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FIRST COMMITTEE

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWO THOUSAND AND SIXTY-FIRST MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,  
on Tuesday, 21 October 1975, at 3 p.m.

Chairman: Mr. GHORRA (Lebanon)  
Rapporteur: Mr. ARTEAGA-ACOSTA (Venezuela)

- Question of Korea /119/ (continued)
  - (a) Creation of favourable conditions for converting the armistice into a durable peace in Korea and accelerating the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea
  - (b) Urgent need to implement fully the consensus of the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly on the Korean question and to maintain peace and security on the Korean peninsula

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The meeting was called to order at 3.30 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 119 (continued)

QUESTION OF KOREA

(a) CREATION OF FAVOURABLE CONDITIONS FOR CONVERTING THE ARMISTICE INTO A DURABLE PEACE IN KOREA AND ACCELERATING THE INDEPENDENT AND PEACEFUL REUNIFICATION OF KOREA

(b) URGENT NEED TO IMPLEMENT FULLY THE CONSENSUS OF THE TWENTY-EIGHTH SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY ON THE KOREAN QUESTION AND TO MAINTAIN PEACE AND SECURITY ON THE KOREAN PENINSULA (A/C.1/1054, 1060, 1061 and 1063; A/C.1/L.708/Rev.1 and L.709)

The CHAIRMAN: The first name on the list of speakers is that of Mr. Li Jong Mok, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, upon whom I now call.

Mr. LI JONG MOK (Democratic People's Republic of Korea) (spoke in Korean; English text furnished by delegation): Allow me first of all to express my deep thanks to you, Mr. Chairman, and to the representatives of various countries for your active collaboration in enabling the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to participate in this meeting. I should also like to express my deep thanks to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, the President of the thirtieth session of the United Nations General Assembly and other United Nations officials for giving us facilities for our work and activities.

May I also express my thanks to the representatives of various friendly countries for their support and their sympathy with our people's cause of the independent and peaceful reunification of the country expressed in their statements during the general debate and in the First Committee at this session of the United Nations General Assembly.

Today the First Committee of the United Nations General Assembly has started its debate on the question of Korea.

(Mr. Li Jong Mok, Democratic People's  
Republic of Korea)

We hope that the session of the United Nations General Assembly this year will be a historic one which will contribute not only to withdrawal of the United States troops occupying south Korea and putting an end to the division of Korea but also to terminating the discussion of the question of Korea in the United Nations, which has been dragged on for a quarter of a century.

A great number of Member States of the United Nations have jointly proposed discussion in the United Nations General Assembly this autumn of an item on "Creation of favourable conditions for converting the armistice into a durable peace in Korea and accelerating the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea".

The draft resolution on this agenda item proposes the dissolution of the United Nations Command and withdrawal of all the foreign troops stationed in south Korea under the flag of the United Nations in order to terminate the foreign interference in the internal affairs of Korea and accelerate the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea. At the same time it calls upon the real parties to the Armistice Agreement to replace the Korean Armistice Agreement by a peace agreement as a fundamental measure to remove tension, prevent armed conflicts and guarantee a durable peace in Korea. It also urges the north and the south of Korea to observe the principles of the North-South Joint Communiqué and take practical measures to remove military confrontation between the north and the south so as to maintain and consolidate peace in Korea and accelerate the peaceful reunification of Korea.

This draft resolution is the most just proposal and is aimed at accelerating the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea by removing the fundamental obstacles to the reunification of Korea; and it is a proposal in the interest of peace for terminating the state of war, a threat to peace and security in Korea, and guaranteeing a durable peace.

This draft resolution not only mirrors the unanimous aspiration and desire of the Korean people and the peace-loving peoples of the world, but also correctly reflects the present situation created in Korea and the requirements of the times, and indicates fundamental means for the practical solution of the question of Korea.

(Mr. Li Jong Mok, Democratic People's  
Republic of Korea)

The delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea fully supports this draft resolution and expresses deep thanks to the Governments and peoples of the various friendly countries that have sponsored it.

The key to the solution of the problem of Korea is withdrawal of the United States troops from South Korea. It is an urgent matter, the settlement of which brooks no further delay, to withdraw the United States troops which now are illegally occupying south Korea and to put an end to the interference of outside forces against our country.

Today it is a trend of the times that all the countries and nations of the world, big and small, are advancing along the road of sovereignty and independence, opposing all forms of subjugation.

The day is at hand when the imperialist colonial system will crumble and the colonies will be eliminated from the globe once and for all thanks to the raging struggle of the oppressed peoples for national liberation, sovereignty and independence.

However, south Korea is still under the colonial domination of the United States, contrary to that current of the times.

Hundreds of millions of people in Asia, Africa and Latin America who were oppressed and maltreated under the yoke of imperialism for centuries have cast off the accursed colonial fetters and have emerged on the scene of history as its masters, to carve their destinies by their own efforts, upholding the banner of independence. Why should south Korea alone remain continuously under the domination of outside forces?

Today no country and no people in the world wants to live subjugated by others, and no nation allows others to interfere in its internal affairs and trample its dignity under foot. But the United States, even though it has been occupying south Korea for more than 30 years, still refuses to get out of it.

We cannot allow this tyranny of the United States, which wants to keep the colonial domination of south Korea indefinitely, even today, when the colonial system is falling and the trend of independence dominates the times.

The United States cannot justify its occupation of south Korea under any pretext. The continued occupation of south Korea by the United States troops runs completely counter to the Korean Armistice Agreement, which envisages the withdrawal

(Mr. Li Jong Mok, Democratic People's  
Republic of Korea)

of all foreign troops from Korea, and the spirit of the North-South Joint Communiqué concerning realization of the peaceful reunification of the country by the Korean people themselves without interference from outside forces. Nor does it accord with the principles of the United Nations Charter, which rejects interference in the internal affairs of any country. The continued military occupation of south Korea by the United States simply menaces peace in Korea and further increases the danger of new war as the days go by.

(Mr. Li Jong Mok, Democratic  
People's Republic of Korea)

The situation created in our country during the last year since the question of withdrawing all the foreign troops occupying south Korea under the flag of the United Nations failed to find any solution at the twenty-ninth session of the United Nations General Assembly has again glaringly demonstrated how urgent it is to withdraw the United States troops from south Korea, not only for peace in Korea but also for peace and security in Asia and the world.

Having suffered an ignominious defeat in Indo-China and having been driven out of many parts of Asia, the United States is trying to keep hold of south Korea as its last stronghold for Asian aggression.

The United States is trying to continue its military domination over south Korea by shoring up at any cost the present Pak Jung Hi fascist régime which is gripped with extreme unrest and fear as the lone puppets in Asia following the overthrow of the Lon Nol and Thieu cliques by the peoples' struggles.

That is why the United States, clamouring more noisily about the fictitious "threat of southward aggression", has reinforced its armed forces occupying south Korea by throwing in thousands more troops, has shipped into south Korea large quantities of combat materials including nuclear weapons -- and even those weapons they are withdrawing from other parts of Asia -- and is openly practising nuclear blackmail against us.

A United States Congress representative revealed that "the United States has one thousand nuclear weapons and 54 planes capable of carrying nuclear bombs in south Korea" and military experts of the United States have stated that the United States has deployed in south Korea hundreds of nuclear shells and bombs, scores of nuclear missiles with launchers and hundreds of nuclear mines.

As United States Defense Secretary Schlesinger openly prattled:

"We do not exclude any of those options.

"We think you are also aware that we have deployed tactical nuclear weapons in south Korea.

"It is necessary to go for the heart of the opponent's power: destroy his military forces."

(Mr. Li Jong Mok, Democratic People's  
Republic of Korea)

Nowadays the bellicose generals of the United States frequent south Korea and go round the areas of the military demarcation line to incite a war atmosphere.

The United States and the south Korean authorities have gone so far as to map out a so-called 9-day operation plan designed to conquer the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in nine days, and conduct military exercises every day simulating attacks on the northern half of our Republic.

At the same time, the United States has established the "tripartite security system of the United States, Japan and south Korea" with Japan as a "supply base" for south Korea. It tries to perpetrate a new aggressive war, reinforcing the south Korean troops on that basis and organically linking the forces of south Korea with the forces of Japan and the United States.

It is at such instigation of the United States that the Pak Jung Hi military fascist régime has further intensified fascist oppression of the people and war manoeuvres in an attempt to save the crumbling foundation of its rule.

The south Korean military fascist rulers have completely stamped out the slightest democratic elements which obstruct the carrying out of their war policy, clamouring about the "establishment of a war posture" as never before and harshly oppressing the people who desire the democratization of society and the independent and peaceful reunification of the country, and have reduced the whole area of south Korea to a crucible of unprecedented fascist repression.

For the past year there has been no relaxation of the situation in our country only further aggravation; confrontation between the north and south has become more tense; even dialogue could not remain the order of the day; and more grave obstacles were thrown in the way of reunification.

Reality proves that nothing can be solved so long as United States troops remain in south Korea. But, the United States is obstinately scheming to maintain its troops in south Korea on different unreasonable pretexts.

The United States still continues to talk about the so-called threat of southward aggression to justify the long-term occupation of south Korea by its troops. Reality gives a clear answer -- who is threatened, we or south Korea?

(Mr. Li Jong Mok, Democratic  
People's Republic of Korea)

Do we need to have any explanation to prove that those numerous nuclear war-heads and atomic and rocket weapons deployed along the military demarcation line are trained on the Korean people and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and that they are gravely menacing peace in Korea? No one believes the old tune of the "threat of southward aggression" repeated by the United States and the south Korean authorities.

The United States is raising a hue and cry, as if a big war will break out when the United States troops are withdrawn from south Korea. How can the withdrawal of foreign aggressive troops, with up-to-date lethal weapons, from their occupied country bring about a war? If the United States troops, engendering the constant danger of a war, get out of south Korea and stay further away from Korean territory, the threat of war will decrease that much.

There even appears an assertion in the United States to the effect that the United States cannot withdraw its troops from south Korea because south Korea is its "forward defence area" directly connected with United States security. How can south Korea, which is separated by thousands of miles from the United States, across an ocean, be a "forward defence area" directly connected with United States security?

The United States openly declared south Korea its "defence area". This is precisely the old method of the colonialists who, in the past, invaded and occupied other countries at their will, claiming any lands necessary for them as their own territories.

United States Secretary of Defense Schlesinger has gone to the length of stating that

"the presence of the United States troops in south Korea should continue infinitely in view of the geo-political value of the area, and the foreign aid from the United States is also necessary for an indefinite period."



(Mr. Li Jong Mok, Democratic People's  
Republic of Korea)

Still fresh in the memories of the people is the history of the past, when the paid geo-politicians of Hitler once unhesitatingly advocated the extermination of neighbouring nations and the occupation of their territories so as to create "Lebensraum for the German nation"; and the Japanese imperialists put forward a variety of those geo-politics, named the "Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere" to justify their Asian aggression. Nevertheless, the United States ruling circles have now gone so far as to repeat the doctrine of undisguised aggression, again talking about geo-politics.

Why does the United States again bring forth the aggressive doctrine of geopolitics, which had already become totally bankrupt in the 1940s with the defeat of Hitler and Tojo? It would be absolutely foolish for one to think that such an aggressive doctrine which could not be carried out in the 1940s can work in the 1970s.

The United States can in no way justify the occupation of south Korea by its troops. The United States claim to stay on in south Korea reveals, in the final analysis, that it has not abandoned its wild ambition to invade the whole of Korea and Asia, with south Korea as a base. If it has no such wild ambition, why does it persistently refuse to get out of south Korea?

As the proverb has it, even the looks of mountains and rivers change in 10 years; but more than 30 years have already elapsed since the United States occupied south Korea. The history of this 30-year-long national division comprises untold miseries and agonies of our people.

We cannot allow this national tragedy which is caused by the occupation of south Korea by the United States troops to continue indefinitely.

All the peace-loving peoples of the world have realized through their own life experience over a long period that the main key to the solution of the Korean question is to put an end to the outside interference; and naturally the voices demanding the withdrawal of the United States troops from south Korea are rising higher throughout the world.

To ease tension, guarantee peace and accelerate the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea, the "United Nations Command" must be dissolved and all the foreign troops stationed in south Korea under the United Nations flag be withdrawn, before anything else.

(Mr. Li Jong Mok, Democratic People's  
Republic of Korea)

The replacement of the Korean Armistice Agreement by a peace agreement is a fundamental requirement for ensuring a durable peace in Korea and Asia, terminating the outside interference against Korea and accelerating the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea.

Twenty two years have passed since the realization of the armistice in Korea, but the state of war has not yet been terminated and there still remains an unstable armistice. The maintenance of the unstable armistice in Korea engenders constant danger of a new war and menaces the peace and security of the world.

An armistice agreement is, by its nature, no more than a temporary ceasefire agreement on the cessation of hostilities between the two sides, and it presupposes its replacement with a new peace agreement which will completely terminate the state of war.

Article 4, paragraph 60, of the Korean Armistice Agreement envisages the holding of a political conference at a higher level, after the conclusion of the Armistice Agreement, to settle through negotiation the question of the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Korea, and the question of turning the armistice into a durable peace, thereby finally solving the question of Korea.

Immediately following the end of the war in Korea, the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea consistently made every effort to terminate the state of war as soon as possible and establish a durable peace. Despite our sincere efforts, the question of turning the armistice into a durable peace has not yet been solved, to this day, owing to the unwarranted position of the United States.

The United States unilaterally sabotaged the preliminary meeting held in preparation for a political conference at a higher level envisaged in the Armistice Agreement; disrupted the Conference of Foreign Ministers of the countries concerned which was convened in Geneva in 1954 for the peaceful settlement of the Korean question; and has rejected all the reasonable proposals made by the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for a durable peace in Korea and a peaceful settlement of the Korean question.

(Mr. Li Jong Mok, Democratic People's  
Republic of Korea)

Furthermore, the United States has committed flagrant violations of the Armistice Agreement only to render it impossible for the Armistice Agreement, which is precarious as such, to perform its original function.

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea has already advanced its proposal to convert the Korean Armistice Agreement into a peace agreement with a view to guaranteeing a durable peace in Korea, accelerating the peaceful reunification of Korea and securing peace in Asia and the world at large.

When a peace agreement is concluded between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the United States with those contents which we have proposed -- namely, that both sides shall pledge to each other not to invade the other side and to remove the danger of armed conflicts; that the United States shall not interfere in the internal affairs of Korea; that both sides shall discontinue the reinforcement of their armed forces and the arms race; that all the foreign troops under the banner of the United Nations forces shall withdraw from south Korea; and that Korea shall not become the military base of any foreign country -- and when the present Armistice Agreement is replaced by that peace agreement, the fundamental factor engendering the danger of a new war in our country will be removed; the state of military confrontation will be removed, and the tension between the north and the south will be substantially eased.

Not only is this an important measure for establishing a durable peace in Korea and creating favourable conditions for the independent and peaceful settlement of the Korean question, but it will also greatly contribute to guaranteeing peace and security in Asia and the world.

Our proposal to conclude a peace agreement between us and the United States and to replace the Korean Armistice Agreement by it fully accords with the will and desire of the entire Korean people and of peoples throughout the world, which unanimously want to see a durable peace in Korea and the independent and peaceful reunification of the country.

(Mr. Li Jong Mok, Democratic  
People's Republic of Korea)

The replacement of the Korean Armistice Agreement by a peace agreement presents itself as a practical demand which brooks no further delay at this time when the question of dissolving the "United Nations Command" and withdrawing all the foreign troops from south Korea is placed on the agenda of the day.

But the United States is responding to our just proposal to conclude a peace agreement with a demand to preserve the unstable Armistice Agreement. The United States representatives have always said here that United States troops remain in south Korea for "peace". But what the United States has done in deeds is diametrically contrary to what it has been saying.

Why does the United States insist on preserving the state of a temporary ceasefire at this time when everyone expresses the unanimous hope that a durable and lasting peace be established in Korea? Is it not clear to everyone that the present Armistice Agreement cannot remove the hotbed of war in Korea and cannot guarantee a durable peace? Nevertheless, the United States acts as if the Armistice Agreement were the only way of preventing the resumption of armed conflicts in Korea.

How can we preserve peace in Korea when the unstable armistice remains in effect? It is self-evident which stand is truly for peace in Korea -- the stand for preserving the temporary, unstable armistice or the stand for concluding a new peace agreement to terminate the state of ceasefire once and for all.

The United States turns down our proposal to conclude a peace agreement and insists on the maintenance of the state of the ceasefire. This means that the United States wants to keep its troops in south Korea indefinitely under the pretext of implementing the Armistice Agreement, continue the present military confrontation existing between the north and the south of Korea and fix its division.

The United States can in no way conceal its ulterior intention to oppose the conclusion of a peace agreement and keep the unstable armistice. If the United States is really concerned for a peaceful solution of the Korean question, it should agree to convert the unstable armistice into a durable peace instead of trying to keep the former.

(Mr. Li Jong Mok, Democratic  
People's Republic of Korea)

Taking this opportunity of the discussion of the question of creating favourable conditions for converting the armistice into a durable peace and accelerating the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea at this session of the United Nations General Assembly, we once again state that we are prepared to hold talks at any time to conclude a peace agreement between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the United States.

These days, some people say that it is necessary to make some arrangement for preserving the Armistice Agreement to fill the "gap" that may be created between the conclusion of a peace agreement and the withdrawal of all foreign troops from south Korea.

We consider that they express such a view either because they presuppose the dissolution of the "United Nations Command" only, while keeping the United States troops in south Korea, or because they fail fully to understand our stand. As we have already stated, this problem cannot arise if all foreign troops are withdrawn from south Korea concurrently with the dissolution of the "United Nations Command". In fact, there can be no gap at all if the north and the south settle by agreement the question of preserving peace in Korea on the principles of the North-South Joint Communiqué after a peace agreement is concluded and all United States troops in south Korea are withdrawn under that peace agreement.

Some people are also saying that it is not realistic to exclude south Korea from the discussion on the question of guaranteeing a durable peace in Korea. But this does not accord with reality. In order to achieve a durable peace in Korea, there are questions that should be settled with the United States while there are questions that should be settled with south Korea.

The question concerning the Armistice Agreement can be settled, to all intents and purposes, only between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the United States, which are the direct signatories to the Armistice Agreement and which have assumed practical responsibility for its implementation at present.

(Mr. Li Jong Mok, Democratic  
People's Republic of Korea)

The question of preserving a durable peace in Korea after the conclusion of a peace agreement and the withdrawal of United States troops from south Korea, is not one in which the United States should meddle; it is a question that should be settled between us and south Korea.

We have already put forward a number of reasonable proposals for the settlement of all questions arising in regard to preserving a durable peace in Korea after the withdrawal of United States troops from south Korea, and, further, to achieving the independent and peaceful reunification of the country.

To achieve a durable peace in Korea, the north and the south of Korea should observe the North-South Joint Statement and take practical measures, such as ceasing arms reinforcement, drastically reducing the armed forces of both sides to an equal level, preventing armed conflicts, and guaranteeing each side against the use of force by the other, after the withdrawal of all foreign troops from south Korea.

The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has already proposed solving those problems by bilateral military negotiations between the military authorities of the north and the south.

If the north and the south enter upon bilateral military talks to discuss and settle the questions of removing the military confrontation between them and ensuring a lasting peace, in conditions in which all foreign troops are withdrawn from south Korea, and organize a North-South Joint Military Commission to implement the agreement reached between the two sides, a firm guarantee will be provided for preserving peace in our country.

Our proposal that a peace agreement be concluded between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the United States of America, the real parties to the Korean Armistice Agreement, completely to eliminate the state of war and put an end to all forms of outside interference, and that north-south military talks be held to settle through negotiation those problems which arise in regard to preserving peace in Korea after the withdrawal of United States troops under the peace agreement, is a just and fair proposal correctly reflecting the reality in Korea.

(Mr. Li Jong Mok, Democratic  
People's Republic of Korea)

When the United States troops are withdrawn according to the peace agreement and the military confrontation between the north and the south is removed through the north-south military talks, the mistrust and misunderstanding between the north and the south caused by the artificial division will be dispelled and an atmosphere of national harmony and trust will be created. This will enable the Korean people to realize earlier the independent and peaceful reunification of the country, in accordance with the three principles and five-point proposal of national reunification outlined by the respected and beloved leader President Kim Il Sung.

The course for the independent and peaceful reunification of the country mapped out by the great leader President Kim Il Sung most correctly reflects the unanimous will and aspiration of the entire Korean people in the north and the south and enjoys the active support and approval of the peoples of the whole world.

The United States is doggedly opposing the withdrawal of the United States troops from South Korea and persistently trying to preserve the unstable state of armistice at this session of the United Nations General Assembly also. The "draft resolution" submitted by the United States side to the United Nations General Assembly this autumn is a clear proof of it.

That "draft resolution" only talks about the dissolution of the "United Nations Command"; it does not even mention the withdrawal of United States troops occupying south Korea --- the main obstacle to the reunification of Korea. Moreover, it gives no guarantee at all for securing a durable peace in Korea.

When the general situation has turned out decisively unfavourable for it and it can no longer camouflage its troops with the United Nations flag, the United States is crafty enough to speak as if it was ready to dissolve the "United Nations Command" at the current session of the United Nations General Assembly. But this is no more than a deceptive farce.

The United States says it will only dissolve the "United Nations Command" provided that the other parties directly concerned with the Armistice Agreement "agree ... that they will regard all provisions of the Armistice Agreement as continuing in force".

(Mr. Li Jong Mok, Democratic  
People's Republic of Korea)

The natural result is that, if the "United Nations Command" is dissolved, the Armistice Agreement itself will also have to cease to exist. How can it demand that we should agree to continued maintenance of the Armistice Agreement? It is tantamount to demanding that we recognize the continued presence in south Korea of troops of the United States as a signatory to the Armistice Agreement, even if the "United Nations Command" is dissolved.

This demand of the United States, preposterous as it is, reveals to the full its true intention not to dissolve even the "United Nations Command".

It is not fortuitous that the United States does not even mention the withdrawal of all foreign troops from south Korea in its "draft resolution". The United States authorities are openly clamouring that, even if the "United Nations Command" is dissolved, United States troops will remain in south Korea under the so-called South Korea-United States Mutual Defence Treaty.

It was in this very forum of the United Nations General Assembly that the United States persistently alleged in the past that its troops stationed in south Korea were not United States troops but "United Nations forces". But today it alleges that those troops are not United Nations forces but United States troops -- although they are the same troops. This is precisely the aggressive doctrine of the United States that what is good for it is also true.

Some time ago the United States played a trick of lowering the flag of the United Nations at its military establishments in south Korea or "restricting" the use of the flag.

The United States tries quietly to remove the label "United Nations forces" from the United States troops in south Korea and, instead, to make believe that the United States troops are there under the "South Korea-United States Mutual Defence Treaty". But, can the label change their true nature?

The United States has proposed to convene a conference of what it calls "the parties concerned" to discuss ways of maintaining the armistice under the specious heading of the so-called dissolution of the United Nations Command. It is no more than empty talk which is of no practical value.



(Mr. Li Jong Mok, Democratic  
People's Republic of Korea)

Reality demands that the armistice be converted into a durable peace; and it is nonsensical to propose to convene a conference only to maintain the unstable armistice engendering a constant danger of war. Furthermore, insistence that south Korea be involved in the discussion of the matter of disposing of the Armistice Agreement is not an attitude conducive to a solution of the question from the outset.

As far as the south Korean authorities are concerned, they are not signatories to the Armistice Agreement; and, furthermore, they have been persistently opposed to the Armistice Agreement. Therefore, they cannot become a party concerned in regard to this Agreement, nor have they any right to involve themselves in the disposal of the Armistice Agreement, under any circumstances.

As in the past, the "draft resolution" of the United States side is no more than a plot to justify the occupation of south Korea by the United States troops in the name of the United Nations and to create "two Koreas" to perpetuate the division of Korea. When its unjust "draft resolution" met with strong opposition of world opinion and its nature became exposed, the United States merged it with a subsequently proposed "amendment".

(Mr. Li Jong Mok, Democratic  
People's Republic of Korea)

The "amendment" reads as if the United States wanted "ease of tension" and "a durable peace" in Korea. But it mentions neither the withdrawal of all the foreign troops from south Korea nor the replacement of the Armistice Agreement with a peace agreement. This shows that it is not different in any way, in essence, from the original "draft resolution" of the United States side.

In the long run, it is quite clear that both the "amendment" and the revised "draft resolution" are aimed at preventing the United Nations from taking positive measures for the just settlement of the Korean question, maintaining the United States troops' occupation of south Korea, creating "two Koreas" and realizing the aggressive ambition of the United States against Korea and Asia.

As all the facts show, the draft resolution, sponsored by peace-loving countries, on the creation of favourable conditions for converting the armistice into a durable peace in Korea and accelerating the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea reflects the stand for peace, independence and reunification. On the contrary, the "draft resolution", mainly sponsored by the United States and other colonialist Powers of the past and present is aimed at war, subjugation and division.

In his "statement" today, the so-called representative of south Korea tried so hard to cover up the true purpose of the "draft resolution" of the United States side that he made silly attempts to backbite, completely reversing black and white with fabrication and fraudulence, even the socialist system of our country which is ever flourishing and prosperous under the wise leadership of President Kim Il Sung, the respected and beloved leader of our people.

This is no more than an expression of the desperate agony of those who are gripped with extreme unease and fear, thoroughly isolated and rejected by the people.

In no way can the south Korean authorities impair the dignity of our people who are firmly united around the great leader President Kim Il Sung and the high international prestige of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

(Mr. Li Jong Mok, Democratic  
People's Republic of Korea)

In the long run, the "statement" of the south Korean "representative" only serves to reveal more thoroughly the criminal nature of the south Korean authorities as dirty servants of imperialism and traitors to our nation, who are engaged in national treason, depending on outside forces.

Now the world's attention is focused on this conference hall where the Korean question is under discussion.

Two opposing draft resolutions have been submitted on the question of Korea before this Committee.

One of them is aimed at opening a bright prospect for the reunification of Korea and world peace, by completely liquidating the root causes that have imposed the bitter sufferings of national division on the Korean people for 30 years and thrown dark clouds over world peace.

On the contrary, the other "draft resolution" is designed to maintain the division of Korea and dangerous tension indefinitely.

The present session will have to choose one of them.

The draft resolution sponsored by peace-loving countries accords with the Lima Programme adopted with unanimous support of all the non-aligned countries at the Conference of Foreign Ministers of Non-Aligned Countries some time ago.

The Lima Programme reads as follows:

"The Conference ... reaffirms its support of the policy for the independent and peaceful reunification without any foreign interference in its internal affairs advocated by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and demands that all foreign troops that remain stationed in South Korea under the United Nations flag be withdrawn and the present Korean Military Armistice Agreement be replaced with a peace agreement, in order to create favourable conditions for converting the armistice into a durable peace in Korea and accelerating the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea."

(NAC/FM/CONF.5/15, para. 60)

The delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea appeals to the delegates of all the progressive countries to support the draft resolution, sponsored by 42 countries, reflecting the unanimous desire of the peoples of socialist countries, non-aligned countries and all the peace-loving countries of the world, so that it may be adopted at this session of the United Nations General Assembly.

(Mr. Li Jong Mok, Democratic  
People's Republic of Korea)

In the future too, as in the past, we will make every endeavour to put an end to national division, accelerate the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea and achieve a durable peace in Korea.

The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Korean people, who pursue independent, anti-imperialist and peace-loving foreign policies, will always advance side by side with the Governments and peoples of all countries of the world fighting against imperialism, colonialism and racism and for peace, democracy, national independence and social progress, and will actively support and encourage them in their just cause.

The Korean people will certainly make all the foreign troops withdraw from south Korea and realize, sooner or later, the historic cause of the country's reunification, with the support and co-operation of the peace-loving peoples of the world.

Mr. HUANG HUA (China) (interpretation from Chinese): First of all, the Chinese delegation wishes to express warm welcome to the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea which is participating in the debate on the Korean question at the current session of the General Assembly. In his speech Chairman Li Jong Mok has given a profound exposition of the crux of the Korean question and the way to a fundamental solution of the problem. His speech has expressed the true aspiration of the entire Korean people and is conducive to a settlement of the Korean question. The Chinese delegation firmly supports it.

In his speech at the plenary meeting of the current session of the General Assembly, the Chairman of the Chinese delegation already stated in detail our principled position on the Korean question. Now I would like to comment on some of the questions involved in the two draft resolutions before us.

The history of the Korean question over the past nearly three decades has irrefutably proved that the division of Korea and the tension there were caused from the outset by the United States imperialist aggression and intervention in Korea. After World War II the United States has occupied south Korea, interfered in the Korean internal affairs and obstructed the reunification of

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Korea. In 1950, United States troops invaded Korea under the United Nations flag. Since the Korean armistice in 1953, they have been hanging on in south Korea, refusing to withdraw therefrom. Herein lies the root cause why the Korean question has thus far remained unsettled and why the Korean peninsula is still in a state of artificial division.

(Mr. Huang, China)

Over a long period the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has upheld its correct stand for the independent and peaceful reunification of the fatherland, demanding the cessation of aggression and intervention in Korea by outside force and the withdrawal of all foreign troops from south Korea, and it has put forward a series of positive and reasonable propositions and proposals to this effect. The three principles of independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity and the 5-point proposition for the prevention of a national split and the realization of the peaceful reunification of the fatherland put forward by President Kim Il Sung have clearly pointed to the correct road for the reunification of Korea and have received the firm support of the entire Korean people and the broad endorsement of the people of various countries.

The consensus adopted by the twenty-eighth session of the United Nations General Assembly has affirmed the three principles of independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity, dissolved the "United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea", which was a tool for interfering in the internal affairs of Korea, and thus welcome progress has been achieved. Now there is an ever more resounding voice in the world demanding the dissolution of the United Nations Command and the withdrawal of the United States troops stationed in south Korea. The United Nations should make a positive response and speedily correct all the mistakes it committed on the Korean question so as to create favourable conditions for the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea.

This year, compelled by the prevailing situation, the United States and other countries put forward a draft resolution on the Korean question. This draft resolution professes a preparedness to terminate the United Nations Command and even puts forward a specific date for its dissolution. But in effect it evades the crucial issue of the withdrawal of the United States troops stationed in south Korea under the flag of the United Nations. This shows that its purpose is none other than to use the dissolution of the United Nations Command as a pretence in exchange for the legalization of the presence of United States troops in south Korea and the creation of "two Koreas". The repeated United States

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attempt to thrust the Pak Jung Hi clique of south Korea into the United Nations is part and parcel of this scheme. The United States Government openly declared that after the dissolution of the United Nations Command United States troops would remain in south Korea in accordance with the so-called US-ROK Treaty. The United States draft resolution also requires the United States and the Pak Jung Hi clique of south Korea, which is not a signatory to the Armistice Agreement, to take over the so-called responsibilities of the United Nations Command. Judging from the above ideas in combination, is it not crystal clear that the United States is bent on legalizing the presence of United States troops in south Korea and on creating "two Koreas"? No matter how it may be prettified, such a draft resolution, which can in no way lead to a peaceful settlement of the Korean question but can only aggravate the division and tension in Korea, is absolutely unacceptable to us and all other peace-loving and justice-upholding countries. As for the amended United States draft resolution, it has not in the least changed the fundamental essence of the original United States draft resolution but only adds some cosmetics to it. Certainly this is of no avail and has no value at all.

In contrast to the draft resolution submitted by the United States and other countries, the draft resolution submitted by Algeria and 41 other countries entitled "Creation of favourable conditions for converting the armistice into a durable peace in Korea and accelerating the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea" reflects the present situation on the Korean peninsula and the needs of our time. This is a draft resolution that is really capable of solving the problem.

The so-called United Nations Command should have been dissolved long ago. From the very day of its formation it has been a downright tool for aggression. Over the past 25 years the United States alone has controlled this "Command" with the blessing of the illegal resolution adopted by the Security Council when it was under United States manipulation. Under the sign-board of the "United Nations Command", the United States has all along stationed its troops in south Korea, which have incessantly carried out armed provocations and military manoeuvres. With the abetment and support of the United States, the ruling clique of south Korea has wantonly pushed the policy of national division and stepped up

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its brutal repression of the people in south Korea, who demand national reunification and strive for democratic rights. It even clamoured for war and "reunification by prevailing over communism". Such is the root cause of the prolonged tension on the Korean peninsula and the basic obstacle to the reunification of Korea. Now that 22 years have elapsed since the Korean armistice and 17 years since the withdrawal of the Chinese People's Volunteers from Korea, what reason is there for United States troops to continue to hang on in south Korea? The dissolution of the so-called United Nations Command must be settled together with the withdrawal of United States troops from south Korea, and the two must not be separated. Otherwise, the mere dissolution of the United Nations Command with the continued presence of United States troops in south Korea will be of no help whatsoever to the promotion of the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea and the relaxation of tension on the Korean peninsula. Therefore we firmly maintain that the so-called United Nations Command must be dissolved and United States troops must be withdrawn from south Korea. The Korean question should be settled by the Korean people themselves free from any outside interference.



(Mr. Huang, China)

The United States openly declared that in order to preserve the Armistice Agreement, the United States troops must not withdraw. This is a pretext that is utterly indefensible. It should be noted that the Armistice Agreement is but a provisional arrangement for the cessation of hostilities and not an agreement to ensure peace. One may ask: Should Korea remain forever in such a most abnormal state of armistice? It is absolutely impermissible to impose such an abnormal state of affairs on the Korean people forever. The United States representative's idea for the United States and the south Korean authorities to propose to the parties of the Armistice the convening of a conference to discuss ways to preserve the Armistice Agreement and the exploration at such a conference of the possibility of a larger conference to negotiate a more fundamental arrangement is of no avail and completely impractical. As a matter of fact, back in 1954 the United States single-handedly slammed the door to a political conference at a higher level on the Korean question as provided for in the Armistice Agreement. In the actual prevailing circumstances, the practical way is for the real parties to the Korean Armistice Agreement to negotiate and sign a peace agreement to replace the Armistice Agreement. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea has long expressed its readiness to enter into negotiations with the United States as a signatory to the Armistice Agreement to conclude a peace agreement to replace the Armistice Agreement. Such a most reasonable proposal is also contained in the draft resolution submitted by Algeria and other countries. If the United States really desires to solve the problem, there is no reason whatsoever for it not to respond positively to the reasonable proposal of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for the conclusion of a peace agreement to replace the Armistice Agreement and the withdrawal of the United States troops stationed in south Korea under the flag of the United Nations. Nevertheless, the United States is now repeatedly harping on the continued "preservation" of the Armistice Agreement. Does this not fully reveal its true intent of refusing to withdraw its troops and continuing to interfere in the internal affairs of Korea?

Moreover, the United States openly asserts that the presence of United States troops in south Korea is for the maintenance of the so-called "balance of force"

(Mr. Huang, China)

on the Korean peninsula. This is all the more a downright deception. As is known to all, at present there are no foreign troops at all in north Korea, whereas in south Korea, apart from the armed forces of the south Korean ruling clique itself, which have exceeded those in the northern part, large numbers of United States troops have been stationed and even United States nuclear weapons have been blatantly deployed. How can there be any so-called balance of force? On the contrary, it is precisely the presence of large numbers of United States troops in south Korea and the United States policy of actively modernizing the puppet troops of the Pak Jung Hi clique that have created a grave menace to the security of the northern part of Korea. The continued presence of United States troops in south Korea, under whatever name, contravenes the principles of the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea and will only aggravate the tension on the Korean peninsula. All the more so since the north and south of Korea issued a joint statement on 4 July 1972 undertaking to refrain from armed provocations and prevent military conflicts. So long as the Pak Jung Hi clique strictly observes this joint statement and ceases its sabotage, peace in Korea can be assured. Since both north and south Korea have agreed on the mutual non-use of force and on reunification by peaceful means, why should it be impossible for some necessary measures to be agreed on to solve this problem, pending peaceful reunification? To assert that a war will break out in Korea in the absence of the Armistice Agreement is in fact not only designed to create something sensational, but exactly serves to prove that the United States has no sincere desire at all to withdraw the United States troops and promote the peaceful reunification of Korea. It is precisely in view of all this that the draft resolution submitted by Algeria and other countries urges the north and south of Korea to observe the principles of the North-South joint statement and take practical measures for ceasing arms reinforcement, reducing the armed forces of both sides drastically to an equal level, preventing armed conflicts and guaranteeing against the use of force against the other side, and thereby remove the military confrontation. This has reflected the desire of the Korean people and all the people in the world who are concerned about peace in Korea.

(Mr. Huang, China)

Since last spring, under the impact of the great victory of the Indochinese peoples, the United States has tightened its control over Northeast Asia, endlessly repeating the myth of a so-called "threat of a southward invasion from the north" deliberately concocted by the Pak Jung Hi clique, creating an atmosphere of war and even wielding nuclear weapons for nuclear blackmail. Taking advantage of all this, the Pak Jung Hi clique issued a succession of so-called "emergency laws", and stepping up its brutal repression of the people in south Korea, the Pak Jung Hi clique carried out frenzied war preparations as though confronted by a formidable enemy, so much so that the whole of south Korea was haunted by the horror of war for a time. However, such artificial tension was soon seen through, and the attempt of the United States and the Pak Jung Hi clique to justify the continued presence of United States troops in south Korea and to perpetuate the division of Korea has thus been laid bare. If there is a danger of war on the Korean peninsula, it can only originate from the Pak Jung Hi clique which is clamouring for war with United States support and abetment, and absolutely not from the Democratic People's Republic of Korea which insists on independent and peaceful reunification.

(Mr. Huang, China)

The just stand of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has received not only the support of the entire Korean people but also the extensive favourable response of the whole world. The support of the people of all countries for the Korean people's struggle for the independent and peaceful reunification of their fatherland has already become an irresistible current, whereas the traitorous Pak Jung Hi clique, which has hired itself out to imperialism and sold out the national interests and is engaged in national division, finds itself in ever greater isolation beset with trouble both at home and abroad. All its attempts to squeeze its way into the United Nations or the non-aligned movement have met with complete failure.

The affairs of the people of various countries should be managed by the people of the countries concerned, and the Korean people's affairs should be managed by the Korean people themselves. The reunification of Korea should be realized by the Korean people themselves free from any outside interference. All artificially divided countries will eventually realize their national reunification -- this is the general trend and popular demand. Those who try to obstruct such an irresistible current will only end up disgracefully like the grasshopper in the fable which tried to stop the chariot. Has not the victory of the Indochinese peoples provided a convincing proof for this fact? We are deeply convinced that with the sympathy and support of the people of all countries, the entire heroic Korean people, persevering in struggle, will do away with the interference of any outside force and victoriously achieve the independent and peaceful reunification of their country.

China and Korea are neighbours, as closely related as the lips and the teeth, and the Chinese and Korean peoples are close comrades-in-arms fighting shoulder to shoulder. We firmly support the Korean people in their struggle for the independent and peaceful reunification of their fatherland, and we resolutely oppose the interference by outside force in the internal affairs of Korea and the creation of "two Koreas". We are convinced that the draft resolution submitted by Algeria and other countries has provided a practical and effective formula for ceasing the interference by outside force, promoting the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea and eliminating the tension on the Korean peninsula. Together with the

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other co-sponsors of this draft resolution, we hope that the current session of the General Assembly will seriously consider and adopt it, thus enabling the United Nations to correct the mistakes it committed on the Korean question when it was under the exclusive manipulation of imperialism and make positive contributions to the promotion of the Korean people's sacred cause of the independent and peaceful reunification of their country.

Mr. SIBAHI (Syrian Arab Republic) (interpretation from French): At the outset allow me to welcome the presence among us of Mr. Li Jong Mok, Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea, and the members of his delegation. His presence in the First Committee as an observer has been acclaimed by the Syrian delegation, in the hope that he will soon occupy the permanent seat that rightfully belongs to his country, a friend of Syria, not here in the First Committee, but in the General Assembly itself.

As shown in the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.709, dated 24 September, the Syrian Arab Republic is one of its sponsors. This position of Syria, which has been firmly maintained by my delegation, reflects the position of my country regarding the Korean question. It is also justified by the principles of the United Nations Charter and by the doctrine of non-alignment, principles to which the Syrian Arab Republic has adhered since the San Francisco Conference in 1945, right through to the Bandung Conference in 1955, and that position remains unchanged today. Syria's position is accordingly based on the following considerations.

First, our position is based on the sacred and inalienable right of peoples to independence and national sovereignty, on which the draft resolution I have mentioned is based, particularly in its preamble, which states:

"... it conforms with the principles of the Charter to encourage the Korean people to achieve the independent and peaceful reunification of their country at the earliest possible date on the basis of the three principles of independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity and to create favourable conditions for it."

This right of course includes the various political, economic and social lines and objectives pursued in bilateral, multilateral and international relations.

(Mr. Sibahi, Syrian Arab  
Republic)

Secondly, it is based on the universally accepted right of peoples to self-determination, freely and democratically to be the masters of their own fate. This thesis is also enshrined in the preamble, which recalls the principles of equality and self-determination of peoples. Thirdly, it is also based on the principle of respect for the sovereignty of other States and non-interference in the internal affairs of other States. That prohibition finds broad expression in the document before us, particularly when it recalls the obligation assumed by States under the Charter to refrain from intervening in matters which are within the domestic jurisdiction of another State.

My delegation considers that the following document should be the basis for a just and lasting solution to the Korean question: the North-South Joint Communiqué on Korea of 4 July 1972. That statement was furthermore welcomed by the General Assembly in the decision it adopted on 28 November 1973 during its twenty-eighth session, for the simple reason that it would promote the independent achievement of reunification without relying upon outside force or being subjected to outside interference; the application of peaceful means without recourse to the use of force and the achievement, under the political entity of a confederated Republic of Korea, of the great union of a homogeneous nation, without distinction of ideologies, ideals or régimes.

Who among us could fail to see in that statement the desirable solution to the Korean question? But above and beyond all, my delegation believes that in South Korea, at the same time as in the North, we must create a genuine atmosphere of confidence and goodwill. This of necessity requires, a priori, complete and unconditional withdrawal of foreign troops stationed in South Korea and particularly the military elements of the United States of America which claim to represent United Nations forces while they represent only American designs at the expense of the principle of the sacred right of the Korean people to sovereignty, independence and self-determination, which are universally recognized by the entire world.

(Mr. Sibahi, Syrian Arab Republic)

My delegation is convinced that the withdrawal of the foreign troops thus introduced would a priori promote the conclusion of a peace agreement which would obviously replace the Armistice Agreement concluded on 27 July 1953. Will America yield to the almost world-wide demand that it withdraw? My delegation believes that those responsible for American policy are far from such a position, and that is justified by the unconditional support channelled by the United States of America to Zionism through its spoilt child, Israel, to racism in Rhodesia and Namibia through Pretoria and Salisbury and to neo-colonialism in other oppressed regions of the world. How else can we interpret the American occupation of South Korea for more than 30 years? How can we interpret the introduction into South Korea and Israel of deadly weapons and guided missiles of various kinds? It is the intention of the United States to introduce into Israel, following the second Sinai Disengagement Agreement, signed on 1 September 1975 by Israel and Egypt, as they have already introduced into Korea, rockets, atomic guns and guided missiles. On 20 June 1975 the Director of the United States Defense Information Center declared:

"The nuclear warheads deployed in South Korea are applicable to missiles, guns, mines ... and many of these nuclear warheads are deployed near the military demarcation line bordering on North Korea."

In accordance with information recently published, the United States Defense Department has submitted to the American Congress a plan to give South Korea 60 of the most modern fighter planes with a value of \$205 million. The United States and South Korea agreed on this in advance.

The United States have proclaimed South Korea to be a forward defence line and openly threaten the Democratic People's Republic of Korea by spreading nuclear weapons.

At a press conference on 20 June the United States Secretary for Defense cynically stated that the United States would not hesitate to use nuclear weapons in Korea. The United States is still increasing the number of troops occupying South Korea and the South Korean army constantly carries out armed provocations of different kinds against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in violation of the Armistice Agreement.

(Mr. Sibahi, Syrian Arab Republic)

Should we not in this case, in regard to such intervention on the part of those responsible for American policy, conclude that the opposite draft resolution submitted by the representative of Japan this morning, and contained in document A/C.1/L.708/Rev.1 dated 14 October 1975, is far from contributing to the solution desired by two thirds of the Members of the United Nations?

Furthermore, the South Korean régime, with its imperialist tendencies, which has always opposed the just causes of the peoples of the third world, carries out a reactionary policy inside and outside the country. The South Korean authorities have allowed their troops to approach the frontiers of Cambodia so as constantly to threaten the people of Cambodia fighting imperialist foreign aggression. Since March 1970 they have given active support to the reactionary régime of Lon Nol.

In connivance with Israel, those same authorities opposed and continue to oppose the just cause of the Arab peoples. In the Middle East wars of 1956 and 1967 they declared that they would send volunteers to Israel to support it. In 1967, when the Middle East war was at its worst, a correspondent of the newspaper Dong-a-ilbo of South Korea who was attached to the South Korean Consulate-General in Egypt provided Israel with military information which it had obtained by espionage in Egypt.

In the Middle East war of 1967, the South Korean authorities acclaimed the Israeli aggressors and invited an Israeli military mission to South Korea in order to decorate its members.

On 17 October 1973 the South Korean Minister for Foreign Affairs met the Israeli Ambassador in South Korea in order to offer him his support --- this information was acquired on 17 October 1973 from Radio Djourng an in South Korea --- and thus 32 airmen of F4 Phantoms, among them 12 pilots, were sent to Israel.

That is why my delegation rightly believes that the draft resolution submitted by 42 co-sponsors would make a major and effective contribution to the desired solution of the problem of the just Korean cause and would lead to the restoration of peace and international security in the Far East as well as in the Middle East.



(Mr. Sibahi, Syrian Arab Republic)

It is for these reasons, which have thus been stated separately and as a whole, that my delegation supports, in the full meaning of the word, as a sponsor, the draft resolution which was introduced in the course of this morning's meeting by the representative of Algeria.

Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): Mr. Chairman, before embarking on the substance of the position of the Soviet Union on this item, I should like to congratulate you on your election to your high post, and to wish you all success in the fulfilment of the duties entrusted to you. It is a particular pleasure for me to congratulate you, since you are a former Ambassador of your country to Moscow; and since we like to refer to all United Nations representatives who have been Ambassadors to Moscow as Muscovites, I therefore greet you as a Muscovite and wish you all success in your task.

For more than 20 years now the Korean question has been on the agenda of the General Assembly. However, the discussion of this item at this thirtieth session of the Assembly is taking place in a much more favourable atmosphere in international relations than has been the case in the past. The process of détente has become a determining factor in international relations; this favourable process is gaining in strength and gathering impetus. It is extending to new spheres of international relations and new areas of the world, and is acquiring concrete, material content.

In relations among States we see the strengthening of the principles of peaceful coexistence and mutually advantageous co-operation. The recently concluded general debate at this thirtieth session of the Assembly demonstrated very convincingly that the overwhelming majority of United Nations Member States have reacted positively to and expressed satisfaction with the beneficial influence of détente on the process of reducing international tension in the world.

(Mr. Malik, USSR)

In our view, we must make the most of these favourable conditions in order to settle outstanding questions, which represent the continuation and the vestiges of the invidious cold war, which has on more than one occasion brought mankind to the brink of universal catastrophe.

On the positive side, we were recently pleased to note the favourable effects on détente of the Declaration signed a short time ago in Moscow by the General Secretary of the Communist Party, Leonid Brezhnev, and President Giscard d'Estaing of France -- a Declaration on the further development of friendship and co-operation between the Soviet Union and France. In that Declaration it is stated that:

"The parties note with satisfaction that in recent years notable success has been achieved in normalizing the international situation. The Soviet Union and France declare their determination to redouble their efforts in order to further promote détente and to extend it to international relations as a whole."

This realistic attitude is understood and shared by the overwhelming majority of States of the world. This warm change in the political climate has reached the most distant parts of our planet; it is felt even more keenly in Asia, where States having different social systems are struggling to put a permanent end to the cold war era and, through their joint efforts, to build a peaceful future for their peoples.

The favourable influence on the situation in Asia and throughout the world has also triumphed among the peoples of Viet-Nam, Laos and Cambodia in their victory over the aggression against their sovereignty and independence. In Indo-China, one of the most dangerous hotbeds of international tension has been eliminated -- one which had complicated international relations for a long period of time. The SEATO military bloc, created by the most rabid partisans of the cold war, has dissolved. The participation of the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in the work of the General Assembly and in the discussion of the Korean question is a positive sign of this same détente, for such participation was inconceivable and impossible during the cold war years.

(Mr. Malik, USSR)

In these conditions, we see particularly clearly how timely and urgent is the need for a peaceful settlement of the Korean problem, which was engendered by the cold war, and how necessary it is to eliminate tension on the Korean Peninsula and to create normal conditions so that the Korean people can freely and independently and by peaceful means, without foreign interference, decide their own destiny. I am thinking particularly of this question which is of such vital interest to them: the reunification of their country.

We welcome the participation of the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in the work of the present session of the General Assembly, and we should like to note particularly that we have listened with great interest and attention to the statement made by the head of the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, Comrade Li Jong Mok. He very convincingly set forth the just, well-founded position of his country concerning ways to achieve a peaceful settlement of the Korean question. I would point out in particular that his speech was permeated by a genuine concern for the destiny of the entire Korean people and by the sincere and noble desire to achieve durable peace for the entire Korean peninsula.

This year we are commemorating the thirtieth anniversary of the liberation of Korea from Japanese occupation during the Second World War and the defeat of Japanese militarism. After throwing off the chains of colonial slavery and becoming masters of their own destiny the workers of the northern part of the country chose the socialist way of development for themselves.

(Mr. Malik, USSR)

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea has, in a short period of time, transformed itself into a socialist State with a developed industry, a highly developed agriculture, and a highly developed national culture. That country has reached the level of the developed industrial countries in its production abilities. In the four years of the Six-Year Plan, the over-all industrial production has increased 9.1 times. Furthermore, the rate of this growth has amounted to 17 per cent annually, and this could be a cause of envy for more than one State Member of the United Nations. In accordance with this plan, the production of electric power should amount to 28,000 million to 30,000 million kilowatt hours in 1976; coal mining should reach a production of 50 to 53 million tons; and steel production will reach approximately 4 million tons. As a result of the intensive irrigation projects and agricultural improvement undertaken by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, agricultural production has reached a sufficiently satisfactory level, as has the production of raw materials.

The great achievements of the peoples of Korea in developing their culture and their art are well known. Illiteracy has long since been eliminated, and since 1972, the country has gone over to a general period of schooling over a 10-year curriculum programme.

In recent years the representatives of many United Nations Member States, including the representative of the Soviet Union to the United Nations, have visited the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on the invitation of its Government, and have seen with their own eyes the outstanding achievements and the greatly developed economy and culture of North Korea.

As has already been stated, for many years now the problem of Korea has been considered at the sessions of the United Nations General Assembly. However, up to now, the situation has not changed for the better. The Assembly, at its present session, must once again discuss the situation in Korea carefully and in detail, and it should plan ways for normalizing the situation and strengthening peace on the Korean peninsula, and take the corresponding positive decisions.

(Mr. Malik, USSR)

With regard to the position of the Soviet Union on the Korean question, it has once again been officially set forth quite recently. Speaking in the general debate at the thirtieth session of the General Assembly, the Soviet Foreign Minister, Andrei Gromyko, referring to this matter, stated the following:

"The precarious state of armistice obviously does not ensure the stabilization of the state of affairs on the Korean peninsula. The need to create conditions for establishing durable peace on the Korean peninsula and speeding up the peaceful reunification of Korea has long been pressing. Those goals would be served by a cessation of outside interference in the internal affairs of the Korean people and, in the first place, the withdrawal from South Korea of all foreign troops stationed there under the United Nations flag, as well as by the conclusion of a peace treaty. It is the duty of the United Nations to assist in every possible way in taking such steps. This can be done on the basis of the proposals put forward at the current session of the General Assembly by a large group of States, including the Soviet Union."

(A/PV.2357, pp. 52-53)

The question quite naturally arises, what is the cause of this continuing abnormal situation in Korea? Why, despite the persistent efforts of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea aimed at a peaceful democratic solution to the Korean problem which was supported by the masses of the peoples in both parts of Korea, and which has broad support from all United Nations Member States -- why is it that this problem is still not settled? What is the main obstacle to a settlement in Korea?

It is difficult to deny the obvious fact that the main obstacle in this situation on the Korean peninsula is primarily the continued foreign intervention in the affairs of the Korean people; and, secondly, the stubborn reactionary position of the leaders of South Korea, who are repressing their own people and its own natural desire for democracy and reunification. The South Korean régime's fear of its own people is an obstacle to the peaceful reunification of Korea.

(Mr. Malik, USSR)

Can we consider as normal a situation where, 22 years after the signing of the armistices in South Korea, there still remains a tremendous foreign army under the United Nations flag in South Korea, at a time when there is not a single foreign soldier on the territory of North Korea? Naturally, no one could be misled by the fact that the foreign troops in South Korea are still illegally calling themselves United Nations troops, while everybody knows that these are troops of only one single State Member of the United Nations, namely, the United States of America. This foreign army amounts to more than 40,000 men, and it is armed with the most modern weapons, including nuclear weapons. As we see from the memorandum submitted on the Korean item by the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to the thirtieth session of the General Assembly contained in document A/C.1/1054, these foreign troops recently have been equipped with new forms of modern weapons, and their technical equipment and fire-power have been increased.

As was proven convincingly by facts adduced during the discussion of the Korean question at a number of United Nations General Assembly sessions, foreign troops in South Korea represent an instrument of outside intervention in Korea's affairs and constitute the main obstacle to a peaceful democratic reunification of the country. The presence of foreign troops in South Korea is the main factor which is very seriously complicating the situation in Korea and preventing its normalization. Consideration of the Korean question in the United Nations, and particularly its discussion at recent sessions of the General Assembly, has demonstrated to the entire international community that there is no reason or justification for maintaining foreign armed forces in South Korea.

(Mr. Malik, USSR)

Those troops are there in violation of the Armistice Agreement, under which all foreign armed forces were long ago withdrawn from the territory of North Korea. One cannot justify the maintenance of such troops by demagogic references to so-called threats coming from the north. References to such a threat, as has been shown long since by the facts, are nothing more than a propaganda effort on the part of those who are interested in perpetuating the present abnormal and dangerous situation in Korea.

Another thing is obvious: the foreign troops serve to bolster up the puppet, anti-national régime in South Korea, which utilises the presence of those troops to maintain their own domination over the people and to crush the democratic aspirations of the people of South Korea. Particularly in recent times, the reactionary Seoul régime has intensified its repression of the patriotic elements of the population in South Korea who have come out in favour of the peaceful reunification of their country and the elimination of foreign intervention in their own domestic affairs. At the same time, with the support of foreign arms, the Seoul régime is instigating a campaign against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on the pretext of its slanderous version of a threat coming from the north, and it is expanding its military preparations and increasing its armed forces, which already amount to more than 600,000 men, supplying them with the most modern weapons, which are coming in great quantities from overseas.

The South Korean authorities are continuing their armed provocations of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. The presence in South Korea of foreign troops and the feverish military preparations of the South Korean régime are a nutritive medium for the most aggressive, adventurist elements in the South Korean population. This situation not only prevents reunification: it actually favours division. It does not promote a peaceful situation but, rather, one of hostility and hatred and encourages all kinds of instigations and provocations directed against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. As a result of all these deliberately hostile policies, the tension and the instability are continuing in Korea without attenuation.

(Mr. Malik, USSR)

It is well known that the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and President Kim Il Sung personally have persistently undertaken efforts to create the necessary conditions for the peaceful democratic reunification of Korea and a durable peace on the Korean peninsula. Along those lines, in recent years the North Korean side has undertaken a number of very important political initiatives.

In 1972, as a result of the important political initiative of the Government of that country, the first steps were taken along the difficult road towards the restoration of the national unity of Korea. A dialogue was begun between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and South Korea which was approved and supported by the United Nations. Agreement was reached on the creation of a North-South Joint Co-ordinating Committee, and meetings of that Committee were held. In the North-South Joint Communiqué of 4 July 1972, general principles concerning the reunification of the country by peaceful means were set forth, that is, by the efforts of the Korean people itself, without any foreign intervention whatsoever. The purpose was thereafter to apply the agreement that had been reached and to transform those agreed provisions into practical, concrete measures. In a resolution adopted at its twenty-eighth session, the United Nations General Assembly supported those positive efforts, which were begun on the initiative of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, and expressed the hope that the North and the South would continue their dialogue and expand their co-operation.

However, the Seoul régime began to sabotage the incipient process of the gradual, peaceful reunification of Korea. The agreement set forth in the aforementioned Joint Communiqué has, up to now, not been implemented as a result of the negative, obstructionist position taken by the South Korean side. It becomes more obvious to all with each day that the main obstacle to the peaceful solution of the Korean problem has been and remains the continuing intervention of foreign forces in Korean affairs, primarily the presence of foreign troops in South Korea, and the negative position of the South Korean régime.



(Mr. Malik, USSR)

For many years during discussions in the General Assembly of the Korean question certain delegations have made great efforts and used all their eloquence to prove what cannot be proved, to convince everyone that all foreign troops in South Korea without exception are so-called United Nations troops and that they are under the so-called United Nations Command. Now a 180-degree about-face has been made and they are doing exactly the opposite. They are making efforts to convince the General Assembly and each delegation to the Assembly that the United Nations Command does not have any troops --- other than some 300 to 400 men --- and that those foreign troops in South Korea which amount to more than 40,000 men are not United Nations troops and are not subordinated to the United Nations Command but rather to the United States Command. This is the metamorphosis that has occurred in this question of foreign troops in South Korea.

(Mr. Malik, USSR)

No one has any doubt whatsoever that the foreign troops in South Korea have from the very outset illegally used the United Nations flag and the name "United Nations troops", and their command has also from the very outset illegally called itself "the United Nations Command". Therefore, at this point the fact is that this so-called United Nations Command in South Korea must be immediately and unconditionally dissolved. All foreign troops, and these have been there for more than 20 years under the United Nations flag, should be totally withdrawn.

The Soviet Union supports the position of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to the effect that these items cannot be separated from each other. They are interrelated. The dissolution of the United Nations Command at a time when foreign troops remain in South Korea -- troops which up to now have called themselves United Nations troops but which under any other new foreign flag or under any other name will not change the situation -- this would simply be one more attempt to mislead uninformed people and even to mislead the United Nations, which is already sufficiently well informed.

The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has put forward and is consistently advocating a broad programme of practical measures covering all aspects of a settlement in Korea and providing for the withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea and the cessation of military confrontations on the Korean peninsula, for the purpose of creating the necessary conditions for a peaceful, democratic reunification of the country and for a durable peace and security in Korea and throughout all Asia. In legitimately demanding the dissolution of the United Nations Command and the withdrawal of all foreign troops from South Korea, the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea proposes replacing the Armistice Agreement in Korea by a peace agreement between the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the United States, as the parties which have signed the Armistice Agreement. They are proposing to conclude a peace agreement between the real parties to the Armistice, since South Korea is not a signatory to this Agreement and its troops, up to now, have been under the so-called United Nations Command, on whose behalf the Armistice

(Mr. Malik, UNCR)

Agreement with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea was signed. The parties to this Agreement are only two, namely, the Command of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the United States Command, and it follows juridically and logically therefrom that a peace agreement must be signed only by those two parties, namely, by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the United States.

Judging from press reports, proposals on this matter were made by the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to the United States Government. However, it has been said that up to now there has been no answer to those proposals. Thus there has been a cessation of this prolonged situation of an unstable Armistice and a step towards a durable and permanent peace has been taken.

Can we consider as normal the maintenance of this situation of armistice for 22 years? We must bear in mind that the Armistice Agreement is being constantly and deliberately violated by the South Korean régime and the effects of some of its most important provisions have been unilaterally terminated.

In accordance with the agreement suggested by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, all foreign troops must be withdrawn from South Korea in the shortest possible time. Both parties must assume the obligation not to encroach on the territory of the other party and to eliminate the danger of an eruption of armed conflict, to cease strengthening the armed forces, and stop importing weapons and military technology into Korea. After the withdrawal of foreign troops, Korea must not be converted into a military or support base for any foreign State. Furthermore, it is proposed that the United States should assume the obligation not to prevent North and South Korea from implementing an independent and peaceful reunification, in accordance with the aforementioned North-South Joint Communiqué, and to refrain completely from intervening in the domestic affairs of Korea.

The conclusion of such an agreement would be the basis of a durable peace in Korea because these reasonable, peaceful proposals of the North Korean side show the futility of, and even refute, the assertions to the effect that foreign

(Mr. Malik, USSR)

troops are needed in South Korea in order to maintain the Armistice in connexion with the threat from the North. It is not hard to see the absurdity of this hostile propaganda directed against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. One need only study the concrete proposals which have been put forward and defended by the North Korean side for the purpose of reaching a settlement between North and South Korea on those questions which might still arise between them after the withdrawal of foreign troops. The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea considers that, after the withdrawal of foreign troops, measures should be taken to ward off a military confrontation between North and South. It is proposed, as is known, to reduce troops in both North and South to 100,000 or even fewer, to terminate the arms race, the increase in arms and in armed forces and to enter into a mutual commitment to cease the importation of weapons and military technology. If one considers that at the present time the army of the South Korean régime numbers more than 600,000 men and that it is equipped with the most recent types of weapons, then it becomes quite understandable what a very useful role would be played by the implementation of the measures which have been proposed by the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

(Mr. Malik, USSR)

Those proposals refer to the military aspect of the relations between North and South. The implementation of those measures would create real guarantees for stability in the Korean peninsula without foreign intervention after the withdrawal of foreign troops, whose presence leads only to a freezing of the existing abnormal tense situation.

Furthermore, the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea proposes a broad programme of political measures aimed at the peaceful, democratic reunification of the country by the Koreans themselves without any foreign intervention and under conditions in which all foreign troops would be absent from Korean territory.

The North Korean party stresses its readiness to begin negotiations at any time on the reunification of the country with all the South Korean political parties, all public organizations and individuals. As a means to achieve national unity and to accelerate the independent, peaceful reunification of the country, the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has put forward proposals calling for the creation of a North South confederation. While maintaining temporarily the present political systems in the North and the South, they propose forming a Supreme National Assembly consisting of representatives of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the South Korean authorities thus settling in a unified way the problems that are of general interest and also acting as a unified State in the field of foreign affairs, as well as with regard to the United Nations.

The creation of a confederation, as suggested by the North Korean party, would make it possible to develop contacts and co-operation between North and South in various fields and thus expedite the process of reunification.

The North Korean side is also in favour of strict and consistent respect for the principles of national reunification set forth in the North-South Joint Communiqué dated 4 July 1972.

All these proposals by the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea regarding a peaceful, democratic solution to the Korean problem are filled with a sincere concern about the destiny and the national aspirations of the Korean people and for the maintenance of peace in Korea. They have the

(Mr. Malik, USSR)

firm support of the Soviet Union, the socialist States and all sincere friends of the Korean people, which represent an ever-growing number of States Members of the United Nations.

In this connexion we should like to recall the position of the non-aligned countries on the Korean question, which, as is known, constitute the majority of States Members of the United Nations. In the political Declaration adopted by the Conference of Foreign Ministers of the Non-Aligned Countries in Lima last August, they again confirmed their support for the policy of the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea without any foreign intervention in the domestic affairs of that country. The Declaration contains a demand that all foreign troops which are still in South Korea under the United Nations flag be withdrawn and that the present Armistice Agreement in Korea be replaced by a peace agreement. We should like to hope that the participants in that Conference will maintain this position on the Korean question at the thirtieth session of the United Nations General Assembly.

We are deeply convinced that the normalization of the situation on the Korean peninsula and the creation of favourable conditions for a peaceful, democratic reunification of Korea will be promoted by the adoption by the General Assembly of the draft resolution submitted by a large group of sponsors from among the socialist and non-aligned countries, including the Soviet Union. In this draft resolution, it is proposed to eliminate the main source of tension and the main disrupting element in South Korea by withdrawing foreign troops under the United Nations flag and to dissolve the so-called United Nations Command. The draft resolution also proposes the replacement of the temporary Armistice Agreement, which has already become obsolete, by a peace agreement. It also contains an urgent appeal to North and South Korea to uphold the principles of their Joint Communiqué and to take practical measures to cease and terminate military confrontation and to maintain a durable peace in Korea.

In adopting this draft resolution, the First Committee and the General Assembly could make a truly useful contribution in assisting the Korean people to take an independent decision and to act by democratic means without any intervention from the outside in this question of the reunification of their country.

(Mr. Malik, USSR)

Such a decision on the part of the Assembly would be a response to the task that faces the United Nations throughout the entire development of international relations, namely, to promote the strengthening of peace and to intensify the process of détente and extend it to all areas of the world.

In opposition to this draft resolution, which is sponsored by 42 States Members of the United Nations, the draft resolution of the capitalist developed countries and of a small group of their political supporters from among the developing countries disregards the very substance of the Korean problem -- the question of the withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea. This draft resolution is aimed at maintaining an unstable, tense situation in Korea. It provides not only for the maintenance of foreign troops on Korean soil but also for conferring upon the presence of these troops a certain legal status. In view of this, the Soviet delegation does not consider this draft resolution acceptable and will vote against it.

(Mr. Malik, USSR)

The Soviet Union supports the positive efforts of the peoples of the Asian continent aimed at carrying out this task of strengthening peace and security and promoting fruitful co-operation. We support their efforts to ensure that the fruits of this beneficent process of international détente become accessible to the peoples of all the Asian States. In Asia the idea of guaranteeing the security of States by the joint efforts of all countries is gathering strength, which is in the interests of all the countries of that continent. The strengthening of security in Asia on a collective basis with the participation of all States would meet the requirements of our time and would meet the interests of the Asian peoples and the peoples of the entire world. A prompt, peaceful solution of the Korean problem in accordance with the aspirations of the Korean people would be a useful contribution to the improvement of the international situation in the far East and throughout all of Asia.

We express the hope that all those delegations which cherish the cause of peace and security and those that respect the national aspirations and interests of the Korean people -- their aspirations to reunify their homeland into a single Korean State without any foreign intervention and without the presence of foreign troops -- will vote in favour of the only just and correct draft resolution, the one which has been proposed by 42 non-aligned and socialist States.

The CHAIRMAN: I thank the representative of the Soviet Union for his congratulations and for the fact that he mentioned my service in his country, a country of which, and of whose people, I still have the happiest memories.

Mr. DATCU (Romania) (interpretation from French): If one draws up a balance sheet of the 30 years of activity of the United Nations, one can register to its credit a host of achievements and of positive contributions to the development of understanding and co-operation among States.



(Mr. Dactu, Romania)

However, it is also fitting to state that with regard to certain important problems and certain conflicts the United Nations was led to take unjust measures which have been detrimental to its prestige and which have had unfavourable repercussions on international life. The so-called Korean entry is the largest debit on the balance sheet. It is true that in the last analysis it is not the United Nations itself which should be blamed, but rather those who use it as an instrument of their own policy. As far as we are concerned, we feel that all that has been done and is being done in south Korea in the name and under cover of the United Nations is an abuse and does not represent the will of this Organization.

The United Nations involvement in Korea, which dates back to the cold war, is an anachronism which our Organization should rid itself of as soon as possible. A beginning was made two years ago by doing away with the United Nations Commission for Korea. That decision represents a positive contribution to the elimination of barriers in the way of the reunification of Korea. If we really hold dear the prestige of our Organization, we must follow the path that has thus been opened. That is what is proposed by the group of 42 countries, including Romania, which initiated the present debate by including in the agenda of this session the item entitled, "Creation of favourable conditions for converting the Armistice into a durable peace in Korea and accelerating the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea".

The objective of the measures proposed in the draft resolution presented by this group of countries is twofold. On the one hand, it is to put an end to foreign interference in the internal affairs of the Korean people and to ensure a durable peace in that country; on the other hand, it is to encourage by ensuring favourable conditions, the positive processes set in train by the political initiatives and the persevering efforts of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea with a view to the peaceful and independent reunification of Korea.

In order to eliminate foreign interference and guarantee a durable peace in Korea we propose, in the first place, the dissolution of the so-called United Nations Command, and the withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the cover of the United Nations.

(Mr. Datcu, Romania)

In this connexion, it is well known -- and I therefore do not intend to demonstrate it at this late hour -- that the resolutions under which foreign troops stationed in South Korea were placed under the United Nations flag did not and cannot represent the will of this Organization. Since they were adopted in flagrant violation of the provisions of the Charter, those resolutions remain absolutely null and void, ab initio. There can therefore be no doubt that neither the foreign troops stationed in South Korea nor their command has ever in reality been United Nations troops.

Romania is firmly convinced that the presence of foreign troops on the territory of other States, contrary to the will of the peoples concerned, is far from being a factor for peace and understanding. On the contrary, international life has often repeatedly shown that the presence of foreign troops on the territory of other States is a cause of tension which stands in the way of a just and durable solution of international problems.

Another measure proposed by the group of 42 sponsors is to transform the military Armistice Agreement into a peace agreement. On this point we should like to be clear and correctly understood: we do not propose the pure and simple elimination of the Armistice Agreement, but its replacement by a peace agreement which would be concluded between the real parties to the Armistice Agreement. Therefore, what we propose is to replace the precarious status of a military armistice by a genuine peace, durable and definitive, a peace that could put an end to the state of war and restore peace between the parties to the conflict.

To sum up, I should like to emphasize that there is an international problem with regard to Korea which results from foreign military intervention in Korea and the presence of foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the cover of the United Nations. It is therefore a problem between the United States and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. This problem should therefore be resolved by negotiations and agreements between these two countries.

On the other hand there is the problem of the reunification of Korea, which is thus an internal matter which the Koreans themselves should solve, without any interference, by negotiations between North and South Korea, after the elimination of foreign interference.

(Mr. Datcu, Romania)

The draft resolution sponsored by 42 States has not neglected that problem while taking good care not to impose any solutions on the Korean people.

Indeed, operative paragraph 3 of our text proposes observance of the principles of the North-South Joint Communiqué, practical measures to eliminate tensions and military confrontation, a guarantee that force will not be used against either side and the maintenance in Korea of a durable peace that will permit the acceleration of the independent and peaceful reunification of the country.

It is incorrect to say that the draft of the 42 States seeks to exclude South Korea from the process of building peace and the reunification of Korea. We deem it the duty of the United Nations to encourage the entire Korean people to achieve their national aspirations on the basis of the three principles of independence, peaceful reunification and the great union of the nation. We sincerely hope that, to that end, North and South Korea will continue their dialogue in accordance with the spirit of the North-South Joint Communiqué of 4 July 1972.

If progress in that direction has not yet been made, the only ones to blame are the leaders in Séoul who flagrantly violate the commitments they have entered into.

The People's Democratic Republic of Korea has through concrete acts demonstrated that it is firmly determined to act consistently to create conditions favourable to the peaceful and democratic reunification of Korea and to extinguish the hotbed of tension in the Korean peninsula. On its initiative, and on the basis of its proposals, as we know, in 1972 the North-South Joint Communiqué was adopted, containing a statement of the principles for reunification.

And then it was again the Government of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea which, on 23 June 1973, presented the five-point programme for the reunification of Korea. This afternoon, in this chamber, the Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Li Jong Mok, the head of the delegation of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea, whose presence among us we warmly welcome, has clearly and in detail presented the position and the proposals of his country regarding the specific ways and means for eliminating tension in Korea, increasing confidence between the North and the South, ensuring a durable peace and achieving the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea.

(Mr. Datcu, Romania)

As regards the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.708/Rev.1, we note that it does not respond to the aspirations of the Korean people because it does not deal with the essence of the problem -- that is, the elimination of foreign interference in Korea and the independent reunification of the country. Furthermore, the term "independence" is conspicuous by its absence from the entire draft resolution, and the text contains obvious contradictions. Thus, in the second operative paragraph, the text speaks of new arrangements designed to replace the Armistice Agreement, while the third and fourth operative paragraphs insist on the need to ensure the maintenance and continued observation of the Armistice Agreement. The road to peace becomes too long and too obscure, when what is suggested is the substitution of one temporary measure by another. Really, one cannot but think that the provisional is what lasts.

However, even if we concede that the authors of this draft are speaking of replacing the Armistice Agreement, they do not tell us what those new arrangements designed to replace the Armistice Agreement would be. Would it not be normal to think that the best arrangement would be a peace agreement?

As regards the fourth operative paragraph, it is, to say the least, vague. The foreign armed troops stationed in Korea will not ipso facto vanish into thin air merely because the United Nations Command is dissolved. In order that none of those foreign troops now placed under the United Nations flag should remain they must really be withdrawn from South Korea and not be maintained there under another cover.

Romania has never ceased to militate for respect for the inalienable right of the Korean people to decide their own destiny. My country resolutely supports the just struggle of the Korean people for the peaceful and independent reunification of their country on the basis of the five-point proposal presented by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. We reject any attempts to create two Koreas and to render permanent the division of that nation.

In conformity with our position of principle regarding the need to liquidate foreign military bases and to withdraw all foreign troops from the territory of other States, Romania declares itself resolutely in favour of the immediate withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the United Nations flag.

The visit of President Kim Il Sung to Romania this year was a new occasion to reaffirm the complete solidarity of the Romanian people with the just struggle

(Mr. Datcu, Romania)

of the Korean people for the peaceful, democratic and independent reunification of their country. At that time a treaty of friendship and co-operation between our two countries was signed by President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Kim Il Sung. Article X of that treaty stipulates that:

"The high contracting parties pronounce themselves against any attempt by imperialism designed to dismember other States and against the policy of oppression and domination of other peoples.

"We shall resolutely militate in the future also for the withdrawal of aggressive foreign troops from South Korea, and for the solution of the problem of the reunification of Korea by the Koreans themselves in an independent and peaceful manner on the basis of democratic principles."

I should like to end by stating that my delegation considers that the time has come to take resolute measures to release the United Nations from the trap it was pushed into 25 years ago and to correct the consequences of a mistake which is still an onerous burden on its activities and its prestige. We believe that conditions now exist to make the United Nations a genuine instrument of co-operation and of the solution of the major problems confronting mankind, by relieving it of a cumbersome inheritance dating back to an obsolete era. That is our right and our responsibility.

My delegation appeals to the members of this Committee to support the draft resolution sponsored by 42 countries because in our opinion it proposes measures that accord with both the principles of the United Nations and the legitimate rights and fundamental interests of the Korean people. We are convinced that by acting thus the General Assembly will give concrete proof of its ability to encourage positive processes in Korea and to contribute to the building of a just and durable peace in that region and the entire world.

Mr. ITOUA (Congo) (interpretation from French): I should like to congratulate the Chairman particularly warmly and also the other officers of the First Committee and to assure them of our entire co-operation. We are convinced that under their highly skilled leadership the proceedings of our important Committee will be most successful.

In this year when we celebrate the thirtieth anniversary of the United Nations, it is faced once again with a problem which is disturbing from many standpoints and as old as the Organization itself. That is the question of Korea which is both a challenge and one of the most flagrant injustices of our time; its victim was the glorious Korean people which, after a long national liberation struggle, full of self-sacrifice, against colonialism, had to suffer the arbitrary division of its country and hence is unable to occupy its lawful place within our Organization. In this regard, the People's Republic of the Congo believes that it is high time for the international community to make the United States, the enemy of a small people whose only and burning desire and unanimous wish is to live and build its country in peace, come to its senses.

That is why my delegation, inspired by the will to work sincerely to seek ways and means of promoting a rapid settlement of this problem, is happy, along with a considerable number of other countries, to co-sponsor the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.709 which recommends, inter alia, the dissolution of the United Nations Command, the withdrawal from South Korea of all foreign armed forces stationed there under the United Nations flag and the replacement of the Armistice Agreement by a peace agreement, and we think that this should be given high priority.

We are particularly happy because the Congolese revolution, true to its basic objectives, has always supported and continues actively to support, as it does in all just causes, the profound aspirations of the Korean people for an independent and genuine reunification of its country.

In this regard, we have to note that since 1945, the year when Korea was unjustly divided, the achievement of this objective has not come any closer in spite of the many proposals and relevant suggestions of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the support of peace-loving countries. International imperialism, engaging in all sorts of manoeuvres, thus bears the entire responsibility for the serious situation in Korea, a situation which is a threat to international peace and security.

(Mr. Itoua, Congo)

Several delegations which have spoken before me have deplored the fact that the United States, contrary to the provisions of paragraph 60 of article 4 and paragraph C of article 13 of the Armistice Agreement, have continued to station in the south of the Korean peninsula a considerable number of troops under the flag of the United Nations and, what is more, have been strengthening their arsenal every day. This has created a situation of tension and, as we have stressed before, a permanent state of insecurity in the region.

That is why we consider as pure invention the statements of imperialism that there is an alleged threat of invasion of the south of Korea by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

We want to make it quite clear that we condemn foreign occupation and the flagrant intervention of imperialism in the internal affairs of Korea. The United States of America must, without delay, withdraw its troops from Korea and put an unconditional end to the South Korean/United States mutual defence Treaty.

We are happy to note that the will of all the Korean people to bring about, in complete independence, the peaceful reunification of their divided country, remains unshakeable.

That is why the People's Republic of the Congo warmly welcomed the Joint North-South Communiqué of 4 July 1972 which, because of the principles contained therein, in the view of my delegation still constitutes a useful basis for negotiations between the two parts of Korea. Furthermore, the relevance of that agreement, which we hardly need to stress, was confirmed at the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations when my own country, along with other peace and justice-loving countries took an active part in the search for ways and means to make it possible for the Korean people themselves to settle, peacefully and without any foreign intervention, the problem of their divided country. We believe that it is more than ever indispensable now for the three principles of the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea to be scrupulously respected and applied by the United States of America and the authorities of South Korea.

But unfortunately the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.708/Rev.1, far from formulating, and assisting in a correct solution of the Korean problem is actually an attempt to have the United Nations endorse the division of Korea

(Mr. Itoua, Congo)

which the co-sponsors of this draft resolution want to be permanent. Indeed, that draft resolution, although it recommends, on certain conditions, the dissolution of the United Nations Command, an instrument of aggression in the hands of imperialism, makes no reference to the withdrawal of foreign armed forces from South Korea, a withdrawal which, in the view of my delegation, is the core of the problem involved in the Korean situation. There is no doubt that this omission is not liable to bring about a peaceful settlement of the problem.

We claim, therefore, that any attempt to solve the Korean problem which would set aside the examination of the question of the withdrawal of foreign troops -- a very important precondition for the reunification and the restoration of peace in Korea and in the area -- would necessarily meet with the opposition of all the Korean people and the other peoples of the world.

That is why my delegation considers unacceptable the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.708/Rev.1 of 14 October 1975. We remain convinced that the First Committee -- and no one doubts its objectivity and effectiveness -- will be able to avoid falling into this trap.

We, for our part, feel that if the United States Government really wants Korea to be reunited, that great Power must put an unconditional end to the occupation of South Korea by its troops. The people of South Korea, encouraged by the great achievements in the northern half of the country, are struggling energetically to overthrow the fascist military dictatorship of Park Jung Hee and to achieve, in the context of the freedom they have recovered, the liberation and reunification of their country. We must remember that Korea belongs to the whole Korean people. That is how it must be.

My delegation, therefore, would like to repeat its profound conviction that the just struggle of the Korean people, thanks to the support of the other peoples of the world, is bound to prevail.



The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from French): I thank the representative of the Congo for his congratulations to me and the other officers. With the Committee's consent, I propose to close the list of speakers tomorrow, Wednesday, 22 October, at 5.00 p.m.

Mr. DRISS (Tunisia) (interpretation from French): I shall have occasion to speak on the substance of this problem at a later stage. At this point I should merely like to put a question to the Secretariat.

We have heard in all the statements, and have read in all the draft resolutions, a reference to the Armistice Agreement. I should like to know whether that Agreement has been issued as a United Nations document and, if so, under what number? If not, would it be possible for copies of that Agreement to be distributed to delegations in all the working languages? Would it at least be possible to have an analysis of the United Nations obligations -- and I say obligations advisedly -- stemming from that Agreement? Of course, we are aware of what took place some 20 years ago, and when we study the question of Korea we have a number of documents at our disposal. But this is an exceedingly important element in our debate because we are embarked upon a discussion of the problem of dissolution of the United Nations Command and replacement of the Armistice Agreement by a peace agreement, and I am afraid that we need further clarification before we can shoulder our responsibilities with full knowledge of the facts.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from French): I call upon the Committee Secretary to reply to this question.

Mr. BANERJEE (Secretary of the Committee): We will consider the request of the representative of Tunisia and tomorrow I shall be able to give him a specific answer as to whether, and if so where, that document is available.

Mr. SALIFOU (Niger) (interpretation from French): I should like to support the request of the representative of Tunisia. Last year, indeed, we had to deal with this problem and were obliged to turn to the documents service, from which it seemed we could obtain this document, which had been issued as an official document of the Security Council in 1953. Unfortunately, the documents service was unable to provide us with that document, and today we should still like to have copies of it. That is why I firmly support the proposal of the representative of Tunisia. I do not ask, as he did, that the Agreement be summarized or analysed, but that the Agreement be distributed to us in its entirety so that everyone here can study it and acquaint himself with it properly. So far, many representatives have heard it mentioned; some have even mentioned it themselves, but I am not sure that all are thoroughly familiar with the terms of that Agreement.

The meeting rose at 6.35 p.m.