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Agenda item 41

QUESTION OF KOREA

Report of the First Committee

Rapporteur: Mr. Alvaro de SOTO (Peru)

1. In accordance with the decision taken at the 2036th plenary meeting of the General Assembly on 23 September 1972, the following two items relating to the question of Korea were included in the provisional agenda of the twenty-eighth session:

"40. Question of Korea: report of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea.

"41. Creation of favourable conditions to accelerate the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea."

2. At its 206th meeting, on 20 September 1973, the General Committee recommended that items 40 and 41 of the provisional agenda should be included in the agenda of the twenty-eighth session and should be combined as subitems under the heading "Question of Korea" as follows:

"Question of Korea:

(a) Report of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea;

(b) Creation of favourable conditions to accelerate the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea."

The General Committee also recommended that the item should be allocated to the First Committee.

3. At its 2123rd plenary meeting, on 21 September, the General Assembly adopted the recommendations of the General Committee.

4. At its 1922nd meeting, held on 1 October, the First Committee decided to invite the two Korean delegations to participate in the discussion on the question of Korea without the right to vote. Accordingly, the Secretary-General, on 1 October, addressed two communications to the Governments concerned, informing them about the decision of the First Committee and requesting them to communicate to him the names of the representatives whom they would be designating for this purpose.
5. On 3 October, the Secretary-General received a communication from the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, informing him that the Government had decided to send its delegation to attend the discussions on Korea at the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly. Similarly, the Secretary-General received a communication, dated 4 October, from the Permanent Observer of the Republic of Korea to the United Nations, informing him that the Government of the Republic of Korea would be represented by its Foreign Minister during the discussion of the Korean question.
6. The First Committee considered the item at its 1957th to 1959th meetings, from 14 to 15 November, and at its 1961st to 1967th meetings, from 16 to 21 November.
7. The First Committee had before it the following draft resolutions and amendments.
8. A draft resolution (A/C.1/L.644 and Corr.1), originally transmitted by a letter dated 10 September (A/9145 and Add.1-5), which replaced the draft resolution submitted to the General Assembly at its twenty-seventh session (A/8752/Add.9) under the title "Creation of favourable conditions to accelerate the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea", was submitted by Algeria, Bulgaria, Burundi, the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, China, the Congo, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Guinea, Hungary, Iraq, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, Sierra Leone, Somalia, the Sudan, the Syrian Arab Republic, Togo, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Republic of Tanzania, Yemen, Yugoslavia and Zambia (A/C.1/L.644 and Corr.1), and subsequently co-sponsored by the German Democratic Republic, the Libyan Arab Republic and Madagascar. It read as follows:  
  
    "The General Assembly,  
  
    "Noting the fact that the reunification of Korea has not yet been achieved although over twenty-eight years have already elapsed since the division of Korea into the north and the south and twenty years since the establishment of the armistice in Korea,  
  
    "Considering that the internal affairs of each country should be solved by its people themselves on the basis of the principles of national self-determination,  
  
    "Noting the fact that in their joint statement made public on 4 July 1972 the north and the south of Korea agreed to the following three principles of national reunification:

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"(a) The reunification of the country should be achieved independently, without reliance upon outside force or its interference,

"(b) The reunification of the country should be achieved by peaceful means, without recourse to the use of arms against the other side,

"(c) Great national unity should be promoted, and the fact that the North-South Co-ordination Committee has been formed for the purpose of solving the question of Korean reunification,

"Expressing the desire that military confrontation between the north and the south of Korea will be eliminated, peace agreement be concluded and many-sided collaboration and interchange be materialized in the political, military, economic, cultural and diplomatic fields so that the aim of peaceful reunification may be achieved at the earliest possible date,

"Recognizing that the termination of the interference of foreign countries in the internal affairs of Korea is the key for easing tensions in Korea, turning the armistice into a durable peace, promoting the dialogue between the north and the south smoothly and thereby achieving the independent, peaceful reunification of the country,

"Recognizing that it is in accord with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations to maintain and consolidate peace in Korea and encourage to the utmost the early solution of the question of the reunification of Korea in conformity with the principles of the North-South Joint Statement and the principle of national self-determination as well as the entry into the United Nations by a single unified Korea and create favourable conditions for it,

"1. Decides to dissolve the 'United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea';

"2. Considers it necessary to annul the right to use the United Nations flag by the foreign troops stationed in South Korea and dissolve the 'United Nations Command';

"3. Recognizes that all foreign troops stationed in South Korea should withdraw so that further steps may be taken for accelerating the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea."

9. A draft resolution (A/C.1/L.645), originally transmitted by a note verbale from 13 Member States, dated 10 September 1973 (A/9146), under the title "Question of Korea: report of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea" was submitted by Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Canada, Colombia, Germany (Federal Republic of), Greece, Japan, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Paraguay, the Philippines, Thailand, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the United States of America and Uruguay and subsequently co-sponsored by the Central African Republic, Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Lesotho and Liberia. It read as follows:

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"The General Assembly,

"Recognizing that, in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter regarding the maintenance of international peace and security, the United Nations has a continuing responsibility to ensure the attainment of this goal on the Korean peninsula,

"Noting with satisfaction the issuance of the Joint Communiqué at Seoul and Pyongyang on 4 July 1972 and the continuation of the dialogue between the two parts of Korea,

"Bearing in mind that both the Republic of Korea and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea are now participating in the United Nations system,

"Having noted the report of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea (A/9027),

"Aware, however, that tension in Korea has not been totally eliminated and that the Armistice Agreement of 27 July 1953 still remains indispensable to the maintenance of peace and security in the area,

"1. Welcomes the dialogue, conducted by South and North Korea to ease tension on the Korean peninsula and to make progress towards the peaceful unification of Korea, and expresses the hope that the objectives of this dialogue will be achieved;

"2. Decides to approve the recommendation contained in the annual report of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea (A/9027) that it be dissolved;

"3. Expresses the hope that, in the spirit of universality, the Republic of Korea and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea consider membership in the United Nations as a further means of promoting the maintenance of peace and security in the area and thus the goal of peaceful unification;

"4. Further expresses the hope that the Security Council, bearing in mind the need to ensure continued adherence to the Armistice Agreement and the full maintenance of peace and security in the area, will in due course give consideration, in consultation with the parties directly concerned, to those aspects of the Korean question which fall within its responsibility."

10. At the 1961st meeting on 16 November, the representative of Saudi Arabia introduced identical amendments (A/C.1/L.657 and A/C.1/L.658) to the draft resolutions contained in documents A/C.1/L.644 and Corr.1 and A/C.1/L.645 to insert a new operative paragraph 1 in both draft resolutions as follows:

"1. Calls upon all Powers, and especially the major Powers to refrain from interfering in the internal affairs of the two Koreas and to undertake to respect the sovereignty of the Korean people as a whole."

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The other operative paragraphs of the draft resolutions concerned would be renumbered accordingly.

11. At the 1962nd meeting, on 19 November, the representative of Saudi Arabia introduced a series of amendments (A/C.1/L.660) to the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.645. According to the amendments, new first and second preambular paragraphs would be inserted in the text of the draft resolution and would read as follows:

"Noting that the artificial separation of the Korean people at the 38th parallel was the outcome of political arrangements agreed upon by the major Powers to serve extraneous, strategic and ideological interests, regardless of the common will or widespread consent of the Korean people to such arrangements,

"Regretting that the separation of the Korean people at the 38th parallel was tantamount to arbitrary partition of the Korean peninsula into North and South zones, notwithstanding the fact that ethnologically, culturally and linguistically the people of both zones constitute a single national entity,"

In addition, in the second line of operative paragraph 3, after the words "the Democratic People's Republic of Korea", the following insertion would be made:

"... will resume constructive negotiations with a view to reunification either by merger, confederation or any other instrumentality they deem fit, so that they may ultimately consider membership in the United Nations as a single national State and thereby further the means of promoting the maintenance of peace and security in the area."

12. At the same meeting, the representative of Saudi Arabia read out amendments (A/C.1/L.659) to the preamble of the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.644 and Corr.1. The new text of the first and second preambular paragraphs would read as follows:

"Noting that the artificial separation of the Korean people at the 38th parallel was the outcome of political arrangements agreed upon by the major Powers to serve extraneous, strategic and ideological interests, regardless of the common will or widespread consent of the Korean people to such arrangements,

"Regretting that the separation of the Korean people at the 38th parallel was tantamount to arbitrary partition of the Korean peninsula into North and South zones, notwithstanding the fact that ethnologically, culturally and linguistically the people of both zones constitute a single national entity,"

13. In the course of the Committee's deliberations on the item, two additional draft resolutions were submitted to the Committee.

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14. At the 1964th meeting, on 20 November, the representative of Tunisia introduced a draft resolution (A/C.1/L.661), sponsored by Chad, Gabon, the Niger, Rwanda, Tunisia and the Upper Volta, which read as follows:

"The General Assembly,

"Noting that reunification of Korea has not yet been achieved, although over 28 years have elapsed since the division of Korea between North and South and 20 years since the signing of the Armistice in Korea,

"Considering that the internal affairs of every country should be settled by the population itself on the basis of the principle of national self-determination,

"Noting that, in their Joint Communiqué issued on 4 July 1972, North and South Korea agreed on the following three principles for national reunification:

"(a) The reunification of the country should be achieved in independence, without resort to force or external interference,

"(b) The reunification of the country should be achieved by peaceful means, without resort to the use of arms against the other party,

"(c) The over-all union of the nation should be promoted,

and that the North-South Co-ordinating Committee has been established for the purpose of resolving the question of Korean reunification,

"Expressing the hope that peaceful conditions will prevail between North and South Korea and that collaboration and exchanges of all kinds in the political, military, economic, cultural and diplomatic spheres will take place, so that the goal of peaceful reunification will be attained as soon as possible,

"Recognizing the need for the continuation and intensification of the current dialogue between North and South as a factor essential to a peaceful solution mutually accepted by both parties,

"Firmly convinced that any outside interference in the internal affairs of Korea is liable seriously to jeopardize the dialogue between North and South aimed at converting the Armistice into a durable peace, as a prelude to the independent and peaceful reunification of the country,

"Aware of the legitimate role of the United Nations in the maintenance of peace and security and of its imperative duty to encourage the process of rapprochement between the two parties,

"Having taken note of the report of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea (A/9027),

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"1. Decides to dissolve the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea;

"2. Invite the two parties to continue and intensify their dialogue within the framework of the Reunification Commission and of the principles embodied in the Communiqué of 4 July 1972;

"3. Requests the Secretary-General to submit to the General Assembly at its twenty-ninth session a full report on the progress made by the two parties towards the achievement of the objectives set forth in the Joint Communiqué of 4 July 1972 and on measures to facilitate the disengagement of the United Nations and the withdrawal of its troops stationed in Korea;

"4. Decides to maintain the question of Korea on the provisional agenda for the twenty-ninth session."

15. At the 1966th meeting, on 21 November, the representative of Saudi Arabia introduced a draft resolution (A/C.1/L.664), which incorporated his previous amendments to the draft resolutions contained in documents A/C.1/L.644 and Corr.1 and A/C.1/L.645 and which, accordingly, read as follows:

"The General Assembly,

"Noting that the artificial separation of the Korean people at the 38th parallel was the outcome of political arrangements agreed upon by the major Powers to serve extraneous, strategic and ideological interests, regardless of the common will or widespread consent of the Korean people to such arrangements,

"Regretting that the separation of the Korean people at the 38th parallel was tantamount to arbitrary partition of the Korean peninsula into North and South zones, notwithstanding the fact that ethnologically, culturally and linguistically the people of both zones constitute a single national entity,

"1. Calls upon all Powers, and especially the major Powers, to refrain from interfering in the internal affairs of Korea and to undertake to respect the sovereignty of the Korean people as a whole;

"2. Expresses the hope that, in the spirit of universality, the Republic of Korea and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea will resume constructive negotiations with a view to reunification by merger, confederation or any other instrumentality they deem fit, so that they may ultimately consider membership in the United Nations as a single national State and thereby further the means of promoting the maintenance of peace and security in the area;

"3. Keeps the question of Korea under consideration, with the hope that progress may be reported during the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly."

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16. At the same meeting, the Chairman of the First Committee, in application of rule 130 of the rules of procedure, issued the following statement which he proposed should become the consensus of the Committee:

"After consultations with the co-sponsors of the two draft resolutions on the Korean question, the Chairman is authorized to announce the consensus that the two draft resolutions on the Korean question will not be put to the vote at the current session of the General Assembly. The Chairman is further authorized to make the following statement:

"It is noted with satisfaction that a joint communiqué was issued by the North and the South of Korea on 4 July 1972, which provides for the following three principles on the reunification of Korea:

"(a) The reunification of the country should be achieved independently, without reliance upon outside force or its interference;

"(b) The reunification of the country should be achieved by peaceful means, without recourse to the use of arms against the other side;

"(c) Great national unity should be promoted.

"It is the general hope that the South and the North of Korea will be urged to continue their dialogue and widen their many-sided exchanges and co-operation in the above spirit so as to expedite the independent peaceful reunification of the country.

"The General Assembly decides to dissolve immediately the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea."

17. The representative of Ghana suggested that, since there were draft resolutions before the Committee other than those contained in documents A/C.1/L.644 and A/C.1/L.645, these should be referred to by their symbols in the statement of the Chairman.

18. The representative of Saudi Arabia did not press the draft resolution sponsored by his delegation (A/C.1/L.664) to a vote, but expressed the hope that it would be taken into due account by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Republic of Korea in their negotiations.

19. The representative of Tunisia, on behalf of the sponsors of the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.661, made the following statement:

"When we announced and subsequently submitted our draft resolution, we stated our readiness to work for a compromise, to strive to achieve a consensus. We wanted to see the two Korean delegations resume their negotiations, and intensify them further, without outside interference, in accordance with their Joint Statement of 4 July 1972. The consensus that has been arrived at by the sponsors of the draft resolutions in

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documents A/C.1/L.644 and Corr.1 and A/C.1/L.645 meets the objective that we had set. We should like to express our congratulations to both groups. We consider that the consensus fully reflects the spirit of our own efforts.

"The initiative that we took has been, to a certain extent, crowned with success. Our delegations will not, therefore, press to a vote the draft resolution submitted by us and circulated in document A/C.1/L.661. However, we would be grateful if the text of that draft resolution were to appear in the report, attesting to the efforts made by our delegations and also to the concession made by us in order to speed up the process of reconciliation and peace in Korea."

20. The Committee then decided to adopt the text of the consensus as read out by the Chairman, with the amendment suggested by the representative of Ghana (see paragraph 21 below).

#### RECOMMENDATION OF THE FIRST COMMITTEE

21. The First Committee recommends to the General Assembly the adoption of the following text as representing the consensus of the members of the Assembly:

"It is noted with satisfaction that a joint communiqué was issued by the North and the South of Korea on 4 July 1972, which provides for the following three principles on the reunification of Korea:

"(a) The reunification of the country should be achieved independently, without reliance upon outside force or its interference;

"(b) The reunification of the country should be achieved by peaceful means, without recourse to the use of arms against the other side;

"(c) Great national unity should be promoted.

"It is the general hope that the South and the North of Korea will be urged to continue their dialogue and widen their many-sided exchanges and co-operation in the above spirit so as to expedite the independent peaceful reunification of the country.

"The General Assembly decides to dissolve immediately the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea."

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