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Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Friday, 29 November 1974, at 3 p.m.

<u>Chairman:</u>	Mr. ORTIZ de ROZAS	(Argentina)
<u>Rapporteur:</u>	Mr. COSTA LOBO	(Portugal)

- Question of Korea /104/ (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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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/9703/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)

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): I call on the Foreign Minister of the Republic of Korea to make a statement.

Mr. DONG-JO KIM (Republic of Korea): I wish to express my appreciation to this Committee for inviting a representative of the Republic of Korea to take part in your deliberations on the Korean question.

I am also grateful to you, Mr. Chairman and members of this Committee, for the courtesy and thoughtfulness shown to me when I was not able to speak here on Tuesday.

Last year, when this Committee adopted unanimously a consensus on the Korean question, we held high hopes and expectations that there would be significant progress towards a peaceful solution of the Korean question.

However, I deeply regret to report to this Committee that the principal dialogue still remains suspended, and the enmity and tension are still unmitigated.

As I proceed with my statement, my heart is overwhelmed with a sense of the enormous task we, the Korean people, are confronted with.

Nevertheless, our proud nationalism is the source of our strength. It has sustained the Korean people in all previous ordeals and will surely uphold them in the challenges of the future. Our unique sense of nationhood will certainly overcome present-day trials and tribulations.

The Korean question is very familiar to this Committee. It underlines the United Nations concern for the peace and security of Korea. It is also proof of the United Nations' desire to help realize the supreme aspiration of all Korean people -- the peaceful unification of their country.

The territorial division was imposed on the Korean people in the wake of the Second World War. The 38th Parallel was chosen primarily in the interest of

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military expediency between the United States and the USSR. But this line quickly hardened into a barrier between the south and the north. And that division has brought us tragedy and suffering that is unprecedented in Korea's 4,000-year history. This physical dichotomy has brought great pain to the Korean people. This division has broken down our age-old sense of ethnic unity.

The question of the unification of Korea was first brought to the United Nations in 1947 after the United States and the Soviet Union were unable to resolve the problem. Since then the United Nations has assumed responsibility and made strenuous efforts to bring about the peaceful unification of the country.

A United Nations Temporary Commission was established in 1947 to observe free elections throughout Korea. The objective was to help establish a unified, independent and democratic Korea. We in the south fully supported these efforts and offered our complete co-operation, but the authorities in North Korea refused to allow the Commission to enter their area. Therefore the United Nations General Assembly decided to conduct free elections where they could be held.

Free general elections were held in May 1948 under United Nations observation in the southern part of Korea, where two thirds of the population reside. As a result, the Government of the Republic of Korea was inaugurated on 15 August 1948, and the United Nations recognized this Government as the only lawful government in the Korean peninsula.

Looking back through time from our perspective in this year, 1974, we see that when the second session of the United Nations General Assembly in 1947 resolved to hold free general elections throughout Korea, the Korean people had a solid opportunity to achieve peaceful unification.

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One year after the establishment of the Republic of Korea, the United States forces in the south completely withdrew.

In the meantime, a Communist régime was arbitrarily set up in the northern part of Korea. That régime immediately embarked upon preparing for war to conquer the Republic of Korea. The Communists also instigated numerous armed revolts and uprisings in the south. When they felt that conditions for direct military aggression were ripe, following the complete withdrawal of the United States forces from Korea, they struck across the 38th Parallel on Sunday morning, 25 June 1950.

This was a clear case of aggression by the North, and was so branded by the United Nations. The aggression was repelled by armed forces under the United Nations Command, in the first collective security action in United Nations history. The war lasted three years, leaving four million dead and wounded. The extent of destruction of industries and civilian property defies calculation, and the war engendered deep enmity and distrust between the south and the north.

Even after the Korean Armistice Agreement was concluded in 1953, the North Korean Communists did not abandon their policy of communizing the whole of Korea by force. They have committed more than 25,000 violations of the Armistice Agreement since it was signed. Those violations include numerous provocations along the Demilitarized Zone. The North Korean Communists also have persisted in sending guerrilla units and armed agents through our coastal lines. They have even made several attempts on the life of the President of the Republic of Korea. A North Korean commando unit was dispatched in January 1968 to attack the Presidential Residence in Seoul. In June 1970 North Korean agents planted dynamite at the gate of the National Cemetery in an unsuccessful attempt to kill our President and other government leaders who were scheduled to attend a memorial service.

There have been repeated acts of inhumanity against civilians: for example, the shelling and sinking of numerous fishing and patrol boats, the kidnapping of fishermen on the high seas and the hijacking of civilian passenger aircraft.

At the core of the problem of the Korean Peninsula lies the central fact that North Korea maintains as its continuing immediate and highest goal the forcible communization of the south and communist domination of the entire peninsula.

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In their own words, in the preamble to the charter of the North Korean Workers' Party:

"The immediate objective of the Korean Workers' Party is to assure a complete victory for socialism in the southern half of the Republic ... The ultimate goal is to build a communist society."

In direct contrast, let me solemnly declare that the Government and people of the Republic of Korea remain irrevocably committed to the cause of peaceful reunification. For us there is no alternative. And war must be prevented at all costs. In order to achieve this cherished goal, tension must be reduced, mutual trust restored and peace firmly established in Korea. To this end, the Republic of Korea has taken a series of significant initiatives.

As a first step, on 15 August 1970, the twenty-fifth anniversary of National Liberation, President Park called on North Korea to abandon its scheme to reunify the country by force and to engage in bona fide competition with the Republic of Korea for the economic and social advancement of all the Korean people.

Secondly, in August 1971 the Red Cross Society of the Republic of Korea proposed a conference to its North Korean counterpart. The objective was to solve the humanitarian problems arising from the division of the country and to work towards reuniting the 10 million members of separated families.

Thirdly, in May 1972 we sent a special emissary to Pyongyang to negotiate the opening of a dialogue. As a result, the historic South-North Joint Communiqué was issued on 4 July 1972 in Seoul and Pyongyang enunciating the principle of peaceful unification.

Fourthly, on 23 June 1973 our President took a momentous step in issuing a special statement on foreign policy for peace and unification. He offered not to oppose the North Korean application for membership in various organizations in the United Nations family; and he further proposed that the Republic of Korea be admitted into the United Nations together with North Korea, as an interim measure, pending reunification. He also called for an open-door policy based on equality and reciprocity. He stated:

"The Republic of Korea will open its door to all the nations of the world ... at the same time, we urge those countries to open their doors likewise to us."

(Mr. Dong-Jo Kim, Republic of Korea)

Fifthly, on 18 January of this year my Government called for the conclusion a non-aggression agreement with North Korea, based on the three principles of renunciation of the use of force, non-interference and peaceful coexistence, and in June and August we reaffirmed that policy of peace and peaceful reunification.

These actions and related developments, including the start of the dialogue, were welcomed by all Korean people, as well as by all the peace-loving nations of the world.

The United Nations also has played an important role in this vital movement towards détente in the Korean peninsula. In 1971 and 1972 the General Assembly postponed a debate on Korea to avoid acrimony and confrontation. Last year the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly adopted a consensus statement. It urged the south and the north of Korea to solve the Korean question peacefully, through dialogue and an expansion of many-sided exchanges and co-operation.

The Government and the people of the Republic of Korea wholeheartedly welcome the constructive role played by the United Nations, for the United Nations and the Republic of Korea share the same basic concern and objective in Korea -- peace and peaceful reunification.

Inasmuch as the attainment of our common objectives depends on the future of the south-north dialogue, allow me briefly to review these vital exchanges.

Under the South-North Joint Communiqué of 4 July 1972, a South-North Co-ordinating Committee was established as the formal channel of the dialogue. By August 1973 the Co-ordinating Committee had met three times in Seoul and in Pyongyang on an alternating basis. As for the South-North Red Cross Conference, seven full meetings were held between August 1972 and August 1973.

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At those meetings our side proposed to tackle the humanitarian problems, including the tracing of dispersed families and arranging for mutual visits and eventual reunions. We also proposed exchanges in sports and in cultural, economic and social fields. It was our intention that we would then move on to discussions of the more complicated political and military questions.

We are well aware of the wide and fundamental differences between the south and the north in our political, economic and social systems, as well as in our ideologies. We believe that discussion and solution of practical and easy problems would best serve gradually to eliminate mutual distrust and tension. And when mutual trust has been restored and tension reduced, we will have created the favourable conditions required for discussion of the more complex matters.

The North Koreans, on the other hand, have taken a diametrically opposite approach. Contrary to our pragmatism and realism, they have insisted that we first settle military and political questions, before all other issues. They demand that we abrogate our own national security laws. They even demand the withdrawal of the United Nations forces from the Republic of Korea as a precondition for continuation of the dialogue.

The North Koreans have adamantly insisted on putting forth such patently unacceptable proposals.

On 28 August 1973, after only one year, they unilaterally suspended the dialogue. The fourth scheduled meeting of the Co-ordinating Committee could not be held, and has not been held since.

The Republic of Korea believes that the dialogue should be resumed. This would be in accord with the consensus adopted by the General Assembly last year. Indeed, our side has made ceaseless efforts to that end. Since November 1973, we have met several times in an effort to bring about resumption of the Co-ordinating Committee meetings. Red Cross societies on both sides have held a number of working-level meetings in the hope of reopening full-dress talks. At those meetings, our side persistently tried to persuade the North Koreans to resume the dialogue. Yet, to this date, we have not had any positive response from them. We strongly urge North Korea to resume the dialogue without any further delay.

(Mr. Dong-Jo Kim, Republic of Korea)

Such a dialogue should be conducted in an atmosphere of peace and security. I wish, therefore, to address myself at this time to the question of maintaining peace and security in the Korean peninsula.

Over all, peace has been maintained under the Armistice Agreement. However, since its conclusion in 1953, North Korea has continued to build its military strength to achieve its stated goal -- the liberation of the south by force. By November 1970, the North Koreans had accomplished their four major military objectives: arming the entire population, fortifying the entire land, training all armed forces as cadres, and modernizing military armaments. They have even fortified their part of the Demilitarized Zone and introduced weapons there. They have also built a number of air bases near the truce line.

The top North Korean leader, in a speech on 28 October 1973, openly stated that the unification of Korea could be achieved only through struggles and that there could never be any compromise with the south.

The unification of the fatherland is a consistent and ardent aspiration of the 50 million Korean people; but we could never accept unification by force. The tragedy of the Korean War -- like a nightmare -- vividly lives in the minds of the Korean people. We should prevent, by all means, recurrence of such a war.

At this juncture I would like to list some of the North Korean provocations that have occurred since this Committee met last year:

First, on 15 February of this year, North Korean gunboats attacked our fishing boats engaged in peaceful fishing operations on the high seas off the west coast, sinking one on the spot, leaving its fishermen to drown and forcibly taking the other, with its fishermen aboard, to the north;

Secondly, on 16 February, an unidentified number of North Korean armed agents were landed on the east coast near Tongyung, Kyungnam province, and one of them was captured. On 20 May, a number of North Korean armed agents infiltrated into Cheju Island, leaving one agent dead;

Thirdly, on 21 June, three North Korean gunboats attacked one of our Coast Guard vessels on the high seas off the east coast while it was patrolling the fishing zones to protect fishing boats;

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Fourthly, on 15 August an assassination attempt on the life of President Park was undertaken by a gunman directed by North Korea. During the attempt our First Lady was tragically killed;

Fifthly, North Korea has recently built military airfields at Goksan and Gaecheon near the Demilitarized Zone and has converted reserve airfields near the armistice demarcation line into operational air force bases. Seoul, the capital city of the Republic of Korea, inhabited by some 6 million people, is only about 40 kilometres from the Demilitarized Zone.

Finally, I wish to draw representatives' attention to a most serious recent act of provocation: on 15 November a civil police squad from the United Nations Command, on routine patrol, discovered an underground tunnel constructed by the North Koreans in the Demilitarized Zone. Investigations have established that that tunnel crosses the demarcation line from the north and extends for more than one kilometre into the southern sector of the Demilitarized Zone.

Inside the tunnel were found North Korean-made digging tools, a field telephone set, live electric lines and lights, and other North Korean-made items. The appearance of the food left in the rice bowls and the dirt inside the tunnel indicated that construction had been under way most probably until the very moment of discovery.

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The United Nations Command asked North Korea jointly to investigate the incident but, as in the case of other violations of the armistice, the North Koreans flatly rejected the request.

The elaborate construction work of the tunnel indicates thorough long-term planning. The investigations show that the structure of the tunnel was designed not merely for infiltration of agents, but for the quick clandestine movement of a large number of troops.

I must ask: what is the purpose of digging such a tunnel? Was it not for a large-scale surprise attack against the Republic of Korea whenever the North Koreans wanted to do so? It must be considered part of the over-all North Korean preparation for war.

While they were building the tunnel beyond the military demarcation line, their Foreign Minister was loudly calling for "peaceful unification". Obviously, building the tunnel and talking about peace are contradictory. Clearly, day by day it becomes ever more vital to prevent war.

We call upon our fellow Koreans from the North to join us in pledging once and for all before this Committee a renunciation of the use of force as a means of settling our national problems. We urge them to accept our proposal for a non-aggression agreement.

I wish to refer at this time to the role of the United Nations Command in Korea. As a party signatory to the Armistice Agreement, the Command has performed an essential function in enforcing the armistice in Korea and has contributed to the maintenance of international peace and security in our region. Dissolution of the United Nations Command, in the absence of a successor arrangement, will result in the removal of a vital party to the Armistice Agreement and could lead to a serious disruption of the armistice. This would have a grave impact on peace and security in the area.

In view of this important role played by the United Nations Command, and in the light of the fact that the Command was created by a resolution of the Security Council, it is appropriate that the future of the Command be decided by the Security Council.

(Mr. Dong-Jo Kim, Republic of Korea)

At this point, the Republic of Korea is prepared to negotiate in an appropriate manner with the parties directly concerned over the future of the United Nations Command, so that the Security Council may give due consideration to this matter.

I wish to take this opportunity clearly to state that the United States troops are stationed in Korea at the request of the Government of the Republic of Korea under the mutual defence Treaty concluded in 1953 between the Republic of Korea and the United States. Contrary to the North Korean allegations, the United Nations Command and the United States forces have never interfered in the domestic affairs of the Republic of Korea, and we would never tolerate foreign interference in our domestic affairs. In fact, it is North Korea's avowed intentions and constant provocations that make the continued presence of those forces a necessity.

Now I wish to address myself to the question of our admission into the United Nations. Here once again I should like to call upon our fellow North Koreans to join the United Nations with us, pending reunification. But if North Korea cannot join the United Nations at this time, the Republic of Korea with its population of 25 million should rightfully be able to join the United Nations under the principle of universality. Our rightful seat in this august world body should not be denied because of North Korean opposition. At the same time, we would not object to North Korea's being admitted into the United Nations along with us, as we hope this would help to bring about a consolidation of peace in the Korean peninsula. We believe that membership in the United Nations would not perpetuate the division and would not hinder peaceful unification.

North Korea has already been admitted to specialized agencies and other international organizations, such as WHO, UPU, UNCTAD, IAEA and UNESCO, of which the Republic of Korea has long been a full member. North Korea has never regarded the dual representation in such international organizations as perpetuating the division of the country. It should be recalled that North Korea has twice applied for membership in the United Nations, along with the Republic of Korea. It is unjust for admission of the Republic of Korea to the United Nations to be subject to the dictates of North Korea, which controls less than one third of the total population of Korea.

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(Mr. Dong-Jo Kim, Republic of Korea)

The Committee has before it two draft resolutions on the Korean question. In connexion with those draft resolutions, my delegation wishes to emphasize some of the important elements for your special attention.

First, it is an urgent necessity to resume the south-north dialogue, suspended by North Korea in August of last year. Through that dialogue, both parts of Korea could begin to dispel mutual distrust, thereby creating favourable conditions for national reconciliation. My delegation strongly believes that the dialogue should be resumed without any preconditions. This was and still is, I am convinced, the sense of this Committee, as indicated in the consensus statement adopted last year.

Secondly, on the question of the future of the United Nations Command, my delegation strongly maintains that the matter should be dealt with by the Security Council, in consultation with the parties directly concerned. Furthermore, the Command, as a party signatory to the Armistice Agreement of 1953, has been instrumental in enforcing the armistice. Until, and not before, a workable successor arrangement is made, the Command should continue its vital functions.

In view of the foregoing, my delegation believes that the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.676 will encourage full implementation of the consensus on the Korean question. It will also contribute to the maintenance of peace and security in Korea. It represents the most appropriate and constructive action that the United Nations can take at this time. Therefore the delegation of the Republic of Korea fully and wholeheartedly supports that draft resolution.

(Mr. Dong-Jo Kim, Republic of Korea)

On the other hand, the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.677 attempts to effect an immediate withdrawal of the United Nations forces. This does not reflect the stark realities in Korea. It would only undermine the role of the United Nations in Korea. It would thereby seriously disrupt the structure of security for the Republic of Korea. It would make the resumption of the dialogue more difficult. In the final analysis, it would jeopardize peace and security in the Far East.

For these reasons my delegation is categorically opposed to the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.677.

Before the Committee lies a serious decision: whether to encourage national reconciliation of the Korean people through the south-north dialogue and maintain peace and security in the area, or to let the dialogue remain suspended indefinitely and increase the risk of greater confrontations in the Korean peninsula.

I am certain that this Committee will look in an impartial and objective way at the realities in Korea, and will make a wise judgement with the fairness and insight that it has shown for the last 26 years in its deliberations on the Korean question.

Before concluding my remarks, I wish to call upon our fellow Koreans from the north: Let us pledge, here and now, never to repeat a "fratricidal war". Let us return to the conference table and spare no efforts to achieve national reconciliation. This is our minimum duty at this time. Instead of rancorous polemics in this hall, let us resume our talks and, as President Park has said, let history judge our work.

The Government and people of the Republic of Korea are highly confident that their motivations and achievements will long shine in the fair judgement of history and of posterity.

Mr. KAUFMANN (Netherlands): Again we are confronted with a debate on the question of Korea. I must confess that it was my delegation's sincere hope that last year we had definitely concluded the Assembly's involvement in the affairs of Korea. As members of this Committee may recall, the Netherlands delegation during the twenty-eighth session of the Assembly was involved,

(Mr. Kaufmann, Netherlands)

together with the Algerian delegation, in reaching the consensus adopted by that session. It is for that reason that my delegation has asked to speak first on this issue, in the sincere hope that the discussions we are starting now, will lead to a solution which not only is generally acceptable to the Members of the United Nations, but which will benefit the Korean people. This last aspect should be foremost in our minds.

Last year's consensus said, in essence, that the reunification of Korea was a question in which the United Nations, after the common solemn declaration of the Republic of Korea and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea of 4 July 1972, was no longer involved. The consensus endorsed this declaration; a logical consequence was the dissolution of UNCURK. The reunification of Korea is henceforth a matter for the Koreans themselves. My Government sincerely hopes that both sides will continue efforts to attain this goal, thus contributing to the well-being of the Korean people as a whole, a people which has been exposed to so much suffering.

As members will know, after the consensus reached in this Committee and endorsed by the plenary Assembly, the countries which have their war dead buried in the United Nations Memorial Cemetery in the Republic of Korea offered to take over the financing of the upkeep of the cemetery. As a consequence, this item has been removed from the United Nations budget; this means that the Assembly now is no longer involved in the Korean question.

Of course, the Korean item still remains on the agenda of the Security Council, since the question of the United Nations Command is still before the Security Council. It is legitimate to ask why, so many years after the end of the Korean war, there still exists a United Nations military involvement, a United Nations Command, in Korea.

The obvious reason is that there is still no peace in Korea. Only an armistice exists. In relation to this armistice, the United Nations Command is the signatory for the one side, as the North Korean army and the command of Chinese volunteers are for the other side. They guarantee the armistice, and they have done so successfully for more than 20 years. Both North and South Korea have, as a result of this armistice, lived and prospered in reasonable security.

(Mr. Kaufmann, Netherlands)

Of course, the armistice is not a permanent solution. An armistice cannot solve a fundamental political problem. However, I wish to underline that this Committee, or the Assembly, should do nothing that might endanger the present situation in Korea, which represents an absence of military confrontation. In addressing the future of the United Nations Command, it is essential that we recognize the importance of the existing security arrangements embodied in the Armistice Agreement. These arrangements have been essential to maintaining peace and security in the Korean peninsula. A precipitous dissolution of the United Nations Command, the signatory for one side of the Armistice Agreement, would mean that the Armistice Agreement itself would cease to exist. This would raise a question of peace and security which rightly belongs to the competence of the Security Council.

However, this Assembly is confronted with this question through the proposal to discuss the "Withdrawal of all the foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the flag of the United Nations". The sponsors of the draft resolution now before the Committee felt they had to react with an item called "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". The Assembly wisely decided to combine the two items under the heading "Question of Korea", and thereby indicated that they are intimately linked.

Confronted again with the Korean question, the task of the General Assembly is to do everything possible to maintain and strengthen peaceful conditions in Korea, and not to jeopardize the only effective agreement that there is: the Armistice Agreement. The withdrawal of all foreign troops under the United Nations Command would not contribute to peaceful conditions. On the contrary, it would upset the delicate balance on the peninsula. The United Nations Command is an essential factor, for the time being, in maintaining the armistice. The comprehensive strengthening of peaceful conditions should be the foremost concern of this Committee while debating this item of our agenda.

(Mr. Kaufmann, Netherlands)

The Assembly can only make recommendations. What are we going to recommend to the Koreans and their two Governments, and to the Security Council? We all agree -- and I honestly think there is no difference of opinion among any of us here -- that the consensus of last year stands and that it is for the two Korean Governments to continue their efforts to reunify Korea. If that happens, the issue now confronting us will have disappeared. Reunification would be, not only for Korea but for the whole world, by far the best and indeed the definite solution. I am afraid, however, that we have to be realistic: as of today we do not know how soon that objective can be achieved.

It is with these thoughts in mind that I have the honour to introduce on behalf of the sponsors the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.676. In its preambular paragraphs it states clearly the desire that progress be made towards the peaceful reunification of Korea and that such should be done freely by the Koreans themselves. It recalls with satisfaction the consensus of last year. It underlines the importance of maintaining the Armistice Agreement and the continuing responsibility of the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security on the Korean peninsula, which is, in conformity with the Charter, the exclusive responsibility of the Security Council. On the basis of these considerations, the draft resolution reaffirms the consensus of last year and urges both South and North Korea to continue their dialogue on the peaceful reunification of Korea. In its operative paragraph 2 the draft resolution expresses the hope that the Security Council will take up its responsibilities, which means: maintaining the armistice, maintaining peace and security on the peninsula, but also giving consideration, in consultation with the partners directly concerned, to the other aspects of the Korean question under its responsibility. Among the latter we include, in so many words: the future of the United Nations Command.

Yesterday an amendment submitted by the French delegation with regard to those last words was published. At the moment we are in active consultation with our co-sponsors about this amendment. We are studying it in a positive way.

If ever a draft resolution can be called moderate this one is. Rightly so, because only through moderation can the United Nations General Assembly assist the Korean people in their own struggle for peaceful reunification.

Mr. OBAME (Gabon) (interpretation from French): Since 1943, at the Cairo Conference which solemnly proclaimed the independence of Korea, the situation of that country, which entertains friendly relations with mine, has never ceased to concern our Organization. Everything has been said on this case since the vote of 25 June 1950 whereby the Security Council ascertained that an attack of the north upon the south that very day was a violation of the peace until the vote of the same Council on 7 July of the same year which requested all Member States which had furnished troops in conformity with its resolutions to put those troops at the disposal of a unified command under the authority of the United States of America, without omitting any of the vain attempts at settlement, with their respective dates, attempts which with great difficulty finally enabled the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly to arrive at the consensus which we are now observing.

Therefore I shall be brief, since everyone is well aware of the subject, but, routine as it may seem, the question of Korea is becoming increasingly complicated, in view of the negative stance of all those who have tackled it passionately and sought to introduce constantly in their approach to a settlement concepts which served their own interests rather than the essential and well-understood cause of the Korean people; and, while it is highly desirable for all that the Korean people should be reunited one day in brotherhood, it is no less desirable, to arrive at this end, that this people, northerners as well as southerners, should understand that its salvation depends more on itself than on any foreign inspiration. Indeed, whether he be from the north or from the south and whatever his place in society may be, the Korean is first and foremost a Korean, and the settlement of the question we are now considering should be carried out thanks to the sincere efforts of all friendly countries, in the interests of Korea alone. This conviction requires, on the part of each of our delegations, the determination to spare no effort to avoid for the Korean people as a whole a new resort to force, new pain and suffering, more widows and thousands of orphans and destruction and consternation -- because the question of Korea, and more precisely the problem of the reunification of Korea, certainly exists, but first and foremost there is also the life and the development of the friendly Korean people, a life and development which cannot be envisaged without social peace and concord.

(Mr. Obame, Gabon)

Thus our role, the role of all objective people, is to seek a satisfactory settlement of the conflict, without in the least jeopardizing what has already been achieved and prevents the weapons from being fired again. That is the essential aim which we the peoples of the United Nations should seek, since our international action is expressly stipulated by our Charter. That is a sacred obligation for all the Members and all the permanent members of the Security Council, upon which our Charter confers specific responsibilities in the noble but difficult task of maintaining peace in the world.

In effectively placing the supreme interests of the Korean people over any other consideration, President El Hadj Omar Bongo, in the context of the non-alignment characterizing his international policy, decided that the Government of Gabon should recognize the two Korean States, with which our country has since entertained relations of sincere friendship. It is surely sufficient proof to assert that the delegation of Gabon is among those in the best position to analyse objectively the situation in Korea and to speak clearly and in an informed manner in keeping with the interests of the Korean nation.

(Mr. Obame, Gabon)

Prompted by the spirit of realism, with which all the true friends of the Korean people should be imbued, and by the desire to contribute to the maintenance of international peace -- for respect of human rights and the fundamental value of all men -- the Government of Gabon believes that the reunification of the two Koreas is an ultimate goal which cannot be imposed from outside and which should be preceded by a radical change in thinking within the very Korean nation as a whole.

Such a progressive step should, in our opinion, be manifested by concrete signs in human relations which would sufficiently indicate that the long-expected moment to reconcile the two sides has finally arrived. Such signs can be, among others: the restoration of postal communications between the two parties; a census of the separated families and permanent authorization for them to visit each other; exchanges of youth through the organization of sports and cultural activities and so forth; the implementation of an entire process of contacts at various levels, particularly in the area of economic exchanges, exchanges of meteorological information, standardization of school programmes, health action and common preventive sanitation activity, reciprocal tourist facilities, and the signing of agreements and conventions that would serve towards promoting reunification.

Unfortunately, what my Government has been able to find in the existing relations between the two parties does not lead us to suppose that there will be an early settlement of the problem -- the direct discussions which began in 1971 and upon which so many hopes were placed have been blocked; the various specific proposals submitted on 15 August by President Park of South Korea and those repeated by him on 16 January regarding a non-aggression pact have been rejected; the objectives considered as preliminary which could certainly be achieved by the two Red Cross organizations have been abandoned; and finally we have quickly resigned ourselves to our permanent concern.

(Mr. Obame, Gabon)

We should recognize that the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has also pondered the question and has advanced proposals. In speaking after an examination of this question in depth by the Gabon Democratic Party, my Government deeply regretted last month in Libreville the not very constructive nature of those proposals, the substance of which appeared to be a rejection of any amicable solution and as an option for renewed hostilities.

To have a specific idea of the situation, two concrete examples suffice. North Korea has proposed the election of a constituent national assembly, composed of an equal number of representatives representing each party. To find a reasonable point of contact it is inconceivable to imagine that 34 million Koreans in the south should elect, on the basis of universal suffrage, the same number of deputies as would their 14 million brothers in the north. The Government of Gabon believes that in advancing such a proposal our friends in Pyongyang were clearly convinced that it would be rejected by the south, thus maintaining the existing situation.

The peace offer by the Republic of Korea was followed by a similar proposal on the part of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, but not in a direct manner -- it rather manifested its desire to sign a peace treaty with the United States of America. This behaviour shows the intention to neutralize the alliances of the south, rather than a real desire to renounce hostilities.

As far as we are concerned, we shall maintain our non-partisan position up to the day when no threat of the violation of peace will weigh upon the Korean people as a whole.

I will not speak at length on the reasons for the division of Korea which prompt the concern of my Government. I reaffirm here the friendship of my country for the two parties to the dispute and our obligations in view of this friendship, to choose specific solutions which would contribute to avoiding new bloodshed.

The Government of Gabon cannot rejoice at the division of a people; but it would not be able to adopt a simplistic position when the perfecting of new weapons threatens the extermination of a people that we love. The reunification of Korea is inevitable and it will take place when those who now oppose each other will turn to peace. For the time being, while awaiting the strengthening of the symptoms of normalizing relations between the two parties, all friends of the Korean people are duty bound to choose between the unpredictable and the specific solutions that will enable us to solve this problem in peace.

(Mr. Obame, Gabon)

It is in this context that my Government supports the initiative of Member States which have chosen to give a chance to the consensus of the twenty-eighth session. My delegation is therefore a sponsor of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.676.

Mr. AL-HADDAD (Yemen): The international community, which has for so long been seized of the question of Korea and the United Nations ill-conceived involvement in Korean affairs, received with satisfaction the joint communiqué issued by North and South Korea on 4 July 1972, precisely because the communiqué provided for the following principles on the reunification of Korea: first, that reunification should be achieved independently without reliance upon outside force or interference; secondly, that the reunification should be realized by peaceful means without recourse to the use of arms against the other side; thirdly, that the reunification should be realized by promoting great national unity as one nation transcending the differences of ideology, ideas and systems.

These three principles of national reunification constitute the basis on which both North and South Korea should seek a settlement and the reunification of their homeland. The United Nations role is to assist in this direction.

Last year we noted that our Organization took an encouraging step to rectify its position by promoting these principles. In this connexion, the delegation of Yemen would like to recall the consensus adopted by the General Assembly at its twenty-eighth session, under the terms of which the United Nations Commission for the Reunification and Rehabilitation of Korea was dissolved.

(Mr. Al-Haddad, Yemen)

We believe that the dissolution of the United Nations Commission was a significant decision since it helps to extract the United Nations ill-conceived involvement in Korean affairs. We also noted that the General Assembly further expressed the hope that by adopting the consensus, North and South Korea would continue the dialogue for us to accelerate the independence and peaceful reunification of the country.

The division of Korea is an artificial one which has been maintained by force as manifested by the presence of foreign troops in South Korea. It is an undisputed fact that the division of the country at the 38th Parallel and the present demarcation line fixed by the Armistice Agreement of July 1953, was not intended to be definitive borders constituting a frontier between two countries, but, rather, a temporary military line pending a political settlement through negotiations which would involve the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea and the peaceful reunification of the country.

Unfortunately, due to outside intervention, the political conference was never held and the division of the country continued to be a military reality which manifested itself in the presence of foreign forces.

As outlined in the draft resolution contained in document A/C.1/L.677, our call for the withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the flag of the United Nations is both legitimate and timely. In our opinion, the existence of foreign troops on South Korea's soil is a source of tension not only in Korea but in the Far East. We further believe that the presence of these foreign troops constitutes the main obstacle in the search for a peaceful reunification of Korea. Therefore, the call for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from South Korea is, in fact, an honest effort to help the Korean people achieve their aspiration in the unity and political independence of their land by peaceful means. We strongly believe that the wishes of the Korean people, in the north and in the south, must be respected.

On the other hand we oppose, as a matter of principle and policy, the presence of foreign troops in South Korea or elsewhere, because such presence can only frustrate the efforts of the Korean people and the peace-loving nations towards the settlement of the Korean question as envisaged in the Joint Communiqué of July 1972 which stresses the theme of unity without outside reliance or intervention. Our endeavour at this juncture should

(Mr. Al-Haddad, Yemen)

elimination of obstacles which continue to block the road leading to the peaceful reunification of Korea. My delegation is convinced that serious efforts must be made in order to see to it that the United Nations military command in South Korea be dissolved, which must lead to the withdrawal of all foreign forces from South Korea. This step, in our opinion, is essential and a prerequisite to the peaceful reunification of Korea being achieved through negotiation and dialogue between North and South.

In conclusion, the United Nations has a commitment toward the people of Korea in fulfilling their long overdue aspiration for a peaceful reunification of their homeland. We must not miss this opportunity.

Mr. HUANG (China) (interpretation from Chinese): Mr. Chairman, first of all, allow me to express warm welcome to the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea headed by Vice-Foreign Minister Li Jong Mok. The speech by the head of the Korean Delegation voiced the just demand of the Korean people, set forth the truth about the Korean question and pointed out the correct way to the settlement of the question. The Chinese delegation firmly supports his speech.

As is known to all, Korea forms one nation and had long been a unified country. It was only towards the end of the Second World War that Korea was artificially divided into two parts, the north and the south. Over the past 29 years, the Korean people have suffered a great deal from the division of their fatherland. It is the strong desire and common aspiration of the entire Korean people to eliminate the interference of outside forces and realize the reunification of their fatherland at an early date. All ideas and acts designed to perpetuate the division of Korea have been, and will continue to be, indignantly condemned and firmly rejected by the entire Korean people.

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea has waged prolonged and persistent struggles and put forward a series of positive and reasonable proposals for the realization of the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea. In particular, the three principles of independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity put forward by President Kim Il Sung in May 1972 and the five-point proposition for the prevention of a national split and the realization of national reunification he put forth in June 1973 have pointed

(Mr. Huang, China)

to the correct road for promoting the cause of Korean reunification. Thanks to the positive efforts persistently made by the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the north and south of Korea started their dialogue and issued the North-South Joint Statement of 4 July 1972 affirming the aforesaid three principles. The issuance of the Joint Statement unequivocally shows that Korea is an integral whole, that the realization of the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea is the common desire of the entire Korean people, and that the Korean people will be able to solve the question of peaceful reunification through their own efforts provided that the interference by outside forces is terminated.

At the twenty-eighth session last year, the General Assembly adopted a "consensus" on the Korean question, affirming the three principles for the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea and deciding to dissolve the "United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea". This was a positive step taken by the United Nations in support of the Korean people's efforts to eliminate outside interference in the internal affairs of Korea and to realize the independent and peaceful reunification of their country.

(Mr. Huang, China)

Another year has passed since the last session. In the past year, the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has made continued serious efforts to promote the independent and peaceful reunification of their fatherland. It was hoped that there would be further progress in the Korean situation on the existing basis. Regrettably, however, the south Korean authorities have time and again trampled on the North-South Joint Statement as well as the spirit of the "consensus" of the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly and rejected all the reasonable proposals and suggestions put forward in the talks by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. In obstinate pursuance of the policy of creating "two Koreas", a policy of national division, they clamour for a trial of "strength" and have been carrying out military provocations in continuous exacerbation of the relations between the north and south, thus bringing the talks between the north and the south to a stalemate. Under the pretext of an alleged "threat" from the north, which is an exploded myth, the Pak Jung Hi clique has announced a series of "emergency measures", depriving the south Korean people of their elementary democratic rights and carrying out bloody repression of the people of all strata in south Korea who demand democracy and the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea. It has arrested, tried, imprisoned and executed a great number of people from various strata who call for democracy, freedom and independent and peaceful reunification, ranging from young students to political and religious figures. Even people like former "President" Yoon Bo Sun and Catholic Bishop Chi Hak Soun did not escape such persecution. Today south Korea is in fact under the reign of terror of a fascist dictator.

The Pak Jung Hi clique has dared to act so perversely in its intensified repression of the people and disruption of the north-south dialogue mainly because it has obtained the support and connivance of the United States. It is a well-known fact that south Korea has all along been under the military, political and economic control of the United States. In stationing tens of thousands of troops in south Korea under the flag of the United Nations Command, in providing large quantities of military assistance to south Korea year after year and in stepping up the "modernization" of the hundreds of thousands of south Korean troops to fortify the Pak Jung Hi ruling apparatus and sustain his fascist rule,

(Mr. Huang, China)

the purpose of the United States is to perpetuate and solidify the division of Korea. It is evident that the long-term stationing of United States troops in south Korea and its interference in Korea's internal affairs constitute the principal obstacle to the Korean people's realization of the independent and peaceful reunification of their fatherland. In order to promote the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea, it is imperative to eliminate outside interference and have all United States troops withdrawn from south Korea. This is a decision which the current session should take as a follow-up of the decision adopted at the twenty-eighth session to affirm the principles of peaceful reunification of Korea and dissolve the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea.

Mr. Chairman, the United States troops under the United Nations flag have been stationed in south Korea for as long as a quarter of a century. It is a shame to the United Nations to allow a super-Power to use the name of the United Nations to interfere in the internal affairs of Korea over a long period, and it has long become intolerable to the numerous Member States, which demand a prompt end to this absurd situation in which the United Nations Charter is being violated. The item and the related draft resolution proposed by Algeria and 37 other countries on the "withdrawal of all the foreign troops stationed in south Korea under the flag of the United Nations" not only reflect the strong desire and legitimate demand of the Korean people but are in full conformity with the North-South Joint Statement and the spirit of the "consensus" on the Korean question adopted at the twenty-eighth session. Their draft resolution is entirely correct and most reasonable. It has not only set forth the correct principles for a solution, but has also proposed the specific and reasonable way to achieve it.

Algeria and other co-sponsors were the first to request the consideration of the item "withdrawal of all the foreign troops stationed in south Korea under the flag of the United Nations" at the current session of the General Assembly. Thereafter, the United States and others hastily proposed a separate item and a related draft resolution. The purpose of that draft is to delay a settlement of the Korean question and obstruct the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea.

(Mr. Huang, China)

The draft resolution co-sponsored by the United States and others is allegedly aimed at the full implementation of the consensus of the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly on the Korean question. If such is their aim, they should agree to the withdrawal of the United States troops from south Korea. For it is precisely this consensus that affirms the three principles for the reunification of Korea, the first of which is: the reunification of the country "should be achieved independently, without reliance upon outside force or its interference". One may ask: Do not the several tens of thousands of United States troops stationed in south Korea constitute outside force? Should not the interference by this outside force be eliminated? The United States argues that its troops in south Korea "have not interfered in the internal affairs of the host country". How can this argument convince anyone? Does not the presence of tens of thousands of United States troops in south Korea serve to embolden the Pak Jung Hi clique, to split the front? Obviously, such an argument is utterly untenable.

(Mr. Huang, China)

Recently the United States has openly declared that only a few hundred out of its tens of thousands of troops in south Korea belong to the "United Nations Command", while the rest are not under the "United Nations Command". Who does not know that the United States troops invaded Korea under the flag of the United Nations at the outset? Over the past two decades and more, it has never dropped that United Nations flag. And now all of a sudden it invokes the bilateral "U.S.-ROK Treaty", asserting that the tens of thousands of United States troops do not belong to the so-called "United Nations Command" and are not United Nations troops in the first place. There are two labels; but no matter how it changes the label from one to the other, its purpose remains the same, that is, to prolong its stay in Korea, continue its interference in the internal affairs of Korea and perpetuate the division of that country.

The United States alleges that its troops in south Korea are to "maintain peace and security on the Korean Peninsula". This is an even more glaring reversal of the truth. Firstly, the affairs of Korea should be managed by the Korean people themselves; the peace and security of the Korean Peninsula should be guaranteed by the north and south of Korea themselves and not by a super-Power. Secondly, the prolonged stay of United States troops to bolster the Pak Jung Hi fascist régime in violation of the provisions of the Armistice Agreement concerning the withdrawal of foreign troops has all along remained the root cause of the tension on the Korean Peninsula. Only the complete elimination of outside interference and the withdrawal of all foreign troops from south Korea will facilitate the further quest for peace and stability and the realization of the independent and peaceful reunification of the country by the north and south of Korea on the basis of the three principles of peaceful reunification.

The United States and others have also tried to camouflage their delay in the troop withdrawal under the pretext of defending the Korean Armistice Agreement. This is also most absurd. Article 4 of the Armistice Agreement provides that within three months after the Armistice Agreement is signed and becomes effective, a political conference of a higher level of both sides be held to settle through negotiation the questions of withdrawal of all foreign forces from south Korea and the peaceful settlement of the Korean question, and so on. If the provisions of the Armistice Agreement had been implemented, would not the questions have long been settled? Yet, owing to the obstruction of the

(Mr. Huang, China)

United States and the South Korean authorities, the 1954 Geneva Conference failed to yield any result. In such circumstances, in order to create favourable conditions for the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea, the Chinese People's Volunteers were completely, unilaterally and unconditionally withdrawn from Korea in 1958. However, the United States troops have all along refused to leave South Korea. It can thus be seen that, while paying lip service to the defence of the Armistice Agreement, the United States has in fact flagrantly violated the Agreement. Things are quite clear: if the United States really had the sincere desire for a solution, it would not have been difficult to resolve the question of the Armistice Agreement. In fact, the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has already reached an agreement with the South Korean authorities on the principles of independent and peaceful reunification and has further expressed its readiness to negotiate with the United States, the other side of the Armistice Agreement, for a solution. If the United States were sincere, why has it failed to give any response thus far?

In his speech the head of the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Li Jong Mok, put forward a series of very reasonable and concrete proposals on the question of the withdrawal of all foreign troops under the flag of the United Nations, which fully and convincingly demonstrated the sincere desire of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for a solution. The operative part of the draft resolution co-sponsored by Algeria and others has pointed to the way of taking appropriate measures for the solution of these problems. If the United States really wants a settlement and has no intention to keep its troops in South Korea indefinitely in support of the Pak Jung Hi clique's obstruction of the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea, what reason does it have to oppose those proposals?

The United States and other co-sponsors have also proposed that the Security Council consider the "future of the United Nations Command". As is known to all, like the UNCURK which was dissolved by the decision of the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly, the so-called United Nations Command in South Korea is nothing but a product of the United States aggression against Korea committed under the signboard of the United Nations in 1950.

(Mr. Huang, China)

The earlier "resolutions" of the Security Council on the Korean question were in violation of the United Nations Charter principle of non-interference in the domestic affairs of any State and were adopted under the manipulation of the United States at a time when a permanent member of the Security Council, the People's Republic of China, was deprived of its lawful rights in the United Nations, and are therefore entirely illegal and null and void. And now some people have reverted to these illegal resolutions with a request to refer the question of the withdrawal of foreign troops under the United Nations flag to the Security Council. Is this not an attempt to resurrect those illegal resolutions and to press for their recognition by the overwhelming majority of Member States which opposed or had nothing to do with those illegal resolutions, and is this not an attempt to delay indefinitely the withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea with the help of the veto power? The Chinese delegation will firmly oppose such a proposal. We believe that it will not be permitted by any justice-upholding countries either.

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea has always actively supported the third world countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America in their struggle against imperialism, colonialism, racism and Zionism. The Korean people's cause for independent and peaceful reunification is in itself a component of the anti-imperialist struggle of the third world. That was why the fourth summit conference of the non-aligned countries adopted a resolution on the Korean question, urging upon the United Nations to take a decision on the withdrawal of foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the flag of the United Nations and on the termination of foreign interference in the internal affairs of Korea.

The draft resolution sponsored by Algeria and 37 other countries (A/C.1/L.677) fully embodies the principles of the United Nations Charter and the spirit of the resolution of the fourth summit conference of non-aligned countries and conforms to the desire of the people of all countries, including the American people. It is our hope that the current session of the General Assembly, upholding the principles of the Charter and the provisions of the consensus of the twenty-eighth session, will adopt the 38-nation draft resolution in an effort to reduce the tension on the Korean peninsula, eliminate foreign interference and aggression and support the burning desire of the Korean people for the independent and peaceful reunification of their fatherland.

The Assembly should firmly reject the draft resolution co-sponsored by the United States and others, which is designed to give an excuse for the continued interference in the internal affairs of Korea by foreign forces, for the perpetual division of Korea and for the preservation of imperialist rule in South Korea.

China and Korea are brotherly neighbours. The Chinese people have always firmly supported the Korean people in their just struggle for the independent and peaceful reunification of their fatherland and the series of reasonable proposals put forward by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to that end. We are convinced that, with the support of all the justice-upholding countries throughout the world, the Korean people will certainly surmount all obstacles to realize their just cause of independent and peaceful reunification of their fatherland.

Mr. WAPENYI (Uganda): Through what we believe to be a misinterpretation, an announcement was made last Wednesday to the effect that Uganda had joined the sponsors of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.676. That was incorrect; it should have been that my Government wished to sponsor the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.677.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): Since no other delegation wishes to speak now, I shall make some announcements.

First, the delegation of Gabon has joined the sponsors of the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.676.

The second announcement relates to the amendment in document A/C.1/L.704, submitted by the representative of France, to the draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.676. The representative of France has requested that a correction be made to the English text only, since that text does not accurately reflect the sense of the original French. He requests, therefore that in the last line of the proposed amendment the words "calculated to preserve" be replaced by "to maintain".

Thirdly, I wish to inform the Committee that it is proposed to close the list of speakers in the debate on this item next Monday at 1 o'clock in the afternoon, that is to say at the end of our morning meeting. Many names have already been inscribed and this customary procedure will enable us better to organize our work. Therefore, if I hear no objection I shall take it that the Committee approves the proposal that the list of speakers be closed next Monday, at 1 p.m.

It was so decided.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): I should like to add that, in addition to the fact that there are already many names inscribed, we must think in terms of concluding the debate on Friday afternoon of next week. In this connexion, I should also wish to urge those delegations which have tentatively inscribed their names for two or more dates to confirm the date on which they wish to speak so that other tentative inscriptions can be removed to allow those delegations which really intend to speak on those dates to put their names down.

Mr. DRISS (Tunisia) (interpretation from French): I should like to ask the Secretariat, through you, Mr. Chairman, for clarifications on the United Nations Force which is stationed at present in South Korea. I should like to ask them to give us, at our next meeting, the most up-to-date information available on the United Nations Command, the nationality of the troops, the name of the Supreme Commander, if there is one, that is to say, all technical information which could assist us to understand the situation better in the light of the most current information.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): I thank the representative of Tunisia. We have taken due note of his request and at a forthcoming meeting of the Committee, as soon as this is possible, the Secretariat will provide this information.

The meeting rose at 5.20 p.m.