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Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Tuesday, 3 December 1974, at 10.30 a.m.

<u>Chairman:</u>	Mr. SIDDIQ (Vice-Chairman)	(Afghanistan)
<u>Rapporteur:</u>	Mr. COSTA LOBO	(Portugal)

- Question of Korea /204/ (continued)
 - (a) Withdrawal of all the foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the flag of the United Nations
 - (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 co-operation of delegations in strictly observing this time-limit would be greatly appreciated.

AGENDA ITEM 104 (continued)

QUESTION OF KOREA

- (a) WITHDRAWAL OF ALL THE FOREIGN TROOPS STATIONED IN SOUTH KOREA UNDER THE FLAG OF THE UNITED NATIONS
- (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/9705/Add.1-3, A/9741/Add.1-5 and Corr.1; A/C.1/1048, 1049/Add.1; A/C.1/L.676, L.677, L.704)

Mr. GROZEV (Bulgaria) (interpretation from French). Once again, the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly is discussing and has to take a decision on a political problem of outstanding importance, namely the question of Korea.

Before giving the views of the Bulgarian delegation, I should like to stress something which is, in our view, of fundamental importance to this discussion. Once again, it appears that departure from the fundamental principles of the United Nations Charter inevitably leads to negative results and makes more difficult a solution of complex political problems and damages the authority of the whole Organization. This can be seen particularly clearly demonstrated at this session of the General Assembly. It is a matter of coincidence or, rather, as a result of historical developments that our Organization has had to deal at this session with three problems in respect of which it bears particular responsibility: those of Cyprus, Palestine and Korea.

The solution of those problems on a just and lasting basis has been postponed and delayed, above all because of the violation of two fundamental principles of the Charter, the right of peoples to self-determination and independence and the right to exercise their sovereignty in settling their own internal problems.

Mr. Prozev, Bulgaria)

The discussion of the Korean question in the United Nations has a long history. It is regrettable that that history cannot be credited to our Organization. After the tragic events in Korea that resulted from the aggressive acts of imperialist forces, those forces managed for many years to avoid holding a debate on the substance of the Korean problem. It was also the fault of those same circles that the examination of these problems took place without the participation of one of the parties directly concerned, that is, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. The principal purpose of the resolutions adopted in those circumstances was to prolong the existence of the so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea, which had been illegally created.

The practical results of those actions and that incorrect approach to the Korean problem was the military occupation of the south of the country and the division of the Korean people which has continued to the present day.

(Mr. Grozev, Bulgaria)

Last year the General Assembly put an end to discrimination against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, and Members of the United Nations had an opportunity to hear for the first time the views of its delegation. This was an important step towards the restoration of the authority of our Organization, and certainly it has also contributed a great deal to an objective examination of the substance of the Korean problem and has yielded the first positive results. With the unanimous agreement of the General Assembly, the so-called United Nations Commission for the Reunification and Rehabilitation of Korea was dissolved. It was also acknowledged by all that it was necessary to continue efforts towards the reunification of the country by peaceful means, on the basis of the principles of the North-South Joint Communiqué, dated 4 July 1972.

The granting to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea of the status of permanent observer in the United Nations and the establishment of a permanent mission in New York was of fundamental importance for the examination and a normal and objective settlement of the Korean problem.

I should like to take this opportunity to congratulate most cordially the delegation here of the fraternal country of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, headed by the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Comrade Li Jong Mok.

The reunification of Korea, 29 years after the division of the country and 21 years after the conclusion of the armistice, has still not been achieved. There is no doubt that this reunification would have occurred long ago if the Korean people had been able to settle, in exercise of their sovereignty and without outside interference, the problems of its future. After the important decisions adopted at the twenty-eighth session, it would be only natural and logical now for the General Assembly to take a further step forward, in keeping with the United Nations Charter, and create the necessary conditions for a solution of the Korean problem. It is precisely this which determines, in our view, the importance of the discussion of the Korean question at this session. The General Assembly would be doing its duty if it expressed clearly and categorically its views on a problem, the solution to which can brook no further delay. The General Assembly should recognize that the

(Mr. Grozev, Bulgaria)

maintenance of foreign troops in South Korea, that is to say, a continuation of intervention in the internal affairs of Korea, is the major obstacle to dialogue between the north and the south in order to bring about the independent and peaceful reunification of the country.

An analysis of the development of the situation in the Korean peninsula shows most clearly that the present purpose of the United Nations is to give every encouragement to the elimination of external obstacles to the reunification of the country, in the light of the clearly-expressed will of the whole Korean people. Indeed, that is precisely what the consensus of 28 November 1973 calls for, the consensus which expressed the general hope that the south and the north would continue their dialogue and expand their exchanges and co-operation.

The facts show that this unanimous decision of the General Assembly has been complied with by only one of the parties, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Faithful to its unswerving policy in keeping with the principles of the North-South Joint Communiqué, the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is continuing energetically and constantly to do everything in its power to bring about as soon as possible a practical solution to the reunification of the country.

The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has proposed to the South Korean authorities that representatives of all sectors of the population of the south and the north should take part in the dialogue, and that talks under the auspices of the Red Cross, in the spirit of the Joint Communiqué, should be resumed, and that the barriers to reunification should be removed. The proposals of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea with regard to the signing of a peace agreement between north and south, which would bind the two parties not to resort to force in their relations, proposals for the reduction of the armed forces of the two parties and the elimination of all military confrontation, are by no means of minor importance. All those proposals and the concrete and constructive initiatives of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, proposals which apply equally to the South Korean authorities and to other interested countries, were stated once again in the detailed declaration of the leader of the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Comrade Li Jong Mok, in the Fourth Committee on 25 November this year.

It is clear that the policy of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is based upon the sincere wish of its Government to put an end as soon as possible to the division of Korea, so that the internal affairs of the nation can be settled by the Korean people itself without any outside interference, in keeping with the principle of national self-determination and by peaceful means.

In flagrant contradiction to this reasonable policy, which takes account of the aspirations of the whole Korean people, the South Koreans and those who support them still continue to oppose the efforts of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. The purpose of this conduct is to thwart the practical implementation of the principles for the peaceful reunification of the country, laid down in the Joint Communiqué. The policy of the South Korean authorities can really only be explained as thinly veiled ambition, the principal aim of which is, by relying on outside forces, to nullify the results already achieved. All the arguments which we heard repeated here a few days ago to the effect that the proposals of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea are "unrealistic", as they put it, and have some hidden intent behind them, are obviously without foundation and their only purpose is to divert the attention of world public opinion and that of the United Nations from the true causes of the failure of efforts to solve the Korean problem.

(Mr. Grozev, Bulgaria)

They are in fact a reflection of the lack of genuine will to abide by the principles of the Joint Communiqué and to continue the dialogue. They betray an intention to freeze the positive results already achieved and to reduce the opportunities that had emerged for developing many forms of co-operation between the South and the North in the political, economic, military and cultural fields and in others.

Can anyone have any doubt concerning the basis of this policy and the source of its inspiration? It is a secret to no one that, while on the territory of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea there is not a single foreign soldier, in South Korea there are still, today, tens of thousands of armed foreign troops, American troops, who, moreover, are illegally using the flag of the United Nations and acting under the fictitious Command of the world Organization. The United Nations can no longer go on ignoring these facts if our Organization really wishes to make a contribution to the peaceful reunification of Korea.

That is why it is high time that the General Assembly took a clear and unequivocal stand on the key problem involved in carrying out the reunification of Korea and reducing tension in that area; that is, the withdrawal of all foreign troops from South Korea, and the cessation of foreign intervention in the internal affairs of the Korean people. Unless that problem is resolved, any statement expressing a wish or an intention to contribute to the peaceful and independent reunification of Korea is nothing but empty words. Such statements testify either to a lack of sincerity and a lack of will to accelerate the solution of the Korean problem, or to an unjustifiably subjective assessment of the actual situation.

The Korean people rightly expect the United Nations to give its unreserved support to its just cause and likewise expects our Organization to make an effective contribution to the creation of conditions favourable to the sovereign and peaceful reunification of the country.

As I have already emphasized, the United Nations bears a particular responsibility for the situation that persists in Korea. All the necessary conditions exist at the present time for the General Assembly to undo the harm that has been done to the authority of our Organization through the decision taken 24 years ago in contravention of the United Nations Charter. Doing so

(Mr. Grozev, Bulgaria)

would serve to bolster the confidence of the Korean people in the ability of the United Nations to contribute to the reunification of the country and the establishment of a lasting peace in that region of the world.

In full accord with its unswerving and consistent policy of supporting the just cause of the Korean people, the People's Republic of Bulgaria was one of the sponsors of the proposal to include in the agenda of the twenty-ninth session the item entitled "Withdrawal of all the foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the flag of the United Nations", and also of the draft resolution, submitted by 38 Member States -- or perhaps 39 by now -- appearing in document A/C.1/L.677. We are firmly convinced that the adoption of that draft resolution will be an important and perhaps decisive step towards the elimination of a historic injustice and towards the normalization of the situation in the Korean peninsula. Indeed, this draft resolution contains all the elements necessary to encourage efforts to bring about the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea on the basis of a fruitful dialogue between the North and the South.

The presence of foreign armed forces in South Korea is a political anachronism, since it is obviously in contradiction of the objective universally acknowledged -- although in some cases acknowledged in words only -- of putting an end to an abnormal situation, namely the division of the Korean people. If that is indeed the aim the United Nations wishes to achieve, it would be quite natural, fair and legitimate for the North and the South to be placed on an equal footing in the quest for a solution of this problem which is of such vital importance for the future of Korea. In other words, it is absolutely necessary to establish the conditions that will make it possible for the two parties to take action along these lines in circumstances of equal sovereignty and independence.

As a matter of fact, the decision to dissolve the so-called Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea has confirmed the absence of any legal justification for the interference by the United Nations in the internal affairs of Korea. That decision of the General Assembly has at the same time done away with any legal justification for the maintenance of foreign troops in South Korea under the United Nations flag or on any other pretext whatsoever.

The adoption of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.677 would represent an act of collective political wisdom and would be a new affirmation

(Mr. Grozev, Bulgaria)

of the fundamental principles of the Charter. At the same time, it would be in keeping with the interests of peace and the aspirations of the entire Korean people, and in the interests of peace and security in the Far East and in the world as a whole.

The United Nations cannot fail to respond to the most sacred aspirations of this heroic and industrious people, this people that has undergone so much suffering and made so many sacrifices to safeguard its national independence and its liberty.

Several months ago I had the opportunity of visiting that magnificent country, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and of forming an idea of the fervent desire of the Korean people to live in peace and to work for the accelerated economic and social development of their country. The remarkable success of the hard-working Korean people in the north of the country shows how much greater could have been the results of peaceful construction if the efforts of the entire people and the natural resources of both the North and the South could have been combined, and when these efforts are exerted in circumstances in which people know that they are working for their own future and prosperity.

Times change. Today the approach to the Korean question can be and must be completely different from the approach that was forced on the United Nations at a time when the forces which preferred confrontation to political and peaceful solution of international problems had the upper hand in certain countries.

(Mr. Grozev, Bulgaria)

That is why the adoption of a resolution which would lead as soon as possible to the withdrawal of foreign troops from North Korea would be in keeping with the general wish to extend to all parts of the world the positive changes which have occurred in international relations. The events of recent years have shown that many controversial political problems inherited from the past can be solved peacefully, precisely in a situation where there has been a further improvement in the general political climate.

The Bulgarian delegation would like to express its conviction that it is precisely along these lines that both the efforts and the decisions of the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly will be aimed.

Mr. ROMULO (Philippines): The question of Korea is of the utmost concern to the Philippines, because it encompasses the security and the peace of our part of the world. Although the United Nations has for many years been involved in this problem, we need to remind ourselves of its importance and the strategic role of Korea. A glance at the map will reveal an important and significant fact, namely that Korea is a vital link between the political and economic areas of the world. It is a bridge between the super-powers concerned, and also the interests of a third group of nations, the Middle East, and another major power that is a recognized industrial giant of our time. In discussing the Korean problem, we must bear in mind the imperatives as well as the imponderables of history and of the power game. Whatever happens in Korea will vitally affect the world at large and, more importantly, and more significantly, our region. For this reason my delegation is taking the floor today, because it considers this matter to be of vital importance to our area.

I say that the United Nations has long been involved in Korea, and it is in the context of this involvement that my country has chosen to play its part for the past two decades. The Philippines contributed its share to the United Nations forces when our organization was called upon to repel aggression in Korea in 1950. The Philippines played an active role in the continuing efforts of the United Nations towards the reunification of an independent, democratic and peaceful Korea. As we take the floor today, it is not our intention to engage in polemics or in a discussion of the merits and demerits

(Mr. Romulo, Philippines)

prompted mainly by a desire to make sure that our motives are not misunderstood, motives that are rooted in our own self-interest and in the preservation and maintenance of security and peace in our region.

The Philippines stands for a reunited, independent, democratic and peaceful Korea. We feel that this reunification has been long overdue and we deem it our duty to offer our whole-hearted co-operation towards the speedy achievement of this objective.

Last year the Philippine delegation was pleased with the action taken by the General Assembly when it adopted the consensus in which it noted with satisfaction that a Joint Communiqué had been issued by South and North Korea on 4 July 1972, which provided for the following three principles on the reunification of Korea which, for the purpose of emphasis, I should like to restate: (1) it should be achieved independently, without reliance upon outside force or interference; (2) it should be achieved by peaceful means without recourse to the use of arms against the other side; and (3) great national unity should be promoted.

Furthermore, the consensus stated that it was the general hope that South and North Korea would be urged to continue their dialogue and widen their many-sided exchange and co-operation in the spirit of their Joint Communiqué so as to expedite the independent peaceful reunification of the country.

In the view of the Philippine delegation, that consensus was a step in the right direction. It is a pity that one year later the wisdom of that consensus is being called in question without being given time and opportunity to prove itself. The south-north dialogue in Korea was in its initial stages up to the moment when the consensus was adopted by the General Assembly. It is understandable that difficulties and problems should arise during the contacts and talks between the two parties, but my delegation does not consider them grievous impediments or impossible obstacles when we take note of the breakthrough in which the two parties had agreed freely and voluntarily to move forward towards reunification through peaceful contacts and talks. I believe it is our bounded duty in the United Nations to bring the two parties to a realization of the wisdom and the usefulness of their Joint Communiqué of 4 July 1972,

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which should not be senselessly dissipated after so short a period of time. The General Assembly, therefore, should exert earnest efforts to urge both South and North Korea to continue their dialogue to expedite the peaceful reunification of Korea.

At the same time, my delegation feels that the Korean Armistice Agreement should be maintained while ways and means of promoting the peaceful reunification of Korea are being sought. It has effectively served its purpose and should, therefore, continue to serve such a purpose if only to prevent the exacerbation of tensions that could suddenly erupt into unfortunate hostilities. The General Assembly least of all should lend encouragement to the adoption of measures designed to weaken the Armistice Agreement before truce and genuine peace can be achieved in the Korean peninsula.

The reason why my delegation is firmly opposed to the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.677 is that such a resolution would negate the intrinsic value of the Armistice Agreement in maintaining peace and promoting a south-north dialogue. After the hostilities of 1950 to 1953 it cannot be denied that the truce in Korea had been admirably maintained for 20 years thanks to the security arrangements in the Armistice Agreement.

Less we forget, the United Nations is a party to the Armistice Agreement. The draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.677 totally ignores that fact and unqualifiedly calls for the withdrawal of all the foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the flag of the United Nations. If this is done, it is imperative that there be alternative arrangements to maintain the truce in the Korean peninsula.

From the documents before us, we are made aware of the problems and the difficulties of the Korean people, most serious of which is the atmosphere of distrust between the north and the south. There is extreme tension, no doubt, but this is kept within bounds because of the Armistice Agreement. After 20 years of cease-fire in the peninsula, could we now suddenly afford to discard the instrument that had kept the peace and thereby now court disaster? As our draft resolution (A/C.1/L.676) makes crystal clear, it is the responsibility of the Security Council to determine the adequacy of such alternative arrangements if it should heed any recommendation to dissolve the United Nations Command.

(Mr. Romulo, Philippines)

We have spoken with some feeling because of the fact I have already pointed out: that we belong to the same region as Korea. We can only add that those countries geographically distant from Korea would perhaps feel as we do if and when a problem vital to peace and security arises in their own midst. We are right there, on the spot, and therefore our interest is far-reaching and significant.

These are the considerations which move the Philippine delegation to sponsor the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.676. For the same reasons, my delegation will vote against the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.677.

Mr. PUNTSAGNOROV (Mongolia) (interpretation from Russian): The Mongolian delegation would first of all like to welcome the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, led by the Deputy Foreign Minister, Comrade Li Jong Mok. We have already had an opportunity to hear the statement of comrade Li Jong Mok who, as he did at the twenty-eighth session, depicted the actual state of affairs in the Korean peninsula and put forward a number of constructive proposals designed to bring about the independent and peaceful reunification of his fatherland.

The Mongolian delegation, together with socialist and many other States, is a sponsor of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.677. As is well known, at last year's session the General Assembly of the United Nations decided to dissolve the so-called United Nations Commission for the Reunification and Rehabilitation of Korea. At that time our delegation appraised that decision as the first important step towards the positive discussion of the Korean problem in the United Nations. At the same time, we pointed out that the most important elements in the Korean problem still awaited a solution. We consider it logical for the United Nations now to take the next decisive step towards the removal of the major obstacle to a solution of the Korean problem, that is, a decision to withdraw all foreign troops occupying South Korea under the United Nations flag. That is precisely the fundamental content of the draft resolution of which we are a sponsor. Like the other sponsors, we have proceeded on the basis of universally acknowledged principles of international relations enshrined in the United Nations Charter and the historic decisions of the Organization, which recognize the sovereign right of every people to determine its own destiny independently without any outside interference.

It is now high time to put an end to the abnormal situation where the presence of foreign troops in South Korea, in despite of the aspirations and wishes of the Korean people, is hindering its national reunification. Interference in the internal affairs of Korea under the cover of the United Nations, which has gone on for more than two decades now, has done serious damage to the prestige and authority of our Organization.

(Mr. Puntsagnorov, Mongolia)

As we are aware, this painful fact in the life of the United Nations derives from the dark times of the cold war when imperialistic circles attempted to use the United Nations to justify their aggressive policy of intervention in the internal affairs of other countries and of support of reactionary régimes. It was precisely those circles which in June and July 1950 imposed upon the Security Council, in the absence of some of its permanent members and without hearing the representatives of all the interested parties, a number of illegal decisions which sanctioned the dispatch to Korea of foreign troops under the United Nations flag.

It is well known that the so-called United Nations Force sent to Korea and formally representing 16 States in fact were American troops which were financed by the United States. The so-called United Nations Command in fact is an American command, neither accountable to nor under the control of the United Nations. Thus, the United Nations flag, in flagrant violation of the Charter, continues to mask intervention in the internal affairs of the Korean people.

There is no justification for the stationing of foreign troops on Korean soil, particularly because in the territory of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea there is not a single foreign soldier. It is no secret that the presence of American troops and the setting up of military bases in the South of Korea is dictated by far-reaching strategic calculations of the Pentagon. The presence of a vast South Korean Army which, according to the testimony of the representative of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, considerably exceeds the armed forces of the North, the military training in South Korea simulating an invasion of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the flow of American weapons into South Korea, and other facts show what is the real source of the threat to peace in the Far East. The presence of foreign troops in South Korea is helping the Seoul régime to suppress the democratic movement and to stifle the authentic voice of the people, is multiplying the sufferings of millions of separated families, is inciting the South Korean authorities to confrontation with the North and is exacerbating the situation in the Far East. That is why, in our view,

(Mr. Puntsagnorov, Mongolia)

the struggle of the Korean people for the withdrawal of foreign troops from the south of the country is in its very essence just and lawful and is a liberation struggle which expresses the fundamental national interests of Korea, the interests of ensuring peace and security in Asia and in the Far East. It is no accident that its struggle has met with widespread international support.

Regardless of the fact that some people are trying to distort the essence of the situation, the fact remains that the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has been consistently in favour of the independent, peaceful and democratic reunification of the country and of a solution to the key problems which would promote national reunification of the country.

The representatives of the South Korean authorities, however, speaking under the camouflage of democratic phraseology, favour the preservation and perpetuation of the division of Korea and support in practice the maintenance of the occupation of the country by foreign troops. Such a fallacious policy, of course, cannot fail to arouse ever-growing indignation on the part of widespread circles among the population of South Korea, including people of the most varied political convictions and religious persuasions.

In this connexion, I should like to refer to a letter from eight United States Congressmen of 30 October 1974 to the President of the United States in which they urged that he should express the growing concern of Americans at the suppression of democratic freedoms occurring in South Korea.

(Mr. Puntsagnorov, Mongolia)

My delegation is against any attempts designed to keep foreign troops in Korea and to perpetuate the division of the country. We have in mind particularly the proposal of the simultaneous admission to the United Nations of representatives of the two parts of Korea, or the admission of those of one part of it. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic attaches considerable importance to the implementation of the three principles agreed upon by both parties for the national reunification of Korea. My Government supports the unification programme of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea that consists of five points and was put forward by President Kim Il Sung on 23 June 1973. That programme reflects the policy of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea that the Korean people itself should solve the Korean problem by means of talks between the North and the South. We would like to highlight the importance of such peaceful initiatives on the part of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea as the message of the Supreme National Assembly of that country to the Congress of the United States with regard to the holding of talks for the conclusion of a peace agreement between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the United States with the purpose of creating pre-conditions for the independent and peaceful reunification of the country, the proposal of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for expanding the Co-ordination Commission, and the proposal of President Kim Il Sung, of 4 March 1974, in which he once again appealed for the convening of a great national congress or a political consultative conference of the North and the South. We believe that the proposal of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is designed to improve the situation on the Korean peninsula, the strengthening of mutual understanding and trust between the South and the North, and the creating of favourable conditions for the implementation of the aspirations of the Korean people for reunification.

My delegation would like to point out that in recent years, thanks to the efforts of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, actively supported by the socialist and many peace-loving States, certain encouraging trends have been observed in the Korean peninsula. I have in mind in particular the dialogue which has taken place between representatives of the North and the South of Korea, the results of which were reflected in the Joint Communiqué of 4 July 1972 and also in the creation of a standing

(Mr. Puntsagnorov, Mongolia)

political consultative organ, the Co-ordination Committee of North and South. It is the duty of the United Nations to do everything in its power to promote the development and strengthening of these positive trends. The withdrawal of all foreign troops from South Korea would not only remove a fundamental obstacle to the national reunification of the Korean people and facilitate the dialogue between North and South, but would also eliminate a source of dangerous tension in the Far East; and this, without any doubt, would promote further easing of international tension.

The Mongolian delegation calls upon members of the Committee to support the draft resolution A/C.1/L.677, and by so doing, to make a contribution to the positive solution of one of the important problems of the day.

Mr. MARTYNENKO (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (interpretation from Russian): The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR, first of all, would like most cordially to welcome the delegation of the Korean Democratic People's Republic at this session of the General Assembly of the United Nations to take part in the discussion of the Korean question.

We would also like most warmly to congratulate the head of the delegation, Deputy Foreign Minister, Comrade Li Jong Mok, for his remarkable statement of 25 November, in which he gave us a profound analysis of the Korean problem, depicting the just and impartial position of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and giving us a detailed explanation of the policy for attaining the peaceful reunification of Korea.

Thanks to the efforts of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, actively supported by the Soviet Union, the socialist and many peace-loving countries, with regard to the problem of settling the Korean question, some very favourable elements have now emerged. The official representatives of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and of South Korea held direct talks, the results of which are contained in the Joint Communiqué of the North and the South, dated 4 July 1972. In order to solve the issues between the two parts of Korea and to promote the peaceful reunification of the country, a standing political consultative organ was set up, the Co-ordination Committee of North and South.

(Mr. Martynenko, Ukrainian SSR)

However, the talks, which have already gone on for more than two years now within the framework of the Co-ordination Committee, have not yielded any results, since the Seoul régime has adopted an attitude of open obstruction and engages in fruitless discussion on secondary matters. In South Korea itself, the authorities continue their harsh persecution of all patriots who are in favour of establishing broad links with the North and the democratization of public life in the South. In their reluctance to respond to the proposals of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, and in their desire to perpetuate the division of Korea into two States, the South Korean authorities are relying primarily on the foreign troops which, for more than 20 years, have occupied South Korea. As was correctly pointed out in his statement by the head of the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Comrade Li Jong Mok, the presence in South Korea of foreign troops in the Korean peninsula and throughout the Far East, preserves tension and perpetuates the constant threat to peace.

Such a situation, quite naturally, is arousing serious concern on the part of many States and peoples. Thirty-eight countries, including the Ukrainian SSR, proposed the inclusion of the item on the agenda entitled, "Withdrawal of all the foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the flag of the United Nations". This is a reflection of the growing concern of world public opinion about the continuing illegal foreign occupation of the south of Korea and the consequent danger to the cause of peace in this part of the world. The perpetuation of this situation, which has been in existence now for more than two decades, has engendered a very dangerous source of tension in the Far East. It goes without saying that the withdrawal of foreign troops would promote the strengthening of peace and security in this part of the world and would be in keeping with the interests of the Korean people itself and with the realization of its aspirations for the peaceful, democratic reunification of the country. The favourable changes which have occurred in the world, now under the influence of the easing of international tension, have created favourable conditions for a constructive discussion of this topical and urgent problem at this session of the General Assembly.

(Mr. Martynenko, Ukrainian SSR)

The Ukrainian SSR accepted with satisfaction the decision taken at the twenty-eighth session for the dissolution of the so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea. We view this decision as a considerable victory for all peace-loving States and as a first attempt to call a halt to the use of the United Nations as a cover for purposes and aims that have nothing in common with the principles and purposes of the Charter of this international Organization.

We also welcomed the cessation of discrimination against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the participation of its representatives in the discussion of the Korean item. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR views this as evidence that, after a long period of flagrant and inadmissible discrimination against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the United Nations has begun to do something to remedy what had been imposed by the imperialist Powers during the years of the cold war in violation of the principles of the Charter, namely, the decision to intervene in the internal affairs of the Korean people. The United Nations has taken a first step in this important matter, and now it would be only natural and logical, as has already been pointed out today, to take the next step and completely halt intervention in the affairs of Korea, and by so doing to create favourable conditions for the settlement by the Korean people itself of its own internal affairs. Such a logical step is dictated by the United Nations Charter and by the need to maintain and to strengthen peace and by the inadmissibility of such a disgraceful situation where the United Nations flag is still being used to justify illegal intervention in the affairs of the Korean people.

The presence of foreign troops in South Korea is a source of constant military and political tension in the Korean peninsula, and an obstacle to the normalization of relations between both parts of Korea. This is particularly intolerable in conditions in which, upon the initiative of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, practical steps are being taken towards the peaceful democratic reunification of the country. The delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea said in its statement that it had a proposal consisting of five points drafted by the Government of the Democratic People's Republic on national reunification, the essence of which is:

(Mr. Martynenko, Ukrainian SSR)

"to remove the state of military confrontation and ease tension between the north and the south, to realize many-sided collaboration and interchange between the north and the south, to convene a Great National Congress composed of the representatives of people of all walks of life and all political parties and social organizations in the north and the south, to institute a North-South Confederation under the single national title of the Confederate Republic of Koryo, and to enter the United Nations under the single national title." (2029th meeting, p. 42)

These proposals open the way for the Korean people to solve the problem of reunification in accordance with its will and national interests.

The broad and constructive programme of national reunification of Korea also put forward by the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in its memorandum of 7 October 1974 stresses the:

"invariable, consistent policy of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to put an early end to the division of Korea and settle the internal affairs of the nation by the Korean people themselves without any interference of outside forces in accordance with the principle of national self-determination and by peaceful means". (A/C.1/1048, p. 3)

The Ukrainian SSR supports the practical initiatives of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the consistent peaceful policy of that country which would promote a normalization of the situation in the Korean peninsula, the strengthening of peace in that part of the world, and would open up the way to peaceful national reunification.

Unfortunately, the Seoul régime, relying on outside forces, has adopted a course of open obstruction of the practical implementation of these initiatives. The Seoul authorities have, in practice, brought the dialogue between the People's Democratic Republic of Korea and South Korea to a standstill. Under various trumped-up pretexts, they have been rejecting the peaceful proposals of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea designed to avert military confrontation, to conclude a new peace agreement, and to expand comprehensive links between the two parts of Korea. The obstructionist policy of Seoul and its disregard of the principles of the Joint Communiqué of 4 July 1972 are hindering the solution of the Korean problem.

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We cannot but point out in this regard that the foreign troops in South Korea are in practice a major bulwark of the reactionary, anti-popular dictatorial régime and are used by it to extend their tenure of power and for the perpetuation of the division of Korea. The illegal presence of these troops under the camouflage of the United Nations flag is a hindrance to a peaceful settlement and a continuation of dialogue, is exacerbating the state of military confrontation and undermining the principles of preserving and perpetuating peace in Korea and in the Far East. Therefore, the continued stationing of foreign troops in South Korea is not only dangerous to the cause of peace in this area, undermining efforts aimed at normalizing and bringing about the peaceful reunification of the country, but also is damaging to the authority of the United Nations itself.

It should also be stressed that the continuing presence of foreign troops in South Korea constitutes a flagrant violation both of the Armistice Agreement in Korea, which provided for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea after the conclusion of the armistice, and of the principles of the Joint Communiqué of North and South aimed at the reunification of the country without foreign intervention. It is impossible to use the so-called American-South Korean treaty on mutual security in justification of the presence of American troops in South Korea since that is in violation of the Armistice Agreement in Korea. There is no legal basis for keeping foreign troops stationed in South Korea nor was there ever any basis for intervention in Korean affairs by means of the so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea, which was dissolved by a decision of the General Assembly at its twenty-eighth session.

The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR whole-heartedly shares the view of other delegations that the basis for the normalization of the situation in the Korean peninsula and for the peaceful democratic reunification of Korea is the immediate cessation of all intervention from outside in its affairs and the withdrawal of all foreign troops under the United Nations flag stationed in the south of the country, and this is precisely the purpose of the draft resolution introduced by a group of countries, including the Ukrainian SSR, in document A/C.1/L.677. The adoption of this draft resolution would be a decision that the Korean people has long awaited from the United Nations, a decision

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that would promote its efforts to reunify Korea in a single national State. The reunification of Korea is the internal affair of the Korean people and is a matter which should be settled by the Korean people itself without any outside intervention. This is its inalienable, sovereign right.

The presence of foreign troops in South Korea is a flagrant violation of this right, and these troops are playing the shameful role of a barrier to the fulfilment of the national aspirations and wishes of the Korean people.

At the same time we cannot but point out that the other draft resolution, which is contained in document A/C.1/L.676, entitled "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 in the Korean peninsula", has quite different purposes.

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behind the nebulous and lengthy title of the proposal lurks a desire to divert the attention of the General Assembly from the urgent key question of the withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea. In substance, the purpose of the proposal is to continue foreign intervention and maintain tension in Korea and in that part of the world.

The opponents of the withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea assert that such withdrawal would increase the danger of conflict, and they attempt to have recourse, for their purposes, to the non-existent, mythical "threat from the North".

None of these so-called arguments can withstand the slightest criticism.

We have also witnessed attempts to have recourse, for their purposes, to the issue of the so-called guarantees; but it has long been obvious that it is precisely the practical implementation of the peaceful proposals of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the easing of military confrontation and tension, the development of a peaceful dialogue between south and north, without outside interference, and the peaceful solution of all controversial issues -- and not the maintenance of the existing situation -- which is the best guarantee of peace in Korea and the Far East. But these guarantees are unreal so long as foreign troops remain in South Korea. That is why what we have to aim at is the achievement of the withdrawal of all those troops, which are the main source of tension in the area, and this is the essence of the issue and the key to the solution of the problem in the interests of the Korean people and of peace and security.

In passing over in silence the major issue, which is the total prohibition of outside interference and the withdrawal of all foreign troops from South Korea, the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.676 is contrary not only to the interests of the Korean people and of peace and security but also to the interests of the United Nations itself. It cannot be viewed as a positive approach, for not only does it fail to remove the major obstacles but it actually strengthens those obstacles and preserves a source of tension in Korea.

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It is clear to all objective people that the interests of the Korean people and of peace and security in Asia require the earliest possible elimination of this source of tension. Such an approach to the question is one of the imperatives of our time. Everywhere in the world now the process of détente is gaining momentum and there is a general clearing away of the debris of the cold war and the development of peaceful relations and co-operation among States. And who should it be, if not the United Nations, that should promote these purposes rather than oppose them? It is the duty of the United Nations to achieve the cessation of interference in the affairs of the Korean people. That would be a very important contribution to the cause of détente, of strengthening peace and security, and of the removal of the barriers which are preventing a constructive dialogue on the peaceful democratic reunification of Korea. A positive decision on the question of the withdrawal of foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the United Nations flag would be in keeping with the fundamental purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter, would not only promote the interests of strengthening peace and security in the Far East but also make a substantial contribution to the cause of the general improvement of international relations and the enhancing of the effectiveness and authority of the United Nations as an instrument for the maintenance of international peace and security.

Mr. TOGBE (Togo) (interpretation from French): I should like to associate myself, on behalf of the delegation of Togo, with previous speakers in conveying to our Chairman, Mr. Carlos Ortiz de Rozas, my warmest congratulations on his unanimous election to preside over this Committee. His election is a tribute of esteem and confidence in him and is worthy of the great country which he represents, a country with which my country maintains friendly and very cordial relations.

Since the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly the debate on the question of Korea has entered a new phase, which has broken with old habits. For the first time representatives of North and South Korea have been admitted to participate in the debate as observers. In inviting them so to do our Organization has at last, after many delays caused by the manoeuvres

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of certain great Powers, faced the fact that the future of the Korean people is first and foremost a matter for the Koreans themselves. That is all the more true because the consensus adopted on 28 November 1973 by the General Assembly merely endorsed the three fundamental principles contained in the Joint Communiqué published on 4 July 1972 by North and South Korea in regard to the reunification of Korea. Those principles were:

"1. The reunification of the country should be achieved independently, without reliance upon force or outside interference.

"2. The reunification of the country should be achieved by peaceful means without recourse to the use of arms against the other side.

"3. Great national unity should be promoted."

The consensus of 28 November 1973, which I have just mentioned, constitutes beyond any doubt, in the opinion of my delegation, an important first step towards reunification. In adopting it, the General Assembly wished clearly and unequivocally to reaffirm the unity of the Korean people and the unity of the Korean nation, which are one and the same reality. The Korean people has never considered itself to be a divided people. The interminable foreign occupation to which it is subjected has simply strengthened its faith in unity, and there are many facts which prove this.

The division of the Korean nation and its people began when, first at Yalta, then at Potsdam, the then great Powers united against the domination of Hitler and his allies, laying the foundations, even before the end of the war, of hegemony which later gave rise to what we are accustomed to call the "cold war." In Asia, Korea was the first victim chosen to serve as the testing ground for this new form of foreign domination which was conceived and prepared by imperialism and hegemony combined. The American and Soviet troops, as everyone knows, occupied Korean territory immediately after the fall of the Hitler régime in 1945, with the purpose, we were told, of chasing out the Japanese occupier. But the heroic struggle of the Korean people against Japanese domination and its resistance until final victory are too often forgotten. Its faith in freedom and national independence forged for ever during more than 70 years of fascist-imperialist domination the patriotism of a people which has been tried for too long, and has welded its national unity.

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Once the storm had passed, peace-loving and freedom-loving peoples and nations which had revolted and fought against nazism and fascism aspired to the freedom and sovereignty that they had lost or had been severely tried. Paradoxically, the Korean people saw its national territory split up and placed under a new foreign domination.

Without consulting the Korean people in any way, the new masters arbitrarily divided the country into two zones of occupation. Then, they endeavoured to have the Korean people accept the plan for a trusteeship régime. The Korean people, embittered and revolted, categorically rejected, in a spirit of solidarity and national dignity, so oppressive and sinister a plan. As can be seen, the Korean nation unanimously rejected illegality, oppression and interference. It was then that the United States, unable to agree with its partners, decided in 1947 to bring the Korean affair to the United Nations.

And herein lies the paradox. How can we in fact believe that the Korean question was brought before the United Nations by those who divided the Korean people? It is unquestionable that they acted thus in their own interests. We know also that they did so, not to comply with the fundamental principles of the Charter of our Organization -- which is an Organization of free peoples -- but in the name of hegemony and to perpetuate illegality and oppression, because to divide a people arbitrarily against its will is, in our opinion, illegality and oppression. Unfortunately, our Organization bears a large share of the responsibility for perpetuating illegality in respect of the Korean people. That is the least that can be said. From illegality to illegality, from compromise to compromise, our Organization allowed itself complacently to be led into the present situation.

When on 14 November 1947 the General Assembly adopted, under pressure of a great Power, resolution 112 (II), entitled "The problem of the independence of Korea", it committed its first illegality towards the Korean people. It sided with the partisans of domination; it acted in flagrant contradiction of the principles of self-determination of peoples and non-interference in the internal affairs of sovereign States. Finally, it endorsed the notorious

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trusteeship plan, which had been conceived and proposed in 1945 for the Korean people by the foreign Powers which occupied it. It transformed that plan into compulsory trusteeship.

In fact, resolution 112 (II) of 14 November 1947, while recognizing that the Korean question was, above all, of primary concern to the Korean people itself and that it affected its freedom and independence, decided -- without even having heard the representatives of the Korean people and despite the insistence of a great Power -- to set up a United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea. In that same resolution, the General Assembly recommended:

"... that the elections be held not later than 31 March 1948 on the basis of adult suffrage and by secret ballot to choose representatives with whom the Commission may consult regarding the prompt attainment of the freedom and independence of the Korean people and which representatives, constituting a National Assembly, may establish a National Government of Korea. The number of representatives from each voting area or zone should be proportionate to the population, and the elections should be under the observation of the Commission".

Interference and illegality are there before us. The facts need no comments; they more than speak for themselves.

The nefarious and tendentious role of the United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea, and all the succeeding ones, does not require any proof. It was constituted in the main dangerously to jeopardize the opportunities for a peaceful settlement and reunification of the Korean nation. Thus, in May 1948 elections were held in South Korea under the fallacious pretext that there was a sufficiently liberal atmosphere prevailing. In December 1948, on the proposal of that same Commission, the General Assembly declared that the Government of South Korea was the only legitimate Korean Government. And to complete its work of illegality, the Assembly in October 1949 called on the Commission to observe all developments likely to provoke an armed conflict in Korea.

During that period, when there was no foreign force in North Korea, foreign troops continued to occupy South Korea. As can be seen, everything was therefore

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ready for a new aggression against the Korean people, which it was intended to divide at all costs with the unconscionable complicity of our Organization.

On 25 June 1950, war broke out in Korea. Immediately, North Korea was accused of aggression against the South, on the basis of a report prepared by the United Nations Commission on Korea. On that same day, the United States brought the question to the Security Council. On 27 June, that is to say two days later, the Security Council -- in the absence of the Soviet Union, a permanent member -- adopted a resolution recommending to Member States that they bring to South Korea the aid necessary to repel aggression, while the United States placed its air and naval forces at the service of South Korea, before ordering the blockade of the North Korean coast three days later.

Not satisfied with that great deployment of United States forces, the Security Council moreover, on 7 July -- still in the absence of the Soviet Union -- called on all Member States to supply military forces and to place them at the disposal of a Unified Command under the authority of the United States. Sixteen countries responded to that appeal almost immediately by providing military contingents. Among those countries we find, apart from the United States, Australia, Belgium, Canada, Colombia, Ethiopia, France, Greece, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Philippines, South Africa, Thailand, Turkey and United Kingdom; to those we must add Denmark, India, Italy, Norway and Sweden, which supplied medical units.

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Finally, the South Korean armed forces were also placed under the authority of the Unified Command. It is fitting to recall here that it was the same resolution of the Security Council, dated 7 July, which authorized:

"... the unified command at its discretion to use the United Nations flag ... concurrently with the flags of the various nations participating."

(resolution 84 (1950))

Illegality had reached its peak and the noble principles of the Charter of our Organization were basely trampled underfoot. The United Nations flag, the symbol of peace and freedom among peoples, thus became the sorry symbol of conquest and even of provocation, since there was a wish to push the conquest to the very heart of China.

But once again the heroic Korean people triumphed over this new foreign aggression. The real aggressors, in our view, are those who came from abroad to disrupt peace in Korea, who sowed division, hatred and death among the Korean people. The 38th parallel, that wall of shame, is the symbol of arbitrariness, injustice and illegality.

Although the Armistice Agreement was signed over 20 years ago, foreign troops continue to occupy South Korea, equipped with a full range of the most sophisticated destructive weapons. It is estimated that they number more than 30,000 men.

Yet in the Joint Communiqué published on 4 July 1972 by the leaders of North and South Korea, it is clear that the Korean people wishes to live in peace, to be reconciled with itself and to restore by itself its unity shattered by foreign occupation. No one has the right to refuse this or to prevent it. The time has therefore come for our Organization to make up for so many injustices and illegalities committed against the Korean people. We may rejoice that the Organization had already embarked on the right course when it decided last year on the immediate dissolution of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea. The second step to be taken must be to order foreign troops which continue to be stationed in South Korea and to use the United Nations flag, unconditionally and immediately to leave the territory of Korea as desired by the Korean people, which wants no further foreign interference in its internal affairs. As we see it, it is thus that we must interpret the consensus which was adopted by our Assembly at its twenty-eighth session, and that is why my delegation is one of the sponsors of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.677,

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which considers that it is necessary to withdraw all the foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the flag of the United Nations. That is an indispensable prior condition for an independent dialogue between the north and the south.

My country, which maintained diplomatic relations with North Korea and South Korea, has just broken its relations with the latter, on the initiative of our Head of State, President Gnassingbé Eyadema. We did so because in our opinion the Joint Communiqué published on 4 July 1972 by the leaders of the north and the south, on the principles which should lead to the reunification of the Korean nation, constituted a solemn commitment binding on the two parties. Since then the fact that South Korea obstinately accepts foreign troops on its soil is a serious distortion of the commitment entered into.

Nations aspire to freedom. People cherish it because freedom is the same for all. We must act in such a way that the injustices of the great do not unceasingly transform our world into one of terror, illegality and oppression, and we must act so that the freedom of peoples is never again betrayed or bartered against the selfish interests of anyone.

Mr. RABETAFIKA (Madagascar) (interpretation from French): When last with a group of other countries, we requested the General Assembly to consider the question of creating conditions favourable to the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea, we were entitled to believe that the time had come to consider the Korean question in a more realistic and positive manner, taking principally into account the will to unite of the two parties, as expressed in the Joint Communiqué of 4 July 1972. Indeed, it could not be acceptable, in an era of détente and co-operation, for the United Nations still to be a prisoner of a situation in which it may have its part of responsibility but the continuation of which, particularly after 20 years of sterile confrontation, serves neither the cause of peace nor that of justice, nor the interests of the Koreans themselves.

We consider that, in taking the decision immediately to dissolve the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea, the Organization made a far from negligible contribution to the settlement of the Korean question, and we felt that the international community as a whole wished to put an end to a form of intervention of which the Organization had no right to be proud. The United Nations was about to cease, at least as regards Korea, being the instrument of American militarism and intervention and could make up for the errors

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of the past by stating, in accordance with the formula adopted, that "it has done those things which it ought not to have done, and has left undone those things which it ought to have done". One may endlessly discourse on the legality of the Security Council resolution 83 (1950) of 27 June 1950, on the basis of the relevant Articles of the Charter. Suffice it to say, nevertheless, that a doubtful legality, fraudulently acquired, cannot resist an objective and just reasoning, because it is free from obsolete prejudices and inspired above all by a desire to promote better understanding among the parties directly concerned.

Thus there is nothing astonishing in the fact that our approach, which consisted in giving our Organization a more balanced and current sense of its responsibilities and of its commitments, led to a request for the withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the flag of the United Nations. We are accustomed to being consistent with ourselves and to continuing our reasoning without having to resort to last-minute artifices. We are told that South Korea has 700,000 enlisted men, a patriotic reserve army of 2.5 million men, a modernization programme going back to 1957, and is at present the subject of a grant of \$1,500 million from the United States Government. This deployment of military forces which strengthens the defences of South Korea with American conventional and nuclear strike forces, can in no case be justified by the sole requirement of national defence. Furthermore, what weight can 38,000 men carry in a mass of 3.2 million men equipped and trained according to the most recent techniques? It is absurd to try to demonstrate that South Korean security is based on the presence of some tens of thousands of American troops, unless one wishes to insult the military valour of the South Koreans. The need for this presence is no longer evident to the United Nations, which wishes to put an end to its military commitment in Korea, whether by interposed American troops or otherwise. This is furthermore in accord with the spirit of the Armistice Agreement of 27 June 1953 which provides for the withdrawal of foreign troops after the ceasefire.

To confuse the minds of those who wish to be confused, the United States Government claims that of the 38,000 men stationed in South Korea only some few hundred are under United Nations Command and that the remainder are there under the mutual defence pact which was signed in 1953 between the United States and South Korea.

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Obviously, such assertions are difficult to verify, all the more so since the so-called United Nations Command has never reported to the Security Council, although it claims to act under the authority of that body. It therefore seems that the way to the dissolution of the United Nations Command is clear, and that the American Government, in order to justify the presence of some 37,000 men in South Korea, is now taking refuge behind a pact which would enable it also to maintain the South Korean troops at a high level of strength and preparedness, to speed up the modernization of their training and equipment and to supply them with prompt and effective assistance, according to the statements of the American President himself.

This situation calls forth two series of comments on our part. First of all, section 3 of the Armistice Agreement provides that there must be no strengthening of the forces. Whether we wish it or not, that Armistice Agreement is still in force, and the preparations being carried out in South Korea with the open support of the United States of America lead us to believe that, in the minds of certain South Koreans, this armistice must give way not to a peace agreement but to a resumption of hostilities. Under paragraph 4 of Article 2 of the Charter, regarding recourse to the threat or use of force, the Organization cannot lend itself to such a manoeuvre, all the less so since we still have to determine from where the real violations of the armistice come, and what is to be understood by "self defence". The maintenance of American troops in South Korea is a violation of the 1953 Armistice Agreement. It encourages uncontrolled acts of provocation and therefore does not further the maintenance of peace and security in that region.

The second series of comments that my delegation wishes to make applies to the fundamentally opposed positions of the Americans and the North Koreans, still with regard to the maintenance of an American military presence in Korea. On 25 November 1974, at our 2029th meeting, we heard the Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea reveal to us the existence, since 25 March 1974, of a proposal for a peace agreement to replace the Armistice Agreement of 1953. That proposal, based on the generally recognized principles of non-invasion, non-provocation, non-aggression and non-interference, is essentially intended to place the Korean peninsula outside the arms race and outside confrontation. The North Korean proposal falls within the framework of a peaceful solution of the problem of reunification and contributes to the

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maintenance of peace and security in Asia. The American response seems to lie in the Presidential decision to support the militaristic claims of the South Koreans, who reject coexistence and détente and whose rigid attitude seeks only to strengthen a so-called power of dissuasion, thus transforming all of South Korea into a foreign base for permanent provocation, not only of North Korea, but of Asia as a whole. We do not believe that this should be the aim of a normal mutual-defence pact. Much less do we think that the United Nations can any longer remain the silent accomplice in an undertaking made not in a spirit of self-defence but in one of aggression.

Despite the 1953 Armistice Agreement, we have failed to give effect to collective security, conceived as it is solely in military terms; we cannot allow ourselves to be led to the same failure by sacrificing justice and co-operation -- essential elements of peace -- to the alleged security requirements of certain States, whether the United States of America or South Korea.

When we refer to the consensus adopted by the General Assembly at its 2181st meeting on 28 November 1973, we realize that the goal of the Organization for the Korean peninsula still remains the independent and peaceful reunification of the country, and not the dialogue between North Korea and South Korea. The dialogue between the two parts of Korea is a matter that lies essentially within the competence of the two parties. It is they alone who have the right to decide on the procedures and the means to be employed so that that dialogue may result in a normalization of the situation on the basis of mutually acceptable guarantees and in accordance with the spirit of the principles enunciated in their own Joint Communiqué of 4 July 1972, namely, independence, reunification and national unity. So far as we know, the Organization did not endorse that Communiqué, it merely took note of it. Our role therefore consists in creating an atmosphere favourable to the continuation of the dialogue, and in doing nothing that could adversely affect the will of the two parties to engage freely in their dialogue. It would be, in our opinion, unsound to make of the dialogue a prior condition, which would be to the detriment of the Organization's primary concern, that is, military disengagement from the Korean peninsula and, therefore, withdrawal of all the foreign troops stationed there.

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The confusion, maintained in a burst of excessive generosity by the United States of America and other States when they proposed, in document A/9741, that attention be concentrated solely on the dialogue, is due to a deliberate distortion of the sense, the content and the scope of the consensus of 28 November 1973. We reject that confusion, which is represented as being realistic and constructive, and we maintain that the most important part of the consensus is the part concerning the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea. The dialogue may lead to that as long as the two parties are willing to concentrate on the idea of a democratic union transcending political and ideological differences. But to go on from there and say that that dialogue is the only acceptable course is to deny once again the responsibilities of the Organization, which would in such case be endorsing a form of dialogue imposed by force of arms, since the United States does not intend to demilitarize Korea. Once again also the Organization would be called upon to acquiesce in the wishes of a super-Power acting in its own interests and very little concerned with seeing Korea become itself once again. We may be told that the withdrawal of the American troops from South Korea will inevitably lead to a resumption of hostilities in the peninsula. This is a problem that has not escaped us; we have recalled it in connexion with the maintenance of American troops, and our assumption is no more absurd than that of the other side. But it is not a question here of having one assumption prevail; rather it is a matter of reversing a situation by taking account of dangers which seem to us to be real.

This is why in our draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.677, we have provided that the Organization will trust the two parties directly concerned with regard to their quest for solutions to the problems resulting from the withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed in South Korea. The Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea was clear on this matter. The Armistice Agreement of 1953 is both political and military in its scope. It must therefore be replaced by a peace treaty, of which we have already spoken, and reinforced by a peace agreement between the North and the South that would put an end to military confrontation, offer reciprocal guarantees, and have the effect of reducing the opposing forces and making of the Korean peninsula a region of co-operation, coexistence and peace.

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Such provisions are being discussed between the parties concerned and cannot be imposed, whatever may be our desire to intervene in order to accelerate the procedure. It goes without saying, however, that the Organization can only congratulate itself when such a treaty and agreement are concluded.

From what we have been saying on the maintenance of United States troops in South Korea and the consensus of 28 November 1973, the following conclusions are to be drawn. First, the Organization, which has been involved in the Korean question for a generation, must resume the initiative and in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter act in such a way as to put an end to foreign interference in the internal affairs of Korea. Secondly, this foreign interference prevents the reunification and democratic reconstruction of Korea and is a provocative factor in the region which sooner or later will have to define its own rules on security and peace in accordance with the provisions of the Charter. Thirdly, the Organization, consistent with the real spirit which prompted the Allies in Cairo in 1943 and in Potsdam in 1945, and working in the same way for the independence and unification of Korea, should request the foreign troops still stationed in Korea to withdraw. Fourthly, the withdrawal of foreign troops constitutes a prior condition for the normalization of the situation in Korea, as follows from the consensus adopted on 28 November 1973, which reaffirms that the independent and peaceful reunification of the country must be achieved without outside interference.

In concluding, I should like to dispose of an argument advanced by the signatories of document A/9741, according to which only the Security Council can decide on the fate of the United Nations Command and even on the withdrawal of foreign troops. For more than 25 years, whenever the problem of the maintaining of United States troops in Korea has been raised we have accepted the competence of the General Assembly. There is no valid reason why the General Assembly should not be competent to decide on the withdrawal of these troops. To claim otherwise would be to show belated scruples, alleging a formalism the sincerity of which is suspect. If we are to be led into a procedural debate, which would be not without importance, we are prepared in turn to invoke Article 10 of the Charter on the powers of the General Assembly and even the notorious resolution 377 (V) of 3 November 1950, which must from time to time serve a just cause.

Mr. PETRIC (Yugoslavia): For more than a quarter of a century since its division, and for more than 20 years after the signing of the Armistice Agreement, Korea remains divided. The reaching of the first agreement on the opening of the process of unification by peaceful means and without outside interference was greeted with great satisfaction, because two parts of the same divided nation, burdened with antagonism and incited to conflict over many years, had succeeded in taking the first step along a long road.

The Joint Statement of 4 July 1972 contains three fundamental principles, namely, independence, peaceful unification and national unity. That Statement constitutes, in the opinion of my delegation, an important event in the efforts of the Korean people to achieve its unity. Further, it reflects the constant demand of the people of Korea, which is one country and one people, for their country to be unified and to achieve this aim independently, without outside interference.

All developments regarding Korea concern our Organization directly, as the direct responsibility of the United Nations for this problem is involved in several ways. The General Assembly has repeatedly set itself the task of promoting the unification of Korea and the establishment of peace and security in that region.

All this means that we have a direct political responsibility to search constantly for ways conducive to the solution of the question of the division of Korea, taking into account, of course, all the factors relevant to the further evolution of this problem. I think that there is a widespread feeling that these new conditions make it increasingly possible for our Organization to achieve important results in that direction.

In solving this problem our Organization must proceed, first of all, from the fundamental purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. One of those basic principles is the right of every country to solve its problems independently, in the spirit of the right of peoples to self-determination without any outside interference. In this case, this means that the question of the unification of Korea should be left to the Koreans themselves, all the more so as it is clear that that is in accordance with their own will and that they desire to take such a road.

(Mr. Petric, Yugoslavia)

At its twenty-eighth session the General Assembly decided to dissolve immediately the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea. At the same time, the Assembly expressed the hope that the South and North Korea would continue the dialogue in the spirit of the Statement of 4 July 1972. This marked significant progress. Unfortunately, the dialogue was not continued, owing to the negative attitude of South Korea. This is mainly due to constant interference by foreign factors and forces in Korea. Closely linked with this problem is, of course, the presence of foreign troops on Korean soil. The presence of foreign troops, which cannot be justified in any conceivable way, actually poses a threat to peace in that part of the world, limits the independence of the people of Korea and has the effect of slowing down the process of its unification. Let me stress that the Fourth Conference of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Algiers last year, adopted a special resolution on the solution of the question of Korea. The resolution on Korea adopted by the non-aligned countries called, inter alia, on the General Assembly of the United Nations to demand the withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed in South Korea with a view to facilitating the peaceful and independent reunification of Korea.

(Mr. Petric, Yugoslavia)

It is high time for our Organization to realize and recognize the true requirements of the present-day situation with respect to this problem and to contribute in the best possible way to the adoption of a responsible decision for the withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed in South Korea so as to bring about a just solution of this question.

The draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.677, now sponsored jointly by 38 delegations, including my own, adequately and responsibly meets the requirements of this situation. Its implementation, namely, the withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the flag of the United Nations, would contribute to the creation of conditions for the unhampered unification of Korea and for the stabilization of peace in that region. My delegation considers that the United Nations is bound to promote the efforts aimed at attaining this objective. This is all the more important since past experience, and especially more recent experience, has taught us abundantly that there is no wisdom in just letting things remain as they always were, frozen, in a state of "no change". All experience tells us that no opportunity should be missed for a positive contribution to be made to the elimination of some sources or elements of tension in an area. It has rightly been said that opportunities cannot be hoarded or preserved -- they must be made use of as they arise. That is why it is neither constructive nor wise to insist on the forced maintenance of foreign troops in South Korea and to have them there under the United Nations flag, after some favourable developments have taken place, developments which not only permit but also require their removal as a necessary contribution to increased stability in the region and generally.

We have achieved some progress as far as détente is concerned, especially between some great Powers. That progress has created some room, but not at all sufficient, for the elimination of hotbeds of war and tension. It is for that reason -- it is in order to make détente universal and, above all, it is because too many crises and military confrontations continue gravely to jeopardize general peace and security -- that progress in Korea is mandatory. The adoption of the draft resolution of the 38 sponsors would constitute an important contribution to that end.

Mr. BEAVOGUI (Guinea) (interpretation from French): At this rather late stage of our proceedings I should like to discharge a pleasant duty, that of conveying the congratulations of my delegation to the Chairman upon his election to the chairmanship of the First Committee of this session. Our pleasure at seeing him in the Chair conducting our proceedings with such authority and competence is particularly significant, because our two countries, Guinea and Argentina, maintain relations of friendship and co-operation. We assure him of our whole-hearted co-operation.

With respect to the subject under discussion, I should like to say that among the situations which are of concern to the international community and which therefore require an immediate solution, the question of Korea enjoys a high priority. Indeed, almost 30 years after the liberation of its country, the Korean people which, at the beginning of this century was one of the first victims of imperialism, is still divided and is denied recognition of its fundamental rights, and particularly the right to decide its own unity and destiny in all freedom and without foreign intervention.

In spite of the armistice of July 1953, South Korea is still occupied by foreign troops and the military demarcation line, which was traced at that time on a provisional basis, continues, because of this occupation, to divide Korean families and to prevent the inhabitants of the South from meeting their brothers in the North and even from communicating with them in any way. Recently some people were condemned in South Korea to long prison terms and even to death because they advocated the restoration of relations between the inhabitants of the South and the North and the peaceful and independent reunification of the country as well as the democratization of South Korean society. As much from a humanitarian standpoint as from a political and legal one the prolongation of such a situation is intolerable.

At the twenty-eighth session, our Organization, under whose flag foreign troops continue to occupy South Korea, itself awoke to the gravity of this situation and its illegality under international law and the very principles of the Charter, and dissolved its Commission for the Reunification and Rehabilitation of Korea, thus acknowledging that the legal bases of its intervention were non-existent. It also noted with satisfaction the

(Mr. Beavogui, Guinea)

Joint Communiqué of 4 July 1972 of North and South Korea laying down the following three principles for reunification: (1) reunification should be achieved independently without reliance upon outside force or its interference; (2) reunification should be achieved by peaceful means, without recourse to the use of arms against the other side; (3) great national unity should be promoted.

The General Assembly, in adopting at its twenty-eighth session the three principles of the above-mentioned Joint Communiqué, also expressed the hope that the North and the South would be invited to continue their dialogue, to broaden their exchanges of all kinds and expand their co-operation.

However, we are forced to admit that efforts at promoting dialogue are clearly encountering a major obstacle, that of the presence of foreign troops in South Korea, which is jeopardizing all the possibilities of contacts that might bring about a concerted solution. Owing to this climate of subversion fomented from outside, all the approaches which have been advocated have so far not been followed up.

We do not understand why the South Korean authorities should not so far have given a favourable response to the five-point proposal of North Korea calling for: the cessation of the increase of armed forces and the arms race; the evacuation of all foreign troops; the reduction of armed strength and armaments; the cessation of the introduction of arms from abroad; and the conclusion of a peace agreement.

It is regrettable that South Korea has turned a deaf ear to this proposal of the North which nevertheless is in keeping with its interests. Furthermore, in order to reach an agreement which would be a prelude to reunification, North Korea went quite a long way when it proposed the convening of, apart from the Co-ordination Committee of the North and the South which is at present in existence, a great national assembly or a political consultative conference of the North and the South in which representatives of the different political parties and social organizations and persons from different milieux in the North and the South would participate, as one of the appropriate ways of bringing about the reunification of Korea.

It is regrettable that this proposal which does reflect the wish of the whole Korean people should not have met with any favourable response so far from the authorities of the South.

(Mr. Beavogui, Guinea)

All the proposals of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea have been inspired by the constant desire to put an end to the tension prevailing between the south and the north and to instil the confidence necessary for the creation of favourable conditions for reunification.

It is from this standpoint and in keeping with the spirit of the three principles of the Joint Communiqué of July 1972 and the desire of the whole Korean people that 38 countries, including my own, have, in document A/C.1/L.677, called for the withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the United Nations flag.

The presence of American troops in South Korea clearly creates and perpetuates tension throughout the Korean peninsula. Such tension, quite naturally, prevents both a genuine dialogue between the two parties and the reunification of the country. There is no doubt that in South Korea there are no United Nations troops as such but, rather, American troops illegally using the United Nations flag. Consequently, the duty of our Organization is to put an end to this quite abnormal situation which has lasted for too long. We cannot close our eyes to the fact that the overwhelming majority of the Members of the United Nations approve neither the sending of these troops nor of their activities in South Korea.

Those who object to the withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea claim, in the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.676, that such a withdrawal would affect the Armistice Agreement. But we, for our part, cannot share this view because the Agreement itself, and particularly its article 60, provides for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea. If the sponsors of the draft resolution I have just mentioned really believe, as they claim in the last preambular paragraph, "... that the Armistice Agreement of 27 July 1953 remains indispensable to the maintenance of peace and security in the area", why do they not think it necessary to implement article 60 which provides for the withdrawal of all foreign troops? And how can they explain what was said by the President of the United States during his recent visit to Seoul, when he promised the South Korean authorities that the United States would increase its military and material assistance

(Mr. Beavogui, Guinea)

to South Korea? All this is quite contrary to the Armistice Agreement and to the spirit of reunification of the Korean nation. We thus see that the reference to this Agreement by the sponsors of the draft resolution is needed only so that they may, by distorting the letter and spirit of that instrument, continue to maintain the status quo in Korea -- in other words, to prolong the presence of United States troops in the South. And this is precisely the basis of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.676 which goes so far as to envisage consideration of the Armistice Agreement by the Security Council, in the secret hope of having the United Nations endorse, if not consecrate the foreign occupation of Korea, an occupation already condemned by all peace and justice-loving countries in the world.

We, for our part, think that this document would benefit from not being put to the vote because, in spite of the far from sincere tribute that it pays to the North-South Joint Communiqué its spirit is contrary to the rights and aspirations of the Korean people as a whole and to the achievement of the national unity of Korea. Furthermore, the armed forces whose presence in South Korea it is sought to prolong for ever, do not report to the United Nations or to the Security Council, which in principle they should come under. Their very presence in South Korea is contrary to the principles and interests of the United Nations whose flag they are illegally using. Therefore, in our view nothing can possibly justify the reference to the Security Council by those who are opposed to the withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea.

To sum up, we must state once again that two measures alone are likely to bring peace and stability to Korea, namely the immediate withdrawal of foreign troops stationed in South Korea and the peaceful and independent reunification of Korea by means of negotiations between the two parties. The draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.677, of which my country is a sponsor, is conceived in this spirit and deserves the support of all those who side with the Korean people in their just cause.

(Mr. Beavogui, Guinea)

On behalf of my delegation, I should like to express the sincere hope that the Korean people will achieve its aim to be united by its own efforts. It is the duty and obligation of the United Nations to help the Korean people to achieve that aim by calling, inter alia, for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from South Korea.

Mr. ALARCON (Cuba) (interpretation from Spanish): The item which our Committee is now discussing is of the utmost urgency and importance. For a long time, in this same conference room, this Committee has considered various aspects related to the situation in Korea, and that lengthy debate has served to demonstrate the profound illegality which has in the past marked United Nations action in regard to the Korean people.

I need not dwell on the background of this subject to demonstrate that, from its very origins, an attempt was made to use our Organization in flagrant violation of its Charter, and of the Purposes and Principles on which it is based, by resorting to interference and intrusion in the internal affairs of the Korean people.

Furthermore, this same debate was for many years marked by the same spirit of injustice and arbitrariness, since it was only last year that the Committee had an opportunity to consider this question with the participation of the representatives of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea who, for many years, were prevented from being present during the discussion of an item so intimately connected with that Government, an item which directly affects the fate of the Korean nation.

Last Monday we listened to the important statement made by Mr. Li Jong Mok, the Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, in which he fully stated his Government's position, one which reflects the legitimate interests of all the Korean people and offers the only possible means of achieving the peaceful and independent reunification of Korea. My delegation endorses the statement made here by the lawful representatives of the Korean people.

(Mr. Alarcon, Cuba)

And now I should like to invite the Committee to give some thought to the question of the presence of foreign troops in South Korea and the illegal use by those troops of the emblems and symbols of the United Nations. To this end my delegation will limit itself exclusively to the use of South Korean and American sources which clearly reveal the true nature of these foreign troops, what their exact role is against the Korean people, and at the same time prompt us to take decisive and urgent measures so that this Organization may make sure that that presence is not used for imperialist, interventionist purposes, which are the real objectives of the presence of those armed contingents occupying the southern part of Korea.

Those who still attempt to use our Organization as a vehicle for North American interference in Korea present the situation in that region as though American troops stationed south of the 38th parallel were serving the cause of peace and preventing the repetition of an armed conflict in that region, while at the same time they try to conceal in this Committee their arbitrary and illegal use of the United Nations.

I therefore wish to submit to this Committee some items of information and comments, all of which are derived from American and South Korean sources, just as they were published by them, so that the Committee will be in a better position to appropriate decisions when the proper time comes. I have before me several copies of a South Korean propaganda publication, Korea Newsreview, published by the Public Relations Association of Korea, which obviously plays the role of promoting the positions and interests of the North American authorities and of the colonial régime in South Korea. In the issue dated 5 October 1974, this publication refers to a meeting that was held in Honolulu at the end of the month of September this year with the participation of military chiefs of the United States, officers of the Department of Defense of that country, and some of the military chiefs of the puppet régime of the South. It is interesting to draw the attention of the Committee to some of the subjects that were considered at that meeting in Hawaii.

According to this publication, among the topics considered at that meeting were possible changes that would affect the so-called United Nations Command in Korea, involving the North American forces stationed in that country, some of

(Mr. Alarcon, Cuba)

which discharge functions outside Korea and cover the entire Far East region and yet my delegation has so far heard no reference to this information in the debate we are now having. This publication states, for example, the following:

(Spoke in English)

"The Pentagon idea seems to be in close connexion with the Congressional proposal that the US Army headquarters and support units in Korea be reduced by one third, and that the Headquarters of the UN Command, US Forces in Korea and the Eighth US Army be integrated into one." (Korea Newsreview, p. 7)

(Continued in Spanish)

Obviously those who are trying to continue to use the name of the United Nations for their illegal activities in Korea should furnish some information to this Committee on these plans, which obviously involve the Pentagon and some Congressional bodies and include the possibility of integrating into a single unit the United Nations Command, the command of United States forces in South Korea and the Eighth Army of the United States, which, as is known, is an armed contingent of that country that is carrying out an important role in the imperialist policy of the United States in the Far East.

This paragraph, in our opinion, illustrates the scandalous use of this Organization by the Washington Government and its defiance of the opinions of States Members which leads it to debate publicly proposals that may directly affect even the way in which it now uses the emblems and symbols of the United Nations without any organ of the United Nations having at any time considered any such proposal.

In another part of this report we are also told that the United States Government has promised the South Korean authorities that it will not reduce the present level of United States troops in the southern portion of Korea and will continue with what it calls a plan for the modernization of South Korean troops.

Elsewhere in this article it states:

(Spoke in English)

"Secretary Clements reaffirmed that the Government of the United States has no plan to reduce the present level of US Armed Forces in the Republic of Korea." (Ibid.)

(Mr. Alarcon, Cuba)

(Continued in Spanish)

It is curious that on turning the page, we find an article in this same publication which praises the armed forces of the South Korean régime for their role in the Far East, and that the same article constitutes a categorical denial to those who assert that there is a need to maintain foreign troops in the southern part of Korea to prevent alleged aggression from the north.

(Mr. Alarcon, Cuba)

Let us see what that article states in its first paragraph, with regard to the huge army in South Korea organized by the United States. It is now referring to the troops of the so-called Republic of Korea and not to the foreign troops stationed there. I quote:

(spoke in English)

"The ROK Armed Forces are the world's fourth largest standing army, next only to those of the United States, the Soviet Union and communist China."

(continued in Spanish)

That is to say, that the fourth largest army in the world, coming directly after the armies of the United States, the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China, requires, according to this article, the additional presence of foreign troops to protect and assist it against the northern part of the same nation, although that part contains the lesser part of the population and has fewer armed forces for its defence than those stationed in the south.

Towards the end of the article, as though not to allow us to forget that there is no justification for the puppet régime of South Korea to need United Nations support, there is shameless reference to the role played by the South Korean Army in the war of aggression against the Viet-Nameese people. . Again I quote:

(spoke in English)

"Combat achievements of the Korean Army in the Viet-Nam war were really brilliant. In more than 570,000 large and small operations, the ROK Expeditionary Forces killed more than 40,000 enemy troops and captured more than 2,900 enemy weapons, according to the Army."

(continued in Spanish)

That is to say that the régime established by the United States in South Korea not only is armed to the teeth to repress its own people and to maintain the artificial division of Korea, but, furthermore, is used as a collaborating agent of North American imperialism in wars of aggression outside the Korean peninsula, where, according to its own words, it can send expeditionary forces which do brilliant work, suppressing the freedom of other peoples.

(Mr. Alarcon, Cuba)

But I have other issues of the same publication -- that of 19 October, for example, a date very close to that of the beginning of our discussion on foreign troops in South Korea, in which once again reference is made to the commitments that the United States is fulfilling with the co-operation of the South Korean régime, with regard to the maintenance of aggressive troops in South Korea in scandalous mockery of the will of the States Members of the United Nations. Once again in that publication it is Mr. William Clements who is quoted -- and may I be allowed to recall in passing that Mr. Clements is the Deputy Secretary of Defense of the United States of America. Mr. Clements is supposed to have mentioned, according to this publication, some of the matters at present being considered and discussed in United States Government circles which are not mentioned in our debate but which yet have a direct relationship with the decisions which this Committee has to adopt.

Apparently, according to this North American information, not only are United States troops in Korea illegally using the emblem of the United Nations but also in this strange mixture of North American commands and United Nations commands there are important contingents, identified as belonging to the North American military structure, which are playing an active role not only in South Korea but also in the so-called demilitarized zone. It would seem that in the North American Congress there is now some discussion as to the desirability -- perhaps for the sake of discretion and so as not to reveal too much of the illegitimate use by North American troops of the United Nations emblem -- of making some changes in the emplacement of those troops, although in this they cannot count on the support of the Pentagon. I quote again from the same publication, so that members of the Committee may have the appropriate information:

(spoke in English)

"Clements indicated disagreement with an idea advocated by Congress for moving the US Army's Second Division in Korea away from the demilitarized zone and thus from possible combat with North Korea. He said it would be costly to do so. 'I am not sure Congress would want to spend the money', Clements said."

(continued in Spanish)

That is to say that in Congress some persons are apparently worried about the possibility that, being so close to the territory of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, within the demilitarized zone or very close to it,

(Mr. Alarcon, Cuba)

The Second Division of the United States Army might find itself involved in possible armed confrontations, should they occur again, in Korea. Whether the Second Division belongs to the United Nations Command or whether it is part of the United States-South Korean pact, nobody knows, or will ever know, because, quite obviously, mystery shrouds the manner in which the Pentagon uses or does not use the attributes of our Organization in the region. But it is desirable that delegations should be aware that since the use or non-use of United Nations Command in Korea depends entirely on the arbitrary decision of the Pentagon, at any moment more than a hundred member States who have no responsibility whatsoever for North American policy in Korea, who have nothing to do with the aggression against that people, might find themselves unwillingly and unintentionally involved in a conflict provoked by the Second Division of the United States Army, which is there in the demilitarized zone without having asked permission of anybody and which is still arbitrarily using United Nations symbols.

I have more copies of this publication, but I am aware that the hour is late and that it is not necessary to repeat the references which, in a completely brazen way, North American authorities allow themselves to make when they travel in the Far East or in the Pacific region as to the manner in which they mock this Organization and intend to continue to use it to further their interventionist aims in South Korea.

The decisions illegally taken by the United Nations in 1950, which are at the very root of the problem we are now considering, were adopted at a time when most of the Members of our Organization could not participate in its decisions nor play any role in them, since that was the era when colonialism still lorded it over a large part of the planet and United States imperialism imposed its will and whims within this Organization. .

Furthermore, the agreements adopted by the Security Council which are now mentioned in connexion with the question of Korea, were completely illegal, since those decisions were taken in the absence of the delegation of the Soviet Union, a permanent member of that body, and at a time when the representation of China -- also a permanent member of the Security Council -- was unlawfully usurped by the Taiwan régime.

The United Nations has changed, thanks to the progress made in the process of decolonization. For years the United Nations was compelled to play an unworthy role in connexion with Korea -- a role which was not in keeping with the interests of the vast majority of its Members, with the Purposes and Principles of the Charter, and with the efforts being made to establish peaceful and normal international relations among all States.

That is why my delegation trusts that the vast majority of the members of this Committee will at last take the decisions called for by the situation in Korea and decide in favour of the immediate withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea.

On 25 June 1973 Comrade Kim Il Sung, supreme leader of the Korean people, presented a five-point proposal conducive to a solution of the Korean question consistent with the legitimate interests and desires of its population. Those proposals were developed during the present session by the representative of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. They reflect the will for independence, national dignity and patriotism of the Korean people. In the face of this, the only alternative offered to the Assembly is to perpetuate the illegal use of our Organization so as to continue the artificial division of Korea, to allow United States imperialism

(Mr. Alarcon, Cuba)

to continue its colonial exploitation of the South and maintain a régime which uses the wealth of its plentiful military resources and the no less plentiful military assistance it receives from the United States -- amounting to over \$1,500 million according to the latest agreement signed by the Pentagon -- merely to repress the South Korean people, to quash its desire for reunification and independence, and to keep it subservient to Yankee domination.

Before I conclude -- I am tempted to -- I should like to make a final reference to this South Korean propaganda publication. Here is an interview with a gentleman who had just been appointed to be what they call "Minister for the Unification of Korea". This gentleman, whose role in the Government of the south is no doubt to promote national unification, clearly indicates the real attitude of the régime which he represents in relation to the unification of his country in the 12 October 1974 issue of Korea Newsreview. In one part of the interview he said:

(spoke in English)

"The armistice system should never be discarded from the viewpoint of keeping intact the Demilitarized Zone and the demarcation line."

(continued in Spanish)

That is to say, for the South Korean authorities, the demilitarized zone occupied by the Second Division of the United States Army in the southern part and the demarcation line imposed on the Korean people -- which arbitrarily separates them into two parts -- are to continue intact, must be kept; which means, maintaining the division of Korea.

But later on in the interview when he was asked about the possibilities for the two régimes which exist north and south of the 38th Parallel in some way to advance the process of unification, the so-called Minister for the Unification of Korea replied as follows:

(spoke in English)

"It may be impossible to conceive the consolidation between two heterogenous systems. The present Communist system of the Pyongyang régime should be changed to some degree. We cannot but wait for such a change unless we are thinking about an armed method for the unification.

(continued in Spanish)

That is to say, those who are allegedly prepared to have a dialogue with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to promote unification clearly tell us that, above all, there would have to be a change in the present régime in the North to make possible such unification.

My delegation would like to end by expressing its confidence that independent States which desire to rescue and fully implement the principles of the Charter with relation to Korea will act decisively at this session to put an end to the situation imposed by United States imperialism for so many years, which has transformed this Organization -- against the will of the majority of its Members -- into an instrument in the service of its interventionist policy.

(Mr. Alarcon, Cuba)

Times have changed and will continue to change in favour of our peoples, and we feel sure that the pressures and manoeuvres which for decades have taken place within this conference room in an attempt to prevent this Committee from adopting proper decisions, cannot be engaged in successfully forever, and that the Committee is reaching the stage, which we hope will be in a few days time, when it will categorically decide in favour of putting an end to the present situation in South Korea, of ensuring the withdrawal of foreign troops and of safeguarding the principles of the Charter.

The meeting rose at 1.35 p.m.