

FOREIGN MINISTER CHOU EN-LAI'S STATEMENT ON THE KOREAN QUESTION AT THE GENEVA CONFERENCE

May 22, 1954

Mr. Chairman and Fellow Delegates:

The Geneva Conference has already held 10 sessions to discuss the Korean question. The delegates of many countries have stated their views, touching more or less upon problems involving the whole of Asia. The delegates of the People's Republic of China, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea have repeatedly pointed out that the root cause of the Asian problems lies in the colonial aggression in Asia of the imperialist countries and the resistance of the Asian peoples to this aggression. It is only natural that the Chinese people who have defeated colonial aggression should have expressed profound sympathy with the movements of the Asian peoples for national independence. It has been said that we claim a monopoly in the sentiments as champions of the national aspirations in Asia. No, gentlemen, we do not claim any monopoly. What we are voicing is nothing but the aspirations of the Asian peoples for peace, independence, democracy and freedom. However, as one of the major powers in Asia, we naturally hold that these aspirations of the Asian peoples are absolutely not to be ignored when pressing problems facing Asia are discussed and solved.

We have heard at this conference no small amount of apology and praise for the U.S. policy of colonial aggression in Asia. It is quite understandable that the delegates of some Western countries should have apologized for the United States. The delegates of some Asian states also sang the praise of U.S. aggression. That is not surprising either. The reason is that in Asia there do exist a handful of people who support foreign domination and favour American aggression. In this connection suffice it to mention the reactionary clique of Chiang Kai-shek, who has already been kicked out

of the mainland by the Chinese people, and the Syngman Rhee clique, which relies on foreign support for its very existence. Such persons constitute a tiny fraction of the minority among the Asian peoples. They have no support from the people, and precisely because of this, they cannot survive a single day without U.S. aid and protection. Is it any wonder that this handful of Asians should have considered the United States not as an aggressor, should have expressed the idea that the United States has ended colonialism in Asia, or should have gone so far as to complain about not enough American interference in their own country? It is they who do not hesitate to serve the American aggressors in contradiction to the national interests of their own countries. Such persons absolutely cannot represent the Asian peoples.

As for the overwhelming majority of the Asians, they are consistently opposed to foreign colonial rule. They have waged or are waging determined struggles for their own national independence and liberty. They have never agreed, nor would they ever agree, to the colonial policy which the United States has carried out in Asia. Still less will they agree to the war policy of forming opposing military blocs to use Asians to fight Asians—a policy which the American aggressors are now actively pursuing in Asia.

Mr. Chairman: in order to achieve the unification of Korea on the basis of independence, peace and democracy, Foreign Minister Nam Il of the Korean Democratic People's Republic on April 27 put forward proposals for the holding of free all-Korean elections, the withdrawal of all foreign armed forces from Korea within a specified period of time before the holding of the all-Korean elections and the ensuring of Korea's peaceful development by those states that are most interested in the peace

of the Far East. That these proposals are reasonable is beyond dispute. In the course of discussion, no one has yet been able to advance any valid argument against these proposals. It is quite clear that these proposals, which have had the support of the Delegations of the People's Republic of China and of the Soviet Union, should serve as the basis for reaching agreement at this conference. However, the delegates of some countries still persist in their attempt to impose upon this conference the illegal resolution which the United Nations adopted on October 7, 1950, maintaining as they do that the United Nations forces which are composed mainly of U.S. troops should remain in Korea and that the United Nations supervise the all-Korean elections, thus obstructing this conference in working out a solution for the Korean problem.

We have already pointed out that, owing to U.S. manipulation, the United Nations has been placed in the position of a belligerent in the Korean war and has lost its qualification and moral authority to deal with the Korean question impartially. In his statement of May 11, Foreign Minister V. M. Molotov of the Soviet Union demonstrated with indisputable facts that the United Nations had never been placed in such a humiliating position as at the time of the events in Korea. The illegal resolutions adopted by the United Nations on the Korean question are diametrically opposite to the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. The Charter of the United Nations has for its purpose the maintenance of international peace and security. However, the United Nations gave its approval to U.S. aggression in Korea, ignored the U.S. invasion and occupation of China's Taiwan, shamelessly slandered China as an aggressor, and gave encouragement to the action of the United States in extending the Korean war, thus posing a direct threat to the security of China and of Asia. The principles of the Charter of the United Nations specifically preclude interference in the internal affairs of any country. But the illegal resolutions of the United Nations were aimed at interfering in Korea's domestic affairs and preventing the Korean people from solving their own problems themselves. Those illegal resolutions were passed in the circumstances that the People's Republic of China was deprived of its right to join the United Nations and that the Korean Democratic People's Republic was unable to be present. They were adopted in the face of determined opposition from the Soviet Union and other countries and in spite of disagreement by many Asian countries. These unilateral, illegal resolutions have long proved to be incapable of leading to a peaceful settlement of the Korean question. It is quite obvious that continued insistence on these

illegal resolutions at this conference will not be able to settle anything.

It has been asked: is it not self-contradictory for the People's Republic of China to denounce the illegal United Nations resolutions on the Korean question on the one hand and ask to join the United Nations on the other? In this connection, it must be pointed out that the question is not that the People's Republic of China asks to join the United Nations, but that the right which the People's Republic of China should have to participate in the United Nations has been deprived and hence the rightful place of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations should be restored.

China is one of the founders of the United Nations. The Chinese people have consistently supported the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and striven for their realization. Under the United Nations Charter, the Soviet Union, the United States of America, the United Kingdom, the Republic of France and China assume special responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. The fact that the majority of United Nations members followed the United States in depriving the People's Republic of China of its rightful place and its legitimate rights in the United Nations constituted a flagrant violation of the United Nations Charter and seriously damaged the prestige of the United Nations. This act of the United Nations has met with continuous opposition from the Soviet Union and some other countries, especially Asian countries. The conference of the Prime Ministers of India, Indonesia, Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon recently held at Colombo also expressed the hope that a change be made in this state of affairs which constitutes a contravention of the United Nations Charter. In fact, the illegal resolutions of the United Nations on the Korean question and the inability of the United Nations to deal with the Korean question impartially are inseparable from the fact that the People's Republic of China has been deprived of its right to join the United Nations. The delegates of not a few countries have stated at this conference that the noble purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter should be upheld. Facts have demonstrated that it is we that have consistently stood for the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter.

It is very clear that the illegal resolutions of the United Nations cannot serve as the basis for bringing about a peaceful settlement of the Korean question. These illegal resolutions have long been used to obstruct a peaceful settlement of the Korean question. Our conference has been convened for the purpose of finding other ways to achieve a rea-

sonable solution of the Korean problem. We should not let the conference remain deadlocked as it is for any length of time. Just as some delegates have already pointed out, it is not impossible to find common grounds for bringing about a peaceful settlement of the Korean question. So far, we have not yet heard anybody openly expressing himself at this conference against the principle that the question of the unification of Korea should be settled by the Koreans themselves. It is therefore apparent that nobody can deny the correctness of this principle.

Since the unification of Korea is a question for the Korean people themselves to settle, it should be the aim of this conference to create conditions to enable the Korean people to achieve the unification of their own country on the basis of independence, peace and democracy.

In conformity with the above-mentioned principle, we hold that in order to enable the Korean people to unify their country through nation-wide elections without foreign interference, all foreign armed forces must withdraw from Korea before the holding of such elections. The all-Korean elections are Korea's internal affairs. The continued presence of American troops in Korea not only threatens peace in Korea and the security of China but will inevitably lead to interference in Korea's domestic affairs, thereby preventing the Korean people from expressing their free will in the nation-wide elections. The withdrawal of all foreign armed forces from Korea is the prerequisite for the Korean people to express their free will in the all-Korean elections. With respect to the time-limit for the withdrawal of foreign forces, Foreign Minister Nam Il of the Korean Democratic People's Republic has stated that this question is open for discussion. It is our view that this conference should reach appropriate agreement on the question of withdrawing within a specified period of time all foreign armed forces from Korea.

The peaceful unification of Korea can only be achieved on the basis of mutual agreement between the Korean Democratic People's Republic and the Republic of Korea. Consequently, Foreign Minister Nam Il was entirely justified in proposing that the All-Korean Commission, which will prepare and hold free elections throughout Korea and attend to other matters pertaining to the unification of Korea, should carry on its work by mutual agreement. If it is considered that there is no need for the Korean Democratic People's Republic and the Republic of Korea to reach agreement on the methods and steps to be adopted in achieving the unification of Korea, how will it be possible to bring

about peacefully Korea's unification? But some delegates, under the pretext that there is a discrepancy in population between North and South Korea, utilized the principle of proportionate representation to oppose the principle of mutual agreement between the two sides. They overlooked the fact that opposition to the principle of mutual agreement between the two sides is nothing but an attempt to impose the will of one side on the other—an attempt which has long proved abortive even if supported by foreign armed forces. Indian Premier Jawaharlal Nehru also stated on May 18 in the Council of States that Korea must be united in order to avoid a renewal of the conflict. But unity, he added, cannot be imposed by one side on the other.

As regards proportionate representation, it is a problem for the all-Korean electoral law. Since the All-Korean Commission, according to the proposal of Foreign Minister Nam Il, will be a machinery through which the Korean Democratic People's Republic and the Republic of Korea jointly prepare and hold the all-Korean elections, there will be no question of proportionate representation in its composition.

In order to enable the all-Korean elections to be held on a genuinely democratic basis, Foreign Minister Nam Il has proposed that the All-Korean Commission draw up a draft of an all-Korean electoral law to ensure democracy in the all-Korean elections and take necessary measures for guaranteeing the democratic liberties of the Korean people, including the right to nominate candidates in the elections. This proposal is undoubtedly reasonable. It has been said that as North and South Korea are now in a state of hostility, any Korean machinery would encounter many difficulties in examining and verifying freedom in the all-Korean elections. Of course, we cannot but take into consideration the actual situation arising out of the fact that Korea has remained divided for many years and strained relations exist between North and South Korea as the result of war. All this has left deep scars upon the relationship between North and South Korea and makes it difficult for them to approach each other. Consequently, it is necessary that a neutral organization be set up to render assistance to the Korean machinery in charge of the holding of the all-Korean elections. Some delegates suggested that an agency of the United Nations supervise the all-Korean elections. To that we cannot agree, because the United Nations, as we have already pointed out, is a belligerent in the Korean war and has long lost its qualification for dealing with the Korean question impartially. The Delegation of the People's Re-

public of China is of the opinion that this neutral organization should be composed of representatives from neutral nations, to be agreed upon by this conference, that did not participate in the Korean war. The function of this organization of neutral nations is to assist the All-Korean Commission in holding all-Korean elections in accordance with the all-Korean electoral law under conditions which preclude foreign intervention and pressure applied to electors by the local government authorities or terroristic groups. For this purpose, the Delegation of the People's Republic of China proposes that the following supplement be made to Article One of the proposals submitted by Foreign Minister Nam Il on April 27:

In order to assist the All-Korean Commission in holding all-Korean elections in accordance with the All-Korean Electoral Law, in free conditions which preclude foreign intervention, a Neutral Na-

tions Supervisory Commission be formed to supervise the all-Korean elections.

As to the question of war prisoners, of course, it cannot be considered closed. I have already pointed out in my statement of May 3 that the Commander-in-Chief of the United Nations Command had promised to continue his effort to recover those Korean and Chinese war prisoners who were forcibly retained in June 1953. As regards those Korean and Chinese war prisoners who were forcibly retained in January 1954, the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission has repeatedly stated that they should not be subject to unilateral disposition. We maintain that the concrete proposals put forward by the Delegation of the People's Republic of China in agreement with the Delegation of the Korean Democratic People's Republic concerning the disposition of the question of war prisoners should receive serious consideration by this conference.

