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NOTE

Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.

Documents of the Security Council (symbol S/ . . .) are normally published in quarterly *Supplements* of the *Official Records of the Security Council*. The date of the document indicates the supplement in which it appears or in which information about it is given.

The resolutions of the Security Council, numbered in accordance with a system adopted in 1964, are published in yearly volumes of *Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council*. The new system, which has been applied retroactively to resolutions adopted before 1 January 1965, became fully operative on that date.

1835th MEETING

Held in New York on Monday, 11 August 1975, at 10.30 a.m.

President: Mr. Shizuo SAITO (Japan).

Present: The representatives of the following States: Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, China, Costa Rica, France, Guyana, Iraq, Italy, Japan, Mauritania, Sweden, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania and United States of America.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1835)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. Report of the Security Council Committee on the Admission of New Members concerning the applications of the Republic of South Viet-Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam (S/11794)

The meeting was called to order at 11.20 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Report of the Security Council Committee on the Admission of New Members concerning the applications of the Republic of South Viet-Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam (S/11794)

1. The PRESIDENT: A number of representatives of States that are not members of the Council have addressed letters to me requesting that they be invited to participate in the Council's debate on the issue on its agenda. They are the representatives of Cuba, the German Democratic Republic, Guinea, Hungary, India, Poland, Romania, Somalia and Yugoslavia. In conformity with the relevant provisions of the Charter, namely those of Article 31, and in accordance with rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure and the usual practice of the Council, I propose to invite the representatives I have just mentioned to participate in the Council's discussion without the right to vote. In view of the limited number of places available at the Council table, I would request them to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber. They will be invited to take places at the Council table when they wish to address the Council.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Acosta Rodriguez (Cuba), Mr. Neugebauer (German Democratic Republic), Mrs. Jeanne Martin Cissé (Guinea), Mr. Bányász (Hungary), Mr. Jaipal (India), Mr. Czar-kowski (Poland), Mr. Datcu (Romania), Mr. Hussein (Somalia) and Mr. Petrić (Yugoslavia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

2. The PRESIDENT: The Security Council will now consider the report of the Security Council Committee on the Admission of New Members [S/11794]. In addition to that report, the Council has before it two draft resolutions, one recommending the admission of the Republic of South Viet-Nam [S/11795] and the other recommending the admission of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam [S/11796]. Both texts are sponsored by the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, China, Guyana, Iraq, Mauritania, Sweden, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Republic of Cameroon and the United Republic of Tanzania.

3. Mr. JACKSON (Guyana): Mr. President, the circumstances surrounding my participation in the last meeting of the Security Council were not sufficiently propitious for me and my delegation to offer traditional but sincere felicitations to you. I wish therefore to say now, Sir, how pleased I am to see you, a distinguished son of Japan, occupying the presidency. Your wide diplomatic experience and your sense of fair play are attributes which should render your tasks lighter than they otherwise might have been. My delegation pledges to you its full co-operation.

4. May I also take this opportunity to say a word of deep gratitude to your predecessor, Mr. Plaja of Italy, for his skill, his tact and his patience when he presided over the Council's activities during the month of July.

5. The issues with which the Security Council is faced today—the applications by the Republic of South Viet-Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam for membership in the United Nations—are of intense interest not only to the Vietnamese people but to the whole international community, for peoples the world over have followed with anguish, and some indeed with bitterness, the long and resolute struggle of the valiant Vietnamese people to recover their freedom and independence and by that struggle to reaffirm the inalienable right of all peoples to determine their own future without foreign interference.

6. The people of Viet-Nam have endured a long nightmare. During that nightmare their society and their country were rent apart by an explosive power of a kind previously unknown to man's experience. They lived through an attempt at biocide. They withstood an incendiary policy directed against them. They refused to be cowed by repressive might. The Vietnamese people spared no sacrifice to achieve their goal. Throughout their long struggle, the Vietnamese have had succour from, and the support of, peoples all over the world. Not least among these have been those from non-aligned countries and from the non-aligned movement as a whole. Their victory is a peoples' victory, a victory for small countries willing to stand by the justice of their cause.

7. The fact that we are considering these applications in the month when, 30 years ago, another holocaust took place in Asia, should impel us to pause and reflect. Today, we can, with qualified satisfaction, look back at the evolution of the international situation since those fateful days. The forces for national liberation have gained strength immeasurably, and the cold war no longer rages. A new ethic, tentative in its beginnings but now strident in its manifestation, will encompass us all. Yet habits of thought from that bygone era still haunt us. They continue to inform some attitudes which can lead to decisions at variance with present-day requirements and the current aspirations of the vast majority of the basic constituents of global society, the people.

8. Guyana is firmly committed to the goal of universality of membership in the United Nations. Thus, my delegation will always remain ready to support measures, even if they are partial ones, which will advance us towards that objective. But the approach of the international community must not be selective by whim, it must be rational. Impediments will occur which will delay our march towards the realization of that goal. Whenever they do, as for example with countries still divided which have not together postponed the prospect of reunification, Guyana is prepared to be patient and constructive.

9. It will therefore come as no surprise if I say that my delegation will look askance at any suggestion or proposal which seeks to frustrate the movement towards universality of membership in the United Nations if it proceeds on the premise that the acceptance of one application is conditional on the acceptance of another. In short, my delegation is opposed to the reintroduction of the concept of the "package deal" into the conduct of the business of the Council in relation to its consideration of applications for membership in the United Nations. We advocate, instead, acceptance of the advice of the International Court of Justice, when, as long ago as 1948, in response to a question put to it by the General Assembly, it concluded in a majority opinion that: "The provisions of Article 4 [of the Charter] necessarily imply that every application for admission

should be examined and voted on separately and on its own merits".¹ That opinion was so important that the General Assembly in 1948 saw fit in its resolution 197 (III) to recommend it as a guide for future action by both the Council and the General Assembly.

10. In this connexion, therefore, Guyana welcomes the applications which are before us. We salute the people of the Republic of South Viet-Nam and the people of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam in their aspirations for participation in the activities of the United Nations. We are fully behind those aspirations and will lend our firm support to the applications. My delegation, the Government and people of Guyana, look forward to a prolonged period of fruitful and mutually beneficial co-operation with the Vietnamese people, their Governments and their representatives in many-sided collaboration.

11. I would not like to let slip this occasion without expressing my delegation's views on a thought which has emerged in our recent deliberations and which has found its way into the records of the Council. It concerns the decisions the Council takes in the conduct of its business. It is a matter relating to our procedures. When Guyana joined the Council, it did so on the understanding that decisions, whether of procedure or substance, would be made in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council, taking into account practice in so far as it was relevant and agreed to by us. We are thus worried to find the argument being advanced, as it recently was, that a democratic exercise in decision-making, which naturally flowed from the logic of internal rigour and consistency, was variously described as "misuse of the provisional rules of procedure" and "procedural manoeuvres". Let us be wary, lest we confuse substance with form. But, above all, let us be careful not to attribute to others, motives and reasons for action which derive from a perception which does full justice neither to deeply held views nor to the unchallenged responsibilities of the Council.

12. The Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, China, Guyana, Iraq, Mauritania, Sweden, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Republic of Cameroon and the United Republic of Tanzania have sponsored two draft resolutions contained in documents S/11795 and S/11796. These draft resolutions are simple and straightforward. No extensive elaboration of their contents is thus required. The texts seek respectively to recommend to the General Assembly that the Republic of South Viet-Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam be admitted to membership in the United Nations. On behalf of the sponsors, I have great pleasure in introducing these draft resolutions and commend them to the members of the Council.

13. Mr. SUNDBERG (Sweden): My country has always considered universality one of the essential

corner-stones of an effective United Nations. Consequently, it is our position that all applications from qualified States to become Members of the Organization should be dealt with and seriously considered in the light of the relevant provisions of the Charter. We therefore regret that our recent deliberations could not result in an agreement which would have enabled the Council to act in a positive and substantive manner on all the three applications which it had received. Nevertheless, the Council has today an opportunity to take a further important step towards the desired universality of the Organization.

14. We have on our agenda a report of the applications of the Republic of South Viet-Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam. My delegation has found them in full accordance with the requirements of the Charter and has joined with other members in sponsoring two draft resolutions recommending to the General Assembly the admission of the two applicants as Members of the United Nations.

15. The entry of the Republic of South Viet-Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam into the United Nations would be an event of great importance and, indeed, a decision of quite special significance. It would mark the final confirmation of the end of the long struggle for national independence and liberation for the people of that so sorely tried area of the world, a struggle which was bound to be victorious in the end. It would enable those States to take their rightful place among the community of nations. They have their indispensable contribution to make to the cause of international co-operation. Their membership would also further consolidation in that troubled region and it would be symbolic of their hopes and expectations now finally to be able to build their future in peace and stability.

16. The people of Sweden has gained deep and lasting sympathy for the Vietnamese people, and my country has therefore supported their long struggle for freedom. We have supported their right to shape their own destinies, without foreign interference, and to choose their own political and economic system.

17. Our support for their cause also takes on special importance in a wider perspective. The conflict in Indo-China has basically been a matter of the rights of small countries to sovereign independence within the international system, the right of people to live their own lives. We thus hope that the liberation struggle in Viet-Nam will also lead to wider recognition of and respect for the legitimate aspirations of small and poor States.

18. In this connexion, we must not forget that the effects of the war on the peoples of the two States, on the soil, the agriculture, the industry and the economy and well-being of the country as a whole have been devastating. The area has been in the

throes of war for as long as the United Nations has existed. It is therefore imperative to recall that it is incumbent upon us all to contribute substantially and with solidarity to the enormous work of reconstruction ahead. It is a duty also for the Organization. The decades of warfare have left deep wounds which it is the clear responsibility of the world community to heal.

19. The long war in Indo-China has had a deep impact on the minds of people all over the world. It has had divisive effects which have made themselves felt within the United Nations. In this respect also, the entry of the Republic of South Viet-Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam as Members of the Organization would mark an important step and it would have a healing effect on the climate of international co-operation.

20. When my delegation casts its positive votes here today, it will be an expression of the firm conviction and desire of the Swedish people and Government that the Republic of South Viet-Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam must be enabled to take their place in the United Nations to which they are entitled. We appeal to all concerned to make such an outcome possible in order that we shall be able soon to receive the two delegations which have come here as full Members of the Organization. My delegation for its part would like to extend its warm welcome to them, and we are convinced that our future co-operation will be as close and friendly as the co-operation which has evolved between our countries.

21. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): As has been officially declared previously by the delegation of the Soviet Union at an earlier meeting of the Security Council—something which I am pleased to repeat here—we express our deep gratification that the time has now come when the two Vietnamese States, the Republic of South Viet-Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, which have won their independence and sovereignty, now have a full opportunity to apply to the United Nations to become full-fledged Members of the Organization. The delegation of the Soviet Union resolutely supports these applications and will vote for the admission of those States to membership in the United Nations.

22. We also actively supported the application of the Republic of South Viet-Nam and the application of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam for membership in the United Nations when, pursuant to a decision of the Security Council, those applications were considered in the Committee on the Admission of New Members. The Soviet Union has become a sponsor of the nine-Power draft resolutions on the admission to membership in the United Nations of both the Republic of South Viet-Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam.

23. We are deeply convinced that both Vietnamese States fully meet the requirements laid down in the Charter of the United Nations that must be met by States wishing to become Members of the Organization. These two sovereign States have suffered in a lengthy struggle and have won their right to sovereignty and independence, and have proved by deeds that they are prepared to assume the obligations contained in the Charter and that, together with other peace-loving States, they are prepared to fight for the establishment on earth of genuine international peace and security and for the extension throughout the earth of détente in international affairs to consolidate peace and security for peoples. We are also deeply gratified to see that official observers from the Republic of South Viet-Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam are present in this room—Mr. Dinh Ba Thi and Mr. Nguyen Van Luu—and we heartily welcome them.

24. The fact that the Security Council is today considering the question of the admission to membership in the United Nations of the Republic of South Viet-Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam is a genuine reflection of the tremendous and irreversible changes which have occurred in the world, thanks to the tireless efforts of all peace-loving and progressive forces, and primarily the countries of the socialist community. This is one of the many positive results of the policy of détente in international affairs.

25. Viet-Nam's victory in its long, heroic struggle is primarily the victory of its dauntless and valiant people which have suffered so many bitter trials. Its unflagging patriotism and its firm belief in the justice of its cause, its high degree of organization and self-sacrifice have paved the way for it to this final victory. The tremendous sacrifices that the Vietnamese people have borne have not been in vain. The Vietnamese people have won broad sympathy and respect throughout the world.

26. The admission of the two Vietnamese States to the family of States Members of the United Nations will be an important contribution in the further consolidation of international peace, security and mutual understanding among peoples. It is needless for me to say that the positive solution of this question undoubtedly will help to promote the strengthening of international co-operation and to consolidate peace and security not only in South-East Asia and on the Asian continent but throughout the world as well, and will also promote the further development of friendly relations, co-operation and mutual understanding among States and peoples on the basis of the universal recognition of the principle of peaceful coexistence.

27. We are now living in an era when the development of international relations has reached a new stage, when we are focusing on the task of embodying

the principles of peaceful coexistence and mutually beneficial co-operation in everyday affairs, and when the specific task of all peace-loving States is to be concerned that international détente acquires an ever more concrete material form.

28. In this connexion, the Security Council cannot fail to take into account the results of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, on which General Secretary Brezhnev has said: "They can be useful even beyond the boundaries of Europe. This powerful impulse", he emphasized, "has been given by this meeting of leaders of the 35 participating States, and is destined to help all in Europe and elsewhere to live in peace".

29. The consideration today by the Security Council of the applications of the Republic of South Viet-Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam for United Nations membership, and a positive decision by the Security Council on both these matters, will definitely help us to take another step forward on the way to strengthening peace throughout the world. This will be a substantial contribution to solving the common task of making the process of détente in international affairs irreversible and of reaching a real milestone on the road towards fruitful and mutually beneficial co-operation among all States.

30. The Republic of South Viet-Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, whose applications for United Nations membership we are considering today have not only won universal respect but have also received broad international recognition. This is borne out by the single fact that the overwhelming majority of members of the Security Council have recognized both these States and have established diplomatic relations with them. We are gratified to note that during the consideration by the Committee on the Admission of New Members of the applications of these two Vietnamese States, the overwhelming majority of Security Council members emphasized that these countries fully meet the requirements for admission to membership in the United Nations as defined in the Charter. Consequently, on that basis we can say, without fear of contradiction, that both Vietnamese States will make a worthy contribution to the activities of the United Nations, and that the Organization itself, with their admission, will have taken a further important step forward on the way to ensuring its complete and genuine universality.

31. The Republic of South Viet-Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam have many friends. In this connexion, the Security Council cannot fail to pay heed to the statement made by the Co-ordinating Committee of the Non-Aligned Countries on 7 August in connexion with the Council's consideration of the applications for admission of these two Vietnamese States to membership in the United Nations [S/11793]. The Co-ordinating Committee, consisting of 17 States, and speaking on behalf of the

large number of countries belonging to the non-aligned movement, officially declared that they fully and unambiguously supported the admission to United Nations membership of the two Vietnamese States.

32. The Security Council must take into account this position expressed by the non-aligned States and their Co-ordinating Committee, as well as their common appeal to the Security Council to admit these two States as Members of the United Nations. This is the wish, the will and the demand of the overwhelming majority of United Nations Members. That collective statement is a striking and convincing example of the very broad support of a large group of countries of the third world and of their solidarity with the Republic of South Viet-Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam regarding the participation of these two States in the United Nations. It is a fresh demonstration of the friendship and co-operation of peace-loving peoples with the Republic of South Viet-Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam. To fail to heed this opinion and this demand would be a great historical mistake. The friends of the two Vietnamese States which are not members of the Security Council have today come to this meeting of the Council in order to raise their voices in support of the admission of these two countries to United Nations membership and to express their complete solidarity with them regarding those applications to the United Nations on this matter.

33. We must not fail to point out that the very fact that nine States members of the Council have sponsored the draft resolutions recommending the admission to United Nations membership of the Republic of South Viet-Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam shows that the just cause of the two Vietnamese States in fact enjoys genuine and broad international support. We note with some pride that the Soviet Union entertains the closest and most friendly relations with the Republic of South Viet-Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam. Faithful to the principles of internationalism and the solidarity of peoples fighting for their liberty and national independence, the Soviet Union has consistently been in favour, and will continue to be on the side, of the patriots of North and South Viet-Nam.

34. The Soviet Union and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam are linked by many years of friendship based on mutual understanding and comprehensive co-operation; it is the friendship of two fraternal socialist States and peoples. In the letter of General Secretary Brezhnev to the Society of Vietnamese-Soviet Friendship in connexion with its twenty-fifth anniversary, it was stated that:

“The Soviet people can say with some pride that throughout the 30 years of existence of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, the Soviet Union has been shoulder to shoulder with the Vietnamese people, their brothers. We are gratified that the

relations between our two Marxist-Leninist parties and our two countries and peoples are strengthening and developing. This is an excellent example of fraternity and co-operation and of socialist internationalism in action.”

35. Any attempt to impede the admission of these two States to United Nations membership is completely unjustified and baseless, and it would be even more illogical to connect the admission of these States with any other side issues that have no relevance to the question of the admission of the two Vietnamese States to membership in the United Nations. We can declare quite definitely that to attempt to impede the admission of these States to United Nations membership could not be understood or justified by 99.9 per cent of the States Members of the United Nations.

36. In conclusion, may I express my conviction that the Security Council will take a positive decision today on the applications of these two Vietnamese States and will recommend to the General Assembly that they be admitted to membership in the United Nations. This is an international political necessity that has come to maturity, and it will have a beneficial effect on the general state of international affairs and relations, and will also enhance the prestige and activities of the United Nations.

37. Mr. HUANG Hua (China) (*translation from Chinese*): The Republic of South Viet-Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam submitted their applications for admission to membership in the United Nations on 15 and 16 July 1975 respectively. The Chinese delegation holds that in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, both the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Republic of South Viet-Nam are fully qualified for membership in the United Nations. We therefore firmly support their applications and are of the opinion that the Security Council should recommend the admission of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Republic of South Viet-Nam to membership in the United Nations. Accordingly, we have joined the sponsors of the two draft resolutions submitted by the non-aligned Member States.

38. The Vietnamese people are a heroic people, and the Vietnamese nation a great nation. For decades, in order to achieve independence and liberation, they carried out protracted and indomitable struggles against imperialism and have won one great victory after another. Back in August 1945, the entire Vietnamese people, under the leadership of President Ho Chi Minh, rose up courageously to seize political power from the aggressors and established the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam. But immediately thereafter, imperialist armed intervention forced the Vietnamese people to take up arms to wage a valiant war of resistance.

39. After the signing of the Geneva Agreements in 1954,² the Vietnamese people could have realized their national independence and the reunification of their motherland. However, the flagrant violation of these Agreements by the United States and its intervention and armed aggression against Viet-Nam forced the Vietnamese people again to carry on a heroic and arduous war against United States aggression and for national salvation. With the powerful support and assistance of the North Vietnamese people and the people of the whole world, the South Vietnamese people persevered in a protracted people's war, frustrated the various schemes of aggression on the part of the imperialists and the puppet clique, thus leading to the signing of the Paris Agreements of 1973.² However, with imperialist abetment and support, the Nguyen Van Thieu puppet clique went further to violate the Agreements unscrupulously by refusing to realize national concord and ceaselessly invading the liberated areas of South Viet-Nam. In the face of this situation, the army men and civilians of South Viet-Nam resolutely fought a just war of counter-attack in self-defence, waged a revolutionary war to defeat the counterrevolutionary war and finally won the brilliant victory of the complete liberation of South Viet-Nam, thus opening a new era in which the entire territory of Viet-Nam has been liberated.

40. The victory won by the Vietnamese people has major historical and international significance. It has given forceful encouragement to the oppressed nations and peoples of the world that are still carrying on their struggles and has set up a brilliant example for the anti-imperialist revolutionary cause of the people throughout the world. As pointed out by Chairman Mao Tsetung in his statement of 20 May 1970, "The people of a small country can certainly defeat aggression by a big country, if only they dare to rise in struggle, dare to take up arms and grasp in their own hands the destiny of their country".

41. During the post-war period the Vietnamese people have also achieved gratifying successes in healing the wounds of war and in rehabilitating and developing industrial and agricultural production. The international prestige of Viet-Nam is increasingly on the rise, and it has won broad international support and sympathy. Now there are over 80 countries that have established diplomatic relations with or given recognition to the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Republic of South Viet-Nam respectively.

42. China and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Republic of South Viet-Nam are neighbours as closely linked as the lips and teeth. The Chinese and Vietnamese peoples are near and dear comrades-in-arms and brothers. The Chinese people have always firmly supported the Vietnamese people in their struggle against imperialism and for national liberation. In the years to come we will, as always, firmly support the just struggle of the Vietnamese people

and sincerely wish them continuous new and greater victories in their cause of revolution and construction. We are also convinced that upon admission to membership in the United Nations, the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Republic of South Viet-Nam will make positive contributions to the realization of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations together with all the other justice-upholding Member States.

43. Mr. BOOH BOOH (United Republic of Cameroon) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, at the time when the Security Council is taking up the consideration proper of the applications for admission to the United Nations of the Republic of South Viet-Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, it is a great pleasure for me, on behalf of my delegation, to congratulate you most warmly on your accession to the lofty post of President of the Security Council for this month. Because of the wealth of your experience in the problems of the Organization, and also because of the respect and the confidence which you enjoy among your colleagues, we are convinced that our work will be carried out in an atmosphere of serenity and will be crowned with success. Mr. President, you can rely on the frank and constant co-operation of my delegation for the satisfactory accomplishment of your delicate task.

44. I should also like to avail myself of this opportunity to express the sincere gratitude of my delegation to the representative of Italy, Mr. Plaja, and to his principal assistant, Mr. Cavaglieri, for the inestimable services—appreciated by all—that they rendered the Security Council during the month of July.

45. In the report of the Committee on the Admission of New Members [S/11794], the majority of the members of the Committee proposed that the Security Council recommend to the General Assembly the admission of the Republic of South Viet-Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam to the United Nations. On behalf of the Government of the United Republic of Cameroon, my delegation unreservedly supports the conclusions contained in the report, first because they are inspired by the necessary principles of universality, effectiveness and democratization of the United Nations, to which my country attaches great importance, and further because these conclusions faithfully reflect the political situation in the new Indo-China.

46. The policy of non-alignment and non-exclusive co-operation with all countries of goodwill which my country tirelessly pursues has for several years led the United Republic of Cameroon to extend the scope of its friendship to many countries of Asia and, in particular, to establish diplomatic relations with both the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Viet-Nam. These relations have proved to be fruitful and beneficial to all sides.

47. In the course of the long war which was imposed on the Vietnamese people, my Government constantly and unequivocally made clear the support of the Cameroonian people for the just and heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people, thus strengthening the real and historical solidarity of the Afro-Asian peoples. We salute the resounding victories recently won by the people of Viet-Nam, which create favourable conditions for that era of peace and prosperity so much desired by the States of Indo-China and the *sine qua non* that will permit the great economic and human potential of Viet-Nam to serve the cause of the reconstruction and reunification of that country.

48. My delegation firmly believes that the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Republic of South Viet-Nam are States devoted to peace, and to the independence of peoples; they are States which respect both the principles contained in the Charter of the United Nations and those which guide the action of the non-aligned countries. Heirs of an ancient and wonderful civilization, from now on free from the constraints of wars of aggression, yet benefiting from a wealth of experience of anti-colonial and anti-imperialist struggle, the two Vietnamese States are, in the opinion of my Government, sufficiently qualified to make a positive contribution to the work of the Organization and, in particular, to the effort to establish an international order that will be more just and more in accord with the aspirations of the peoples of the world.

49. Interpreting the conditions laid down in the Charter regarding the admission of new members, the International Court of Justice, in its advisory opinion of 28 May 1948, clearly stated that

“... a Member of the United Nations which is called upon, in virtue of Article 4 of the Charter, to pronounce itself by its vote, either in the Security Council or in the General Assembly, on the admission of a State to membership in the United Nations, is not juridically entitled to make its consent to the admission dependent on conditions not expressly provided by paragraph 1 of the said Article;”

and that

“... in particular, a Member of the Organization cannot, while it recognizes the conditions set forth in that provision to be fulfilled by the State concerned, subject its affirmative vote to the additional condition that other States be admitted to membership in the United Nations together with that State.”¹

That advisory opinion was, furthermore, endorsed by the General Assembly in its resolution 197 (III) of 8 December 1948.

50. It is in the light of the foregoing considerations that my delegation has become a sponsor of draft

resolutions S/11795 and S/11796 now before the Council and is about to vote for their adoption.

51. Any attitude that would lead to a delay in the admission of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Republic of South Viet-Nam to the United Nations would, in the opinion of my delegation, have no serious justification and would be based on circumstances extraneous to the merits of both applications. Such an attitude would undeniably reveal a gross attempt continuously to interfere in the affairs of the Vietnamese people in flagrant violation of the purposes and principles of the Charter and scorn for the wishes expressed by the overwhelming majority of the States of the world. We are certain that such a manoeuvre would meet with the firm disapproval of all peace-loving and freedom-loving countries.

52. Mr. LECOMPT (France) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, first of all, on behalf of my delegation, I should like to congratulate you upon your accession to the presidency of the Security Council for the month of August. You may be assured that the delegation of France will support your wise efforts in guiding our work. We feel certain that we are in good, firm and equitable hands. The excellence of the relations existing between Japan and France—relations of which Mr. de Guiringaud, a former Ambassador of France to your great country, would have liked to speak himself—is another reason for offering you our good wishes in the accomplishment of your responsible task.

53. At this point I should like again to say how very much we appreciated the presidency of our friends from Italy during the month of July.

54. My delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolutions recommending to the General Assembly admission to the Organization of the Republic of South Viet-Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam. We wish to explain the reasons for our two votes.

55. The Vietnamese people have lived through tragedies which have aroused the entire world, engaged the efforts of two Secretaries-General of the United Nations and led France to call unceasingly for the political solutions that were so clearly necessary. It was in order to promote those solutions that my country offered Paris as the venue of conferences which, for several years running, brought together the protagonists of a too lengthy conflict. The end of that conflict began to become possible in 1973, but the weapons were silenced only recently.

56. The time now seems to have arrived to come to the aid of a region which has suffered such travail from international and civil war and help it to join the United Nations family and thus confirm that a new page can be turned. We shall support the admis-

sion of the Republics into which the people of Viet-Nam are now divided, since that is what they request, since they are peace-loving and since they have committed themselves to compliance with the obligations arising from the Charter.

57. No one is unaware that France and Viet-Nam once had a joint destiny and that my country has with the two applicants and their people a number of historic and friendly ties, as well as diplomatic, economic and cultural relations. These reasons militate naturally in favour of the affirmative votes which will be cast by my delegation, which takes pleasure in greeting the presence in this chamber of the observers of the two Republics of Viet-Nam.

58. I need hardly add that—and this is the third reason for our favourable vote—France remains devoted to its ideal of universality. In my statement of 6 August [1834th meeting] I expressed regret that we were unable to include in the agenda the candidacy of South Korea. We hope that the spirit of universality will not fall victim to the unfortunate common practice of linking votes to one another, and we also hope that the attainment of every possible degree of universality will not come up against theories linking candidacies on the basis of superficial regional similarities.

59. For its part, France wishes to dispel every remnant of the cold war and works to that end. We hope that the interested Powers and the United Nations bodies will have a lofty awareness of their responsibilities in negotiating the difficult problem of Korea, which must be settled according to specific facts without losing sight of the simultaneously global and progressive nature of the process of détente to which we are all attached. The sense of conciliation and reconciliation, the will to peace which Asia and the world need have guided us throughout the debates of the Security Council, which are about to come to an end. This sense will continue to guide us in the future in every circumstance.

60. Mr. CAVAGLIERI (Italy): Mr. President, I should like first of all to express to you again the congratulations and best wishes of the Italian delegation on your presidency during the present month of August. We have the fullest confidence in your actions, and we wish to assure you of our firm co-operation. I should like also to thank those representatives who expressed appreciation concerning the presidency of Mr. Plaja during the month of July.

61. I wish to confirm the position of the Italian delegation with respect to the two draft resolutions before the Council on the applications for admission to the United Nations submitted by the Governments of the Republic of South Viet-Nam and the Democratic Republic of North Viet-Nam.

62. My delegation has already stated its support for the admission of the two States. Actually we had

expressed ourselves in favour of all three applications placed before the Council for examination. In doing so, we were inspired by our adhesion to the principle of universality of the United Nations and our conviction that within the Organization problems can more easily be discussed and pressed towards a solution if all the parties concerned are present. We have therefore expressed our regret that only two of the current applications have gone through the required procedure.

63. My delegation, however, is pleased to see the two draft resolutions on the remaining applications ready to be voted on. We see in this a further sign of the end of the long tragedy which developed in those two countries and the a sign of the participation of the Vietnamese Republics in the world effort for a higher degree of co-operation for the welfare of peoples.

64. In conformity with my country's position, my delegation will vote in favour of those draft resolutions, not only on the basis of the relations which Italy has established with the two States in question, but also as proof of my delegation's conviction that the presence of the two Vietnamese States in the United Nations will contribute to the work of the Organization and to the full understanding of the questions and needs of that area of Asia.

65. Mr. MURRAY (United Kingdom): Mr. President, may I add my congratulations to you on your assumption of the high office of President of the Security Council. Many historic ties bind your country and mine, both island States, and our relations are of the closest. As for yourself, Sir, I personally have had the opportunity to appreciate your outstanding qualities both as a diplomat and as a man, in a long and happy co-operation in difficult circumstances, a long way away from the Council chamber. I am therefore particularly delighted to have the privilege of making my first major statement in the Security Council under your chairmanship.

66. I should like also to offer the thanks of my Mission to our European partners, Mr. Plaja and Mr. Cavaglieri, for the sterling services they gave the Council during the month of July.

67. The admission of new members is normally one of the happiest tasks which we undertake in the Council. My delegation has over the years been proud to sponsor the application of many new Members, including many former British Non-Self-Governing Territories. Today, however, what should have been a happy occasion has been tarnished by the recollection that the third request for admission to the Organization was arbitrarily dismissed in a manner which reflects little credit on the Council. I must acknowledge that I found some of the arguments which were advanced by those who opposed the consideration of the application of the Republic

of Korea somewhat surprising. It was, for example, implied by several speakers that somehow the Republic of Korea was not fully independent. This argument was deployed with particular eloquence by the representative of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic who described South Korea as a "puppet régime" [*ibid.*, para. 130].

68. Since this argument came from the representative of the Byelorussian SSR, I listened to it with particular attention. But may I remind the Council that some 80-odd countries maintain diplomatic relations with the Republic of Korea. And anyone who has had dealings, as I have had, with the South Korean Government, will know that, whatever its characteristics, lack of independence is not one of them.

69. It was also suggested that, because the Korean question was to be considered by the General Assembly, it was inappropriate for the Security Council to deal with the application for membership by South Korea now. But surely the precise point of our proceedings here is to make recommendations to the General Assembly. It would certainly have been quite in order for the Council to have made a recommendation about South Korea to that body.

70. Furthermore, we have actually heard suggestions that South Korean membership in the United Nations would somehow impede the reunification of Korea. This is a remarkable argument. It is the more paradoxical in that it was used in meetings which gave favourable consideration to applications for membership from the two Viet-Nams, which have openly pledged themselves to reunification. Surely those using this argument cannot really be suggesting that when a Government is ready, as is South Korea, to take on the obligations under the Charter of the United Nations, this is a bad thing which somehow will make it less co-operative, less flexible, less diligent in its search for a peaceful solution.

71. It seems to me that reason was stretched to considerable lengths to justify what was an act of discrimination. Accordingly, before voting takes place, I wish to emphasize once again that, although my delegation will support the two admissions for membership still before us, the affirmative votes which I shall cast should in no way be considered as condoning the decision taken by the Council at our last meeting [*1834th meeting*] not even to consider the application of the Republic of Korea.

72. I now turn to the two draft resolutions introduced so elegantly and eloquently by the representative of Guyana. We have noted that in their applications for membership, both the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam accept the obligations contained

in the Charter and solemnly undertake to carry out these obligations. In these circumstances my Government is pleased to support their applications.

73. The United Kingdom has diplomatic relations with both these Governments whose applications we are now considering. We wish them success in tackling the formidable tasks of reconstruction and national reconciliation which confront them. We believe that it is right and proper that they should become Members of the United Nations.

74. As the representative of the United Kingdom pointed out at our last meeting of the Council [*ibid.*], the Government of the United Kingdom believes that membership in the United Nations should not be restricted to countries with whose political and social systems we agree. We would wish to encourage the widest possible membership in the belief that political barriers between peoples should be broken down and that the Organization should develop into a truly representative world organization. It is with these considerations in mind that my delegation has decided to support both the draft resolutions before us.

75. Mr. AL-KHUDHAIRY (Iraq): Mr. President, it is with great pleasure and satisfaction that my delegation sees you presiding over our meetings this month. We are assured that your wisdom and long experience will be of invaluable help in our deliberations. I wish to assure you of the firm co-operation of the delegation of Iraq.

76. It is also opportune at this stage to express our appreciation to and admiration for Mr. Plaja of Italy, who so ably fulfilled the difficult task of the President of the Council during the month of July. His untiring efforts, as well as those of his delegation, deserve special note.

77. My delegation participated in sponsoring the two draft resolutions that are before us on the application for admission to the United Nations of the Republic of South Viet-Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam. Our desire and strong wish to see the two Vietnamese States as full-fledged Members of the United Nations is only in keeping with the policies and positions which my Government has held since the early years when the valiant people of Viet-Nam commenced their relentless struggle against foreign occupation and the forces of imperialism and their lackeys.

78. The Vietnamese people have achieved their inalienable right to self-determination and independence after a long and courageous struggle, which has been admired and recognized by both foes and friends. The only logical, rightful, just and unavoidable conclusion to such an heroic but bloody struggle is for the Republic of South Viet-Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam to occupy their rightful place among us as Members of the United Nations.

79. The long, hard but victorious struggle of the Vietnamese people is but a living proof and testament of the unconquerable spirit, determination and aspirations of all peoples which are fighting for their inalienable right to self-determination and independence from the yoke of foreign occupation and subjugation by a foreign Power.

80. Support for the admission of the Republic of South Viet-Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam to the United Nations has been overwhelmingly expressed both inside this chamber today and outside. World public opinion on this issue has been made clear. Support for the people of Viet-Nam has been unanimous among all peace-loving peoples. The recognition of the two Vietnamese Republics and the establishment of diplomatic relations with them by the majority of the Members of the United Nations is another proof. In this context, my delegation finds incomprehensible the attempts that are being made to sabotage their admission. We cannot accept the manoeuvres and subterfuge practised by some members of the Council to tie the admission of the two Vietnamese States with and to make them conditional on the admission of other parties.

81. The age of "package deals" in the conduct of the Council's business in relation to the admission of new members has passed and is outmoded. We strongly believe that every admission must be considered and voted on separately and on its own merits, that there should be no linkage with unrelated issues. We have had enough of the tyranny of the minority. We reject such manoeuvres and all attempts to impede the rightful admission of the two Vietnamese States to the United Nations.

82. The Government and people of Iraq therefore look forward to seeing the Republic of South Viet-Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam as Members of the United Nations, and we strongly urge the Council unanimously to recommend to the General Assembly the admission of the two Vietnamese States.

83. Mr. KUDRYAVTSEV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): As we have already had the opportunity to state at the meeting of the Security Council held on 6 August [*ibid.*] and in the Security Council Committee on the Admission of New Members, the delegation of the Byelorussian SSR decisively supports the applications of the Republic of South Viet-Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam for admission to membership in the United Nations and will consequently vote in favour of the draft resolutions on the admission of those two sovereign States to membership in the United Nations.

84. The Byelorussian RSS, together with other States, has sponsored the draft resolutions recommending the admission of the Republic of South

Viet-Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam to membership in the United Nations and considers that these draft resolutions should be adopted by the Security Council. The right to become Members of the United Nations was won by the Republic of South Viet-Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam in a long and arduous struggle for their liberty and independence, a struggle for the restoration and consolidation of peace in Indo-China.

85. The removal of a hotbed of tension in Indo-China has had a beneficial effect on the international situation in general and on the situation in South-East Asia in particular. It has created favourable conditions for the further development of the process of improvement in international affairs.

86. The Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Republic of South Viet-Nam have won broad international recognition. Their foreign policy is one of strengthening peace and international security, of developing friendship and good neighbourly relations with all countries and of deepening comprehensive international co-operation on the basis of mutual respect, independence, equality, mutual benefit and peaceful coexistence. This consistent foreign policy is totally in accord with the demands made by the Charter of the United Nations.

87. In applying for membership in the United Nations, the Republic of South Viet-Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam have stated that they are prepared to assume the obligations contained in the Charter and have solemnly pledged to fulfil those obligations. There can be no doubt that the admission of those two States to membership in the United Nations will make a significant contribution to enhancing the effectiveness and authority of the United Nations and will also represent a step forward in ensuring its genuine universality. It will enable it fully to enjoy the great political and vital experience won by the Vietnamese people.

88. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR considers that the attempts to link the question of the admission to the United Nations of the Republic of South Viet-Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam with another issue which is not at all germane to the admission to the United Nations of those two sovereign States are completely unfounded and specious.

89. The admission of the Republic of South Viet-Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam to the United Nations at the present time is something which has won over-all international support. This is particularly borne out by the declaration of the Co-ordinating Committee of the Non-Aligned Countries of 7 August which, in connexion with the application of the Republic of South Viet-Nam and that of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam for membership in the United Nations, stated that "the

Co-ordinating Committee whole-heartedly supports these candidatures, which it considers as being fully in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and as representing an action on behalf of... friendship and co-operation among all peoples" [S/11793].

90. The admission to the United Nations of the Republic of South Viet-Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam will be fully in accordance with the further development of that most important and irreversible positive process on the international scene, an important example of which has been the culmination of the third conclusive stage of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe and the adoption at a high level of important political documents destined to play an important part in the strengthening of international peace, security and co-operation on the basis of the fundamental principles of peaceful coexistence for which, with great conviction and great consistency, the founder of the Soviet State, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, fought and for which the Soviet people continue to fight today.

91. Speaking about the results of that Conference, the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, has stated "This is a victory of reason. All have gained: the countries of the East and the West; the peoples of the socialist and the capitalist States; those who are parties to alliances and those who are neutral, both great and small. This is a gain for all who cherish peace and security on our earth".

92. The admission to membership in the United Nations of the Republic of South Viet-Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam will mark an important contribution to the further deepening, broadening and strengthening of international détente, endowing it with real, concrete meaning. It will serve the cause of the further development of peaceful, fruitful and mutually beneficial co-operation among all States, irrespective of their social systems.

93. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Yugoslavia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

94. Mr. PETRIĆ (Yugoslavia): Sir, may I congratulate you on assuming the position of President of the Security Council for this month, a task that you are fulfilling with your customary fairness. My delegation wishes to participate in the debate on the applications of the Republic of South Viet-Nam and of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam for admission to membership in the United Nations in order to lend our unqualified and full support to the legitimate desire and request of the two Vietnamese States to be admitted to the United Nations and to take their rightful place in the comity of nations, just as the Yugoslav peoples and Government supported their indomitable struggle from the very beginning.

95. The historic significance of the victory of the people of Viet-Nam, who for 30 years waged a heroic war against all foreign invaders, lies in the fact that it has proved once again, against superhuman odds and at the price of the greatest possible sacrifice, that a people, however small, cannot be defeated by any Power whatever when it resolves to defend to the end its right to independence and liberty. It lies in the further fact that its victory constitutes one of the greatest defeats of the forces of colonialism, imperialism and aggression. It is, therefore, a great contribution to the whole international community, to the United Nations and to the living spirit of the Charter, as at one and the same time it liquidated a hotbed of war and the most dangerous international tension created by the attempts to subjugate the Vietnamese people, and constituted another major advance towards the democratization of international relations.

96. Our colleagues and friends, Mr. Nguyen Van Luu of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and Mr. Dinh Ba Thi of the Republic of South Viet-Nam have in their recent statements, especially before the Co-ordinating Committee of the Non-Aligned Countries on 7 August [*ibid.*], repeatedly underlined the role that the solidarity and active and direct support and assistance of all democratic, peace-loving and progressive forces of the world played in their struggle, which, indeed, was a common one. They stressed particularly, among other things, the support of the non-aligned countries. As our Vice-Premier and Foreign Secretary, Mr. Miloš Minić, stated recently in the Yugoslav Parliament, the victory of the liberation movements of Viet-Nam is, at the same time, the victory of the policy of non-alignment, and of far-sightedness in the attitude of the non-aligned countries.

97. That the peoples of socialist and non-aligned Yugoslavia should always have felt so particularly close to the struggle of the people of Viet-Nam is quite natural, as we too waged our liberation war and accomplished our revolution by fiercely defending our independence against foreign invaders, as well as resisting all pressures and attempts to deny us the right to decide our own destiny.

98. The Security Council has before it the applications of the two Vietnamese States, whose inclusion in the agenda it adopted by the overwhelming majority of 14 votes in favour, none against, with one abstention. I shall not refer now to the circumstances and the merits of the votes taken subsequent to the votes I have just referred to.

99. Their applications having been made in due form, the two Governments of the two sovereign States accepting the rights, privileges and duties of membership under the Charter and having just emerged from the war in which they defended the most sacred principles of the Charter, there can be

no legitimate, just reason for the Council not to act promptly and favourably—not to recommend to the General Assembly at its thirtieth session their admission to the United Nations. Furthermore, the representatives of the two Vietnamese States have jointly and repeatedly stated that, having waged a long struggle and undergone great sacrifices to secure peace, national independence and social progress, the Vietnamese people wishes to join all other peoples throughout the world in the struggle for peace, independence, freedom and social progress, and for the development of friendly relations with all nations, including the United States of America. All these wishes are in keeping with the objectives and aims of the United Nations, as contained in Chapter I of the Charter.

100. But now the Security Council seems to be faced with a sudden and arbitrary obstacle in an attempt at achieving a so-called “package-deal”, in conditioning the admission of two Viet-Nams upon the admission of South Korea—a condition which would be totally inadmissible in law, and which would be completely indefensible politically. Suffice it to say that there are still 50,000 foreign troops in South Korea, and that the Government of North Korea is firmly opposed to the admission of South Korea to the United Nations—indeed, to any Korean admission unless it is as one country. Finally, the United Nations has never admitted one part of a divided country, and, in the case of the two Germanys, admission was made possible only when both parts, jointly, wanted it.

101. It is indeed not logical, on the ground of universality, to erect obstacles to the admission of two fully qualified States, thus depriving the United Nations of the membership of two new deserving States, by tying it in with a clearly impossible, irrelevant and unjust condition, as seems to be the intention in this case. And it would be really unjustified to go on further denying them their rightful place in the community of nations, when, following many decades of colonialism and 30 years of war, they have finally succeeded in becoming independent, sovereign and peace-loving participants in international relations.

102. Even by the cold logic of the balance of power, such an attitude would not be easy to understand, as the Republic of South Viet-Nam is already a full member of the group of non-aligned countries and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, so soon after the victory, has already applied for full membership among the non-aligned countries. We hope that we shall not have to be faced again with that particular distorted vision according to which only the big ones really exist on the map of the world, the world being just a chessboard where everything that happens is relevant only to the “weakening” of the one or the “strengthening” of the other of the big ones. The latest example of such a distorted vision were some

comments in the press here on the Helsinki Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, where the only interesting feature was whether and to what extent it was a success or a defeat of this or that big country, while the total reality of over 30 European States being there—perhaps wanting to achieve something themselves—and considering it a success or not has totally evaporated in the well-known “power vacuum”.

103. It goes without saying that, even if the Security Council were prevented from making a positive recommendation now, the people of Viet-Nam cannot for long be deprived of their rights in the United Nations. They have, with overwhelming international support, won far more difficult struggles, and they will have support for the necessary efforts here, as the rearguard action to prevent them from having their rights fulfilled here does not really have any historical promise. We all remember how detrimental to the United Nations and the whole fabric of international relations and how ultimately futile was the policy of denying the People’s Republic of China its rightful seat. It did not much benefit its protagonists either, as no policy turned towards the past can do so. The new realities in the world are perhaps best seen in that it was impossible to make the war against Viet-Nam a local, regional affair concealed from the eyes and support of the whole world. Equally, no people in the world supported the war against Viet-Nam and, in the end, no people really permitted having colonial wars waged in its name.

104. What we should like here to commend the representatives of the two Viet-Nams for is that their principled firmness is combined with a dignified, indeed noble, restraint and totally constructive attitude. After the victory, they insist upon being ready to co-operate with all, to have good, friendly relations with all. This also proves once again that it is the small ones that are now restrained and responsible in their victory; it is the small ones that are really mindful of the interests of others, that are not selfish, but charitable in victory and capable of setting an example for all.

105. We do hope that those who would wish to prevent the Security Council from making the only right decision would reconsider now.

106. The declaration of the Co-ordinating Committee of the Non-Aligned Countries on the matter [*ibid.*], adopted at its meeting on 7 August, speaks best of the widest support that the Republic of South Viet-Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam enjoy and will continue to enjoy—a support that can only grow.

107. The presence of the two Vietnamese delegations of observers, together representing the liberated people of Viet-Nam in the United Nations, is in itself a very special event in the history of the

United Nations. It is my delegation's fervent hope that the General Assembly at its thirtieth regular session will be able to admit them to the United Nations. It will certainly give them the overwhelming support which they and indeed the United Nations as a whole deserve.

108. The PRESIDENT: The next name on the list of speakers is that of the representative of the German Democratic Republic. I invite him to take a place at the Security Council table and to make his statement.

109. Mr. NEUGEBAUER (German Democratic Republic): Mr. President and members of the Security Council, I thank you for giving me the opportunity to speak before the highest organ of the United Nations. Permit me, Mr. President, to express to you the congratulations of my delegation on the assumption of your high and responsible office. You are the representative of a country with which the German Democratic Republic maintains friendly relations, which, especially in the recent past, have developed for the benefit of both sides.

110. It is a special privilege and satisfaction for me to congratulate most cordially the Observer for the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, our friend M. Nguyen Van Luu, and the Observer for the Republic of South Viet-Nam, Mr. Dinh Ba Thi, on the beginning of their work at the United Nations. The most friendly welcome extended here in the United Nations to the Observers for the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Republic of South Viet-Nam has demonstrated in a convincing way the solidarity with the just cause of the Vietnamese people.

111. When in recent years this high body considered the applications of sovereign and independent States for membership in the United Nations, the Security Council was guided by the intention further to increase the universality of the Organization, to act in harmony with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and thus to strengthen international peace and security and to promote and develop equal co-operation between all States. The applications submitted by the Governments of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Republic of South Viet-Nam are fully in accordance with the Charter. Both States pursue a policy of peace and they are fully prepared and in a position to fulfil the obligations resulting from membership in the United Nations.

112. There is no doubt that the admission of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Republic of South Viet-Nam as Members of the United Nations will serve to strengthen international peace and security and also to increase the universality and authority of the Organization.

113. The process of international détente has made extraordinary progress in past years and above all in

recent times, as has vividly been demonstrated by the solemn signing at Helsinki of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe by the leading representatives of 35 European States, the United States and Canada. This process of détente is also activating, to an important degree, the work of the United Nations.

114. I am speaking here as the representative of a State which in the course of this process was itself admitted as a Member of the United Nations only a relatively short time ago. The relevant decision of the Security Council and the admission of the German Democratic Republic by the General Assembly were, as is recognized by everybody today, of importance for strengthening peace on the European continent, for the further implementation of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and also for increasing the effectiveness of the United Nations. May I in this connexion express my conviction that it will be no less important when the voice of the Vietnamese people, which has victoriously emerged from three decades of heroic struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress, can also equally be heard for the good of the noble cause of the Organization. We therefore share the view of many representatives of States that the admission of the Republic of South Viet-Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam to the United Nations would contribute towards improving co-operation and political relations, in particular between the Asian States.

115. The admission of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Republic of South Viet-Nam would at the same time be—and this aspect is of far-reaching importance for all the activities of the United Nations—a symbol of the recognition of the political realities which have arisen in Viet-Nam. By complying with the application now before it, the Security Council, charged with the high responsibility of maintaining international peace and security, will fulfil its task and at the same time respond to an urgent demand of international public opinion.

116. The Government and people of the German Democratic Republic are linked by strong bonds of friendship with the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Republic of South Viet-Nam. During all the years of struggle the German Democratic Republic, like the other States of the socialist community, stood in firm solidarity by the side of the fraternal Vietnamese people and gave active and full support to its just struggle. With great pleasure, the Government and people of my country have welcomed the historic victory of the patriots of South Viet-Nam over aggression, the establishment of the people's power and the re-establishment of peace in the south of the country.

117. The victory of the South Vietnamese patriots has opened up to all the people of South Viet-Nam

bright perspectives of peace, freedom, democracy and social progress. It is also an important contribution towards strengthening peace and security in South-East Asia and in the world. On that occasion, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Erich Honecker, conveyed the cordial congratulations and fraternal greetings of the people of the German Democratic Republic to the leading representatives of the Republic of South Viet-Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam. The German Democratic Republic will not reduce its solidarity with the Vietnamese people, which can now dedicate its forces to construction in peace, and welcomes the applications of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Republic of South Viet-Nam for admission to the United Nations. We are satisfied to see that in this way the German Democratic Republic shares the view of the overwhelming majority of States also in this high body.

118. My delegation considers it inadmissible arbitrarily to connect consideration of the present applications by the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Republic of South Viet-Nam with other questions. The Charter of the United Nations clearly stipulates how applications for membership are to be considered, so it can only be called discrimination against the Vietnamese people when the applications of two sovereign States are linked with a completely different question. It is also absurd to link a problem which is controversial in the United Nations with the admission to the United Nations of two sovereign States. As far as the so-called Korea question is concerned, the viewpoint of the German Democratic Republic is clear and well known. The German Democratic Republic highly appreciates the efforts aimed at peace and security and at the conclusion of a peace agreement undertaken by the Korean People's Democratic Republic, with which it is fraternally linked.

119. We have always taken the view that any interference in the internal affairs of the Korean people

has to be avoided, all the more so because it would by no means help towards a solution of what is generally called the Korean question but would essentially be in the way of it. The key to the strengthening of peace on the Korean peninsula is, now as before, the implementation of the relevant decision adopted by the General Assembly at its twenty-eighth session³ the dissolution of the so-called United Nations Command in Korea and the withdrawal of foreign troops stationed in South Korea. If attempts are now made to establish artificial links between this problem and the applications submitted by the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Republic of South Viet-Nam, it will only render a solution more difficult and counteract fulfilment of the General Assembly decision.

120. Any opposition to the two applications for membership from the two sovereign States would run counter to the realistic aspirations of the peoples and States to equal co-operation in the United Nations. Such an attitude would not be understood by the international public and would certainly be a burden on constructive co-operation in the United Nations, which is necessary and called for the historic lessons from the developments in Indo-China especially show that today peoples of the world can successfully maintain their independence, thanks also to a stronger United Nations, and that nobody is able to halt this process or to reverse it. My delegation is firmly convinced that sooner or later all members of the Security Council will take into account realities and act according to the spirit and letter of the Charter.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.

Notes

¹ *Admission of a State to the United Nations (Charter, Art. 4), Advisory Opinion: I.C.J. Reports 1948, p. 57.*

² *United Nations, Treaty Series, vol. 935.*

³ *See Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-eighth Session, Supplement No. 30, p. 24, item 41.*