.524 and A/C.1/L.525 really mean by "peaceful reunification".

35. The action of the United Nations in Korea is, as I have said, a striking example of our Organization's ability to fulfil one of its most important roles, that of peace-keeping. In this twenty-fifth anniversary year, when there is a good deal of talk about measures to increase international peace and security, when the subject of peace-keeping is being seriously discussed, my delegation entirely rejects the suggestion in the two draft resolutions to which I have referred that we should dismantle the peace-keeping presence which has been so successful in Korea.

36. But there is a further aspect to this. The United Nations is concerned not just with peace-keeping, but with peace-making. As the first chapter of the report of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea makes perfectly clear:

"The principal objectives of the United Nations in Korea 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" [*ibid.*, para. 1].

Draft resolution A/C.1/L.525 criticizes the Commission for its failure to make any contribution to the Korean problem. It is true that we are still a long way from attaining the principal objectives of the United Nations in Korea, as I have read them out. But it is also clear where the responsibility for this lies. If the North Koreans, who so far have shown themselves so obstinately determined to reject the United Nations, could be prevailed upon, as I appeal once more to those who have influence with them to

prevail upon them, to co-operate in a genuine search for a solution, I have little doubt that real progress towards reconciliation and security could be made and that the Commission would play a vital part.

37. This is not a debate about what sort of solution is required for the Korean problem. Do not be deceived by the smoke-screen. We cannot settle the Korean question here and now. It is, rather, an artificial debate which has been forced upon us by the annual effort of those who wish to abolish the two arms of the United Nations peace-keeping and peace-making functions in Korea, the United Nations force and the United Nations Commission. But it would be wrong to let our annoyance become boredom or to affect our attitude. We must stand up for our principles. The United Kingdom delegation for its part will go on giving full support to the United Nations in its efforts to keep the peace and to make the peace in a unified Korea. For this reason we have co-sponsored the draft resolution before us in document A/C.1/L.531; we urge other delegations to vote for this draft resolution and decisively to reject those in documents A/C.1/L.524 and A/C.1/L.525.

38. Mr. DOSUMU JOHNSON (Liberia): On Thursday, 13 November 1969 [1687th meeting], we set forth the position of the Liberian delegation on this issue in quite unmistakable terms and voted for the continued presence of the United Nations force and of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea in South Korea. Nothing, in our opinion, has happened in the intervening months to alter our position. If it were not for the fact that some States are inclined to misunderstand the issues involved, we would only have voted on the present draft resolutions and would not have participated in the general debate. In doing so now, however, we are forced by circumstances of manifest justice. We hold no brief for either North or South Korea, but simple justice and fair play dictate that we should set the record straight without repeating in full our last year's views on the question.

39. All the arguments advanced by the proponents of draft resolutions A/C.1/L.524 and A/C.1/L.525 are not very useful and convincing speculations. Politics must focus on things as they are and not on what they might have been if the Commission were not present in South Korea. It is now an incontrovertible fact that if North Korea had not marched against South Korea on 25 June 1950 there would have been no Korean war to give rise to United States and United Nations intervention within their implicit commitments under the Charter of the United Nations.

40. Security commitments made by any State, great or small, impose restraints on the policy of such States. A nation cannot disengage itself unilaterally from commitments assumed with positive assurances without undermining other commitments elsewhere and without loss of prestige. If the United Nations had stood helplessly by and let the North Koreans overrun South Korea in those early days of the Organization's existence, when hopes and confidence in it were highest, the United Nations would either have died an untimely death or paled into insignificance. By that intervention it made a great impression upon a war-weary world. The whole question of Asia at that time was one of force and counter-force sanctified by a series of

commitments too involved for some of the sponsors of draft resolutions A/C.1/L.524 and A/C.1/L.525 to comprehend.

41. To remove the United Nations force and the Commission from South Korea, as these two draft resolutions seek to do, would be to expose several millions of people to alien cultural and ideological domination which, if sanctioned by this Committee, would forever remain a blot on the pages of the United Nations. These two draft resolutions are imperialistic in design; they seek to impose alien will and domination on other peoples—a classic aspect of colonialism and imperialism. Further, they seek to perpetuate the principle of “Manifest Destiny”, long abandoned by modern political thinkers as an instrument of State policy. The United Nations must not lend assistance to its revival. The doctrine of spheres of influence by great Powers implied in these draft resolutions is dead and must remain dead by our votes against these two socialist proposals. But the sanctity of security commitments is viable and must be upheld by the United Nations and by Member States.

42. The force of modern nationalism is such that no self-respecting nation wants to be openly or explicitly in anybody's sphere of influence and any attempt to this end without the expressed consent of the people concerned would be provocative of international conflict. The sanctity of security commitments must be upheld. Hence, the United States, United Nations and other forces in South Korea are maintained to this day and must continue so long as the people who are the sole masters of their own destiny so direct.

43. I would point out that the United States is one of the signatories of the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty of 8 September 1954¹. According to article IV of that Treaty: If, in the opinion of any of the Parties the territory or sovereignty or political independence of any of the States to which the guarantees of the treaty extend were threatened in any way other than by armed attack or affected or threatened by any fact or situation which might endanger the peace of the area, the Parties would consult immediately in order to agree on the measures which should be taken for the common defence. This is clearly a cushion against subversion which is so prevalent in that area today. In paragraph 1 of the same article we read what is tantamount to support for the United States and the United Nations position in South Korea. According to that paragraph, each Party recognizes that aggression by means of armed attack against any of the Protocol States, would endanger its common peace and security, and agrees that it would in that event act to meet the common danger in accordance with its own constitutional process. Placed in the position of South Korea in the hour of dire need, what would be the reaction of any of the members of this Committee if its chief defender reneged on its solemn commitment? I pause for an answer.

44. Let us not deceive ourselves. Evil communication corrupts good and honest judgement. Nations self-interest being the *suprema lex*, there is not a small nation in this Committee which would not seek and appreciate help from

a great Power in defence of its sovereignty and territorial integrity. If there be any such among us here, mark it well—something is wrong somewhere. It may well be the final revelation of the incongruity of human existence.

45. We are at a loss to understand the position of the sponsors of draft resolutions A/C.1/L.524 and A/C.1/L.525. If we have two Koreas today it is as a result of an agreement between the Soviet Union and the United States at Yalta on a four-Power trusteeship arrangement. The Soviet agreement was kept secret because the Soviet Union was not at war with Japan. Under the Potsdam Declaration, to which the Soviet Union was a party, it was provided that Soviet troops should accept the Japanese surrender north of the 38th parallel, while United States troops would accept the surrender south of the 38th parallel.

46. Before that could be implemented, the military occupation of Korea in two separate zones became, on 10 August 1945, an accomplished fact by the entry of Soviet troops into North Korea and United States troops into South Korea. When every attempt to hold an election to unify Korea under United Nations auspices failed, the United States, on 23 September 1945, placed the Korean question on the agenda of the United Nations General Assembly. In November 1947, by General Assembly resolution 112 A (II) a temporary commission on Korea was established to observe the election for the Korean National Assembly.

47. In the ensuing election the Syngman Rhee party won 55 seats. On 12 December 1948, his Government was recognized by the United Nations General Assembly by a vote of 48 to 6 on resolution 195 (III), which declared that:

“there has been established a lawful government (the Government of the Republic of Korea) having effective control and jurisdiction over that part of Korea where the Temporary Commission was able to observe and consult and in which the great majority of the people of all Korea reside; that this Government is based on elections which were a valid expression of the free will of the electorate of that part of Korea and which were observed by the Temporary Commission; and that this is the only such Government in Korea;”.

48. That is what our predecessors did in this Organization, acting for us and in good faith. And we are all duty bound to honour and implement their commitments whether we like it or not. They were men of great integrity and high esteem. To dishonour what they did on ideological grounds is to establish a precedent that may, in the years to come, be used against similar resolutions touching some Governments of Africa and Asia. Let us beware of harmful precedents. We all say that our Governments are democratic. In the democracy of the United Nations, majority decisions are binding upon all Member States.

49. That, in essence, is the Korean question. Any doubt that a member of this Committee may have entertained about the legality of the Government of South Korea is dispelled by that historical recital and by General Assembly resolution 195 (III).

¹ United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 209 (1955), No. 2819.

50. Whether or not one is against South Korea because of ideological affinity with other States, let it always be remembered that there are no fixed positions in statecraft, and much less in diplomacy. Last year a member of the Commission was with South Korea and the United States; this year the position has radically changed and that member has crossed the carpet and quit the Commission. Society is constituted of human behaviour and human behaviour, organized or unorganized, is always in the process of change. To vote for draft resolutions A/C.1/L.524 and A/C.1/L.525 is to undermine the Charter of the United Nations, which is the Magna Carta of all African and small States against the encroachment of all imperialists—Eastern and Western.

51. The tendency of some speakers here to equate Korea with *apartheid* in South Africa and thus to castigate some members because of their independent position on the application question is capital folly or else an apotheosis of tomfoolery. They make a mockery of non-alignment. There is not the slightest connexion between Korea and *apartheid* in South Africa. Non-aligned free thinkers determine issues on merits and not on any form of affinity. They do not permit the sentimentality and big words of herd morality to scare them away from the consideration of cold facts.

52. The very undiplomatic language and solecisms employed by some members of this Committee against other members is to be abhorred by all decent and self-respecting representatives of Government and the perpetrators subjected to the opprobrium of all civilized mankind. It is the height of dull-mindedness which perceives only the shadow instead of the substance in State action.

53. We are all free, sovereign and independent representatives in this Assembly of nations, bound only by the policies of our respective Governments and not by the whims and caprice of other States, be they socialist or capitalist. We are free to see, to think, to do and to speak, subject only to the sensitivity of other representatives.

54. The trouble with the United Nations today is that justice and truth have been subordinated to ideological expedients, and those without conspicuous or arrogant ideological affinity are too shy to speak out—with the result that some small nations, seeing the hypocrisy of those for whom they once entertained the highest regard and esteem, lose all confidence and, as a recompense, compete in the quagmire of double talk. In family life, as in social institutions, it is a dangerous thing for children to lose respect for their parents. I think everyone understands what I am trying to say. The United Nations is a great Organization and man's hope for survival in our time, but as long as those who are expected to guide it into the path of rectitude subordinate justice and truth to selfish commercial and economic influences and double standards, so long will this institution continue to be an unimportant factor in the progress of human civilization.

55. South Korea was recognized by United Nations General Assembly resolution 195 (III). It should have been a Member of this Organization long before some of those that now seek to castigate it attained independence; but it is kept outside solely because of ideological prejudice and the Security Council veto.

56. There is a tendency to confuse the action of the Security Council in regard to Korea. It was the Security Council, in its resolution 82 (1950), that authorized United Nations intervention on behalf of South Korea. When the North attacked the South, the Security Council immediately met and demanded the cessation of hostilities; called upon North Korea to withdraw its armed forces; and called upon Member nations to assist South Korea and refrain from assisting North Korea. That was legal authorization to Member States to employ force to restore peace and security. The absence of a permanent member from the Security Council meeting does not invalidate the action of the Council, such absence being construed as analogous to abstention and not analogous to a veto. The United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea is in South Korea at the express command of the United Nations, and any attempt to challenge its existence is *ultra vires*.

57. The argument that it is the United States troops that are in Korea and that it is the United States that is footing the bill for its maintenance is beside the point. It is there at the instance of the United Nations, and of the Security Council at that.

58. The United Nations, by a vote of 48 to 6, recognized South Korea as a free, sovereign and independent State. It has met the requirements of a sovereign State which by recognized international standards are territory, population, government and control of domestic and external affairs. The socialist draft resolution is a travesty on the accepted canons of non-interference in the internal affairs of States, a principle which is one of the strongest pillars of the Organization of African Unity, the United Nations and international law. Thomas and Thomas in *Non-Intervention* write:

“A basic tenet of international law is the right of independence, internal and external; and as a consequence of internal independence a State must be free to manage its domestic affairs as it sees fit, subject to no interference from other states except to the extent to which international laws binds it. A state is then free to choose any form of government or political institutions it desires. As a corollary of the right of independence, other states are subjected to a duty of non-intervention in the internal affairs of another state, and therefore any intervention to hinder or prevent a state from exercising its rights to choose its own government even by means of violent revolution is an illicit act by principles of international law.”²

59. This thesis is so well entrenched in the annals of international relations that further citations in support would be superfluous. Intervention in any form—propaganda, subversion, diplomacy, ideology and certainly in the form of the socialist draft resolutions before us—is illegal. South Korea, having been recognized by the United Nations under General Assembly resolution 195 (III), is a quasi-Member of this Organization and entitled to our protection by words and actions. How it maintains its power is not our business, and that does not disqualify it in any respect.

² Dallas, Southern Methodist University Press, 1956, p. 359.

60. According to Hymen Ezra Cohen in *Recent Theories of Sovereignty*:

“Government, the *de facto* exercise of sovereignty, exists only if popular obedience is achieved, only if the citizens obey. Obedience is achievable through either violent coercion or acquiescent public opinion.”³

61. South Korea has satisfied all the requirements of the international community. It has achieved phenomenal growth since it became a republic. It is exporting to and importing from many States; it has diplomatic relations with about 85 Member States of this Organization; it is a signatory to about 362 international treaties and conventions; it is a full member of all the specialized agencies of the United Nations.

62. We, the small States, must think seriously and not allow ourselves to establish precedents that will militate against our best interests tomorrow. Today it is Korea; tomorrow it may be you. If the Koreans want the United Nations force, or for that matter any other force, what right have we to tell them not to have it? Precedents have a way of repeating themselves with alienated majesty. I go further and say that South Korea has the sovereign right to enter into a bilateral agreement outside the aegis of the United Nations, with any State or group of States for troops to be on its territory for its defence and security and, in so doing, render this debate on draft resolutions A/C.1/L.524 and A/C.1/L.525 an exercise in futility.

63. The least that we can do in free conscience for South Korea is to adopt a resolution admitting it to *de jure* membership of the United Nations. Of course, I am mindful of the Security Council. Nevertheless, where there is a will there is always a way, as we have seen in the past.

64. In this context, I beg your indulgence to say that draft resolutions A/C.1/L.524 and 525 are a clear infringement of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of a State, and as such are contrary to the principles of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity. I therefore implore you, particularly all small States sponsors of those draft resolutions, to join me in voting against them on the general principle of present and future national self-interest.

65. Adverting to draft resolution A/C.1/L.531, it is my reasoned judgement that it is balanced in its humanitarianism and takes into account respect for the sovereignty of small States and their protection against the forces of powerful neighbours, by continuing the work of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea. I shall vote in favour of it, while appealing to every Member within the sound of my voice, in the name of justice and fair play and on the basis of the principle of enlightened self-interest, to join its sponsors and adopt it by an overwhelming majority.

66. If the sponsors of draft resolutions A/C.1/L.524 and A/C.1/L.525 were sincere in their talk of the unification of Korea, they would have shown a kinder attitude towards South Korea. They would have been sympathetic and friendly. But from what we have seen here, they hate South

Korea to the extent that they do not even want to hear its representative speak to us in this Committee. What would happen if they succeeded in getting the United Nations forces withdrawn? They would then, you will concede, demonstrate their hatred and malice by slaughtering all of them mercilessly, to our everlasting regret.

67. We small States without nuclear arsenals and ballistic missiles should think seriously when nuclear Powers try to use our hands to pull their chestnuts out of the fire. Today it is South Korea, tomorrow it may be any one of us, and we may not have anyone to defend us because we have assisted in establishing a precedent to our own detriment. We should not permit any form of ideological affinity, be it capitalist or communist, to induce us to act contrary to our conscience and good judgement, always bearing in mind that there are no fixed policies in diplomacy in the fast-changing world of today.

68. In voting against draft resolutions A/C.1/L.524 and 525, I do so not for the sake of South Korea, but because of my interest in the welfare of all small States.

69. Mr. DIACONESCU (Romania) (*interpretation from French*): First of all, may I address to the delegation of Singapore and, through that delegation, to the people and Government of that friendly country, our sincerest condolences on the untimely death of President Yusof bin Ishak of Singapore.

70. Once again, this debate on Korea has been brought about by the sad fact that the legitimate aspirations of a great Asian people to re-establish the unity of its country are still unsatisfied. The talented Korean people, 40 million strong, which a quarter of a century ago found itself divided into two parts for reasons completely alien to its national interests, continues to be prevented, through interference from outside, from achieving, in the exercise of its inalienable right to determine its own future, the reunification of its homeland, Korea.

71. The history of the events that have taken place in the Far East during the course of the entire post-war period has clearly shown that foreign military occupation of South Korea has been and continues to be the stumbling-block preventing all progress towards re-establishment of the unity of Korea, despite the unremitting efforts exerted by the Korean people, in both parts of the country, to see their homeland united, independent and sovereign. As is common knowledge, immediately after the surrender of Japanese militarism in 1945, conditions were present for the independent and sovereign development of Korea. But unfortunately, one part of that country a short time later fell prey to the United States of America, the policy of which was to transform that region into a spearhead for its expansion in Asia. The landing of the first American troops, on 8 September 1945, led to the installation south of the 38th parallel, against the will of the Korean people, of a militarist and profoundly anti-popular régime serving foreign interests. During the years that followed, and particularly after the failure of the aggression against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the state of dependence of South Korea became even greater. The famous “treaty for mutual defense” between the United States of America and South Korea, concluded only a few weeks after the

³ Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1937, p. 9.

signing of the Armistice Agreement, was followed by dozens of other agreements and conventions on the strength of which the United States threw into South Korea more than 60,000 soldiers "for an indefinite period", and set up a wide network of military bases equipped with the most modern armaments, thus creating in that part of Korea a permanent hot-bed of tension, of provocation and of threats to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and against peace and security in the Far East and in the world as a whole.

72. The ephemeral existence of the régime installed in Seoul is based exclusively on outside help and on the massive presence of United States troops. An obvious illustration is the panic into which the South Korean authorities were thrown on learning that the United States intended to withdraw some of their troops stationed in Korea.

73. The presence of more than 50,000 South Korean mercenaries in Viet-Nam to fight against the Viet-Nameese people, which in its heroic struggle is serving the interests of all peace-loving peoples including the people of Korea, also proves how far the Soeul authorities are from serving the true interests of the Korean nation.

74. Justice and reality require that the settlement of the Korean problem fall exclusively within the competence of the Koreans themselves. This presupposes first the withdrawal of United States troops and bases from South Korea; recognition of the inalienable right of the 40 million Korean people, to decide on their own future and to reunify their temporarily divided country by peaceful means.

75. The imperative need of recognizing the Korean people's inalienable right to self-determination fully accords not only with the Charter of the United Nations, according to which the inalienable rights of peoples to self-determination and the sovereign equality of States constitute the very cornerstone of contemporary international relations, but also with the increasingly powerful statement of the will of peoples to live as independent nations without foreign interference or pressure.

76. That is why we have always felt that the United Nations cannot substitute itself for the Korean people in the search for solutions to the problem of the reunification of the country unless the Organization is ready to violate its own Charter, which prohibits foreign interference in the domestic affairs of States.

77. For the same reasons, we have constantly spoken against the inclusion in the agenda of the General Assembly of the so-called Korean question and the report of the so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea.

78. The chronicle of the lengthy discussions that have taken place in the United Nations on this subject clearly shows that the real goal of those who inspired that report, as also the Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea itself, is not to seek a true solution to the problem that accords with the interests of the Korean people but rather to prevent such a solution being found.

79. One proof of that is the flatly negative reaction of the sponsors of the draft resolution presented by the delegations of the United States and certain other countries [*A/C.1/L.531*] on the question of inviting representatives of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to participate in the examination of problems concerning Korea. Less than one month ago, on 25 October 1970, the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea once again reaffirmed its respect for the Charter of the United Nations and its objectives and expressed its desire to send representatives to participate in the discussion of the Korean question.

80. The refusal to invite representatives of that Government to make known its views on matters concerning Korea clearly shows that the unification of Korea is not being sought through the presentation and annual discussion of the reports of the so-called Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea; rather, what is sought is a perpetuation of the division of that country. It is difficult seriously to consider that the United Nations can make any positive contribution to the unification of Korea so long as it refuses to ensure participation in these discussions of representatives of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, a party directly concerned. My delegation deeply regrets that a small majority of this Committee has this year also failed to follow the norms and practices of contemporary international relations and unconditionally to invite the representatives of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to participate in our debate.

81. The 1953 Armistice Agreement was, as the document's preamble stresses, concluded in order to ensure the complete cessation of hostilities and of all acts of war in Korea until a final peaceful settlement had been arrived at.⁴

82. The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, scrupulously complying with the terms of the Armistice Agreement, has done all in its power to turn that armistice into a lasting peace and to achieve a peaceful settlement of the Korean problem. According to the terms of the Agreement, all foreign troops should have been withdrawn from Korea. For their part, the volunteers of the People's Republic of China fully withdrew from the northern part of the country long ago, and for years there have been no foreign troops in North Korea.

83. But the occupation of South Korea by foreign troops remains an obstacle to achieving any progress towards the goals set, since the interests served by their presence have been and still are directly opposed to the true interests of the Korean nation and to its reunification.

84. The facts prove irrefutably that the so-called "United Nations force" in Korea, which has occupied South Korea for 20 years goes under a name to which it has no right. As is well known, the United Nations has never received a report of a political, military or financial nature from that so-called "United Nations force" which, under the flag of this Organization, has served and continues to serve as an instrument to subjugate South Korea to the will of a foreign Power. The appointment and removal of so-called

⁴ *Official Records of the Security Council, Eighth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1953, document S/3079, appendix A.*

“United Nations commanders”, the financing of all expenses for the maintenance of the force, and all else dealing with the status and functioning of that force, are decided elsewhere without the United Nations being consulted in any way whatever.

85. The report of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea [A/8026] is in itself proof of interference in the internal affairs of Korea—which, again, flagrantly contradicts the fundamental principles of the Charter.

86. That is why the Government of Romania considers that the withdrawal of United States troops from Korea, the cessation of all interference in the affairs of the Korean peoples and, consequently, the dissolution of the United Nations Commission for the Reunification and Rehabilitation of Korea and the necessity of ensuring conditions in which the Koreans can themselves decide upon their future in accordance with their own will—all constitute major requirements for the maintenance and strengthening of peace in Asia and all over the world.

87. To embody that policy, the Romanian delegation has had the honour of sponsoring, together with 22 other delegations, the draft resolutions contained in documents A/C.1/L.524 and A/C.1/L.525, calling for the complete withdrawal of United States and all other foreign forces occupying South Korea under the flag of the United Nations, and the dissolution of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea.

88. The call for the dissolution of the United Nations Commission for the Reunification and Rehabilitation of Korea is in keeping with the terms of the Charter, which does not authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any State. As I pointed out earlier, that task of finding ways of re-establishing the unity of Korea through peaceful and democratic means is the responsibility of the Korean people who must be allowed to act independently and without any interference from foreign forces of any sort.

89. To that end, through the years the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has submitted numerous constructive proposals tending to the reunification of their country. Among other suggestions, those proposals advocate the withdrawal of United States and all other foreign troops stationed in Korea; the conclusion of a peace treaty between the two parts of Korea, and the significant reduction of the armed forces of North and South Korea. It has called for the organization, on a democratic basis, of general and free elections, in both the North and South with a view to forming a unified central government; and the establishment, if necessary, before the complete unification of the country, of a confederation between the North and South as a temporary measure, while preserving existing different social régimes, in the two parts of Korea. It calls for the establishment of trade and economic relations; the encouragement of exchanges and mutual co-operation in the fields of science, culture, the arts and sports; the re-establishment of postal exchanges and personal visits between the North and South; the initiation of negotiations between the North and South,

with the participation of political parties and public organizations, as well as of personalities representative of the entire population to deal with all these problems.

90. In its memorandum of 22 June last [see A/C.1/999], the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea repeated its call for the convening of an international conference of interested countries in order to solve the question of Korea by peaceful means.

91. Those proposals, which are all part of the concern of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for the future of the Korean nation, constitute, we believe, a solid basis for serious negotiations for the peaceful settlement of the Korean question.

92. The peaceful nature of those proposals is inseparably linked to the wide-scale constructive work that the Korean people have carried out and continue to carry out in their efforts to create an advanced society in North Korea.

93. Successfully resisting the severe trials imposed upon them by the aggression unleashed against them in 1950, the Korean people of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea gained a great victory in their struggle to defend their freedom, their revolutionary conquests, socialism and the interests of peace and international security. Through that victory, the Korean people clearly gave proof that today there are no forces strong enough to overcome a people which is determined to defend its national existence, its freedom, its sacred right to be master of its own destiny.

94. Since then, the Korean people of the northern part of the country have shown their creative genius and quickly healed the wounds caused by the war, and obtained remarkable success in all fields of socialist life. The socialist industrialization of the country is demonstrated by the existence of great complexes, the unprecedented development of electric power, machinery, and other branches of the national economy. Today, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea portrays a socialist State possessing a fully flowering industry and agriculture, and also many remarkable achievements in the development of science and technique, of education and culture, in raising the material and spiritual standard of living of the people. At a time when many countries seek ways of eliminating illiteracy and of establishing educational systems that are urgently needed to meet present-day development requirements, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is in the enviable situation of having introduced a nine-year system of universal and obligatory technical education.

95. The Romanian people, deeply imbued with feelings of friendship and solidarity towards the Korean people, have always stood at their side, both in the course of the tragic period of war from 1950 to 1953, by giving them active support in their just struggle, as well as during the period of their national reconstruction. They have resolutely supported and continue to support the just cause of that courageous people.

96. I wish at this time also to reaffirm the support and the solidarity of the Government and the people of Romania with the just struggle of the Korean people against imperialism, and for the peaceful and democratic unifica-

tion of their country. We feel that it is in the interest of the United Nations, of peace and international security, as well as of co-operation among States, to act with determination in order to ensure the withdrawal of United States troops from Korea, to put an end to all foreign interference in the affairs of the Korean people, and to ensure respect for the inalienable right of the Korean peoples to decide on their own future, so that they can achieve their legitimate aspirations to live as a free and independent nation in a unified, democratic and prosperous country.

97. Mr. BISZTYGA (Poland): The Polish delegation would like to present its point of view on the issue concerning the items "Withdrawal of United States and all other foreign forces occupying South Korea under the flag of the United Nations" and the "Dissolution of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea".

98. As a result of the debate on the invitation aspects of the question of Korea, we are faced once again with the decision of preventing the representatives of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea from taking part in the discussion of the Korean question. As in the past, this action is based on pure negation and cannot be supported by any valid or rational arguments.

99. As in the past, the First Committee has heard representatives from South Korea, while the participation in the debate of representatives from the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has again been blocked through procedural devices.

100. In this connexion, I cannot refrain from expressing my delegation's feeling of dissatisfaction, which we share with many in this hall, at the behaviour of the observers from South Korea, who are evidently transgressing the limits of the status accorded to them. This makes even more striking the unjust situation created by the wrongful decisions taken in the past.

101. The refusal to invite representatives of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea was both illogical and unjust. It was incompatible with the spirit of the Charter and based on the principle of "*audiat et altera pars*" according to which any party concerned has the right to participate in the debate in order to present its case. Such a decision, illogical, unjust and harmful, as I have said, illustrated the discrimination which is applied against certain parties. No other decision in the history of the United Nations has brought as much harm to the people concerned and to the authority of this Organization as the United Nations decision on Korea.

102. The responsibility for the persistence of this injury rests with these States Members of our Organization that have for years upheld a position characterized by obstinacy and lack of objectivity, resulting in repetitive decisions which could not and cannot give any prospect of a positive change.

103. Many speakers in the general debate during the commemorative part of the present session had words of praise for the trend towards relaxation of international tension and towards good neighbourly relations between

States. Efforts aimed at *détente* in Europe were welcomed, as was the search for ways to assure peaceful coexistence among nations of different social and political systems, and a future free of armed conflict and mutual destruction.

104. This development in Europe has become possible in the present circumstances because some nations and Governments in the West have drawn the right conclusions from the past and, doing away with the results of the cold war, have agreed to base their relations with the socialist countries of Europe on the principles of peaceful coexistence and peaceful co-operation.

105. How different are the attitudes towards the question of Korea. First, there is the position of the régime in South Korea, which has based its policy on the presence of foreign bayonets and its own militarism, and in this way proposes to solve the internal problems of Korea. South Korea has become one of the most militarized countries in Asia in the course of the last few years. Apart from 60,000 foreign troops present in South Korea, the army of the South Korean régime now amounts to 700,000 men. In addition, internal military reserves of two million have been created and are armed and undergoing intensive training. South Korea has been transformed into an enormous military installation, where everything is subordinated to the policy of preparing for war. The rapid modernization of its army is continuing. It receives the most up-to-date arms, new tanks, aircraft and other offensive weapons. This development is dangerous not only to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, but also to other Asian countries. The incidents provoked on the borders of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea are a source of constant tension in the Korean peninsula. In the first months of 1970 alone, there were 5,100 cases of attacks against military posts of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in the Demilitarized Zone in violation of the Armistice Agreement, as well as the dispatch of armed spies and diversionists and the shelling of fishing boats.

106. A régime that has based its existence on military force can hardly conceive or accept ideas of *détente*. The main factor working against effective measures aimed at bringing about the unification of the country has been the policy of the régime of South Korea, the policy of terror and suppression of all manifestations of national freedom and opposition to imperialism. The involvement of South Korea in the aggressive imperialist war in Viet-Nam is a striking example of utter disregard for the interests of the Korean people, and of this régime's blind servitude and willingness to render mercenary assistance to imperialist adventures directed against the progress and freedom of peoples.

107. This willingness is an inherent element of the kind of moral attitude that the régime of South Korea embodies. Certainly this attitude, utilized and therefore supported by imperialists, is a major obstacle to the acceptance and implementation of proposals aimed at the unification and development of the country.

108. But even more unfortunate is the fact that the same type of attitude is displayed by some other States, particularly by those who keep alive the so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation

of Korea. A child of cold war itself, this body flourishes in an atmosphere of cold war. One could compare it to a retarded child unable to understand the grown-ups and the changing times. The Commission is an instrument of interference in the internal affairs of the Korean people. It is used in particular to justify the occupation of South Korea by foreign troops, and for years it has been repeating the same slogans, the same formulae, as if nothing had changed in the world since its establishment in 1950. Since its inception, the so-called UNCURK has served but one precise aim, that of providing the shield of the United Nations for an adventure which had nothing to do with the United Nations and has nothing to do with it now, when 66 new States who had no part in the illegal decision, have entered the United Nations.

109. We note the wise decision of the Government of Chile, which on 14 November declared that it was withdrawing from the Commission. But we regret to say that some of those who took part in the discussion of this question in our Organization persisted in the tendency to disregard realities shown by the Commission. May I, therefore, be permitted to recall some of these basic facts.

110. It is a fact that the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is a constantly developing country. Its achievements in economic growth have already put it among the leading countries of Asia. Its accomplishments in the fields of agriculture and industry and its social progress demonstrate that the present political leadership of the Republic, guided by the ideals of socialism, has been able to secure for the people the correct trend of development, fully consonant with their national interests.

111. There is another fact, namely, the wide contacts between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and States with different social and political systems, established as a result of the peaceful policy of its Government, and the friendly relations between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and its socialist allies as well as many other States.

112. Thirdly, we should remember the political initiatives the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has undertaken in past years in order to find realistic solutions that could ensure both lasting peace and the possibility of the future unification of the Korean people.

113. Fourthly, it is a fact that the concept of existence and development of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and its internal and foreign policies, as demonstrated in practice, constitutes a factor of peace and security in the region and certainly not, as some delegations try to imply, a threat to any of its neighbours or any other Asian nations. This policy thus serves to favour wider solutions that may be required by future developments in the area.

114. Despite the frantic opposition of the South Korean régime, the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea does not stop in its efforts to contribute to the unification of Korea by peaceful means, and to put forward proposals designed to bring about the restoration of the unity of the Korean people.

115. It proposed the withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea, followed by the conclusion of a peace

agreement between North and South Korea. Under this agreement the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and South Korea should undertake mutually not to have recourse to force against each other. The armed forces of both North and South Korea would be considerably reduced and a unified central Government would be established following the holding of general, free and democratic elections.

116. If the authorities in South Korea are not ready to accept free general elections throughout the country, the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has proposed the creation of a confederation of North and South Korea as a transitional stage, while preserving unchanged the existing social systems in the two parts of Korea. It has also proposed that the North and South should co-operate in the fields of science, culture, arts and sports, as well as in other areas.

117. As in the past, the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is in favour of the convening of an international conference of the countries concerned in order to seek a settlement of the Korean question by peaceful means.

118. These proposals, put forward with a view to bringing about a peaceful unification of Korea and to contributing to a relaxation of tension and lasting peace in the Far East, certainly deserve careful attention. It is in the best interest of the United Nations to create propitious conditions for serious consideration of these proposals.

119. A first step that the United Nations should take towards the establishment of such conditions is the dissolution of the so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea. More than once in this hall we have proved, as have many other delegations, how ineffective, harmful and anomalous is the existence of that ill-famed and now dilapidated body. In the light of its performance its name is nothing but a sheer mockery, mockery of the goodwill and the good name of the United Nations.

120. The United Nations should also do away, as soon as possible, with the harmful fiction of United Nations troops in South Korea. It should pronounce itself firmly in favour of a speedy withdrawal of United States and all other foreign forces occupying South Korea in abuse of the United Nations flag. Without the withdrawal of United States forces it is hardly possible even to speak of a free search by the Korean people for the way to a peaceful solution of its internal problems.

121. The Polish delegation is deeply convinced that if we have at heart the future of the Korean nation, if we really desire to help in reunifying this country, if we wish to make our contribution towards the process of peaceful settlement in the area where *détente* and lasting peace are still only a prospect—then the least we should do is eliminate all the external obstacles imposed on the Korean people. This, we feel, is what the United Nations owes to the Korean people, and to itself. On the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, such a course of action by the General Assembly would constitute a welcome development, putting an end to harmful fictions and showing its

desire to rededicate itself to the purposes and principles of the Charter.

122. This also prompted the Polish delegation to co-sponsor draft resolutions A/C.1/L.524 and 525.

123. Mr. SCOTT (New Zealand): The New Zealand delegation wishes at the outset to join other delegations in expressing to the delegation of Singapore its deep sympathy and condolences on the occasion of the death of the head of State, the President of Singapore.

124. The position of the New Zealand delegation is well known in regard to the question now before us, that is, whether or not the United Nations should be permitted to fulfil the mandate conferred on it by the General Assembly some 20 years ago.

125. New Zealand voted in favour of the resolution under which the United Nations in 1950 decided to intervene in Korea in order to resist the attempt of North Korea to impose, by force of arms, upon the people of the Republic of Korea a system of government and a way of life which that people did not want and which they were prepared to lay down their lives to oppose. Together with many other Members of this Organization, New Zealand dispatched units of its armed forces to take part, under United Nations command, in the collective effort to resist the campaign of brutal and open aggression mounted by North Korea, with the support of the Soviet Union and the assistance of Communist China, in order to overthrow the Government of the Republic of Korea. The legitimacy of that Government had been formally recognized by this Organization and questioned by only a very small number of members of the international community.

126. The collective action undertaken by the United Nations was successful. After three years the fierce fighting was brought to a close and, following protracted and difficult negotiations, an armistice was agreed to. It was the hope of all those who had supported the United Nations in its efforts that this formal cessation of hostilities would be converted rapidly into a durable and lasting peace. Regrettably, this was not to be so. Immediately following the conclusion of the Armistice Agreement, the leaders of North Korea made it plain that their intentions had in no way changed and that they were determined to achieve by clandestine acts of terrorism and subversion what they had failed to obtain by direct aggression. The years since the Armistice, but particularly the last four years, therefore, have been marked by a constant series of carefully planned, provocative and aggressive acts directed against the people of the Republic of Korea by the régime in the North. At no time in this period has North Korea given any indication through its actions that it wishes to see peace brought to the Korean peninsula, which would allow both North and South to be joined together under a freely elected Government responsible to the wishes of the Korean people as a whole. In these circumstances it has been, and continues to be, essential that the forces of the United Nations should remain in South Korea.

127. The presence of these forces is as legitimate as it is necessary. They were sent, and remain, in accordance with the wishes of the General Assembly and with the support of the overwhelming majority of its Members. Their sole purpose has been clearly expressed each year in resolutions

regularly adopted in the General Assembly with considerable majorities, and it is spelled out again in one of the draft resolutions [A/C.1/L.531] now before us. That purpose is simply to preserve the peace and security of the area, so that it may prove possible to establish conditions for a lasting settlement which will enable the people of all Korea to exercise their freedom of choice as to the future of their country and the manner in which they wish to be governed. Once these conditions are established and the United Nations is in a position to see its objectives in Korea fulfilled, the forces of the United Nations may properly be withdrawn.

128. These forces in South Korea have no aggressive intent. They represent no threat to North Korea. They initiate no terrorist or subversive actions on or against the territory controlled by North Korea. Their presence is required for one reason and one reason only, that is, because North Korea has yet to offer any clear evidence that it is prepared to desist from its provocative acts against the Republic of Korea or to show that it is willing to look for ways and means whereby a peaceful settlement might be achieved.

129. There are those among us who refuse to believe or to accept the facts of this situation. Each year they try to turn the facts of the history of the past two decades upside down, to claim that the forces of the United Nations have no right to be in Korea, that their presence is evidence of some great international conspiracy directed towards the overthrow of the North Korean Government and that these forces are preparing for war rather than trying to promote peace. In so doing they reveal just how little respect they have for the decisions of this Organization and in what low regard they hold its principles, for the forces of the United Nations in Korea are there in accordance with a formal decision of the Security Council which has been endorsed by the General Assembly and subsequently reaffirmed by that body.

130. Aware perhaps of the weakness of their case, this small group of delegations resorts each year to the same intemperate and abusive language in describing the situation in Korea, as if this could somehow cover up the gaps in their logic and disguise their attempt to deny the historical record. It is clear from the statements of these delegations that North Korea and its supporters in this Organization have little desire to see the United Nations carry out its legitimate and constitutionally assigned tasks in Korea.

131. Despite all the evidence to the contrary, the supporters of North Korea continue to hold that the United Nations has no competence or authority to deal with the question of Korea. By contrast, the Republic of Korea has made it abundantly plain on numerous occasions that it wants to see a settlement achieved which will be in full accord with the views of the majority of States Members of the United Nations and with the principles and aims of the Charter. It has said that it accepts unequivocally the authority and competence of the United Nations to take action on the Korean question and that it wishes for an early and peaceful unification of the country.

132. That view was stated yet again only last week in this Committee [1766th meeting] by the Foreign Minister of the Republic of Korea. The Republic of Korea has also

appealed directly to North Korea in an effort to break the log-jam which still exists and to find ways and means to ease existing tensions and to improve relations between the two Governments. On 15 August of this year, the President of the Republic of Korea, His Excellency Park Chung Hee, said that if North Korea were prepared to desist from its acts of provocation and indicate that it was prepared to work faithfully towards a peaceful settlement the Republic of Korea, for its part, would be ready "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". The only reply from North Korea to this forthcoming statement by President Park Chung Hee has been an abusive and vehement dismissal of the same sort as all those to which the Assembly has regrettably become accustomed over the past two decades. The position of North Korea remains totally unchanged. If any further conformation of that is needed, then representatives have only to refer to the intemperate, insulting and hysterical statement addressed to the Chairman of this Committee by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of North Korea on 3 November 1970 and distributed to delegations two days ago [A/C.1/1011].

133. Yet, in the face of statements such as those, the supporters of North Korea continue to argue that all that North Korea desires is peace and the fair settlement of the dispute which has occupied the attention of this Organization for more than 20 years. It was, the Committee will recall, this same group of delegations which last year tried to put a stop to all future discussion of the question of Korea in the United Nations on the grounds that it had become stale, fruitless and unprofitable. We would not deny that our debates have indeed become sterile and unproductive and that the United Nations appears no more able to promote progress towards a settlement than it has ever been. But there can be little uncertainty as to why that has been so and no doubt that the fault does not lie with the Republic of Korea, and far less with the United Nations itself.

134. The President of the Republic of Korea has, as we indicated earlier, already shown himself prepared to open the way to bilateral discussions between the two sides in this long-standing dispute. In the view of my delegation, if his invitation were to be accepted by the leaders of North Korea, then that acceptance would provide a significant first step towards the easing of tensions in the area and open the way to that peaceful settlement to which all of us have said we are committed. It would be our hope, therefore, that those who so staunchly pursue North Korea's case in this Organization and who declare themselves so deeply convinced of the peaceful intentions of North Korea's leaders might seek to urge that course on the Government of North Korea. Such action would, we are sure, be welcome to all those in this Organization who want to see an end to our perennial debates on this question and, more importantly, most earnestly wish for a settlement in Korea in fulfilment of the clearly expressed will of the General Assembly and in accordance with the principles of the Charter.

135. If North Korea were to live up to the views of its intentions, expressed so vehemently by its supporters in

this Organization, then it might prove possible to institute some form of moratorium on our debates on the question. If the North Korean authorities were to have a change of heart and demonstrate this by a complete cessation of terrorist attacks and subversive activities against the Republic of Korea, there is no doubt that their protestations of peaceful intent would be given some credence by the majority of the Members of the United Nations. In those circumstances it would surely be possible, in the absence of these sterile debates, for some progress to be made towards a lowering of tension and the resumption of contacts between the two parts of the divided peninsula, leading ultimately to some kind of peaceful settlement.

136. In the light of the foregoing considerations, the New Zealand delegation will vote against the draft resolutions which demand the withdrawal of the United Nations forces from Korea and the dissolution of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea in that country. It will vote in favour of the draft resolution of which it is a sponsor and which reaffirms the legitimacy of the United Nations presence and the continuing competence and authority of this Organization in regard to the question of Korea. It is confident that the great majority of delegations will do the same.

*Tribute to the memory of Mr. Yusof bin Ishak,
President of the Republic of Singapore*

137. The CHAIRMAN (*interpretation from Spanish*): In the course of this meeting I have been informed, as have other members of the Committee, of the death, after a long illness, of His Excellency the President of the Republic of Singapore, Mr. Yusof bin Ishak.

138. I am sure I am speaking on behalf of all members of the Committee when I express our feelings of sorrow and of sympathy at the death of this outstanding personality of Singapore. May I ask the representative of the Republic of Singapore to be kind enough to express our condolences to his Government and to the bereaved family of the late President.

139. In tribute to the memory of the late Head of State of a Member of the United Nations I request members of the Committee to stand and observe a minute's silence.

The members of the Committee observed a minute of silence.

140. Mr. CHAO (Singapore): My delegation deeply appreciates the kind words and sentiments expressed by you, Mr. Chairman, and other representatives on the occasion of the death of my late President, Mr. Yusof bin Ishak. We in Singapore especially mourn the loss of a beloved President, who had occupied that post since we acquired our independence in 1965.

141. Let me assure you, Mr. Chairman, and other delegations, that your kind words and sympathies will be conveyed to the people and the Government of Singapore and to the family of the deceased President.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.