

ON THE QUESTION OF KOREA

SPEECHES OF REPRESENTATIVES
AT THE 28TH SESSION OF
THE U.N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY

PYONGYANG, KOREA

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PUBLISHER'S NOTE

The Korean question has been debated by the United Nations ever since 1947. But the representative of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea which speaks for the interests of all the Korean people, was unjustly precluded from participation in the debate.

For the first time in 26 years the 28th session of the U.N. General Assembly discussed the Korean question with the attendance of the representative of the DPRK, the direct party to the matter.

At the session the delegates of socialist countries and many progressive and peace-loving nations in Asia, Africa and Latin America made speeches in active support of the just stand of the Government of the DPRK for an independent, peaceful reunification of the country.

The session expressed unanimous support for the three principles of Korean reunification laid down in the North-South Joint Statement made on July 4, 1972 and decided on disorganizing the "United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea".

This is a great victory achieved in the joint struggle of the governments of the DPRK and the progressive nations and the peace-loving people the world over.

This book contains some of the delegates' speeches on the Korean question made at the Political Committee meetings of the 28th session of the U.N. General Assembly (Reprinted from the provisional verbatim record).

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LI JONG MOK

Democratic People's Republic
of Korea

SPEECH MADE ON NOVEMBER 14

The delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is taking part in the discussion of the question on Korea in the United Nations at the unanimously approved invitation of the First Committee at the twenty-eighth session of the United Nations General Assembly.

First of all, I wish to express, in the name of the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, my deep thanks to you, Mr. Chairman, and those representatives who have accorded us welcome and to the representatives of all those Member States of the United Nations who have undertaken many years of active struggle to enable the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to participate in the discussion of the question on Korea at the United Nations.

At the same time I express my heartfelt thanks to the representatives of friendly countries who have extended support and encouragement to the just cause of the Korean people for the independent and peaceful reunification of our fatherland through their statements during the general debates at the United Nations General Assembly, and offer my deep gratitude to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, the President of the United Nations General Assembly and other United Nations officials for their co-operation and facilities extended to our delegation in its work and activities.

The participation of the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in the discussion of the question on Korea at the United Nations as the party concerned is, indeed, the first of its kind in the last 26 years since the beginning of the discussion of the Korean question at the United Nations.

I think it is good for the United Nations to have invited

the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and regard it as a brilliant fruition borne by the joint efforts made by all the peace-loving countries of the world to defend the noble ideals and principles of the United Nations.

This clearly shows that a just cause is bound to win eventually and that nothing can check the trend of history.

Now I should like to clarify the principled stand and viewpoints maintained by the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on the question of Korea placed on the agenda of this session for discussion, as the party directly concerned.

I shall stress our viewpoints on such questions as why Korea was divided, why it has not yet been reunified, what the main obstacle blocking its reunification is and where the key to its solution is.

A long period of 28 years has already elapsed since the artificial division of Korea.

And 26 years have passed since the discussion of the Korean question was started at the United Nations without finding any solution.

It is clear to anyone that this is not a normal state. The Korean people are a homogeneous nation who have lived in harmony for thousands of years in the same territory with one language and one culture and custom. Therefore, the division of the country was unthinkable for the Korean people from the outset.

The division of Korea has brought indescribable national misfortunes and sufferings to our people. Owing to the division, our nation has failed to achieve a uniform development of the country and the gap between the North and the South is widening with each passing day. Parents, wives and children, relatives and friends separated in the North and the South are in a miserable state in which they cannot even exchange letters inquiring after each other's safety, to say nothing of meeting each other.

It is said that even mountains and rivers change in a decade. But owing to the division that has lasted such a long time as having a new generation grow up in such stern circumstances, sons in the North cannot recognize their mothers in the South and wives in the South cannot recognize their husbands in the North, and even the national identity of our people formed over a long history is fading away gradually.

Owing to the division, our people underwent a war and

even today the continuation of this division remains a main source of tension in Korea and a threat to peace in Asia.

Since its involvement in the Korean question, the United Nations has not solved the question, nor can it wriggle out of it, having shouldered a heavy burden thereof for more than a quarter century, which, we believe, is a calamity for the United Nations.

The division of Korea should not last any longer, either from the national point of view of our people, or from the humanitarian point of view or in the light of world peace. To restore the unification of Korea, the root cause of its division should be removed first of all.

Then, what is the root cause? Since history is not only a record of past facts, but also a lesson and warning for today and tomorrow, we do not think it would be a bad idea to look back for a while at the historical facts of how Korea was divided. The division of Korea was caused precisely by the interference of outside forces in our country. No Korean can hope for national division. No complicated problems would have arisen in restoring the unification if it had been left to the Koreans themselves, even when it is presumed that the temporary division of Korea was caused by some inevitable reasons. It was only due to the interference of outside forces that Korea was divided, and it is the interference of outside forces that has prevented Korea from achieving its reunification to date.

The question originated from the time when the United States army landed on the zone south of the 38th degree north latitude on 8 September 1945, more than 20 days after the liberation of Korea, under the pretext of disarming the defeated Japanese armed forces.

The United States army had no sooner landed in South Korea than it proclaimed the enforcement of its military government; it repressed and dissolved all the people's organs of power already set up by the Korean people themselves, and blocked the 38th parallel like a border line, and cut off all traffic and transportation, communications and the travel of people between the north and the south, which had been freely available till that time, thereby carving out the tragic division of Korea.

The Foreign Ministers Conference comprising the Soviet Union, the United States and the United Kingdom, held in Moscow in December 1945, adopted a decision to "re-establish Korea as an independent State" and "set up a provisional democratic government" in Korea; but the United States unilaterally

abrogated this decision and conducted a separate "election" in South Korea to frame a separate "régime", with the result that the temporary division of Korea eventually became frozen.

The United States provoked the aggressive war against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to extend its new colonialist ruling system, set up in South Korea, to the whole area of Korea, but suffering a defeat, signed the Armistice Agreement; and even after that, it has been violating the Armistice Agreement systematically while tightening its colonial rule over South Korea and stepping up preparations for war. All this constitutes the biggest obstacle to the reunification of Korea today.

How did the United Nations get involved in the Korean question? Its involvement originated from the fact that the United States forcibly brought the Korean question to the United Nations by using the dominant position which it held temporarily in the United Nations when the majority of the present Member States were not yet affiliated with the United Nations, in order to justify all its illegal acts under the name of the United Nations—dividing the Korean nation, reducing South Korea to its colony and military base, provoking the war, maintaining the state of military confrontation between the North and the South, etc.

Bringing the Korean question to the United Nations was a violation of Chapter XVII, Article 107, of the United Nations Charter, which excludes the discussion of the questions of post-war settlement.

It was also a violation of Article 2, paragraph 7, of the United Nations Charter, which prohibits the discussion of domestic affairs of any State.

From the first days of the country's division, the Korean people have opposed the interference and nation-splitting machinations of the foreign forces of aggression and made every effort to safeguard firmly one Korea and to achieve the peaceful reunification of the country.

The Korean people founded the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on the basis of socio-economic transformations effected in the northern half after liberation, and in a nationwide struggle against the policies of the foreign imperialist forces for colonial enslavement and national split, that became more and more undisguised every day.

The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has sustained the principles of independence, self-reliance and self-defence in all fields of its State activity, as the patrio-

tic and anti-imperialist Power inheriting the brilliant tradition established in the long-drawn-out yet glorious revolutionary struggle against imperialism, for the restoration of the fatherland, and as the genuine people's power embodying the unanimous aspiration of the entire Korean people for freedom and independence.

In the field of its foreign activity, too, the Government of our Republic exercises its right to complete equality and sovereignty and holds fast to the principle of strengthening internationalist solidarity and co-operation with the peoples in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the rest of the world, fighting against imperialism, colonialism and racism for peace and democracy, national independence and social progress, standing firm on the common front with them.

With the founding of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, our people have indeed become a mighty and dignified nation which no one would dare to flout, shedding for ever the former bitter fate of a ruined people and becoming the resourceful people of a sovereign, independent State who are building their country through their own efforts.

The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has invariably taken the position that Korea should be reunified into one and the question of reunification should be solved by peaceful means, out of the intrinsic nature of its socio-state system which has liquidated all forms of exploitation and oppression, and out of the lofty responsibility it assumes before the entire nation.

Comrade Kim Il Sung, President of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the respected and beloved leader of our people, said earlier, with regard to the basic line of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for national reunification, the following:

"Our Government's position with regard to the question of Korean reunification is clear.

"We have consistently maintained that Korea's reunification should be achieved independently and peacefully on democratic principles without any interference from outside forces."

On the basis of these principles, the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the political parties and social organizations in the northern half of the Republic have made proposals for peaceful reunification more than 130 times from the date of liberation until now.

The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea made a proposal, as the basis for the country's reunification, to establish a unified central government composed of representatives of people of all strata through free North-South general elections to be held in a democratic way without the interference of any outside forces, after the withdrawal of all foreign troops from South Korea.

We proposed to enforce a North-South confederation as a transitional step and to realize economic and cultural exchange, travel, correspondence, and so on, if the South Korean authorities could not accept the holding of free North-South general elections right now.

We also proposed the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea, the conclusion of a peace agreement between the North and the South to refrain from attack against each other, and the reduction of armed forces of the North and the South to 100,000 men or fewer, respectively, in order to remove the tension created in the North and the South.

The proposals made by the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, historically, for the independent, peaceful reunification of the country proceeded from the fundamental principle that one should hew out one's destiny by one's own efforts in accordance with the sacred principle of national self-determination; these just and reasonable proposals were advanced with full consideration of the different situations created by the division between the North and the South.

If any of these fair and reasonable proposals of ours had been translated into practice, the question of Korean reunification would have been settled long ago.

Entering the 1970s, new changes took place in the internal and external situation of our country.

In such circumstances Comrade President Kim Il Sung, in his historic speech dated 6 August 1971, elucidated a new line for wide-range negotiations between the North and the South, expressing our readiness to make contacts at any time with all the political parties, including the "Democratic Republican Party", social organizations and individual personages of South Korea.

This epochal proposal marked a decisive momentum that led at last to a thaw in the long-standing state of freeze between the North and the South and opened a door to dialogue and contact in Korea.

When Comrade President Kim Il Sung advanced this proposal, the pressure of the South Korean people increased and the voices of the peoples of the world became higher irresistibly in the demand for the realization of the proposal. This compelled the South Korean authorities, who had so far been dead set against all contacts between the North and the South, to enter into dialogue with us, though in the form of talks between the Red Cross organizations.

We were very glad of this and welcomed it.

We made every sincere effort to bring the Red Cross talks to a success and, at the same time, strove to arrange wider-range political negotiations.

This resulted in the announcement of the North-South Joint Statement on 4 July 1972, which contains in its essence three principles of independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity.

Indeed, the publication of the North-South Joint Statement was a great event of historic significance in the struggle of the Korean people for the reunification of the fatherland.

This showed glaringly once again that the policy of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea — which had endeavoured to achieve the reunification of the country independently by peaceful means and on a democratic principle from the principled stand of solving national affairs through one's own efforts and on one's own responsibility — was absolutely correct.

It demonstrated that Korea is one, that the Korean nation demands reunification and the Korean people are capable of and resourceful in solving the question of reunification by themselves.

The Governments and peoples of all peace-loving countries of the world, to say nothing of the entire Korean people, warmly welcomed and highly appreciated the publication of the North-South Joint Statement and expressed unanimous hope for its future success.

After the publication of the North-South Joint Statement, our side continued positive efforts to translate the agreed points of the Joint Statement into practice at the earliest possible date in order to satisfy the long-cherished desire of the entire nation for reunification.

First of all, we proposed collaboration between the north and the south in all political, military, diplomatic, economic and cultural fields, as a concrete effort towards fulfilling in earnest

the three principles of national reunification clarified in the North-South Joint Statement.

In particular, we put forward a five-point proposal for abolishing the present state of military confrontation between the north and the south—to cease arms reinforcement and the arms race, to make all foreign troops withdraw, to reduce armed forces and military expenditure, to ban the introduction of weapons from foreign countries and conclude a peace agreement—the key points of the most pressing urgency and importance in dispelling mistrust and misunderstanding between the north and the south and in creating an atmosphere of mutual trust between them to promote a dialogue.

For collaboration in the economic field, we proposed to develop jointly mineral resources that are abundant in the northern half, open fishing grounds in the north and south for joint fishing, and undertake joint irrigation projects in the southern half and so on.

For collaboration in the scientific field, we proposed to carry out joint research work for co-ordinating our national language, and to make a joint study of the history of our country to add lustre to the peculiar national traits of our people, exchange art troupes and sports teams and enter jointly the international arena by forming a single national art troupe and a single sports team.

These concrete proposals of ours were aimed at deepening mutual understanding, tearing down the barriers of division and providing a practical basis for national unity, thereby actively paving the way to reunification.

We expected the South Korean authorities to accept our proposals readily since they had agreed with us on achieving national reunification peacefully without recourse to armed forces, and independently on the principle of national unity of the North-South Joint Statement.

But, to our regret, none of our proposals received the due response from the South Korean authorities.

The South Korean authorities continued to refuse to respond to our proposals which no doubt were acceptable to them, while continuously delaying the dialogue, talking about confrontation, competition and coexistence, instead of the unity, collaboration and reunification demanded by us and, in the end, made public the so-called “special foreign policy statement on peace and reunification”, openly revealing their ulterior motive

to divide Korea into two States, in complete violation of the 4 July North-South Joint Statement.

This came like a bolt from the blue for the entire people in the north and the south of Korea; it was like throwing rocks at the chests of all the Koreans who aspire to reunification, to disappoint them.

This fully exposed them in their true colours as double-faced, division-seeking elements who speak fine words when they sit face to face with us around the table of dialogue but who, when they go back, hatch plots, clamour about confrontation, for over a year.

The South Korean authorities who have intensified their harsh suppression and murder of the South Korean people aspiring for reunification and opposing two Koreas, went the length of going to Tokyo, Japan, and openly committing the abduction in broad daylight of Mr. Kim Dae Joong, a famous South Korean democratic figure, who demanded peaceful reunification.

All the facts glaringly show who is really striving for peace and reunification of the country and who is really seeking division, running along the road to the aggravation of antagonism and tension in Korea.

We demand one Korea but the South Korean authorities cry for two Koreas; we propose collaboration and unity as a nation, but they want confrontation among fellow countrymen while collaborating with outside forces.

Korea, which has been one organic body from its origin, cannot live divided into two. All the Korean people, whether they live in the north or in the south, unanimously desire our nation to be reunified into its former self as one; none of them wants its division.

Only reunification into one Korea fully conforms with the interests of peace in Asia and the world.

In future, too, no matter what obstacles may come, the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea will surmount them courageously and fight on resolutely for one Korea alone.

It is indisputably clear that the root cause of the failure of Korea's reunification and its long-standing sufferings as a result of division lies in the occupation of South Korea by foreign troops and continued foreign interference in our internal affairs.

The developments during the year since the publication of the North-South Joint Statement have proved more clearly that

an end must be put to the interference of outside forces before anything else in order to preserve peace in Korea and achieve the peaceful reunification of the country.

It is none other than the interference of outside forces that has led the dialogue between the North and the South to the brink of rupture without making any progress, in spite of our sincere efforts and the unanimous expectation of public opinion at home and abroad.

Even after the publication of the North-South Joint Statement, the United States has stubbornly pursued the policy of making Koreans fight Koreans, employing double-faced tactics under the "Nixon doctrine". The United States State Department announced on the very next day after the publication of the North-South Joint Statement that the United States would keep its troops in South Korea and "continue to help modernize the ROK army", even if the dialogue were started between the North and the South, and that it would foster the ability of the South Korean authorities to "negotiate with confidence from the position of strength in the contacts with North Korea".

This is an open rejection of the North-South Joint Statement and an act of egging on the South Korean authorities with the policy of confrontation by strength, instead of peaceful reunification.

The United States has stepped up the arms race and war preparations in South Korea not only in words but also in deeds. Last year alone the United States provided South Korea with a huge amount of military and economic "aid"; while United States army units, together with the South Korean army, conducted large-scale joint military exercises one after another in simulated attacks on the northern half of the Republic and perpetrated frequent military provocations against the northern half of our Republic.

An appendix of information on the actual arms reinforcement and war preparations made by the United States side after the publication of the 4 July North-South Joint Statement is attached to the prepared copies of this statement.

The United States authorities are engaged in increasing their military expenditures and conducting war exercises and military provocations under the pretext of backing the dialogue. But how can one interpret it as backing the dialogue? This is nothing but an attempt to destroy the atmosphere of peace, to create a war climate and to instigate antagonism and distrust between the North and the South to perpetuate the division.

Besides, the United States is actively involving Japan in its machinations to freeze the division of Korea. According to American and Japanese news agency reports, at the United States-Japan summit talks held in Washington late last July the United States

“...urged Japan to take over the economic and military aid to South Korea for the defence build-up and modernization of the South Korean army as part of the concrete realization of the Nixon doctrine in the Far East”;

and they reached an agreement on pushing ahead with their policy of two Koreas in presupposition of defending South Korea with strength.

Japan has already started to behave as the second master, next to the United States, in South Korea and is running amok at the forefront in hampering the reunification, to convert South Korea into its commodity market by permanently dividing the country into two. In August last, it colluded directly with the South Korean authorities in the conspiracy of abducting a South Korean democratic figure who advocated reunification, in the very centre of Tokyo, and taking him to Seoul in broad daylight. Revived Japanese militarism has posed itself as another big stumbling-block in the way of the peaceful reunification of Korea and a threat to peace in Asia.

The interference of the above-described outside forces of all sorts must be eliminated in order to preserve peace in Korea and to achieve the peaceful reunification of Korea.

The “United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea” — a tool of the outside forces for interference — should be dissolved; the foreign troops under the name of “United Nations forces” withdrawn from South Korea; the Japanese army prevented from coming into South Korea after the pull-out of the United States army; and the Korean question left to the Korean people themselves.

The Government of the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea has demanded time and again that, for the successful conduct of the North-South dialogue that followed the publication of the North-South Joint Statement, the outside forces should get out; and that it is necessary for the United Nations to take measures for the withdrawal of these outside forces since they are in South Korea in the name of the United Nations.

We consider that the current twenty-eighth session of the