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

AGENDA ITEM 27

Question of general and complete disarmament: report of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament (continued)\* (A/7958, A/7960 and Corr.1, A/7961, A/8059-DC/233, A/C.1/1001 and 1010, A/C.1/L.523, 528, 532, 534 and 537)

CONSIDERATION OF DRAFT RESOLUTIONS  
 (continued)

1. The CHAIRMAN (*interpretation from Spanish*): The agenda item that we are scheduled to discuss today concerns the substantive aspects of the question of Korea. However, the representative of Mexico, the Under-Secretary of State, Mr. García Robles, has asked to speak in order to submit a draft resolution concerning agenda item 27. If there is no objection on the part of members of the Committee, I shall call on the representative of Mexico so that he can submit the draft resolution to which I have just referred. As there is no objection, I call on the representative of Mexico.

2. Mr. GARCIA ROBLES (Mexico) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I took the liberty of asking to speak now solely because my duties in the Department of Foreign Affairs of my country oblige me to leave tomorrow for Mexico and I shall be absent from New York for more than a week. It will therefore be impossible for me to return to New York in time to submit this document when disarmament questions are again discussed in the First Committee. I therefore wish to thank the Chairman and the members of the Committee for kindly allowing me to take the floor.

3. Before formally presenting this draft, which I shall do very briefly, I wish to express my delegation's deepest

sympathy to the representative of Pakistan for the tragedy that has plunged his country into mourning.

4. I have the honour formally to submit to this Committee draft resolution A/C.1/L.537, sponsored by the delegations of Ireland, Morocco, Mexico, Pakistan, Sweden and Yugoslavia. Adoption of this draft by the General Assembly would basically imply two things: first, a recommendation from the most representative organ of the international community to the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament that in its future deliberations it take into account the comprehensive disarmament programme annexed to the draft resolution, which obviously leaves open the door to considering any other suggestions concerning disarmament that might be forthcoming in the Conference; secondly, it would be an invitation to all States to use that comprehensive disarmament programme as a guideline for their disarmament measures and activities.

5. With regard to the contents of the programme annexed to the draft resolution [A/8059-DC/233, annex C, sect. 42], I should first like to stress the fact that the sponsors of the original text submitted to the Committee on Disarmament on 27 August 1970, agreed to include in it a number of changes and modifications, as proof of our conciliatory approach and our readiness to consider opinions from all those delegations that have seen fit to contact ours. The significance, scope and purposes of the programme are, however, still the same as those of the original document and it could not be otherwise.

6. My comprehensive statement at the 1753rd meeting concerning that programme makes it unnecessary for me to restate its aims today. I would merely recall that, as I said at that time, the basic objective of the programme is to contribute to the correct channelling of disarmament negotiations so that progress can be made not only on collateral measures but also on those measures that form an integral part of the objectives of the process leading to general and complete disarmament under effective international control. As the General Assembly itself has reaffirmed, that is still the most important question confronting the world today and the goal that is most in keeping with the aspirations of all the peoples of the earth.

7. It would, I think, be superfluous to point out every change made in the original text. We are convinced that a careful comparison of the two texts, which doubtless members of the Committee will make, will enable them fully to appreciate what I have termed a spirit of understanding and compromise. After the prolonged conversations that led to the amendments that have been introduced, during which the representative of Morocco, now one of the sponsors of draft resolution A/C.1/L.537 made a highly constructive contribution, the other five

\* Resumed from the 1764th meeting.

sponsors of that draft join me in the conviction that the moment has come for the comprehensive disarmament programme to be presented for the formal consideration of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament.

8. We fully realize that the possibilities of formulating a programme of this nature are infinite. Yet we believe it is high time for the Committee's record specifically to show the respective positions of delegations on this outstandingly important matter so that in future the positions taken in light of the fundamental aim of the programme I outlined a few moments ago can be quite objectively assessed.

9. At the 1751st meeting, one of the most prominent members of the Conference spoke in his eloquent statement of the draft programme that served as the basis for what now appears as an annex to the draft resolution which I am introducing, and referred to it as "... a serious and constructive document, which deserves most thorough attention and consideration by the General Assembly now that the Assembly is called upon to set the guidelines and the targets for the Decade. . . ." He stated that "It cannot be discarded, ignored or set aside for the sake of the often-invoked considerations of political realism." And concluded, adding:

"It is in fact the most significant document to emerge from the last sessions of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament. It preserves the concept of general and complete disarmament and, if adopted by the General Assembly, with any changes and amendments which might be deemed convenient, it would prove to the world that the agreed principles of 1961 still stand and that disarmament is still a serious question on the agenda of the United Nations. . . ."

10. It would, I think, be presumptuous for the sponsors of the draft comprehensive programme of disarmament to share such generous assessments of its value, even though we have heard in this Committee room other equally laudatory statements from representatives of the most diverse regions of the world. But what we can and do fully share is the opinion expressed by all that it is our duty to wait no longer to pronounce ourselves on it.

11. We venture to hope that the General Assembly will, by approving the draft resolution we are submitting, show that the best is the enemy of the good and that in the choice between the continuation of the sterile Byzantine discussions on the matter in the Committee on Disarmament and the concentration of the efforts of the Committee on Disarmament on tasks that brook no delay—such as those covering the prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of chemical and biological weapons and the destruction of arsenals of such weapons, as well as the prohibition of underground nuclear-weapon tests, to give only two examples—there can be no wavering. That between a comprehensive programme of disarmament, that is theoretically perfect and that might ultimately be adopted—who knows?—by the year 2000, and the modest recommendation that another programme, which is already prepared and is, regardless of its flaws, a balanced programme offering reasonable guarantees of effectiveness and capable of showing its beneficial effects immediately, the decision is an easy one, since it is, obviously, the second alternative that must be adopted.

## AGENDA ITEM 98

### Question of Korea (*continued*):

- (a) **Withdrawal of United States and all other foreign forces occupying South Korea under the flag of the United Nations (A/8044 and Add.1-3, A/C.1/999, 1000, 1002, 1007-1009, A/C.1/L.524);**
- (b) **Dissolution of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea (A/8045 and Add.1-3, A/C.1/999, 1000, 1002, 1007-1009, A/C.1/L.525);**
- (c) **Report of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea (A/8026, A/8046, A/8168, A/C.1/999, 1000, 1007-1009, A/C.1/L.531)**

12. The CHAIRMAN (*interpretation from Spanish*): Before I call on the first speaker on my list for this afternoon's meeting, I should like to refer to the matter of closing the list of speakers on this item. Representatives will recall that, at yesterday afternoon's meeting, I announced my intention to propose, at the beginning of this meeting, that the list of speakers on this item be closed at 6 p.m. today.

13. If there is no objection I will take it that the Committee agrees with this suggestion.

*It was so decided.*

14. Mr. ALWAN (Iraq): I wish to make known the views of my delegation on the substantive aspect of the question of Korea.

15. A few days ago, after debating the invitation aspects of the question of Korea, the First Committee adopted a decision not to invite one of the parties to the dispute [*1747th meeting*]. Preventing the representatives of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea from taking part in our deliberations while granting the right of participation to the other party is, in our view, contrary to the principles of law, a gross injustice and shows a lack of good sense. Obviously, those who designed such a flagrant anomaly have prejudiced the question of Korea, an action which runs contrary to the interest of the Korean people.

16. We have always upheld and supported the simultaneous and unconditional invitation of the representatives of the two parties to the dispute. In adopting that attitude, we have adhered strictly to the basic principles contained in the United Nations Charter, with a view to enhancing the prestige and the dignity of the world Organization.

17. In our view, the action taken on the invitation aspects by the First Committee at this session, as was the case at previous sessions, has rendered the whole idea of the Korean debate ineffective, fruitless and pointless. Debating the issue as such, we feel that the First Committee is called upon to perform an unnecessary ritual. Much effort is being wasted and a great deal of expenditure has already been incurred by the Organization with a view to performing this uncalled-for ritual. But what is worse, the debate itself has contributed to a general feeling of United Nations frustration and helplessness. Subtle procedural tactics and ready-made majorities, which have rendered the United Nations

nothing more than a toothless forum, have been persistently employed by a super-Power. These manoeuvres are considered as serious obstacles to international peace and security.

18. My delegation is a sponsor of draft resolution A/C.1/L.524, which was so brilliantly introduced by the representative of the Soviet Union yesterday [1766th meeting], urging the withdrawal of United States and all other foreign forces occupying South Korea under the flag of the United Nations. It is our belief that foreign forces of occupation do not serve the interest of Korea, nor do they contribute to the cause of peace and security. It is axiomatic that the presence of foreign forces serves and promotes the interest of the occupying Power. No peaceful solution can be conceived practically without prior withdrawal of United States occupation forces. Foreign troops stationed in Korea cannot bring about a process conducive to the expression of the free will of the whole people of Korea. Thus, the withdrawal of foreign troops is an indispensable prerequisite for the peaceful reunification of Korea.

19. We the people of the third world, have had bitter experience of foreign occupation, of the presence of foreign troops and military bases. Military occupation of any territory is inadmissible and contrary to the principles of the United Nations Charter. We firmly believe that no Asian or African country takes pride in the stationing of foreign troops on its soil.

20. My delegation is also a sponsor of draft resolution A/C.1/L.525, which was ably introduced by the representative of the People's Republic of the Congo yesterday [*ibid.*], seeking the dissolution and liquidation of the so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea. It is our feeling that this Commission has failed to make any constructive contribution to a just solution of the Korean problem. On the contrary, the Commission itself constitutes a major obstacle to any just and peaceful solution.

21. There is no more eloquent testimony to the urgent need to dissolve the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea than the official decision of the Chilean Government, made on the 14th of this month, to withdraw from this Commission. This very important and vital decision, made by a Government free from any foreign pressure or interference, is of far-reaching significance. The decision was communicated to the Secretary-General in a letter contained in document A/8168, which, among other things, states that the Government of Chile: "wishes to be in a position to explore other possibilities for action which might signify a worth-while and disinterested contribution to the cause of peace in that area."

22. In concluding these remarks, we feel that the only conceivable solution of the Korean question must be based on the principles enshrined in the United Nations Charter, and respect for the right of the people of Korea to decide its own destiny without foreign interference or pressure. The reunification of Korea is strictly a domestic issue and must be solved by the Korean people through direct negotiations.

23. Mr. YONDON (Mongolia) (*translated from Russian*): We are considering the most important aspects of the problem which directly concern the vital interests and national aspirations of the Korean people. It is a matter for deep regret that the discussion of this problem is taking place, as in the past, without the participation of the real spokesmen for the national interests of the Korean people, the representatives of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

24. My delegation considers that the discriminatory decision taken on the question of extending an invitation to representatives of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea makes it impossible to discuss in an impartial manner and adopt an objective decision on matters relating to Korea. Preventing representatives of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea from taking part in the discussion in this Committee is neither sensible nor realistic. What is unrealistic about it is that their participation in the discussion of these matters is being made directly dependent on recognition by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea of the illegal decisions imposed on the United Nations by the imperialist forces in the very worst years of the cold war.

25. As regards the substance of the matter, my delegation has on more than one occasion made a detailed presentation of the Mongolian Government's position both in this Committee and in the United Nations General Assembly. That position is reflected in the draft resolutions on the withdrawal of United States and all other foreign forces occupying South Korea under the flag of the United Nations [A/C.1/L.524] and on the dissolution of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea [A/C.1/L.525]. My delegation is a sponsor of these draft resolutions.

26. The most cherished national aspiration of the Korean people has been and remains the unification of its homeland on a peaceful, democratic basis. That is the natural and legitimate desire of a people that would like to see its country united, free and independent. Anyone who takes a sober and objective look at the real situation in Korea will see that the main obstacle to the attainment of this legitimate aspiration of the Korean people is the high-handed military intervention by the United States in the affairs of the Korean people. The most shameful thing about it is that this intervention is still continuing and that it is being carried out under the cover of the name and the flag of the United Nations. For more than 20 years now, our Organization has been discussing the so-called Korean question at its annual sessions and has been vainly trying to solve it. I say vainly because, through the fault of the United States and its allies, it has so far been impossible to take a positive decision on the substance of the matter, that is to say, on the question of the withdrawal of United States and other foreign troops from South Korea. Yet it is precisely the foreign military presence in South Korea that is a source of constant tension and the main obstacle to the unification of Korea. That is demonstrated by the fact that 17 years after the conclusion of the Armistice Agreement no real peace has yet been established in Korea. On the contrary, as a result of the aggressive acts of the United States occupation troops, which are passed off as armed

forces of the United Nations, an extremely dangerous situation has developed on the Korean peninsula.

27. The continuing occupation of South Korea by United States troops and their intensification of aggressive moves against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea are an integral part of a United States policy directed against the neighbouring socialist States and the national liberation movement of the peoples of Asia.

28. In accordance with President Nixon's Guam doctrine, the United States is more and more actively encouraging military preparations by the South Korean puppet army, which, according to the periodical *War/Peace Report*, is now 620,000 strong. Besides that, there are the so-called patriotic reserve forces, now over 2 million strong, according to the same periodical.

29. Every year the United States spends \$140 million on the maintenance of the South Korean puppet army alone. This year, according to *The New York Times* of 12 November 1970, United States supplementary military assistance to South Korea will amount to \$150 million. That assistance covers deliveries of modern tanks, armoured transport, heavy artillery and other types of weapons and equipment. Thus, the United States is trying to strengthen and modernize the South Korean puppet army and to transform it into a strike force. The idea of the Pentagon strategists is that this will enable them to reduce United States troops strength in South Korea while maintaining the occupation régime and military bases there.

30. The purpose of all this is to prevent the democratic unification of Korea by force of arms and perpetuate its division. In South Korea, where the United States occupiers hold sway, a harsh military police régime has been established which is upheld only by the bayonets of the United States expeditionary force.

31. The Park Chung Hee régime is acting counter to the interests of the Korean people. It is betraying and selling out the interests of the people for dollars which are stained with the blood of hundreds of thousands of innocent people in Korea and in Viet-Nam. The Seoul régime, which lives in constant terror of the wrath of its own people, of history and of a hopeless future, is trying to prolong its existence by perpetuating the foreign military presence. That is why it opposes not only the withdrawal of United States troops from South Korea but even a slight reduction in their number.

32. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea, on the other hand, pursues a consistent policy of peace and friendly co-operation with other peoples and sincerely champions the interests of the entire Korean people. On the basis of that policy it makes constructive proposals for the peaceful unification of Korea on democratic principles. As the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has repeatedly stated, the first prerequisite for the peaceful unification of Korea is the withdrawal of United States and all other foreign forces from South Korea. That will make it possible to conclude a peace treaty providing for a substantial reduction in armed forces in the North and South, mutual non-aggression, the holding of free and democratic elections and the establishment of a single

central government. Further proof and confirmation of the sincerity of the peaceful aspirations of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, a socialist State, is to be found in the memorandum of its Government dated 16 September 1970 [A/C.1/1008].

33. Yet another form of interference in the affairs of the Korean people under the cover of the United Nations flag is the so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea. The facts make it perfectly clear that neither the Commission nor the so-called United Nations armed forces in Korea belong to our Organization or are subordinate to it. In both instances, the flag of the United Nations and its authority are being used illegally by the United States in a manner contrary to the interests of the Korean people.

34. Experience shows that even if the United States did not receive a single report and did not hold discussions on the activities of the so-called United Nations armed forces in South Korea, it would be clear that the so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea functions solely for the purpose of justifying the aggressive actions of the United States.

35. In its annual reports to the General Assembly the so-called Commission distorts the true state of affairs, seeks to justify the presence of United States occupation troops in the territory of South Korea, whitewashes the actions of the puppet régime in Seoul and spreads every conceivable kind of fiction about the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

36. The unseemly role being played by the Commission is so obvious that some of its members are openly and resolutely refusing to participate in its work.

37. In that connexion, my delegation welcomes Chile's withdrawal from the so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea as an example of a sober and realistic approach to objective reality. The people and Government of the Mongolian People's Republic unswervingly support the efforts of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to bring about the peaceful unification of Korea. They favour the immediate withdrawal of United States and other foreign forces from South Korea and the dissolution of the so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea.

38. My delegation has frequently declared that the question of the unification of Korea should be dealt with exclusively by the Korean people, who should be given an opportunity to settle their internal affairs themselves without interference or pressure from outside. The Mongolian delegation believes that this just demand of the Korean people should, at last, be granted, since it is fully in accordance with the lofty purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter.

39. In concluding this brief statement, I should like to invite the distinguished delegates to support the draft resolution submitted for the Committee's consideration by a group of socialist and Afro-Asian States. It is our profound conviction that this draft resolution is wholly in

accord with the true interests of the Korean people, who seek peace and the unification of their homeland on a democratic basis.

40. Mr. JIMENEZ (Philippines): The First Committee is again called upon to consider the question of Korea. My delegation was not among the delegations which requested consideration of this question this year because, as I stated in this Committee on 26 October last [*1741st meeting*] a discussion of the question would only give rise to an acrimonious exchange not quite appropriate for the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations. However, we do want to co-operate with those who wish to consider the question again this year. This affords us an opportunity to review the developments in Korea and to clarify many of the facts with regard to what happened in Korea, facts that have been lost in the flood of propaganda offered as arguments in support of draft resolutions calling for the withdrawal of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea and the withdrawal of United Nations forces from Korea.

41. The objectives of the United Nations in Korea, which have been reiterated in a series of resolutions adopted by the General Assembly by an overwhelming majority, are: "to achieve by peaceful means a unified, independent and democratic Korea under a representative form of government and to restore international peace and security in the area." The United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea, established on 7 October 1950, was given functions previously exercised by the United Nations Commission on Korea and was given the mandate to represent the United Nations in bringing about the establishment of a unified, independent and democratic government of all Korea. In 1969 the Commission was further requested to encourage the exercise of restraint and the easing of tensions in the area. Thus the Commission is the most important agency of the United Nations to implement its resolutions on Korea. It is the only United Nations agency that keeps the General Assembly informed on the situation in the area through reports submitted regularly to the Secretary-General and the Assembly. Its latest report [*A/8026*], covers the period from 7 September 1969 to 13 August 1970.

42. Since the question of Korea was brought before the United Nations in 1947, the United Nations has exerted efforts to achieve an early and peaceful unification of Korea. However, it has been and still is unable to achieve that objective because of the stubborn refusal by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to recognize the competence and authority of the United Nations to deal with the question. The Commission has been hampered in its task by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

43. On the question of unification, the position of the Republic of Korea is crystal clear. It is in favour of unification by peaceful means, through free elections to be held throughout Korea under United Nations supervision, to guarantee the free and democratic character of the elections, which would reflect the true will of the Korean people. On 15 August 1970 President Park Chung Hee of the Republic of Korea stated that, provided the North Koreans would desist from perpetrating all sorts of military provocations and make a public announcement that they

would henceforth renounce their policy of communizing the whole of Korea by force and overthrowing the Republic of Korea by violent revolution, he would be prepared "to suggest epochal and more realistic measures, with a view to removing, step by step, various artificial barriers existing between south and north, in the interest of laying the groundwork for unification and on the basis of humanitarian considerations."

44. On the other hand, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has persistently rejected the role of the United Nations in the solution of the Korean problem and has taken the position that the unification of Korea depends on the preparation of three revolutionary forces, to wit, the socialist forces of North Korea, the revolutionary forces of South Korea and the international revolutionary forces. The North Koreans are still determined to communize the whole of Korea by force and to exacerbate the tension in the area through all sorts of military provocations and acts of infiltration, with a view to overthrowing the Republic of Korea by means of violent revolution. The North Koreans have perpetrated more than 7,000 incidents of armed provocation since 1950. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea thus creates an atmosphere of terror and renewed aggression instead of an atmosphere conducive to an easing of tension.

45. The report of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea indicates that incidents of intrusion into the Demilitarized Zone south of the military demarcation line and of infiltration into the interior of the Republic of Korea, in violation of the Armistice Agreement, continued to occur during the period under review. Infiltration from North Korea has shifted from the Demilitarized Zone to the coastal areas of the Republic of Korea. Espionage activities have been uncovered; espionage rings have had as their mission to organize underground Communist Party cells and to agitate people to stage revolts against the Republic of Korea, as well as to collect military information.

46. Therefore it is most unfortunate and sad that we are still faced with a divided Korea instead of a unified Korea; an independent and democratic government for only half of Korea instead of for the whole Korean peninsula; and continuation of a demarcation line between the North and the South.

47. Who is at fault? Not the Republic of Korea, which has been declared by General Assembly resolution 195 (III) of 12 December 1948 as the only lawful government in all Korea and which has recognized the competence and authority of the United Nations to deal with the question of Korea.

48. It is most unfortunate to note that the Democratic People's Republic of Korea continues to vilify the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea and to challenge the role of the Commission in carrying out its mandate. It has persistently rejected the supervisory role of the Commission and has even denied its entry into the North. On the other hand, the Republic of Korea has extended its full co-operation to the Commission in exercising its mandate.

49. The Commission has been serving a most useful purpose in Korea. It is carrying out its mandate in the best

traditions of our Organization. It has recently submitted an objective report, which contains the positions of both the Republic of Korea and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. It remains the only instrument of the United Nations in Korea through which unification can be achieved.

50. Those are the reasons why my delegation did not find it difficult to sponsor again this year draft resolution A/C.1/L.531, formally presented yesterday by the representative of the United States [*1766th meeting*]. On the other hand, my delegation would vote against any proposal to dissolve the Commission, as proposed in draft resolution A/C.1/L.525.

51. Peace in Korea is a prerequisite of the establishment of a unified and independent Korea. The Unified Command of the United Nations forces was established by the Security Council on 7 July 1950, in its resolution 84 (1950), as a collective action to repel the North Koreans and to restore peace and security in the area. The United Nations forces are in Korea legitimately, with the consent of the Republic of Korea. It is only the continued presence of those forces that deters the North Korean régime from launching a massive attack against the Republic of Korea.

52. It is, therefore, understandable that the North Koreans have been demanding the withdrawal of the United Nations forces from Korea. It is only through such a withdrawal that the North Koreans can succeed in their sinister design to re-stage an all-out armed invasion against the Republic of Korea. According to the memorandum of the Republic of Korea of 7 October 1970 [*see A/C.1/1007*], the North Koreans have built up their military strength rapidly. They spent \$692 million in 1969 for military purposes, an amount equivalent to 25 per cent of the total national product of North Korea in the preceding year. For 1970, 35 per cent of their budget, totalling \$746.3 million, was devoted to war preparations. They have a standing army of more than 400,000 men equipped with modern military equipment, backed up by a militia, known as the "worker-peasant Red Guard" with an estimated strength of 1.4 million. The North Korean navy and air force, according to the report of the Unified Command, are equipped with modern jet aircraft and naval combat vessels of various types.

53. The report of the United Nations Command, covering the period 1 August 1969 to 31 August 1970 [*S/9982*], states that the frequency of the pre-planned excursions by North Korean armed intruders was clear evidence of North Korea's continued unwillingness to abide by the provisions of the Armistice Agreement and raises serious doubts about the attitude of North Korea towards the promotion of peace and stability in Korea. Incidents of armed intrusion into the Republic of Korea and of infiltration are fully documented in the report.

54. It is the United Nations presence that deters North Korea from another bloody adventure. For that presence to be hastily withdrawn at this time would be a cordial invitation to North Korea to unleash these massive military forces, across the Demilitarized Zone, as was done in 1950, and invade South Korea. This the United Nations cannot and should not permit. For the United Nations is, and has been established as, the instrument for the maintenance of

international peace and security. The United Nations must face up to this responsibility; it must maintain its presence in Korea, until such time as the threat of aggression disappears, until such time as the United Nations objectives have been achieved or until such time as North Korea and South Korea can get together in peace.

55. We of Asia have a special stake in the maintenance of peace in Korea, for Asia can ill afford the disaster of another war in our region. We have had more than our share of disasters, natural and man-made, in the last 30 years. What we need now is time to solve our problems and achieve social and economic development in a climate of security, untroubled by the threat of subversion and aggression. This the United Nations can help to make possible. Continued United Nations presence in Korea will contribute greatly to that end. For the sake, therefore, of peace in Korea and, in the broader sense, in Asia, my delegation would oppose any proposal to withdraw the United Nations forces from Korea.

56. In our draft resolution in document A/C.1/L.531, we would have the Assembly note that the United Nations forces in Korea have in greater part already been withdrawn and that the Governments concerned are prepared to withdraw their remaining forces from Korea, whenever the conditions for a lasting settlement formulated by the Assembly have been fulfilled.

57. We trust that this draft resolution will again receive wide support in this Committee and that draft resolutions A/C.1/L.524 and 525 will again suffer a resounding defeat.

58. Mr. SZARKA (Hungary): In taking the initiative for a discussion by the General Assembly of the items dealing with the withdrawal of United States and all other foreign forces occupying South Korea under the flag of the United Nations, and with the dissolution of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea, my delegation wanted to contribute to the lessening of tensions in the Far East. The presence of foreign troops for the last 20 years in the southern part of Korea and their interference with the issues of Korean unification, backed up by the said Commission in its role of accomplice, require urgent and meaningful action from our Organization.

59. Since the problems besetting the Korean people in its artificially divided homeland cannot be solved in the absence of their representatives, my country, along with many others, proposed the invitation of the representatives of both parts of Korea. Our Committee, acting under the usual pressure and lobbying of the United States, in circumstances totally alien to what the principles of this body require, once again prevented the extension of an invitation, in due form, to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

60. This decision, by giving support to the well-known cold war scenario of the Korean debates, has in effect killed much of our power to help in the solution of these grave problems. Now, everything is arranged as the United States wants it to be. There is only one side present, although it is the one mainly responsible for the grave situation in Korea; there is no danger at hand of a Korean response to the slanders directed against the whole Korean people and its

lawful Government; a one-sided and totally discredited report of the so-called UNCURK is submitted; and so on. We cannot but ask: is this the era of negotiation, and not of confrontation, which was promised to us? Are the peoples of Asia to expect this kind of treatment, be they the peoples of Korea, or of Viet-Nam, or of any other land, wherever that same country is in the front line of aggression?

61. I cannot but point out that a number of Member States which profess to recognize realities in Asia once again turned their backs on the Korean realities when the question of invitations was decided in this Committee. Those Governments should, in our view, reflect carefully especially after the lesson of Viet-Nam, whether such an unconditional pursuit of misguided American policies will really help the chances of peace in Asia.

62. I wish to express the satisfaction of my delegation to those representatives of the Asian and African States who, by voting for our draft resolution [A/C.1/L.520] faithfully adhered to the statement on the United Nations made at the Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries held in Lusaka in September 1970, which states, *inter alia*: "It is also imperative for the United Nations to examine the modalities of enabling all countries which are still . . . divided to participate in the activities of the Organization and its agencies."

63. I feel, however, duty-bound to express my deep regret over the support given by a number of developing nations to the unjust and discriminatory resolution adopted with regard to invitations to the Koreans to participate in this debate. It is really difficult to reconcile this attitude on their part with their passionate denunciations expressed recently in the debate over the South African credentials. It is hard to understand how one can criticize others for shielding or assisting in discrimination, and then join those very same Member States in their policy of discrimination practised, this time, against a fellow developing nation of Asia. The fight against discrimination, imperialism and neo-colonialism cannot be a selective one. My delegation, for its part, will not be swayed by such inconsistencies in the common fight against colonialism and domination, in whichever continent they may raise their ugly heads.

64. Turning now to the substantive issues before us, may I say first that if and when a work on diplomatic double-talk is ever written, the author will, no doubt, find abundant source material in the history of the so-called Korean question.

65. Let me illustrate my point first with the foreign forces stationed in South Korea, which, for certain reasons, are referred to as "United Nations forces". Now, what are those troops? An American journalist, John B. Ritch, who is by no means hostile to United States policy in Korea, describes it like this in the October issue of the *Atlantic Monthly*, published in Boston: "The United Nations presence, if that is the word for it, is a relic of the Korean War, retained essentially for image. . . . It is a United Nations force which answers to the Pentagon."

66. The writer, in another part of his article, states that \$680 million are being spent to maintain those forces, most

of them situated near the Armistice Line dividing the two parts of Korea. It so happens that the United Nations budget, much as it has been on the increase, will not exceed \$200 million for 1971. Consequently this cannot be financed by the United Nations. Who then does foot this huge bill? It is no secret to anyone here that it is the United States which indulges in such generosity. I may also ask whether those American forces, commanded by American officers, financed by the United States Congress, are under the orders of the Security Council, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, or anybody else in the United Nations. Everybody knows, of course, that they have absolutely no connexion with the United Nations. What better illustration is needed for this than the reported cuts in their number—"reported", I say, not in the United Nations but in the press of our host country. Members of this Committee will find no such information before them, just as they have never found any information about their numbers or about any other detail concerning these so-called United Nations forces. The draft resolution proposed in document A/C.1/L.531, submitted by the Member States ready to lend their names to it, does not even provide in its operative paragraph 6 that any United Nations organ should at any time be empowered to decide about the withdrawal of those forces. It merely says that "the Governments concerned are prepared to withdraw their remaining forces from Korea whenever such action is requested by the Republic of Korea or whenever the conditions for a lasting settlement formulated by the General Assembly have been fulfilled." So it is up to the Governments concerned to decide, it is not up to us. And may I say in passing that the subtle use of the plural in the word "Governments" is just another facet of the Alice-in-Wonderland nature of the whole arrangement. The value of the provision just quoted is all the more obvious if we remember the terror of the South Korean ruling clique upon learning of the planned limited reduction of the United States troops. That puppet régime, which is regularly presented to us by interested propaganda as democratic and as enjoying the support of the population of South Korea, is deadly afraid of losing its 20,000 armed supporters in the United States occupation army. It probably feels that its army of 700,000 cannot fully be relied upon to maintain its corrupt rule. And all this in spite of press reports that new and modern arms are being provided by the United States as compensation for the troops withdrawn—again, not by any United Nations decision, but on account of financial problems faced by the United States Government.

67. The foreign forces stationed in South Korea represent a constant source of danger for the peace of the Far East. As far as the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is concerned, it has even reduced the number of its armed forces by 80,000 men. It has proposed to the South a further mutual reduction of 100,000, but to no avail, since the South Korean régime does not feel that its anti-national system, based on the exploitation of its country by foreign-monopoly interests, is sufficiently ensured against its own people by one of the largest standing armies in the world. There is no question that the foreign troops in South Korea, by their very presence and by their menacing and provocative activities against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, maintain a high level of tension and block all possibilities of rapprochement between the two parts of

Korea. They must be withdrawn in the interest of peace. This is what my delegation, along with a number of others, proposes in draft resolution A/C.1/L.524. Such a measure is long over-due and merits wide support.

68. I now turn to the so-called United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea. It is not my habit to belittle organs of the United Nations, even if they cannot claim much success in their work. But that body is such a tragic failure in all its aspects that we really have to feel ashamed of its continued existence. After the persistent and easily understood absence of one of its members when the time for signing its report is due, another one has now correctly decided to withdraw from it. Only close military allies of the United States continue to serve on it. Although it employs no less than 36 people, it pursues no activity worth the name. Without wishing to cast any aspersion on its members, I must register my delegation's strong disapproval of the existence of that body. It is clear that it is the diplomatic arm of organized and continuous intervention in the affairs of the Korean people by the occupying imperialist Power.

69. It is sometimes contended that the Commission's task is to help the unification of Korea. If history is to judge, I cannot see how such a claim can be put forward seriously. The Commission is purported to be the symbol of the fact that the United Nations has competence with regard to Korean reunification. In earlier years my delegation had ample opportunity to refute such allegations. But those who feel otherwise would do well to glance through the pages of its report [A/8026]. A chapter entitled "Political Developments and External Relations of the Republic of Korea" covering parliamentary and governmental events, diplomatic relations, and so on, and a chapter entitled "Economic Developments in the Republic of Korea" covering details of the economic life of South Korea are included in this report.

70. I shall again ask the authors of this report: Are these matters in which the United Nations is competent to act? Are these matters not covered by Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter? If not, what are matters of domestic jurisdiction? Those with a conviction worthy of a better cause, who have never ceased to argue that the United Nations does indeed have competence in such matters, should ponder the implications of such statements. Are they prepared to recognize the competence of this Assembly in taking action on their own political and economic institutions? If not, why is it competent to interfere in Korean affairs but not in theirs? If the answer is yes, what remains of the Charter and of domestic jurisdiction and sovereignty for that matter? Arguments to the effect that the Korean situation is *sui generis* will not help. The Charter provisions cannot be circumvented by such legalistic jargon. It is in the interest of every Member State that this crude misuse of our Organization in the interests of imperialist policies be stopped.

71. The memorandum of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, contained in document

A/C.1/999, includes information about the repeated efforts of that Government to bring about a rapprochement and eventual, peaceful reunification between the two parts of Korea. Those proposals, whether they envisage a confederation, economic and cultural exchanges, travel, or even correspondence among relatives, have all been rejected out of hand by the ruling junta in South Korea. They would not even agree to have postal communication with the Koreans living in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. One is somewhat surprised to see the self-appointed champions of the free flow of ideas, of books, newspapers and others, proclaim to us the virtues of a régime which is bent on destroying all contacts between Koreans living in the North and in the South. The United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea, during its long existence, has never seen fit to refer to the unparalleled hysteria that has been prevailing in South Korea. Instead of going out of its way to praise an economic upturn, primarily a by-product of the war against the people of Viet-Nam, it should have reported the genuine facts of the oppressive régime in South Korea—police activities, the contemptible witch-hunt against some of its leading intellectuals, and so on. But apparently all that is outside their terms of reference.

72. It is not my purpose to embark upon a detailed review of the achievements of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. It is one of the leading industrial Powers of Asia. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea, completely destroyed by the United States military aggression under the flag of this Organization, is now a strong, independent socialist State with which an increasing number of Member States maintain and develop fruitful relations. That is a trend which cannot be stopped whatever the attempts of its enemies. It is incumbent upon us not to let ourselves be used in these machinations. Our flag has been stained enough; the good name of this body has been misused far too long in Korea. It is time to call a halt to policies which subvert the Charter and serve imperialist designs. The dissolution of the Commission, which draft resolution A/C.1/L.525 proposes to carry out, is a measure aimed at that purpose. We will vote for it and will reject the draft resolution of the United States and its associates because it wishes to perpetuate the present dangerous situation in Korea.

73. The CHAIRMAN (*interpretation from Spanish*): I have no further speakers on my list but before adjourning this meeting I should like to ask all members of the Committee to take note of the fact that Colombia has joined the list of sponsors of draft resolution A/C.1/L.531.

74. May I also remind members of the Committee that the list of speakers in this debate on the substantive aspects of the Korean question is due to be closed at 6 p.m. today. Therefore, will those delegations that wish to take part in the debate please be good enough to give their names to the Secretary of the Committee.

*The meeting rose at 4.35 p.m.*