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*Chairman:* Mr. Ismail FAHMY  
(United Arab Republic).

**AGENDA ITEM 92**

**Examination of the question of the reservation exclusively for peaceful purposes of the sea-bed and the ocean floor, and the subsoil thereof, underlying the high seas beyond the limits of present national jurisdiction and the use of their resources in the interests of mankind (*continued*) (A/6695; A/C.1/952)**

GENERAL DEBATE (*continued*)

1. The CHAIRMAN: I call on the representative of Malta to complete his statement.
2. Mr. PARDO (Malta): Mr. Chairman, I am deeply conscious of the fact that the Committee is most anxious to proceed to the Korean question, and I have used the luncheon interval to drastically reduce what I had in mind to say.
3. From what I said this morning, I think it is clear that there can be no doubt that an effective international régime over the sea-bed and the ocean floor beyond a clearly defined national jurisdiction is the only alternative by which we can hope to avoid the escalating tensions that will be inevitable if the present situation is allowed to continue. It is the only alternative by which we can hope to escape the immense hazards of a permanent impairment of the marine environment. It is, finally, the only alternative that gives assurance that the immense resources on and under the ocean floor will be exploited with harm to none and benefit to all.

4. Finally, a properly established international régime contains all the necessary elements which should make it acceptable to all of us here: rich and poor countries, strong and weak, coastal and landlocked States. Through an international régime all can receive assurance that at least the deep sea floor will be used exclusively for peaceful purposes and that there will be orderly exploitation of its resources.

5. You will note, however, that all proposals put forward up to now for an international régime have avoided facing the defence aspects of the question before us. Those aspects, in our opinion, are crucial for an enduring international solution of the problem. Appropriation for national purposes of the sea-bed and the ocean floor beyond the geophysical continental shelf has already started. My Government believes that the international community has no alternative in these circumstances but to aim consciously and with a sense of urgency towards the creation of an international régime, beyond, I repeat, reasonably defined national jurisdiction. In creating such a régime, we must face squarely the vital issues of legitimate national security together with the economic, scientific and other implications.

6. Our general objective must be to create conditions in the marine environment that will be of benefit to all countries. We do not believe that it would be wise to make the United Nations itself responsible for administering an international régime. We say this not because we have any objections of principle, but for practical reasons.

7. I shall not take your time to list them here. I would only observe that it is hardly likely that those countries that have already developed a technical capability to exploit the ocean floor would agree to an international régime if it were administered by a body where small countries, such as mine, had the same voting power as the United States or the Soviet Union.

8. Hence, our long-term objective is the creation of a special agency with adequate powers to administer in the interests of mankind the oceans and the ocean floor beyond national jurisdiction. We envisage such an agency as assuming jurisdiction, not as a sovereign, but as a trustee for all countries over the oceans and the ocean floor. The agency should be endowed with wide powers to regulate, supervise and control all activities on or under the oceans and the ocean floor. It would be premature for me to elaborate on the provisions which could be incorporated in the charter of the suggested agency to ensure that the ocean floor be used exclusively for peaceful purposes. Perhaps it will suffice at this stage to assure you that we have examined the question carefully and my Government is satisfied that it is feasible to give credible assurance to all

countries that through the agency the ocean floor beyond national jurisdiction will in fact be used exclusively for peaceful purposes.

9. In our view the agency should have the power effectively to regulate the commercial exploitation of the ocean floor. We would envisage exploration rights and leases being granted in respect of mineral, petroleum and other resources lying in the area within its jurisdiction. We have made some hasty calculations on the amount of revenue which the agency could be expected to receive from such activities. On the assumption that an agency would be created in the year 1970, that technology will continue to advance, that exploitation will be commensurate with the presently known resources of the ocean floor, that exploration rights and leases will be granted at rates comparable to those existing at present under national jurisdiction and that the continental shelf under national jurisdiction will be defined approximately at the 200 metres isobath or at twelve miles from the nearest coast, we believe that by 1975, that is, five years after an agency is established, gross annual income will reach a level which we conservatively estimate at around \$6,000 million. After deducting administration expenses and all other legitimate expenses including support to oceanographic research, the agency would, in our view, still be left with at least \$5,000 million to be used to further either directly or through the United Nations Development Programme the development of poor countries. The sum which I have mentioned is a conservative estimate. I would recall, in this respect, that the United States Government alone has received only from petroleum leases on its continental shelf in the last fifteen years the sum of \$3.6 thousand million. That is one country in respect of one product alone. Should the international agency be established, and should revenues be approximately at the level which we estimate, the international aid picture will be completely transformed.

10. We also envisage the agency as the body with over-all responsibility for keeping the problem of ocean pollution under control. The useful work of existing specialized bodies such as the International Atomic Energy Agency, the Intergovernmental Oceanographic Commission, the Inter-Governmental Maritime Consultative Organization and others would not be jeopardized. Their collaboration would be solicited and their advice, if endorsed by the agency, could be incorporated in an enforceable code of law for the accepted use of the deep seas and of the ocean floor. We believe that the existence and powers of the suggested agency should be founded on a treaty clearly defining the outer limits of the continental shelf subject to national jurisdiction, and establishing generally acceptable principles with regard to the use of the deep seas and of the ocean floor. We are strongly of the opinion that the following, among other principles, should be incorporated in the proposed treaty:

(a) The sea-bed and the ocean floor, underlying the seas beyond the limits of national jurisdiction as defined in the treaty, are not subject to national appropriation in any manner whatsoever.

(b) The sea-bed and the ocean floor beyond the limits of national jurisdiction shall be reserved exclusively for peaceful purposes.

(c) Scientific research with regard to the deep seas and ocean floor, not directly connected with defence, shall be freely permissible and its results available to all.

(d) The resources of the sea-bed and ocean floor, beyond the limits of national jurisdiction, shall be exploited primarily in the interests of mankind, with particular regard to the needs of poor countries.

(e) The exploration and exploitation of the sea-bed and ocean floor beyond the limits of national jurisdiction shall be conducted in a manner consistent with the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter and in a manner not causing unnecessary obstruction of the high seas or serious impairment of the marine environment.

11. There are other important principles which we could mention, but here again I am aware that time presses.

12. These are our long-term objectives. We realize that they cannot be achieved either quickly or easily. We hope, however, that the General Assembly will at its present session adopt a resolution embodying the following concepts:

13. First, the sea-bed and the ocean floor are a common heritage of mankind and should be used and exploited for peaceful purposes and for the exclusive benefit of mankind as a whole. The needs of poor countries, representing that part of mankind which is most in need of assistance, should receive preferential consideration in the event of financial benefits being derived from the exploitation of the sea-bed and ocean floor for commercial purposes.

14. Second, claims to sovereignty over the sea-bed and ocean floor beyond present national jurisdiction, as presently claimed, should be frozen until a clear definition of the continental shelf is formulated.

15. Third, a widely representative but not too numerous body should be established in the first place to consider the security, economic and other implications of the establishment of an international régime over the deep seas and ocean floor beyond the limits of present national jurisdiction; in the second place, to draft a comprehensive treaty to safeguard the international character of the sea-bed and ocean floor beyond present national jurisdiction; and in the third place to provide for the establishment of an international agency which will ensure that national activities undertaken in the deep seas and on the ocean floor will conform to the principles and provisions incorporated in the proposed treaty.

16. We have prepared a draft resolution embodying the points I have mentioned. We are reluctant, however, to submit it officially for consideration by this Committee. The question of the sea-bed and ocean floor beyond present national jurisdiction is of vital importance to all of us. It is also a matter in which the concurrence of all is essential. We are not anxious, therefore, to engage publicly in the usual controversy which often precedes the adoption of a resolution. We do not wish to divide this Committee. We propose instead to appeal to moral concepts, to reason and to well-understood national interest. I would accordingly formally request you, Mr. Chairman, to appoint a small but

widely representative group to consult together and to elaborate a draft resolution which, we would hope, may be acceptable to all, or at least to the great majority of Member States.

17. The CHAIRMAN: The Committee has just heard the detailed and well-documented statement from the representative of Malta on the sea-bed and the ocean floor. With the rich material contained in his statement he was able to make us enjoy a most challenging journey in a new area as yet little known to man. I am sure that the genius of man will not fail to unfold the various mysteries of oceans and seas.

18. The item proposed by Malta invites our serious attention and deserves due consideration by the United Nations and other international organizations. There is no need for me to indicate the complex problems involved. Here is a new arena where scientists, economists, jurists and politicians can and must deploy their untiring efforts and pool their resources to promote international, peaceful co-operation for the purposes of serving humanity and enabling it to use for the betterment of the human race all the gifts which nature can offer. During this session I foresee a most interesting debate on this new item. However, this does not necessarily mean that we should act in haste but, rather, cautiously and in phases. In this way I am sure the international community will proceed in the right direction.

19. In connexion with the proposal made by the representative of Malta, I hope that he will agree with me that the Committee cannot now decide upon this issue, and that he will be kind enough to leave it to the Chair to decide upon it at the proper time and after consultation.

20. If it is so agreed, we shall now begin consideration of the substantive aspects of item 33, the Korean question, with its three sub-items.

### AGENDA ITEM 33

**The Korean question (*continued*) (A/6696/Rev.1, A/6696/Add.1-3, A/6712, A/6836; A/C.1/947 and Corr.1, 949, 950, 951; A/C.1/L.401 and Add.1-2, L.404, L.405 and Add.1, L.407):**

- (a) **Report of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea;**
- (b) **Withdrawal of United States and all other foreign forces occupying South Korea under the flag of the United Nations;**
- (c) **Dissolution of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea**

21. The CHAIRMAN: Before I call on the first speaker in the general debate, in accordance with the decision taken yesterday at our fifteen hundred and fourteenth meeting I wish to invite the representative of the Republic of Korea to take part in our discussion on this item without the right to vote.

*At the invitation of the Chairman, Mr. Kyu Hah Choi, representative of the Republic of Korea, took a place at the Committee table.*

22. I call on the representative of Poland on a point of order.

23. Mr. TOMOROWICZ (Poland): I wish to say a few words on a point of order. I should like to apologize for taking up the time of the Committee at this juncture, but my delegation is of the opinion that the matter I wish to raise is important and has a direct bearing on the discussion we are about to begin.

24. When explaining our vote before the voting yesterday [1514th meeting] I touched among other things on the problem of the so-called United Nations Command in Korea, bringing to the attention of this Committee the fact that neither the United Nations General Assembly nor the Secretary-General had any reports whatsoever coming from that body, which to our mind proved very clearly that the so-called United Nations Command in Korea is nothing but a command of the United States forces stationed there.

25. Today I have read a Press release issued by the Office of Public Information on 31 October 1967, which gives a summary of that statement of mine, informing the press—and I understand that the press releases are meant to inform the press—that:

“... the United Nations Command in Korea, he said, was in fact the command of the United States forces and the Secretary-General had admitted that he had not received one single report from it recently.”

That word “recently” has been added so that the whole construction of the sentence in fact implies that there were some reports coming from that Command. I mentioned in my intervention yesterday that we would like more clarification from the Secretariat on this point, and I think it is all the more necessary now after this press release has been published.

26. There are some other points which are not correctly summarized—I would say even showing a certain tendency in making this summary—but I am not touching upon those other points now because I think that this point relating to the Command of the military forces in South Korea pertains very directly to the debate we are about to begin.

27. I should like to make a formal request to the Bureau of our Committee to ask the Secretariat to furnish us with information on what sort of reports, if any, have been received by the United Nations from the so-called United Nations Command in Korea.

28. The CHAIRMAN: So far as the first point raised by the representative of Poland is concerned, namely, the contents of the press release, I can assure him that a corrigendum will be issued so that the information contained in the press release will correspond exactly to the statement made by him.

29. In connexion with the second point, and inasmuch as he made a formal request, I will discuss it with the representative of the Secretary-General and let him know in due time about the action taken.

\* Resumed from the 1514th meeting.

30. I now call on the representative of Hungary on a point of order.

31. Mr. CSATORDAY (Hungary): My question is related to the point raised by the representative of Poland. In embarking upon the examination of the Korean question, usually we study the documents, and we have seen in some of them, especially document A/6712, references to United Nations forces and United Nations soldiers; but any member of this Committee wishing to enter upon a study of this problem will find himself in a difficulty because of not having the proper documents. That is very unusual, since in most other cases when United Nations troops were sent out on the basis of the Charter, or in violation of the Charter, the General Assembly used to get very detailed information in very well-worded documents.

32. My delegation wishes to know whether there are any United Nations troops in Korea, and we wish to ask this from the Secretariat. Is there any information on these United Nations forces, about what they are doing, what directives they are receiving and from whom, what is their organization and what is their composition, what financial resources are used in order to cover their expenses, and what kind of equipment they are provided with? How are the members of these United Nations forces recruited, and on what basis of geographical distribution? Who was entrusted by the Secretary-General with the task of being the Commander of these forces? How are these forces fulfilling the directives received from the United Nations, if there have been any?

33. The Hungarian delegation believes that answers to these questions and full information on this problem are absolutely necessary in order to enable the Committee to deal properly with the substance of the issue before us. We hope that the Secretariat will be able to give us these answers in a short time. We are quite aware that when we discuss an item the Secretariat always has its foremost experts present, experts who understand all the problems related to the item, so we are convinced that we need not wait too long to get the proper answers.

34. The CHAIRMAN: The statement of the Hungarian representative will appear in the verbatim record. I feel that it is almost identical with the point which was raised by the Polish representative and, as Chairman, I will leave it entirely to the Secretary-General to decide if, when and how to answer the requests made by the representatives of Poland and Hungary.

35. If there are no more points of order, I will give the floor to the first speaker on my list, the Deputy Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union.

36. Mr. KUZNETSOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): Before outlining the position of the Soviet Union on the item "Withdrawal of United States and all other foreign forces occupying South Korea under the flag of the United Nations", the Soviet delegation would like to express its satisfaction at the fact that this item, which was placed on the agenda of the twenty-second session of the General Assembly on the initiative of the socialist countries as an urgent and important question, is being considered by the First

Committee among the first items on its agenda. Such an approach, in our view, is in keeping with the interests of the Organization because a speedy decision by the General Assembly on the withdrawal of United States and other military forces from South Korea will considerably affect future developments both in the Far East and in international life in general.

37. What is essentially the question of the withdrawal of United States and other foreign troops from South Korea? Why is it so important and urgent?

38. The withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea would not simply mean the closing of the chapter in the history of international relations which began with the intervention of the United States and some of its allies in Korea in 1950. That is not the only aspect which makes the demand for the withdrawal of troops so important.

39. Nor are we merely concerned with removing the stain from the United Nations flag which was used to cover that intervention from the very first and is still being so used. Of course, to try to clean the dirt and blood off the United Nations flag is most desirable, and the sooner it is done the better.

40. The most important aspect of the question is the fact that the continuation of the presence of the United States forces and of other occupation forces in Korea and the daily and hourly military activities of the occupation forces there create the threat of a new war in the Far East; and there are grounds for assuming that this threat has recently grown.

41. In the memorandum of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, published on 18 October 1967, which is before the First Committee [*document A/C.1/951*] it is indicated that from the end of 1966

"... there has been created the sharpest tension ever seen after the armistice along the military demarcation line in Korea, and a dangerous situation has remained unabated for more than a year now which may ignite war at any moment."

Such an assessment of the situation is given by the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on the basis of an analysis of a great number of facts. Here are some of them which, in our view, particularly deserve to be noted.

42. It is known that there have regularly been incidents and clashes along the demarcation line of Korea, which follows the thirty-eighth parallel. In the period following the conclusion of the armistice, between July 1953 and September 1967, the demarcation line in Korea was the scene of over 52,000 violations by the troops of the United States and South Korea. During the same period there were 568 cases of artillery fire directed against the territory of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea; there were more than thirty armed attacks, more than 800 cases of penetration of the territorial waters of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea by naval vessels, and more than 700 cases of violations of air space by military aircraft of the occupation forces. During the past year the American

forces have fired five times more shots at targets in the territory of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea than in the course of the whole thirteen years which followed the conclusion of the Armistice Agreement.

43. If we take only the last few months we shall see that the military provocations directed against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, as indicated in the memorandum to which I referred previously, have led to the following occurrences.

44. I quote some of the facts:

"On 16 July hundreds of United States . . . forces fully combat-ready with heavy and automatic weapons made another all-out attack from three directions showering several thousand bullets into our portion of the demilitarized zone. The cross-firing between the two sides lasted some thirteen hours . . . The armed raid . . . was completely frustrated by the heavy blow of our side. . . .

"On 18 August dozens of American aggressors fully prepared for action with heavy machine guns and various automatic guns made another armed attack, concentrating their fire on our guard post under the cover of 57-mm recoilless guns and 81-mm mortars.

"On 28 August the United States side attempted an armed raid against our side mobilizing more than 200 combat personnel supported by two tanks and five armoured-cars, but it was upset by the resolute defensive measures from our side.

"On 30 August and 2 September, tens of United States . . . troops . . . committed an armed attack against our side, firing a volley of automatic weapons including 40-mm grenade launchers and machine-guns at the post of our side

"On 4 September, scores of armed personnel of the United States side, armed with 40-mm grenade launchers, machine-guns and carbines, carried out an armed attack at our check-point in the north of the demilitarized zone but, met with our powerful retaliatory blow, they fled leaving . . . various weapons including grenade launchers.

"On 9, 15 and 30 September," there were "fired more than twenty shells with 81-mm and 106.7-mm mortars at the territory of our side on four occasions. During the period from 9 to 29 September they shot more than 6,900 bullets at our territory . . . with various heavy and automatic weapons illegally introduced in the demilitarized zone, and during the same period, they attempted an armed attack against us bringing ten armoured cars into the demilitarized zone on five occasions." (Ibid.)

45. But that is not a complete list. The facts and information given show that the American military provocations against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea have not only become more frequent in recent months, but they are becoming more widespread from month to month. In this context, the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea emphasizes in its memorandum the following aspects:

"Owing to such reckless provocations of the United States imperialist aggressors, the demilitarized zone established under the armistice agreement has now virtually become a field of uninterrupted battles . . ."

46. The increase in the scope of the provocation of the American militarists against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is accompanied by extensive measures to strengthen the South Korean army and equip it with modern weaponry. Guided missiles of the Hawk, Nike-Hercules, and Nike-Ajax types, supersonic aircraft including fighter-bombers, heavy and medium tanks, heavy artillery weapons, heavier types of naval vessels, including three destroyers of 3,000 tons each, and other weapons and military equipment are all being supplied in South Korea.

47. New military airfields are constantly being established on the territory of South Korea, and South Korean ports are being transformed into naval bases. In particular Chinhae harbour in South Korea has been transformed into a naval base which can be used by nuclear submarines and other ships of the United States Seventh Fleet.

48. Recently, measures have been taken to increase the size of the South Korean Army. According to the information provided by the South Korean broadcasts, a plan has been worked out for the drafting of 250,000 men into the army, and a further plan has been worked out to give training to 2 million servicemen who had been demobilized in the past few years and who are being subjected to all kinds of service checks and inspection checks and to preparation for mobilization "in the event of an emergency".

49. The South Korean leaders speak of the aggressive objectives of all these preparations with brutal frankness. Thus, on 14 September 1967, the Minister of Information of South Korea declared that "the Armistice Agreement has been completely annulled and cancelled" and that South Korea would begin war without any hesitation if that should prove necessary.

50. Thus, we are witnessing an intensification by the United States of the preparation of the South Korean Army for war against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. And let the United States representatives not try to assert that the foreign armed forces in South Korea are not engaged in provocative acts and preparations for new aggression, but that they are ensuring the protection of South Koreans from a "threat from the North". Such a threat does not exist. On the territory of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea there are no foreign military forces whatsoever, there are no foreign military bases, and no military preparations are being made for an aggression against South Korea.

51. What is more, the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, has, in the interests of peace and the relaxation of tension, proposed to the South Korean Government the conclusion of an agreement on the limitation of the military forces by both North and South Korea and the renunciation of the use of force against each other. Is that not the best possible proof of peaceful intent? If anyone in South Korea really does wish to help in slackening tensions between the two Korean States, the only measure that need be taken is to accept the proposals made by the Government of North Korea.

52. But it is evident that unless the dangerous military activities of the occupation forces in South Korea are not

stopped, if a withdrawal of United States and all other foreign military forces is not achieved, then the result may be very grave indeed and events may well lead to a new war in Korea.

53. The occupation of South Korea by United States troops has yet another important consequence, the danger of which has become quite clear recently. The fact is that South Korea is being drawn more and more into the aggressive military actions of the United States against the peoples of Asia. The South Korean authorities, obeying the orders of their masters, have already despatched 50,000 Korean soldiers many thousands of kilometres from their country to participate in the United States aggression directed against the Viet-Nameese people.

54. We feel bound to ask why, if South Korea has indeed so many soldiers that the surplus can be sent to Viet-Nam, should United States soldiers be kept on South Korean soil? But the authorities in Seoul cynically declare that they are prepared to send to Viet-Nam yet other thousands of men. We know the fate that awaits these soldiers. They will have to shed their blood, to sacrifice their lives, for the interests of the American monopolies. It is difficult to imagine a more despicable crime against the people of South Korea and a worse violation of elementary human rights.

55. What is more, South Korea is being drawn more and more into the aggressive military and political system which is being set up by the United States in the Far East and has long-term and far-reaching objectives. As far back as 1953, when the United States-South Korean military agreement was concluded, it was clear that South Korea was being regarded as a permanent base for the pursuit of aggressive policies in Asia. In 1966, on the insistence of the United States, another agreement was concluded, the Japanese-South Korean agreement. If we bear in mind that there is also a military agreement between the United States and Japan concerning so-called mutual security, then it becomes quite clear that the United States, South Korea and Japan are now joined by mutual obligations on the principle of a triangle which, according to the ideas of its creators, should be the basis for the long-planned aggressive military alliance of the North-East Asian countries, the so-called NEATO alliance.

56. The new steps that are being taken to set up a military aggressive grouping in the region of the Far East, headed by Washington, are bound to cause serious concern among all those who are interested in preserving peace in the Far East. The creation of such a military group will serve to extend the hot-bed of tension in that region.

57. In this connexion, we should like to draw the attention of the Committee to the fact that combined action is already being planned between the military forces of the United States, Japan and South Korea. Here are some facts.

58. In November 1966, the Japanese naval "self-defence corps" and United States naval forces forming part of the Seventh Fleet conducted military manoeuvres in the Okinawa region. In the beginning of December 1966, in the same region, joint manoeuvres were conducted by the Seventh Fleet and the naval forces of South Korea.

Similarly, a few months ago, in the first half of May 1967, joint military manoeuvres of the Seventh Fleet and of the Japanese "self-defence corps" took place out at sea, east of Korea, and in the second half of May of this year, manoeuvres were held by ships of the Seventh Fleet and of South Korea in the same area.

59. All this, of course, leads to further complication and tension in the region of the Far East, and increases the threat to the security of States in that region and to the security of the Korean people in particular. This once again confirms the need for an immediate solution of the question of the withdrawal from South Korea of the United States and other foreign occupation forces. This would certainly improve the atmosphere in that region.

60. It should also be pointed out that the occupation of South Korea by foreign military forces is the main obstacle to the reunification of the country. It is well known that the people of Korea want to solve this national problem, and they certainly have every right and every moral and political reason to do so.

61. The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, expressing the aspirations of all the Korean people, has put forward a constructive programme for the peaceful democratic reunification of the country. The main provisions of that programme are set out in the declaration of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea dated 21 August 1967 [A/6696/Add.2]. They provide for the immediate implementation of the unification of Korea after the withdrawal of United States and other foreign troops from South Korea and for the process of unification to be carried out by the Korean people themselves, with no outside interference, by the creation of a unified, all-Korean Government, appointed by means of general elections held on a general democratic basis both in the northern and the southern parts of the country.

62. Should the South Korean authorities not be able to agree to general and free elections in the northern and southern parts of the country immediately after the withdrawal of the foreign forces, then in the view of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, before complete unification is realized, a confederation of North and South Korea might be set up as an intermediate step on the way to the re-establishment of the broken national ties.

63. That indeed is a democratic and peaceful programme for Korean reunification; one can only wish the Korean people every success in the full implementation of that programme. However, the presence of foreign forces of occupation in South Korea makes it impossible to carry out the programme of reunification and is an obstacle to the fulfilment of the national aspirations of the Korean people. What is more, the presence of United States troops in South Korea gives rise to an adventurist spirit among the South Korean militarists. They are adopting an evermore challenging attitude rejecting all proposals of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea; there are people in South Korea who openly think in terms of trying to seize the Democratic People's Republic of Korea through military aggression, to deprive the North Korean workers of the democratic freedom they had acquired in a hard struggle, to

liquidate the socialist régime there and to transform the northern part of Korea into a colony of the United States similar to the southern part of that country. Is this not evidenced by the inflammatory statements of South Korean leaders who say that "there is now a possibility of doing away with Communism, as a result of which unification could occur with unexpected rapidity". There you have the "unification of Korea"—American style.

64. It is certain that neither the United States' strategists nor their South Korean helpers will ever be able to implement these plans. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea is a peaceful socialist country and has at its disposal whatever is needed to repulse any aggression. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea has very reliable and faithful friends and neither Washington nor Seoul should overlook that fact.

65. If the reunification of Korea is to be achieved, the withdrawal of United States and other foreign troops is absolutely essential.

66. There is another aspect to that question. The presence of United States troops in South Korea leads to continuous intervention in South Korean domestic affairs which constitutes a clear violation of the United Nations declaration on non-intervention in the domestic affairs of States and the protection of their independence and sovereignty. We need only recall that, since the South Korean regime was set up, Washington has concluded more than seventy unequal agreements and contracts with it which it has used to bind its South Korean henchmen hand and foot and limit their illusory independence, despite the great efforts made to advertise it.

67. The United States Embassy in Seoul is in fact the governor-general's office for the administration of South Korea. The forces of occupation fully control the economy of South Korea. In every ministry and department of the South Korean Government and in every undertaking and institution, United States advisers are to be found. The officer in command of the United States troops in South Korea is in full control of the South Korean army. There is virtually no aspect of life in South Korea in which the uninvited foreigners do not exercise supervision and are not the real masters.

68. That also is a very important reason why a speedy decision should be taken on the withdrawal of the United States forces from South Korea, so that the South Korean people could be able to deal with its domestic affairs as it wishes.

69. The United States occupation of South Korea is making the situation increasingly tense and threatens the security of other peoples in the Far East. This inevitably increases the threat to international peace and security and is bound to cause concern among all States that want to ease tension and strengthen peace. That concern is all the greater because the stay of American troops in South Korea is only one of the links of an aggressive policy which consists first and foremost in the occupation of foreign territories by the armed forces of the aggressor.

70. Wherever we look whether at South-East Asia or the Far East, Europe or the Middle East, the Pacific or the

Caribbean, in each and every one of those regions tens and hundreds of thousands of American soldiers are occupying land belonging to other peoples. The network of United States military bases, of spring-boards for aggression and strong-points to suppress national liberation movements, is scattered all over the world.

71. An army of half a million United States aggressors is battling with the Viet-Nameese people. United States aircraft are bombing the towns and villages of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam. In recent days, the armed forces of the United States have committed new and serious crimes in Viet-Nam, systematically attacking from the air the capital of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, scattering death and destruction in the streets of one of Asia's beautiful towns—Hanoi.

72. The whole world admires the courage and fortitude of the Viet-Nameese people in their struggle against the aggressors for their freedom. The heroic Viet-Nameese people are not alone in the struggle. The peoples of the socialist countries and all the progressive people in the world are on their side. The Soviet Government and the Soviet people fully support the declaration of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, published on 31 October, asking that an end should be put to the action of the United States imperialist aggressors. The American aggressors should know that the day of settlement for all the crimes they have committed on Viet-Nameese soil is bound to come.

73. The continuation of the occupation of part of the territory of three Arab States by Israeli aggressors who rely on help and support from Washington creates an explosive situation in the Middle East.

74. Despite the very clear expression of will of the people of Cuba, the United States maintains by force the naval base of Guantanamo on part of the territory of Cuba.

75. All the aforesaid has only one purpose: to stop, or at least slow down, the natural and irreversible historic process of the national liberation of peoples, the elimination of all forms of exploitation. The consideration by the First Committee of the question of the withdrawal of the United States and other foreign troops from South Korea concerns only a part, but a very important part, of the struggle to curb the forces of aggression. We believe that the United Nations would be able to achieve real progress in this sector of the struggle, that it could help to ease tension in the Far East and create favourable conditions for the solution of the basic national problems of the Korean people.

76. To that end the United States must adopt a decision on the immediate withdrawal of the American and all other foreign troops which are occupying South Korea under the flag of the United Nations. The socialist States Members of the United Nations and some of the non-aligned countries of Asia and Africa have submitted for the consideration of the Committee a draft resolution to that effect [A/C.1/L.401 and Add.1 and 2]. We believe that this draft should fully answer the purpose.

77. The preamble to this draft resolution describes the situation created in South Korea which makes the imme-

diated withdrawal of foreign military occupation forces necessary, emphasizes the fact that the presence of those forces is an obstacle to the peaceful unification of Korea and works against the preservation of peace and security in the Far East and Asia. The preamble also notes that in North Korea there are no foreign troops whatsoever.

78. We believe that the clauses of the preamble to this draft resolution refer to such well-known and self-evident facts that no one can contest them unless he deliberately wants to thwart and frustrate any solution of this problem.

79. The operative part of the draft resolution proposes that the General Assembly should decide that all American and other foreign military personnel deployed in South Korea under the title of "United Nations Forces" should be withdrawn in their entirety, with their weapons and equipment, within a period of six months following the adoption of the resolution. This is the main provision of the draft, dealing with the essence of the question under consideration.

80. This provision leads to another—that there should be no further discussion of the "Korean question" in the United Nations. There is no "Korean question" as referred to by the United States and its allies when they ask the Assembly to consider it from one session to another and there is nothing to consider. The purpose of raising this "question" in the United Nations is to cover up under the United Nations flag the continuing American intervention in South Korea and interference in the domestic affairs of the Korean people. In accordance with the principles of its Charter, the United Nations should be dealing with quite a different question, namely, the withdrawal from South Korea of American and other military occupation forces, and we propose that this question should be solved without delay at this session of the General Assembly.

81. The Soviet delegation appeals to all other delegations to support this draft resolution presented by the socialist and non-aligned countries on the withdrawal of United States and all other foreign forces from South Korea.

82. If the Assembly takes a positive decision on this question, this will constitute an important contribution by the United Nations to easing tensions and strengthening peace, and such a decision would meet with the lawful interests and demands of the Korean people. It will also cleanse the flag of the United Nations and enhance its prestige in the eyes of the peoples of the whole world.

83. The CHAIRMAN: I call on the Foreign Minister of the Republic of Korea to make a statement.

84. Mr. KYU HAH CHOI (Republic of Korea): On behalf of the Government and people of the Republic of Korea, may I express my sincere appreciation for the invitation to participate in the deliberations of this Committee concerning the Korean question. I wish also to thank all those representatives who supported the resolution on the invitation, enabling me to represent my Government and people in this important debate.

85. Before entering into the substance of the item on the agenda before the Committee, I should like to make a few

remarks in connexion with the comments made by the representative of the Soviet Union.

86. The representative from Moscow, who preceded me, made certain remarks which were false in content, slanderous, and debasing in intention. His comments will only serve further to diminish the credibility of his entire statement. I should like to speak at a later stage concerning the remarks, item by item, made by the representative of the Soviet Union.

87. With regard to the substance of the matter, first of all I should like to state that the Korean question was referred to the General Assembly of the United Nations for the first time at its second session in 1947. Ever since that time, the Korean question has been the subject of earnest consideration by the United Nations.

88. The United Nations has offered a most reasonable and practical formula for the unification of Korea; that is, unification through genuinely free elections throughout Korea, in proportion to the indigenous population, under United Nations supervision. The Republic of Korea has accepted this formula, which is most peaceful in its conception, most democratic in its procedure, and most fair in its applicability. In the present-day world where hatred, suspicion and distrust seem to keep many peoples and their countries divided, the Government and people of the Republic of Korea welcome and support such a role of the United Nations and fervently desire to achieve unification on the basis of this formula. As the crystallization of the conscience and wisdom of the family of nations, the United Nations formula has been repeatedly reaffirmed and supported by the overwhelming majority of Member States.

89. The positive and co-operative attitude of the Republic of Korea towards the United Nations is not accidental. The founding, the survival, and the growth of my country cannot be separated from the United Nations.

90. In 1948 the Republic of Korea was established through genuinely free and general elections under the observation of a United Nations Commission in accordance with a United Nations resolution. [*General Assembly resolution 112 (II) B*] The United Nations recognized the Government thus established as the only lawful Government in Korea [*General Assembly resolution 195 (III)*] and defended the Republic against the North Korean communist aggression launched in 1950. After it successfully repelled the aggression, the United Nations undertook a major programme of reconstruction. It now stands guarding this Republic and the peace and security of Asia against constant threats of renewed aggression from the North Korean communists.

91. The role of this world body with regard to Korea, therefore, is the most shining example of what all mankind hopes the United Nations to be and to do. In return, the Korean people have come to entertain a most profound feeling of gratitude and obligation towards the United Nations. In our country we have declared United Nations Day a national holiday and have made the United Nations flag the most revered symbol of human aspirations besides our own national flag. For the Korean people the United Nations and its Charter represent not only the lofty ideals

of mankind but also the hopes and expectations of their own nation for unification, peace and progress in freedom.

92. The Republic of Korea has been actively co-operating and participating in all the activities of the United Nations wherever and whenever possible. We are a most active member of the United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, the United Nations Development Programme, the United Nations Children's Fund and the United Nations Industrial Development Organization. We have in Korea representatives of the World Health Organization, the International Labour Organisation, the United Nations Development Programme and the United Nations Children's Fund, as well as many programmes of all specialized agencies. Moreover, as a nation aspiring to fast economic development, we have participated in the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development and specifically joined the Group of 77 Developing Countries to promote joint and co-operative efforts for the attainment of economic development. In our sincere and earnest desire to join the common front against poverty, my Government sent me to Algiers in October 1967 to participate in the latest Ministerial Meeting of the Group of 77. Like all of them, my country is firmly determined to achieve economic development in peace, freedom and in co-operation with each other.

93. The Republic of Korea is a party to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade as well as being a member of almost all intergovernmental organizations and some two hundred important non-governmental organizations. We are a signatory to some three hundred and twelve international treaties and agreements, and we served as host country for nine important international conferences during the past year, including a Regional Conference of the Food and Agriculture Organization and the Freedom from Hunger Campaign. In our fervent desire to promote co-operation particularly in economic, cultural, social and technical fields, we have joined with other leading Asian and South-East Asian nations to form a regional group called the Asian and Pacific Council, the second meeting of which was held in Bangkok last July. We are confident that the Council will serve as an effective instrument of regional co-operation to help promote the emergence of a peaceful and prosperous regional community as envisaged in the Charter of the United Nations.

94. Korea believes in international co-operation among developing nations, and our record of participation and role in this regard speaks for itself.

95. After recovering from national devastation under communist aggression, thanks to the assistance of this world body, my country and people began to pursue single-mindedly the goal of economic development under the able and devoted leadership of President Park Chung Hee. For this purpose we launched a First Five-Year Economic Development Plan in 1962. During that period we attained an average economic growth rate of 8.5 per cent, far above the original target of 7.1 per cent. It increased from 4.1 per cent in the first year of the Five-Year Plan to 11.9 per cent in the last year of the Five-Year Plan. This growth rate is almost double the annual average of 4.8 per cent during the decade

1951-1961. During that period we attained an average 15.2 per cent of growth rate in industrial development. We have succeeded in increasing our exports sharply and the last year's volume of export was more than eight times that of the first year of the Five-Year Plan.

96. Through our successful implementation of the First Five-Year Plan, my Government and people have gained the necessary experience and skill and, most of all, the self-confidence for continued development. We have reached the verge of the "take-off" stage. We feel we have conquered the perennial and seemingly insurmountable problem of economic stagnation for developing nations.

97. In this connexion I wish to state, with a sense of modesty, that, cognizant of my Government's achievements, the Secretariat of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development made a thorough study of the processes of economic planning and implementation in my country as a model case of economic development in developing nations.

98. We now look towards the future under the Second Five-Year Plan which was launched this year. Our target is naturally very ambitious. By achieving more than 7 per cent of average annual economic growth rate, we may be able to carry out the Second Five-Year Plan earlier than the target year.

99. Like all developing nations which cherish independence, progress and peace in freedom, the Republic of Korea is also unswervingly dedicated to those common aspirations, and the Korean people, through its own efforts and experience, will certainly contribute to the realization of such aspirations. We want to make the Republic of Korea a model of how a predominantly agricultural nation can develop into a highly industrialized modern nation. We want to make Korea an example of progress and prosperity in freedom and peace. From what we have achieved so far, I am confident my country will more than meet our expectations and those of our friends abroad.

100. My country and people who have pursued the road to progress with such an earnest determination have been subjected lately to intensified armed harassment and acts of violence by the communist extremists in the northern part of Korea. Those deliberate, premeditated and unprovoked military activities against this Republic seem to be the result of highest policy directives from the communist dictators in the north. On 1 March 1966, Kim Il Sung, who is the so-called leader of the North Korean communists, in his address to the session of the Political Committee of the North Korean Labour Party emphasized that more military activities, including guerrilla activities, in the Republic of Korea were indispensable to the goal of North Korea. On 6 October 1966 Kim again called for an expansion of preparation for war and the adoption of more aggressive tactics in guerrilla activities. Within a few days of his address, the North Korean Communists launched the current campaign of violent infiltration.

101. Thus the recent North Korean campaign of violence and infiltration which began in October 1966 is the most dangerous development since the signing of the Armistice

Agreement in 1953.<sup>1</sup> Many military units of the Republic of Korea and the United Nations have been subjected to unprovoked attacks or ambushes within and south of the military demarcation line. In one of those attacks, the North Korean communist infiltrators crossed the southern boundary of the demilitarized zone at about 5 p.m. on 28 August this year, and opened up machine-gun fire on United Nations soldiers of an engineering unit who had lined up in front of a mess hall for supper. Three soldiers were killed and more than twenty were wounded by the barbarous communist surprise attack.

102. In other acts of sabotage, on 5 September this year the communists blew up a passenger train about sixty kilometres north of Seoul deep in the Republic of Korea, and eight days later another train was blown up about thirty kilometres north of our capital city. The communists have deliberately stepped up shipment of armed infiltrators into the Republic of Korea in an attempt to commence a guerrilla type of warfare against the Republic of Korea. The communist provocation along the border and the communist sabotage activities in the Republic of Korea are now daily affairs. During the first eight months of 1967, fourteen United Nations soldiers and ninety-two Korean soldiers were killed and 139 United Nations and 195 Korean soldiers were wounded. There were only fifty incidents in 1966 resulting from such infiltration but now, as of October this year, there have been more than 543 of these incidents. The infiltrated armed agents captured or killed so far this year have more than doubled that of the whole of 1966. Furthermore, the North Korean communists have consistently refused to co-operate in the establishment of joint observer teams by the Military Armistice Commission to investigate violations of the Armistice Agreement. There is today a deep feeling of tension and threat created by the North Korean communists along and within the south of the demilitarized zone.

103. It is to be recalled that in 1950 the same communist rulers ordered an unprovoked armed invasion against the Republic of Korea and were subsequently condemned as an aggressor by the United Nations [*Security Council resolutions 82 (1950) and 83 (1950)*]. In spite of all that they profess to be since then, we have seen no evidence of any change in their thinking, outlook or behaviour. They were aggressors in 1950, and from what we witness today along and within the south of the demilitarized zone that verdict of this world body should serve as a timely reminder for all peace-loving peoples of the world.

104. In a world of Telstar communication and free mass media of information, they can no longer disguise their aggression under the veil of guerrilla war tactics. Above all, the presence of the United Nations in Korea, as represented by the United Nations Command and the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea (UNCURK), is the most certain guarantee against any communist aggression to conquer my country and people by force. I should like to take this opportunity to assure you emphatically that all such malicious military and

infiltration campaigns from the north against my country will be condemned, effectively checked, and countered.

105. We are not surprised to see such aggressors defy the authority of this world body, reject the United Nations formula for peaceful unification of my country, and insist that the Republic of Korea should be made an easier target of aggression by the withdrawal of the United Nations forces or by the dissolution of UNCURK. The United Nations in Korea has been not only the defender of the independence and freedom of 30 million Korean people but also the guardian of peace and security in the area. That is why my Government and people request the continued presence of the United Nations forces as well as its political arm. In the light of the recently-increased aggressive activities of the North Korean communists, it is crystal clear that the continued presence of the United Nations Commission and forces is ever more essential and indispensable.

106. Despite all communist allegations, it is unthinkable that this Organization would condone, let alone order, the United Nations forces to engage in activities threatening the North Korean communist régime or any of its allies. The United Nations forces are not an obstacle to unification but to communist designs to conquer the Republic of Korea by invasion. Thus, the more loudly the North Korean communists demand the withdrawal of the United Nations from Korea, the more clearly they demonstrate to the world that they are intent on renewing aggression against the Republic of Korea.

107. Let me avail myself of this opportunity to declare once again that the Republic of Korea continues to request the United Nations forces to remain until such time as they have fulfilled the role assigned to them.

108. The United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea has been the principal subsidiary organ of the General Assembly in Korea and has acted on behalf of Member States. The responsibility of UNCURK is to "represent the United Nations in bringing about the establishment of a unified, independent and democratic government of all Korea". [*General Assembly resolution 376 (V), para. 2.*] The North Korean communists always seem to be afraid of any contact with this Commission. Why should they continue to prevent the Commission from entering the northern part of Korea? Why can they not open their society to this Commission for free observation as we in the Republic of Korea have been doing since 1947?

109. Despite this constant rejection by the North Korean communist régime, the Commission has done outstanding work. The Government and people of the Republic of Korea are deeply grateful for the continued efforts of this Commission to bring about unification. On behalf of my Government and people, I also request the continued presence and functioning of this Commission in Korea. As in the past, we will render every possible co-operation to the Commission in its efforts to discharge its assigned duties and responsibilities.

110. In the previous session the overwhelming majority of this Committee supported the resolution espousing the

<sup>1</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Eighth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1953*; document S/3079, appendix A.

United Nations principle for the unification of Korea. I trust that the Committee will once again reaffirm its faith in the justice of the United Nations principle by decisive approval of the resolution before us today as embodied in document A/C.1/L.405 and Add.1. The adoption of this resolution will serve to convince all the people of Korea—both in the north and in the south—that the United Nations continuously cares for them and that the world community remains determined to help all the people of Korea seek unity in peace, freedom and independence.

111. The attainment of the United Nations objectives in Korea to establish a unified, independent and democratic

Korea and to restore peace and security in the region would not only realize the highest aspiration of the Korean people but also provide a lasting basis of peace and security in Asia.

112. Mr. Chairman and distinguished delegates, your firm support to be rendered in this Committee will long be remembered by the Korean people and it will ultimately triumph with the emergence of a Korea unified in peace and freedom.

*The meeting rose at 4.40 p.m.*