

UNITED NATIONS



SECURITY COUNCIL OFFICIAL RECORDS

THIRTIETH YEAR

UN SECURITY

OCT 2 - 1966

UN Security Council

1836th MEETING: 11 AUGUST 1975

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1836)	1
Adoption of the agenda	1
Report of the Security Council Committee on the Admission of New Members concerning the applications of the Republic of South Viet-Nam and the Demo- cratic Republic of Viet-Nam (S/11794)	1

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.

1836th MEETING

Held in New York on Monday, 11 August 1975, at 3 p.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/1836)

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 3.30 p.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: In accordance with the decision taken this morning [*1835th meeting*], I propose now, with the consent of the Council, to invite the representatives of Cuba, the German Democratic Republic, Guinea, Hungary, India, Poland, Romania, Somalia and Yugoslavia to participate in the discussion without the right to vote.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Acosta Rodríguez (Cuba), Mr. Neugebauer (German Democratic Republic), Mrs. Jeanne Martin Cissé (Guinea), Mr. Bányász (Hungary), Mr. Jaipal (India), Mr. Czarowski (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: In addition, I should like to inform the members of the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Algeria requesting that he be invited to participate in the discussion of the question on the Council's agenda in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37

of the provisional rules of procedure. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose that the Council agree to invite the representative of Algeria to participate in the discussion without the right to vote. In view of the limited number of seats available at the Council table, I invite the representative of Algeria to take the place reserved for him at the side of the Council chamber, on the usual understanding that he will be invited to take a place at the Council table when he wishes to address the Council.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Bouayad-Agha (Algeria) took the place reserved for him at the side of the Council chamber.

3. The PRESIDENT: The Security Council will now continue its discussion of the matter before it, which was begun at our morning meeting. The next speaker is the representative of Romania. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

4. Mr. DATCU (Romania) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, I should first like to express to you and the other members of the Security Council the gratitude of the Romanian delegation for having provided us with the opportunity to present the position of the Romanian Government on the item now being dealt with by the Council.

5. It is a source of particular satisfaction to us to speak before the Security Council under the presidency of an illustrious representative of Japan—a friendly country with which Romania is developing excellent relations of co-operation based on mutual confidence and respect, on equality of rights and mutual advantage.

6. It is for me a signal honour to be able warmly to welcome, on behalf of the Romanian Government, the presence here in the United Nations of the first representatives accredited as Observers for the Republic of South Viet-Nam, Mr. Dinh Ba Thi, and for the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, Mr. Nguyen Van Luu. I should like to extend to them our warm congratulations, to express to them our best wishes for success and to assure them of our complete support in the accomplishment of their mission.

7. At present the Security Council is considering the requests for admission to the United Nations of the Republic of South Viet-Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, both sovereign States which

love peace and justice and with which my country is closely associated by links of friendship and brotherly solidarity. The admission of new Member States is a subject which is of concern to the Organization as a whole. The interest which Romania has in this matter is particularly easy to understand since our country has always been a militant protagonist of the universality of the United Nations and we have always spoken in favour of its strengthening and the enhancement of its role in international affairs.

8. For 30 years the Vietnamese people has had to struggle against internal reactionary forces and against foreign intervention in order to defend its right to free, dignified and independent development. The resounding victory of the Vietnamese people has once again confirmed the great truth of our times, that when a people is determined resolutely to defend its sacred and inalienable right to freedom and national independence no force in the world is capable of preventing it from winning a complete victory.

9. Socialist Romania has from the very outset expressed its solidarity with the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people and we have given it all our support for the final liberation of its homeland. We consider the victory of the Vietnamese people a historic contribution to the success of the struggle of progressive anti-colonial forces against the former policies of force, diktat and interference in the internal affairs of countries in order to support and to safeguard the right of all peoples to be masters of their own destinies and to organize their lives along independent lines in accordance with their own aspirations and with a view to building a better and fairer world.

10. The fortunate outcome of events in Indo-China has created for the sorely tried Vietnamese people conditions which will enable it to get down to the task of reconstruction and the democratic development of its society in order to achieve the noble ideals of economic and social progress. In this complicated task they must be able to rely on the support and solidarity of the international community as a whole and at the same time to derive benefit from the fruits of multilateral co-operation within international organizations.

11. The admission of the Republic of South Viet-Nam and of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam to membership in the United Nations is, after all, only a natural and logical step, long awaited by the world public, that will thus bring about their complete incorporation into the ranks of the community of sovereign independent nations. That is why the Romanian Government gives its full support to the requests of the two Vietnamese States to become Members of the United Nations. We sincerely believe it is the mission of the Organization to concert the efforts of all peace-loving States in order to strengthen its capacity and to enhance its role.

12. There can be no doubt that the presence of the Republic of South Viet-Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam as fully fledged Members of the United Nations will make it possible for the Organization to make an increased contribution to the strengthening of peace and co-operation both in the great continent of Asia and throughout the world.

13. Acceptance of the applications would not only be a political act in harmony with the principles of the Charter of the Organization; it would also be an act of justice, and would mean that the Organization had fulfilled its duty towards the Vietnamese people, which, through its countless sacrifices, has so gloriously defended the great principles of the Charter. The admission of the two Vietnamese States to the United Nations must be considered the recognition of a right that has been won by the Vietnamese people at the end of a long and arduous struggle, the culmination of their struggle for national independence.

14. The people of Viet-Nam has addressed itself to the Organization. The Organization as a whole, and each and every one of its Members, must find a source of satisfaction in the fact that after such a lengthy struggle, and even before their wounds had healed, one of the first acts of foreign policy of the two Vietnamese States was to seek membership in the Organization so as to contribute to it their experience, their energy and their efforts and to work with the other nations of the world to strengthen peace and co-operation internationally. It is now up to the Organization, and particularly at this stage it is up to you, the members of the Security Council, to give them an unequivocal and affirmative reply. It is in that spirit that the Romanian Government voices the hope that the members of this lofty forum will accede to the justified requests submitted by the Republic of South Viet-Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and that the draft resolutions sponsored by nine States [S/11795 and S/11796] will be adopted.

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

16. Mr. JAIPAL (India): Mr. President, may I extend to you my warm congratulations on your assumption of the office of President of the Security Council for this month and wish you every success. My delegation is grateful to you, Sir, and to the other members of the Security Council for giving us this opportunity to express our views on the important question now engaging the attention of the Council.

17. The Government and people of India have long been interested in the successful outcome of the struggle for independence of the Vietnamese people, an interest which goes back to the days of our own national movement for independence. Historically

and spiritually, the Vietnamese struggle was a part of the wider global movement of colonial peoples towards their emancipation. Actually, it meant perhaps a little more to us in India, since the Vietnamese are an Asian people and certain common aspects of our culture had created bonds of natural and mutual sympathy between our two countries and peoples.

18. It was our expectation—and, indeed, that of many others too—that Viet-Nam would have joined the United Nations at the same time as the other two States of Indo-China, but that did not happen. Instead, the struggle of the Vietnamese people to free themselves of all foreign forces entered a new and more harrowing phase in which the country became divided and the land and the people became the testing-ground for the terrifying weapons of modern war. No other war of national liberation has left such a big scar on the conscience of the United Nations, because, as an organization, the United Nations stood aside and did nothing. That was one local conflict which the United Nations did not even try to stop, and as a consequence the United Nations has, if I may say so, developed a sort of guilt complex about Viet-Nam. It must therefore make all of us feel quite small to be facing a situation in which the Vietnamese people themselves seek representation in the Organization that did so little for them. In these circumstances one would have thought that the United Nations would admit the two applicant States of Viet-Nam quietly, without any fuss, and, what is more, offer to make amends to them for the years of neglect by the United Nations.

19. There is a certain pathos and irony in the present situation that cannot have escaped even the most unsentimental among us. However, let me now turn to the cold legal aspects of the case. The conditions for admission of new Members are stipulated in Article 4 of the Charter as being three. First, the applicant must accept the obligations contained in the Charter. Secondly, the applicant must be a peace-loving State. Thirdly, the applicant must be able and willing to carry out the obligations contained in the Charter.

20. I believe that it is the general view of all members in the Council that these three conditions are fulfilled in the case of the two applicant States of Viet-Nam. Even so, the Charter and the provisional rules of procedure permit any member of the Security Council to cast a negative vote for reasons unrelated to the conditions of admission of applicant States. And if one permanent member of the Council were to cast a negative vote for extraneous reasons, the applicant States could not be admitted to the United Nations. That is the correct legal position. It seems that what the Charter gives with one hand, it takes away with the other. In such a curious situation it is not possible to maintain the so-called prin-

ciple of universality of the Organization. The only fair thing to do in the circumstances is to decide each application for membership on its individual merits in relation to Article 4 of the Charter.

21. We are well aware of precedents in the past for denying admission to one State or more unless some other States were also admitted at the same time. Those precedents have not added to the glory of the Organization. But there are surely other precedents to follow, and my delegation hopes that the members of the Security Council would not allow alien factors to enter into their consideration of the applications for admission before them. On the contrary, we hope that they will base their decision exclusively on whether or not the two applicant States fulfil the conditions for admission established by the Charter. We think that they do, and therefore we think they should be admitted without question and without delay.

22. Lastly, I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to Article 2, paragraph 6, of the Charter, which reads: "The Organization shall ensure that States which are not Members of the United Nations act in accordance with these principles so far as may be necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security".

23. Is it not an obligation of the United Nations under this Article to admit a State that qualifies for membership? Because by doing so the United Nations would be ensuring that it does in fact act in accordance with the Charter's principles for maintenance of peace and security. It would be a very strange way indeed for the United Nations to fulfil its clear obligation under Article 2, paragraph 6, of the Charter by denying States membership when they apply for it and when they fulfil the conditions for membership. This aspect of the Charter I would commend to those who may be thinking of casting a negative vote on the two draft resolutions before the Security Council.

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

25. Mr. BÁNYÁSZ (Hungary): Mr. President, I should like to extend our sincere appreciation to you, Sir, and to all members of the Security Council for giving my delegation the opportunity to express our views in the course of the discussion in the Council on the question of the applications of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Republic of South Viet-Nam for membership in the United Nations. It is our privilege to participate in this meeting under your wise guidance.

26. I am pleased to take the opportunity, on behalf of my Government, to welcome whole-heartedly

the applications of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Republic of South Viet-Nam for in the United Nations. At the same time, I wish to extend our warmest greetings to their representatives present here at United Nations Headquarters: to Mr. Nguyen Van Luu of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and Mr. Dinh Ba Thi of the Republic of South Viet-Nam, and to their colleagues.

27. The delegation of the Hungarian People's Republic asked to be allowed to speak on this occasion of great significance not only because we followed closely the consideration of the question concerned, but for the very reason that there are warm and very friendly ties between the Hungarian and the Vietnamese people. The cause of the Vietnamese people has always been close to our heart. The Hungarian people, in the true spirit of proletarian internationalism, has consistently stood for the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people to attain national independence, sovereignty and freedom. The Hungarian People's Republic has done its utmost to assist the Vietnamese people in their legitimate struggle, and we shall do our best in the future as well.

28. Along with the overwhelming majority of the States Members of the United Nations, the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic is convinced that the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Republic of South Viet-Nam truly and fully deserve membership in the Organization without any delay. The Governments of these countries have repeatedly expressed their readiness and willingness to fulfil their obligations under the Charter of the United Nations.

29. The delegation of the Hungarian People's Republic is certain that the admission of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Republic of South Viet-Nam will definitely strengthen the United Nations and its endeavours towards international peace, security and co-operation. Thus, everybody will gain and nobody will lose. Even those countries which today do not seem to realize it will gain through the admission. The victory of the Vietnamese people in their legitimate struggle for national independence has given a very significant impetus to détente in the world and in particular provides a step forward to lasting peace and security in South-East Asia, whose peoples have suffered so much in the past.

30. A great number of countries have paid their tribute to the victory of the Vietnamese people and pledged their assistance for the building up of their war-torn country. It is my privilege to confirm here again that the Hungarian people and Government fully support the friendly people of Viet-Nam in the reconstruction of their homeland.

31. It is my delegation's firm conviction that the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Republic

of South Viet-Nam shall join the family of the United Nations in the very near future, proving that trying to prevent those two countries from gaining admission to the United Nations is an unsuccessful policy and that victory shall be on the side of the just cause. In the light of the foregoing, were are of the opinion that the applications of the two Viet-Nams for membership in the United Nations will be considered favourably, thus meeting the demand of the international community.

32. The PRESIDENT: I have received a letter from the representative of Bulgaria requesting that he be invited to participate in the discussion of the question on the Council's agenda in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure. I propose that the Council agree, in accordance with the usual practice, to invite the representative of Bulgaria to participate in the discussion without the right to vote. In view of the limited number of seats available at the Council table, I invite the representative of Bulgaria to take the place reserved for him at the side of the Council chamber, on the usual understanding that he will be invited to take a place at the Council table when it is his turn to address the Council.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Ghelev (Bulgaria) took the place reserved for him at the side of the Council chamber.

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

34. Mr. CZARKOWSKI (Poland): Mr. President, permit me in the first place to congratulate you very warmly on your assumption of the presidency of this principal organ of the United Nations. Indeed, it is rewarding for a Pole to see the representative of Japan, with which my country maintains friendly relations, presiding over the Security Council.

35. I should also like to express my delegation's gratitude to you, Sir, as well as to all the other members of the Council for having enabled me to express the views of Poland on the important item before us. Furthermore, I wish also to greet cordially here in the United Nations the Observers for the Republic of South Viet-Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, Mr. Dinh Ba Thi and Mr. Nguyen Van Luu.

36. As the members of the Council are aware, Poland has for a number of years been a member of the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Viet-Nam. With all the memories of the Second World War, which took a toll of more than 6 million Polish lives, our representatives carried out their mission in Viet-Nam with particular sensitivity to the cause of the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese

people for their national liberation. For a nation like mine, it is not hard at all to understand the immensity of the suffering and sacrifice of the people of Viet-Nam, especially now when the thirtieth anniversary of the termination of the grim world war warns us against its repetition anywhere at any time.

37. With all the greater satisfaction and joy, shared by all the peoples of the world, we welcomed the end of the war in Viet-Nam, effected as it was by the victory of its brave people. We have particularly appreciated the overwhelming reaction of easiness and understanding demonstrated in this connexion by the people of the United States. My delegation is firmly convinced that there is hardly anyone—unless deprived of human feelings and political realism—who would not wish the people of Viet-Nam every success in the construction of a peaceful life after more than an entire generation of its courageous struggle. Hence we both greet and hail the applications by the Republic of South Viet-Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam for admission to membership in the United Nations. Poland lends them its full and unequivocal support. In our view, these applications testify to the growing confidence of the two countries towards the world community and to the expectations they link with the Organization. To disappoint them would be tantamount to repeating the old mistakes, when resort to obsolete tactics more than once harmed the effectiveness of the Organization.

38. Much to our amazement, a point has been raised lately about the so-called linkage with some other issues of the admission of the Republic of South Viet-Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam to membership in the United Nations. My delegation does not believe that moves of that sort help to strengthen the Charter of the United Nations. Quite to the contrary, they are bound only to undermine its provisions by departing from the only correct and legal criteria for membership in the United Nations, as laid down in Article 4 of the Charter.

39. It is the considered view of the Government and the people of Poland that there is only one logical and consistent road to follow on the question we are discussing, namely, that of recommendation by the Security Council to admit the Republic of South Viet-Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam to the United Nations. Both of them enjoy recognition by a great number of States; they are full-fledged members of the world community and deserve admission on all grounds, be they legal or political. We are saying this also in the spirit of well-conceived universality of the Organization. In these days of growing understanding among nations, at a time of progressing détente and general rapprochement, it is all the more the duty of the family of nations to help the people of Viet-Nam in whatever way we can to restore its war-ravaged land to normal life.

40. Poland therefore joins the appeal of the Coordinating Committee of the Non-Aligned Countries [S/11793] to all non-aligned as well as fair-minded and peace-loving States to support the admission to the United Nations of the Republic of South Viet-Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam.

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

42. Mr. HUSSEIN (Somalia): Mr. President, I should like, first of all, to thank you and, through you, the members of the Council for having allowed us to participate in the debate on the item which the Council is now considering. May I, at the outset, express my delegation's congratulations to you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of August. I am confident that your wisdom and long experience will guide the Council in the right direction in its deliberations.

43. I should like also to express my delegation's congratulations to your predecessor, Mr. Plaja of Italy, on the successful and skilful manner in which he conducted the business of the Council for the month of July. I should like to address the same expression to Mr. Cavaglieri, who made a positive contribution and tactfully conducted the informal and formal activities of the Council during Mr. Plaja's absence.

44. In view of the importance of the items which the Council now has before it—namely, the applications for admission to membership in the United Nations submitted by the Republic of South Viet-Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam—my Government considered it necessary to request the Council, through you, Sir, to permit it to explain its views on the subject under consideration.

45. After decades of continuous aggression, devastation, bloodshed, and destruction, it is gratifying to note today that the long-frustrated aspirations of the people of Viet-Nam have been realized. The heroic and legitimate struggle of the Vietnamese people for the attainment of their birthright, national independence and sovereignty, and for the elimination of all foreign intervention in the internal affairs of their country has at last produced the desired result. This historic—and, in a way, unique—victory of the people of Viet-Nam in achieving the total liberation of their country from foreign domination can only be, and quite rightly so, attributable to their courageous and undaunted determination to become the true masters in the management of their own affairs. These long-cherished objectives have been achieved, and there is now peace throughout Viet-Nam, for the first time in almost two generations.

46. It is against this background that my delegation takes special pleasure in seeing today that the appli-

cations for admission to the community of nations from these well-deserving countries are being taken up by the Council. We strongly believe that it is high time for the two sister States to take their rightful places in the family of nations, and it is with this conviction that my Government whole-heartedly and firmly supports their admission and strongly urges the Council to consider their applications favourably, thus sending its recommendations to the General Assembly in due time.

47. It has been argued that in order to consider these two applications, from the Republic of South Viet-Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, respectively, a third application—submitted by the Republic of South Korea—must be also considered. My delegation considers such an argument out of context. We feel that the Council's acceptance or rejection of one country's application should not be a condition for the consideration of that of another. In fact, I am grateful to the representative of Guyana for having quoted, this morning, in order to refresh our minds, the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice on this particular point [*1835th meeting, para. 9*].

48. In this connexion, the Council was completely right in declining to consider the South Korean application, for it has been the normal practice of the United Nations not to consider favourably a unilateral application for membership from a Government representing a part of a divided country. This is especially true with regard to the Korean peninsula when we take into account the well-known joint communiqué of South and North Korea of 4 July 1972, which, among other things, provided that: The reunification of the country should be achieved independently, without reliance upon outside force or its interference; The reunification of the country should be achieved by peaceful means, without recourse to the use of arms against the other side; and great national unity should be promoted.¹ It was in the light of that breakthrough that the General Assembly, in a decision adopted at its twenty-eighth session, affirmed by consensus the need to promote the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea.²

49. My delegation notes with surprise that, in spite of all these facts, the United States delegation has made it clear that it is prepared to vote in favour of the consideration of these applications only when the South Korean one is also included for consideration. In reaction to the expressed position of the United States, the Co-ordinating Committee of the Non-Aligned Countries, of which my country is privileged to be a member, on 7 August issued a declaration [*S/11793*] in which, among other things, it reiterated the unqualified support of the non-aligned countries for the cause of the Vietnamese people in general, and especially for their applications for admission to the United Nations, a matter it considers as being fully in conformity with the spirit and the letter of the Charter of the United Nations.

50. In the opinion of my Government, supporting the applications of the Republic of South Viet-Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam for membership in the United Nations is not only perfectly in keeping with the Charter, but, more importantly, it is an action that will doubtless enhance and further strengthen the development of friendly relations and co-operation among all peoples.

51. It will be unfortunate if, because of the declared intention of the Government of the United States of America to use its veto power, the Security Council fails to meet the requests of the two States that have applied for membership when they have fully met the conditions required by the Charter for the admission of States. It will therefore be injudicious, in the opinion of my delegation, if the United States Government links their admission to that of South Korea as a package deal.

52. It is in view of these considerations that my delegation wishes to call upon the Government of the United States to reconsider its position and go along with the rest of the members of the Council in recommending to the General Assembly the admission to membership of the two Vietnamese States, so that they can take their rightful places in the international community.

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

54. Mr. ACOSTA RODRÍGUEZ (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, my delegation is pleased to greet you as President of the Security Council at a time when this body is witnessing events of an undoubted historical importance. We know that your talent and ability are dedicated to the smooth progress of our proceedings, and my delegation therefore assures you of our continued support. I also thank you for having swiftly acceded to the request of Cuba to speak, in accordance with the provisional rules of procedure, on the item on the agenda.

55. Cuba wishes without delay to express its unconditional support for the just aspiration of the Republic of South Viet-Nam and of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam to become fully fledged Members of the United Nations. Cuba considers that the admission of the Republic of South Viet-Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam is a logical consequence—which pleases us—of the achievement by their peoples of sovereignty and independence after a lengthy and bloody struggle.

56. Cuba considers that the Republic of South Viet-Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam are prepared and willing and able to shoulder the responsibilities placed upon them under the Charter of the United Nations, and would therefore make a

great contribution to international peace and security. And yet we have heard those who stubbornly differ from such judgements. Thus, some spokesmen of the Government of the United States of America in the first place, and the Permanent Representative of that country to the United Nations himself later during the 1834th meeting of the Council have indicated as much. Those gentlemen have attempted to link the admission of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Republic of South Viet-Nam to the United Nations to that of the régime of South Korea, and make the one conditional on the other, in a manoeuvre that was as puerile as it was sterile, causing astonishment and protest on the part of the majority of States Members of the United Nations.

57. More than 80 new States have entered the United Nations since the Council considered this question in 1949. The matter was considered three times again, that is to say, in 1955, 1957 and 1958, with the same decisively negative result.

58. My delegation will comment specifically on the Korean item when the time comes and in the appropriate body. Now I wish merely to recall that it has been United Nations practice in the case of the admission of two States which share the territory of a divided country that both should express firm agreement in applying for membership. And if this were not enough, we still recall the decision adopted by the General Assembly at its twenty-eighth session with the aim of encouraging the reunification of Korea into a single State.²

59. As regards the admission of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Republic of South Viet-Nam, we believe that only a distorted understanding of history and a deformed view of the recent experience of yesterday, of what is real today and of the prospects for the future would lead any State actually to carry out its threat to exercise its right of veto. The peoples of the Republic of South Viet-Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam with infinite self-abnegation bore the cruellest and most unjust war of aggression of contemporary history. Half a million soldiers, millions of tons of bombs, incendiary napalm, impressive aerial forces, the massacres which shook the world for almost a decade did not succeed in weakening the firm will of the men and women who fought in the south and in the north.

60. This unrivalled sacrifice was also made for the sake of the rights of our peoples, for the sake of the rights of all peoples of the world, who see today in Viet-Nam a fruitful example of resistance to injustice and aggression, of generosity, kindness and decency. This is the understanding of my delegation; this is also the understanding of the Governments and the peoples of the countries in the non-aligned movement, whose Co-ordinating Committee met some days ago in New York and

approved a declaration confirming this understanding, a declaration which is largely based on the agreements of the Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Algiers in 1973, and the third ministerial meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries, which was held recently in the capital of my country. This too is the understanding of the progressive forces throughout the world which only yesterday were clamouring for an end to the aggression in Viet-Nam and today support the right of both Republics to join the ranks of the Organization.

61. Cuba is happy and proud to have present among us the representatives of the Republic of South Viet-Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, whom we have seen arriving in this city and at United Nations Headquarters with no show of rancour or hostility and even extending a friendly hand to the selfsame Government which so viciously committed aggression against them, despite the fact that it even refuses to participate in the tasks of reconstruction of Viet-Nam as stipulated in article 21 of the Paris Agreements.³

62. What kind of reaction have the Vietnamese representatives encountered in response to their attitude? On the part of the Government of the United States, they have encountered what might, in a sad recollection of the past, which has taught us so much, be described as an escalation of the veto. If the veto is applied, it will suffer as resounding a defeat as did the bellicose escalations of the past. If necessary, the General Assembly will speak for Viet-Nam; it will take it upon itself to defend its right and to remove the ladder from the escalation, as it were, thus transforming it into a leap into the void. My delegation proclaims that the veto will not achieve what bombs and bullets failed to win. Neither bombs nor bullets nor vetoes can hinder the work for peace and justice.

63. Cuba once again reiterates its determined support for the admission of the Republic of South Viet-Nam and of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam as fullfledged Members of the United Nations. Cuba would like to recall that this position is upheld by the vast majority of Member States and progressive forces throughout the world. Cuba would like to remind everybody that there is no insurmountable difficulty for the Vietnamese people, who, even when bombs were falling on Viet-Nam, resisted and at the same time announced the building of a Viet-Nam that would be 10 times more beautiful.

64. In conclusion, Cuba would like to repeat here a thought of that visionary, the heroic and immortal leader Ho Chi Minh: "Nothing is difficult. The only obstacle is the heart that does not persevere. Firm and resolute men will raze mountains and fill the seas".

65. The PRESIDENT: I invite the representative of Guinea to take a place at the Council table and to make her statement.

66. Mrs. Jeanne Martin CISSÉ (Guinea) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, on behalf of my delegation I should like to congratulate you on your assumption to the presidency of the Security Council for the month of August. My delegation also welcomes the bonds of close co-operation existing between the Republic of Guinea and your beautiful country. Your wisdom and the wealth of experience you have acquired throughout your long career justify our hope that these historic meetings on the requests for admission to the Organization of the Republic of south Viet-Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam will be crowned with success.

67. May I also thank you for having permitted me to participate in the discussions of the Security Council, thus providing me with an opportunity to welcome the presence in this room of the worthy representatives of the valiant peoples of Viet-Nam. My delegation considers that the time has come to welcome into our universal family the Republic of South Viet-Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, and thus seek to redress the enormous and incalculable wrong that has been committed against two peoples whose only crime was to defy arbitrariness and injustice in order to defend the noblest concepts of dignity and justice—a just cause supported by the majority of peoples of the world.

68. Both Viet-Nams, throughout their arduous struggle against imperialism, have continually demonstrated by the heavy sacrifices which they have made, how wedded they were to peace, to justice and to freedom. Thanks to their undoubtedly difficult but ennobling combat, the Vietnamese people in particular and Indo-China in general have scored resounding victories which today herald the total bankruptcy of the policy of imperialist and colonialist aggression in South-East Asia.

69. The victory of the Vietnamese people is the most telling example in recent days of the heroism of an underdeveloped people which, in a conflict that pitted them against an infinitely more powerful, more developed and better armed opponent, succeeded in fulfilling its legitimate, national and social aspirations, and even in making its highest contribution, that of bringing about a change in the world balance of forces in favour of the forces of progress, peace, national liberation and social transformation. Undoubtedly, this victory will prove to be the ideal example enabling us to analyse and evaluate the different types of war in all their aspects, the behaviour of international factors and of various segments of the population, the role of international public opinion and other aspects of the art of modern warfare.

70. It is particularly edifying to note that, despite the fact that the complete arsenal of sophisticated

technology was used in Viet-Nam in the struggle against the generalized popular war, once again it emerged that a people that knows what it is fighting for is invincible. This truth has now become self-evident, and there is something further that must be borne in mind in evaluating the relationship of forces throughout the world. In effect, thanks to the victory of Viet-Nam, all peoples and all humankind have become the subjects of history.

71. The demarcation lines between the great and the small, the developed and the underdeveloped, have faded when we consider what is meant by the struggle for freedom. In this context the victory of Viet-Nam must be ranked among the major events of contemporary history, and in its effects it will be compared with events such as the victory of peoples over fascism, colonialism, and all forms of exploitation of man by man. We can realize quite easily, generally speaking, that the entire system which arose after the Second World War was a fragile one, that it was built without taking account of the new countries and the new force represented by the movement of those peoples struggling in order to exercise their free choice as to the way they should develop and to make a sovereign choice about their future fate.

72. The war in Viet-Nam has given rise to an international solidarity which has been shown to a country which has decided to struggle for its freedom. This solidarity did not only take the form of the material, military and political support which was given to the Vietnamese people, particularly by the socialist and non-aligned countries, a support which was reflected, most strikingly of all, in the recognition of the Revolutionary Provisional Government of South Viet-Nam by a number of States during the Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Algiers. It was also embodied in the condemnation of that war by the immense majority of peoples, including the peoples of the opponent. Today, it is further confirmed by the unanimous support of non-aligned countries for the request for the admission of the two Viet-Nams.

73. For all peoples who love peace and liberty, an entire era, our era, has expressed itself through the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people—an era which has been marked by fundamental changes of world-wide importance. We would repeat that it is high time to take further steps forward along the noble way to peace and justice. Certain arguments, which seek hypothetical victories for a lost cause, should be abandoned and reason should prevail. There is one thing which is quite certain and that is that the victory of the peoples of Viet-Nam is something which is irreversible. It may be held up, but it is something which will come about whatever the cost, because the will of the Indo-Chinese people is there, omnipresent, and can be seen on all fronts.

An anti-imperialist crusade, which lives in the heart of the cities and deep in the countryside, represents a powerful striking force which has wrought the downfall of the enemy war machine. This will have shown once again that even with tons of bombs and thousands of troops it is impossible to overcome a people which is resolved to safeguard its freedom and its dignity—in other words, a people that is resolved to vanquish.

74. The Indo-Chinese people, through their indomitable courage and their fearless determination, have contributed something to the universal revolution and have provided an invaluable historical example for future generations. The Security Council is on the point of taking a decision of vast importance for the international community. The historic facts are there to show that this is the kind of decision which we venture to hope will reinforce peace and security throughout the world. In fact, in an organization which we would like to be universal, how can we fail to admit two countries which for more than 30 years have with courage and self-sacrifice fought and paid costly sacrifices to realize the ideals of freedom, justice and peace, which are after all the fundamental principles underlying the United Nations?

75. My delegation is convinced that the Security Council, whose task is to preserve peace and to ensure that justice is done, will heed the appeal of the non-aligned countries and be equal to its responsibilities and thus make it possible for the Republic of South Viet-Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam to join the great family of the United Nations, and thus to share with us the wealth of experience which they have acquired throughout more than a quarter of a century of heroic struggle.

76. The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform the members of the Security Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Czechoslovakia requesting that he be invited to participate in the discussion of the question on the Council's agenda in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure. Accordingly, I propose that the Council agree, in accordance with the usual practice, to invite the representative of Czechoslovakia to participate in the discussion without the right to vote. In view of the limited number of places available at the Council table, I would request the representative of Czechoslovakia to take the place reserved for him at the side of the Council chamber, on the usual understanding that he will be invited to take a place at the Council table when it is his turn to address the Council.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Jachek (Czechoslovakia) took the place reserved for him at the side of the Council chamber.

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

78. Mr. BOUAYAD-AGHA (Algeria) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, may I, on behalf of the delegation of Algeria, thank you and also the members of the Security Council for having authorized me to participate in your debate. It is a pleasure for me, Mr. President, to congratulate you on your Presidency of the Council and to say how happy we are to see an eminent representative of an Asian country, Japan, with which my country has good relations, presiding over the debates of the Security Council at a time when it is considering the application for membership in the United Nations of countries which belong to the same continent as your own.

79. The question which is before the Council is of great importance for my country. I need hardly recount here the history of the struggle waged by the Vietnamese people, because we are all aware of the extremely painful sacrifices made by that valiant people during the past 30 years to regain its independence and freedom. The victory won by that heroic people is testimony to its ability to inspire all the peoples of the third world that are victims of colonialism and imperialism with legitimate feelings of self-confidence and trust in the value of the struggle for national liberation. This victory represents a guarantee for an era of peace, security and co-operation. It will have far-reaching repercussions in the international community.

80. Algeria feels deeply moved as the Republic of South Viet-Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam apply for membership in the United Nations, thus placing a final seal on the defeat of American imperialist aggression and ushering in an era of peace and international co-operation. It is thus difficult for us to understand the exact nature of the American manoeuvres which are designed to prevent the Vietnamese people from emerging for ever from a terribly cruel war.

81. What is behind this far-fetched idea of a package deal? For some days vain attempts have been made to convince us that we should place on an equal footing the people of Viet-Nam and South Korea. How can one compare a people which has become a symbol with a caricature of a State? Can one forget that the liberation of Viet-Nam is one of the events whose repercussions have changed the face of the world? Those who preach universality would do well to recall that China, with its human potential, its revolution and its achievements, was long deprived of its lawful rights in the United Nations in the name of a universality manufactured by a tyrannical minority.

82. Algeria protests against this attempt to prevent the admission to the United Nations of the Republic

of South Viet-Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, thereby jeopardizing international peace and security. Despite all such manoeuvres, the fact remains that the Republic of South Viet-Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam enjoy ever-growing international recognition and support. The Republic of South Viet-Nam, a member of the group of non-aligned countries, and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, whose admission to the group of non-aligned countries is imminent, can count on the support and solidarity of all peoples that love peace and justice.

83. Algeria is proud to have present among us the Observers for the Republic of South Viet-Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam. They have come without rancour and without passion to request their admission to the United Nations, because the entire Vietnamese people aspires to peace and national concord. The policy of those two countries is anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist; it is opposed to any form of domination or foreign intervention. It is necessary for the Republic of South Viet-Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam to become Members of the United Nations so that, side by side with us, they can contribute to making the Organization serve the cause of political, economic and social justice. The delegation of Algeria therefore whole-heartedly hopes that the General Assembly at its thirtieth session will admit the two countries to the Organization.

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

85. Mr. GHELEV (Bulgaria) (*interpretation from French*): I wish first of all to thank you, Mr. President, and the members of the Security Council for having given me an opportunity to express the views of the delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria on the important matters before the Council at its present meeting. My delegation would venture to hope, Mr. President, that under your wise and competent guidance the Council will adopt a just decision in accordance with the Charter, a decision that will be a landmark in the history of the United Nations. Both you, Mr. President, and the members of the Council are fully aware, I am convinced, of the reasons why the Bulgarian delegation feels it should speak at this time when the Council is called upon to take a decision on the requests for admission to membership in the United Nations of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Republic of South Viet-Nam.

86. The Bulgarian Government and people have, in effect, supported and sustained the Vietnamese people since the very outset of and throughout their heroic liberation struggle. This sacred struggle for national independence cost that people immeasurable sufferings and sacrifices, but it led to inevi-

table victory. The victory of the Vietnamese people, which is the victory of the cause of peace and social progress, has paved the way to a free life for that sorely tried people, and at the same time has provided new prospects for the establishment of stable and lasting peace and security in South-East Asia, the establishment of good neighbourly relations and co-operation among all the peoples of that region.

87. After 30 years of war imposed upon the Vietnamese people by foreign intervention, peace has finally settled upon the Vietnamese land. The entire world was relieved to learn of the end of that long cruel war that had repercussions throughout the entire world. The struggle of the Vietnamese people gave rise to an unprecedented movement of international solidarity and won the sympathy and admiration of all peoples. It is for me a source of legitimate pride to be able to state before this lofty international body that the Bulgarian people and Government have stood unrelentingly and unconditionally in the first rank of all progressive forces and all men of good will who supported that struggle and contributed to that victory.

88. In his message to the Vietnamese people, the President of the Council of State of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Todor Zhivkov, in paying a tribute to the Vietnamese people on the occasion of their historic victory, said, *inter alia*, the following:

“The just struggle of the Vietnamese people for freedom, independence and peace, and for the right to self-determination has won the sympathy and the full fraternal support of the socialist countries, headed by the Soviet Union, as well as the support of all peace-loving forces throughout the world. This struggle was crowned with a glorious victory which represents a considerable revolutionary achievement.”

89. The Security Council is now dealing with a question of prime importance. The decision to be taken on the requests for admission of the Republic of South Viet-Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam to the United Nations will, beyond a shadow of a doubt, be of exceptional importance; undoubtedly it will be a historic event. This decision will symbolize the deep aspirations of peoples to freedom and independence, to their right to choose their own way of development and their own social system. There can be no doubt that these two countries have every right to be admitted as full-fledged Members of this world organization. They have won that right through their heroic struggle during which they have proved their devotion to the cause of peace and justice—in other words, their devotion to the most sacred principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

90. The Bulgarian delegation sincerely hopes that this afternoon the Security Council, in its collective

wisdom, will succeed in adopting a decision that is worthy of the authority of this, one of the most responsible bodies of the United Nations—a decision worthy of the authority of the United Nations. We are profoundly convinced that the admission of the two Vietnamese States will be an important contribution to the cause of peace and security throughout the world, and to the cause of co-operation and friendship among all peoples. Such a decision will at the same time mark a new step towards consolidating the process of détente and improving the international climate—a process which has so happily emerged in recent years, of which a striking example was the recent historic Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe.

91. The United Nations and the cause of peace have everything to gain and nothing to lose if such a decision is taken. Moreover, no one can deny that if they are admitted the Republic of South Viet-Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam will make an important and extremely constructive contribution to the activities of the United Nations.

92. A number of delegations have already referred to the inadmissibility of attempting to establish a link between the question of the admission of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Republic of South Viet-Nam and other questions which quite clearly have nothing to do with what is being discussed by the Council now, and to make the one hinge upon the others. We associate ourselves entirely with the pertinent arguments that have been adduced by a great number of delegations on this point.

93. Before concluding, may I be allowed to address to the Observers for the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Republic of South Viet-Nam the warmest, most cordial fraternal greetings of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and to tell them how happy and proud we are to see them with us in this room. I should like to assure them, on behalf of my delegation, that the entire Bulgarian people and Government are, and will remain, at their side, and that we shall spare no effort to ensure the triumph of their just cause and the rebuilding of their country in conditions of peace and independence, just as we stood with them, throughout their long and glorious armed struggle and throughout the difficult days of the liberation war.

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

95. Mr. JACHEK (Czechoslovakia) (*interpretation from French*): Sr, my delegation wishes to congratulate you most sincerely on the occasion of your assuming the lofty post of President of the Security Council. It is a pleasure for my delegation to see you, an eminent representative of a country with which Czechoslovakia has friendly relations, presiding

over the Council. We wish to express our hope that under your enlightened guidance the Security Council, which is now dealing with a question of utmost importance, namely, the applications for membership of the two Vietnamese States, will achieve results in accord with the principles and spirit of the Charter. May I also say how grateful my delegation is to you, Sir, and to the members of the Security Council for having given me an opportunity to speak.

96. Czechoslovakia firmly supports the applications for membership of the Republic of South Viet-Nam and of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, which have clearly expressed their desire to become Members of the United Nations so that they may make a contribution to the struggle for peace, independence and the development of friendship among peoples. The friendship between the peoples of Czechoslovakia and Viet-Nam has old traditions. That friendship has been shown throughout the lengthy struggle of the Vietnamese people for national liberation and against aggression. This friendship and brotherly co-operation will develop further during the process of rebuilding their countries.

97. The people of Czechoslovakia are side by side with the Vietnamese people. They rejoice in their historic victory against the imperialist forces. Czechoslovakia is proud that the Observers for the two Vietnamese States are here with us. We sincerely extend our cordial greetings to Mr. Dinh Ba Thi and Mr. Nguyen Van Luu, who are here with us and have been waging a struggle which is supported by the overwhelming majority of the States Members of the United Nations.

98. My delegation wishes to express its profound satisfaction and complete support for the declaration which was issued on 7 August by the Co-ordinating Committee of the Non-Aligned Countries, containing a resolute condemnation of all manoeuvres intended to prevent the admission of the Republic of South Viet-Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam to the United Nations.

99. The admission of the two Vietnamese States, after the liquidation of the hotbeds of war in Viet-Nam, will, in the opinion of my delegation, represent a considerable contribution to the improvement of the international atmosphere and the strengthening of peace, and will be a historic step towards the universality of the Organization. My delegation is resolutely opposed to any attempt to link the admission of the two Vietnamese States to a question totally different in nature. My delegation firmly believes that the Republic of South Viet-Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam will be admitted to the United Nations by the General Assembly at its thirtieth session as full-fledged Members, on the recommendation of the Security Council.

100. The PRESIDENT: As there are no further names on the list of speakers, I should like, in my capacity as the representative of JAPAN, to explain the vote of the delegation of Japan. I wish to state that, having carefully examined the applications and the declarations submitted by the Republic of South Viet-Nam and by the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, my delegation has reached the conclusion that these two applicant States are qualified for membership in the United Nations under Article 4 of the Charter. In the considered view of my delegation, they both meet the requirements laid down in Article 4. We have taken note in particular of the declarations submitted by each of the applicant States stating that each accepts the obligations contained in the Charter and that each solemnly undertakes to carry out those obligations. My delegation has confidence in their willingness to carry them out.

101. My delegation therefore supports the applications of the Republic of South Viet-Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam for admission to the United Nations and will vote in favour of the nine-Power draft resolutions, in which the Security Council would recommend to the General Assembly that the Republic of South Viet-Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam be admitted, respectively, to membership in the Organization. The Government of Japan believes that the admission of these two States would assuredly constitute a significant step towards the strengthening of the United Nations and contribute in a significant way to the restoration of friendly relations among the nations in the area as well as to the stability of the area. My Government is confident that this would prove a positive element in enhancing international peace and security.

102. Japan, as an Asian nation, attaches great importance to the admission of the two Viet-Nams to the United Nations. In view of its ties with other Asian countries, Japan welcomed the end of the long and tragic war in Viet-Nam and the restoration of peace in the area, which enabled the Vietnamese States to seek membership in the United Nations. The Government of Japan, in accordance with one of the basic principles of its foreign policy, which is to develop friendly relations with all States, established on 12 September 1973 diplomatic relations with the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam. On 7 May 1975, Japan recognized the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam.

103. We are confident that, with the diligence and hard work of their peoples, both of these States will be able to overcome difficulties in the task reconstruction and development of their countries and that they will soon be able to make important contributions to the international community. The Government and the people of Japan look forward to increasingly friendly relations with the two States.

We wish to co-operate with them in pursuing the supreme goals of the United Nations: to maintain international peace and security and to develop friendly relations among all States throughout the world.

104. As regards the application of the Republic of Korea for membership in the United Nations, which the Security Council could not consider at this time, it is the sincere hope of my delegation that the Council will be able to address itself to the application of that country at the earliest appropriate occasion.

105. Now, in my capacity as PRESIDENT of the Council, I shall proceed to put to the vote the two draft resolutions before the Council. First, I shall put to the vote the nine-Power draft resolution contained in document S/11795, relating to the application of the Republic of South Viet-Nam.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, China, 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.

Against: United States of America.

Abstaining: Costa Rica.

The result of the vote was 13 in favour, 1 against, and 1 abstention.

The draft resolution was not adopted, one of the negative votes being that of a permanent member of the Council.

106. The PRESIDENT: I now put to the vote the nine-Power draft resolution in document S/11796, relating to the application of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, China, 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.

Against: United States of America.

Abstaining: Costa Rica.

The result of the vote was 13 in favour, 1 against, and 1 abstention.

The draft resolution was not adopted, one of the negative votes being that of a permanent member of the Council.

107. The PRESIDENT: As the Security Council has failed to adopt either of the draft resolutions before it, I should like to remind members of the Council that, in accordance with the provisions of the third paragraph of rule 60 of the provisional rules of procedure, the Council must submit a special report to the General Assembly on this matter. Therefore, before calling upon the next speaker, I would request the Secretariat to proceed at once with the preparation of a brief factual report, which I would venture to hope could be approved by the members of the Council in the course of the present meeting. Thus the Council would be in a position to act speedily in reporting to the General Assembly on the matter.

108. A number of representatives are inscribed on my list to speak after the vote on the two draft resolutions. I shall now call upon them.

109. Mr. MOYNIHAN (United States of America): Mr. President, in a happy display of unanimity today, I am only the most recent representative to express to you congratulations on your assumption of the important and distinguished position of President of the Security Council and gratitude for the distinction with which you have carried forth your difficult duties in this present affair. Also I should like to join my predecessors in expressing admiration, bordering at times on awe, at the durability and energy and flexibility of your predecessors, Mr. Plaja and Mr. Cavaglieri.

110. Mr. President the United States today has, for the first time, vetoed the admission of a new member to the United Nations. The veto was repeated a second time. This is an action my country had hoped it would never take. As far back as 1948, in a draft resolution sponsored by the United States representative Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg, who had served as a United States representative to the first session of the General Assembly, the United States Senate especially called on our Executive to forswear use of the veto in all questions involving the admission of new members. In 1949, the Executive Branch undertook to do just that. And so it is no small matter for us that we have felt forced to break with our practice of 30 years. The American people, and possibly peoples and Governments elsewhere, will desire an explanation.

111. This is not difficult to provide. If our specific actions today are at variance with 30 years' practice, we none the less continue to act in support of the same principle—that of universal membership in the United Nations. What has changed is our judgement that if the United States acts in an open and accepting manner as applications for member-

ship come before us, other members of the Security Council might do so as well. I believe it is fair to say that we did not change this judgement precipitously. In truth, an impartial observer might wonder that our practice persisted through a quarter-century of vetoes by others.

112. What in the end changed our mind was the decisions of the Security Council taken on 6 August [1834th meeting]. It became absolutely clear on that occasion that the Council, far from being prepared to support the principle of universal membership, was denying to one applicant even the right to have its case considered. Never before has the Council gone so far as to refuse even to consider the application of an entity so widely regarded as a State as to have been accepted as a member of numerous specialized agencies and also, on four separate occasions in the past, to have been proposed for membership by a clear majority of this same Council.

113. The Council may recall what I said speaking for my Government, on 6 August [*ibid.*]. I said that the United States had made it clear that we were prepared to vote for the admission of each and all of the three applicants then before us, which is to say that the United States would have voted for the admission of the Republic of South Korea, the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam, and I should like to take this occasion to welcome the representatives of those countries to this Council chamber.

114. Earlier that day, 6 August, a State Department spokesman had indicated that the United States would be equally willing to vote for the admission of North Korea as well. We would have done so in plain pursuit of the principle of universality. But the State Department spokesman said then, and I repeat it now, that we would have and we will have nothing to do with selective universality, a principle which in practice admits only new members acceptable to the totalitarian States. I said on that day that the action of the Security Council that day foreclosed the admission of these new applicants for the coming session of the General Assembly.

115. We clearly stated that we were prepared to act in favour of the admission of all three States were the Council prepared to adhere to the principle of universality. The Council was not so prepared; indeed, the principle of universality seems gravely imperilled by what took place here on 6 August.

116. The United Nations should be as near as possible to universal in membership. As new nations are formed, they should be seen as having a presumed right to membership, given their fealty to the Charter. It is just that principle that has brought us from an original membership of 51 to the present membership of 138. It is just that principle that will take

us still higher, for there are more than a half-dozen new nations waiting in the wings. But we must not apply partisan political tests to membership. The United Nations cannot work if we do. It is because the United States desires that it should work that we have today made the hard decision to break with our practice of 30 years and block the membership of two nations whose sponsors have refused to act equitably towards the application of another nation.

117. Mr. SALIM (United Republic of Tanzania): Mr. President, permit me also, before explaining our position, to join those of our colleagues who have preceded me in offering our congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of August. It is in no way a mere formality if I take the liberty to say that my delegation considers that, with you as its President, the Council has very promising leadership. All of us who have known you have great confidence and respect for your rich experience in diplomacy. The sense of impartiality and dedication with which you have impressed us have indeed clearly been demonstrated in the course of the important informal consultations that have taken place preceding the Security Council's formal consideration of the questions before us. Your faithful reflection of the result of these consultations at the meeting of the Council last Wednesday [*ibid.*] is a further testimony to your impartiality and has served to reinforce our confidence and respect for your presidency. May I also add that my delegation, whose country enjoys very warm relations with yours, wishes to continue in the same spirit of friendship and co-operation with your delegation in the Council, and to work closely with you for the successful discharge of your duties.

118. Allow me also to congratulate your predecessor, Mr. Plaia of Italy, on his successful fulfilment of his responsibilities during the month of July. His was also one of the difficult months when the Council, under his presidency, was threatened with the possible dramatic deterioration of the Middle East situation. Through his tact, diplomatic skill, and selfless devotion to the search for the necessary solution to that situation, he made it possible for the Council to achieve successful results. Our gratitude also goes to Mr. Cavaglieri for the active role he himself has played.

119. My delegation, like those of other non-aligned States members of the Council, has been actively involved in support of the admission to membership in the Organization of the Republic of South Viet-Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam. We were also sponsors, together with eight other members of the Council, of the two draft resolutions so eloquently introduced this morning by the representative of Guyana, Mr. Jackson—draft resolutions which have just been vetoed by the United States. For us it was both an honour and a

privilege to do that. The struggle of the Vietnamese people for independence and against foreign aggression has been one of the most glorious epics in the history of the struggle of peoples for justice and human dignity.

120. The United Republic of Tanzania has been privileged to identify itself with this struggle, and in fact we considered it our own. But our active support for the admission of the two Viet-Nams is not merely a logical extension of our identification with the noble cause of the heroic Vietnamese people. It is more than that. It stems from our conviction that the international community urgently needs their membership in the United Nations so that the Vietnamese can impart to us their great and rich experience in the search for a better and just international order.

121. Thus, depriving the two Viet-Nams of membership in the Organization is not only doing serious injury to the sacred principle of universality which is so essential for the over-all effectiveness of the United Nations, but above all, taking into account the special circumstances of the Vietnamese people's struggle, its untold sacrifices and indomitable resistance, such a denial of membership robs the Organization of an extraordinary contribution which could in more ways than one enrich the United Nations in its quest for freedom, justice, peace and security, international understanding and co-operation.

122. No words are sufficient to recount and do justice to the struggle and accomplishments of that valiant people who for 20 years have been wrongly subjected to the mightiest military Power in the world, and yet managed not only to survive—no mean feat in itself—but indeed to emerge victorious. For 20 years an attempt was made to deny the Vietnamese people permanently the rights and just aspirations to which it was entitled, and which are cherished by the United Nations. That was an attempt which, if successful, would have doomed the hope of any other peoples to be free and live in peace. It would have imposed on all of us the bizarre rule of the jungle that might is right and that might overrides any right no matter how firmly held by the world community. It would in practice have nullified all our efforts to fulfil the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. No Member of the United Nations could consider itself free if that happened.

123. By sheer determination and conviction of the justice of its cause, the Vietnamese people exposed the illusion of military might and forced the most powerful imperialist forces out of Viet-Nam. In so doing, the Vietnamese people has not only retrieved its freedom from the claws of imperialism, but also inspired all peace-loving peoples and strengthened their faith in the ultimate triumph of the ideals and goals of the Organization.

124. Speaking at a press conference in Jamaica, immediately after the liberation of Saigon, my President, Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, observed that the victory of the Vietnamese people is the victory of every freedom-loving people. It is the greatest contemporary example of valiance in the struggle for a people's liberation. He added that if Africa, which is struggling to liberate itself from foreign and racist forces, emulated the Vietnamese determination, no part of our continent would be under colonial or racist domination today.

125. The Vietnamese victory, inspiration and example are an inestimable contribution to the aspirations and efforts of the Organization. What the Vietnamese fought for it is the very duty of the United Nations to work for. It is the total realization of the right of all people on our planet to enjoy peace, security and prosperity in dignity and equality.

126. It was, therefore, the great hope and indeed the expectation of all peace-loving Members of the Organization that the victorious Vietnamese States would this year be welcome among us to bring into the United Nations their wealth of experience, the torch of inspiration and symbol of hope for the Organization. For the Vietnamese are a shining contemporary example of love for peace, freedom and the other ideals of the Charter of the United Nations. Thus—and I wish to emphasize this—it is not surprising that not a single Member of the United Nations, indeed not a single member of the Security Council, has even attempted to find fault with the qualifications of the Vietnamese States for membership in the United Nations. Yet, the will and expectations of the overwhelming majority of the world community have already been trampled underfoot. The mighty veto has once again been used to sustain the position of a minority—and in this case a rather absolute minority.

127. We have in the past expressed our serious concern at the continued misuse of the veto by some permanent members of the Security Council to defend injustice and sustain lost causes. The most recent example was the triple veto, last June, on the question of Namibia. Now once again the veto has been cast, thereby confounding the clearly expressed wishes of the international community, wishes that transcend political and ideological affiliation—as has been so eloquently expressed during the debate in the Council—wishes to welcome at last those two members of the world community into the United Nations family.

128. The veto has thus run roughshod over the legitimate right of two sovereign States to join the United Nations. The veto has been utilized effectively to defy the principle of universality of the Organization. This improper and arbitrary use of the veto cannot but attract the dismay of all peace-loving Members of the Organization.

129. The Co-ordinating Committee of the Non-Aligned Countries, meeting in New York on 7 August, articulated the collective will of the overwhelming majority of international opinion and had this in mind when it declared:

“The Co-ordinating Committee condemns all manœuvres aimed at preventing the admission to the United Nations of the Republic of South Viet-Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam.

“In this connexion, the Co-ordinating Committee protests the position of the United States Government, which aims to impede the admission to the United Nations of the Republic of South Viet-Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam. Such an action runs counter to the clearly expressed will of the great majority of world opinion.” [S/11793.]

130. Members of the Council are only too aware of the many flimsy, extraneous and erroneous excuses that have been made in an effort to rationalize the manœuvres calculated to frustrate the admission to the United Nations of the Republic of South Viet-Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam. An attempt has been made to introduce an extraneous condition for the admission of the two Vietnamese States. The “out of the blue” application for the régime in South Korea for membership soon after it was learned that the Vietnamese States had made their application was part of this scheme. This application was to be used as an obstacle to the applications of the two Vietnamese States. It was flimsily sought to tie the admission of the two Vietnamese States to that of the régime of South Korea—knowing very well that, for very legitimate and obvious reasons, the Council could not accept the application of that régime.

131. The Charter is very clear on the conditions for admission of new Members; those conditions are exhaustive. The exhaustive nature of the conditions laid down in the Charter was unequivocally affirmed by two organs of the United Nations. First, the International Court of Justice in 1948 gave an advisory opinion⁴ to the effect that the conditions laid down in Article 4, paragraph 1, of the Charter for admission of new Members are exhaustive and that therefore the admission of an applicant could not be conditional upon the admission of another applicant. Secondly, the General Assembly on 8 December 1948 adopted resolution 197 (III), calling for the strict application of Article 4, paragraph 1, of the Charter and the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice in all subsequent cases.

132. In the light of attempts to make the admission of the two Viet-Nams dependent on the admission of the régime in South Korea, it is pertinent to recapitulate what the advisory opinion, endorsed by the General Assembly, stipulated the following:

“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.”⁴

133. It has been said that the Security Council has nevertheless on a number of occasions departed from the Charter and relevant resolutions of the General Assembly. In the first place, all those departures were illegal—and no illegal act can justify subsequent illegal acts. Whoever were parties to such illegal practices, those of us who joined the United Nations later cannot be subjected to such extraordinarily bad precedents. We entirely reject practices which lead to the denial of rights of prospective members and so undermine the Charter of the United Nations. We unequivocally reject the so-called package deals concept.

134. Secondly, the era in which such practice took place was during the so-called coldest days of the cold war. A lot has been and is currently being said about détente and its implications. We are told that gone are the days of the cold war. How can one interpret attempts to reintroduce the discredited methods and practices of the cold war in an era when détente is so prominently emphasized? What have the applications of the Vietnamese States to do with that of the régime in South Korea?

135. Some of our colleagues here have used the expression “non-discrimination” in an attempt to rationalize the manoeuvres against the admission the Vietnamese States. This is a totally fallacious application of that principle. Have the two Vietnamese States discriminated against anybody to deserve a veto of their applications? Where is the justice? Is it not a fact that the Vietnamese States are now the subject of gross discrimination? The invoking of the principle of non-discrimination by those who have determinedly sought to frustrate the admission of the two Viet-Nams is, to say the least, a desperate distortion of that principle. We submit that no amount of word juggling can provide the slightest smoke-screen for such unfortunate manoeuvres.

136. Similarly, it is a ridicule of the principle of universality of the Organization to invoke that prin-

ciple in order to prevent its very application. If the rejection of the admission of the two Vietnamese States which have fully qualified for membership—and nobody has denied that—constitutes the implementation of that principle, then I must admit words have assumed totally different meanings.

137. The issue of Korea is a totally extraneous and different problem. That problem is currently under consideration in the General Assembly. South Korea, as the Organization knows and recognizes, is an entity carved out of what the Korean people know and maintain is one Korea. Neither the Korean people nor the Organization has accepted the permanency of two Koreas, artificially divided by external forces. Indeed, in spite of the adverse situation, the two sides of Korea affirmed the inadmissibility of two Korea when they jointly stated in their communiqué of 4 July 1972 that they would both work peacefully towards the reunification of their country. That communiqué was warmly welcomed by the Organization in a General Assembly decision of 1973² and in General Assembly resolution 3333 (XXIX). The resolution and the decision are not only a recognition of the need to respect the wishes of the Korean people for the reunification of Korea, but also actions intended to promote and assist the efforts at reunification.

138. Consequently, the act of the South Korean régime in applying for membership in the Organization—which, in effect, is an attempt to ask the Organization to recognize the existence of two separate Korean States—is clearly contrary to the spirit of the decisions adopted by the General Assembly in 1973 and 1974; these were decisions which were adopted by consensus and which can certainly be considered as promoting the just struggle of the Korean people for national reunification. It would have been highly irresponsible for the Security Council to entertain such an application. While of course every member of the Council is free to act in accordance with its Government’s directives, the Council certainly demands an explanation as to why it should so suddenly defy the General Assembly and disregard the joint communiqué and the wishes of the Korean people. We have not received that explanation, and there can be none that would justify such an act by the Council.

139. An explanation for the championship of the South Korean application by those of our Council colleagues who have tried to link this with the applications of the Republic of South Viet-Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam does exist, and it is conspicuous. It is simply an excuse, and a lame one, to prevent the two Vietnamese States from joining the United Nations. It is indeed a deplorable tactic which is devoid of even the semblance of logic.

140. This has not been a moment of triumph for the United Nations. The absolute disregard of what

clearly constitutes the general will of the Members of the Organization is another painful reminder of how far we have to go to improve the effectiveness of the Organization. We are on the verge of commencing very important sessions of the General Assembly. Since the last session—and, in fact, in the course of the last session—we heard a lot of sermons, some well-meaning, some cynical, and some hypocritical, on the need to work together and avoid confrontations.

141. There has been a lot of misrepresentation—more often than not, deliberately contrived—regarding the so-called tyranny of the majority. We have maintained, and continue to do so, that such allegations are as unfounded as they are mischievous. We have always argued, and we shall continue to do so, in favour of co-operation and accommodation. But the *sine qua non* for that is that the minority, which has often in the past wanted to impose its way, should change that attitude. That remains our firm position, and it is a matter of profound regret to my delegation that in the veto cast by the United States, thus blocking the membership of the two Viet-Nams, we have what we can consider a classic example of the perpetuation of the tyranny of the minority in the Organization. And we submit that this imposition is in total defiance of all logic and legality. We fervently hope that the United States will reconsider its attitude on this question, as we certainly hope that this is not a preview of things to come.

142. Mr. SALAZAR (Costa Rica) (*interpretation from Spanish*): My delegation deems it appropriate to explain the reasons why we abstained in the votes just held. What is known as the principle of universality of the Organization has always had the warm support of Costa Rica. My delegation's policy has been to have an open mind towards any application by a nation that considers itself qualified for United Nations membership. If a nation believes that it meets the requirements laid down by the Charter and submits an application to be admitted as a Member of the Organization, the least that may be expected is that its request will be submitted to all the procedures established in the Charter and in the provisional rules of procedure of the Council, up to the final stage.

143. Without prejudice to an examination of the merits of each applicant, we consider that the principle of universality must be applied even-handedly and equally in any given situation, such as the one which arose recently in the Council when several applications for membership were simultaneously submitted to it. A correct understanding of the facts is rendered impossible when, instead, in such a situation, the principle of universality is interpreted as favouring some nations and not others. My delegation does not feel that it can give its support to this type of interpretation.

144. We cannot overlook the fact that the matter before the Council today originated with a procedure

initiated at the meeting when the Council had before it the applications for membership of three nations [1834th meeting]. My delegation considers, as we have stated, that equal treatment should be given to each one of the applications, without differentiating between them, and we were prepared to continue to support all three.

145. Nevertheless, a majority of the Council agreed to reject *ad portas* the application of one nation, which, in our opinion, at least had the right to the same treatment as the other two until at the present meeting of the Council we had completed the procedure indicated in the Charter and the provisional rules of procedure. Here, at this final stage we are not disputing the right of every member of the Council to approve or reject a given application.

146. In other words, without passing judgement on what the final result should be, my delegation felt itself committed from the start to promoting the three applications for membership, as long as the same procedural treatment was afforded each of them. But since the Council refused to consider one application, we felt that we were no longer committed to the other two applications because, may I repeat, we can never go along with a one-sided discriminatory approach to universality which distorts its very essence.

147. Mr. HUANG Hua (China) (*translation from Chinese*): At the Security Council meeting of 6 August [*ibid.*], the Chinese delegation made a statement in explanation of our vote on the question of the agenda. In view of the result of the vote on the substantive question at today's meeting, and in view of the fact that the representatives of certain countries have again spoken in defence of the so-called application of South Korea and a so called package deal, we deem it necessary to reiterate our position on the related questions.

148. We have consistently held that the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is the sole legal sovereign State of the Korean nation. The Park Chung Hee clique of South Korea is not qualified at all to apply for membership in the United Nations.

149. Meanwhile, it is known to all that, in the case of the applications of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Republic of South Viet-Nam for membership in the United Nations, the two sides had prior agreement between themselves. The same is true of the admission of the two German States to membership in the United Nations.

150. The case of Korea, however, is completely different. It is the common aspiration of the entire Korean people to realize the peaceful reunification of their fatherland at an early date. The North and South joint communiqué agreed upon in 1972 affirmed the three principles for the independent

and peaceful reunification of Korea. The decision on the Korean question adopted by consensus at the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly¹ also clearly affirmed the need to promote the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea on the basis of the three principles. And the presence of the "United Nations Command" and the continued stationing of foreign troops in South Korea constitute precisely the "interference" of "outside force" which should be done away with as provided for in the aforementioned three principles. To honour the joint agreement between the North and South of Korea and to implement the decision adopted by consensus at the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly, the so-called United Nations Command should have long been dissolved and all the foreign troops withdrawn from South Korea, so that the entire Korean people might resolve independently the question of the peaceful reunification of their country without interference of outside force.

151. This time, when the Security Council is considering the application of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the application of the Republic of South Viet-Nam, the United States Government, brushing aside all this, has arbitrarily tried to link them up with the completely irrelevant question of the admission of South Korea into the United Nations for a so-called package deal. This is not only in complete violation of the explicit provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and the relevant resolution of the General Assembly, but also in glaring contradiction with the principle agreed upon between North and South Korea that "great national unity should be promoted "first of all as one nation, transcending the differences of ideology, ideal and system. This is simply designed to consolidate and perpetuate the division of Korea. That of course is absolutely unacceptable to the entire Korean people and all the justice-upholding countries and peoples throughout the world. It is only natural that the unreasonable idea of a so-called package deal has been rejected by the Council.

152. In his five-point proposition put forward in June 1973, President Kim Il Sung pointed out that the North and the South should not enter the United Nations separately and that if they want to enter the United Nations before reunification of the country is achieved, they should enter it as one State at least under the name of the Confederal Republic of Koryo after the confederation is enforced. The Chinese Government firmly supports this just and reasonable position.

153. The 3000-ri expanse of Korean territory is an integral whole. The Korean people's determination to reunify their fatherland is firm and unshakable. We are deeply convinced that the Korean people will certainly triumph in their just struggle for the independent peaceful reunification of their fatherland.

154. After the Security Council rejected the inclusion in the agenda of an item on the so-called application of the Park Chung Hee clique of South Korea, the representative of the United States, in continued disregard of the Charter of the United Nations, General Assembly resolution 3333 (XXIX) and the will of the overwhelming majority of the States members of the Council, has used the Council's legitimate rejection of its proposed "package deal" as a pretext for resorting to the veto to obstruct the admission of the Republic of South Viet-Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam into the United Nations. Such a practice is most unreasonable. The Chinese delegation cannot but express deep regret at that act, and we deem it necessary to point out that, by such an unreasonable act, the United States, far from doing any harm to the Vietnamese people, can only find itself in greater isolation before the people of the world. We are convinced that the Vietnamese people will certainly win greater victories in their just cause.

155. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): The Soviet delegation cannot fail to express its deepest regret at the fact that a negative vote has been cast by a permanent member of the Security Council and, therefore, the draft resolutions sponsored by the nine States members of the Security Council on the admission to the United Nations of the Republic of South Viet-Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, which received 13 votes, were not adopted. Those who today blocked the admission to the United Nations of the two new States failed to heed the majority of the members of the Security Council and the United Nations membership and have ignored the realities of the present-day world; it is to be regretted that by their negative vote they showed their scorn and lack of respect for the people of Viet-Nam and their courage and the tremendous sacrifices paid by that people in the struggle for their national independence and liberty.

156. In order to justify to the outside world this negative position on the question of the admission to membership of these two States, they invented an invalid and completely baseless pretext—that is, trying to link the question of the admission of these two Vietnamese peoples with the Korean matter, the question of the possible admission of South Korea to membership in the Organization.

157. As our delegation stated at the meeting held on 6 August [1834th meeting]—and this is a position that was also echoed by a number of other members of the Security Council—the admission of the Republic of South Viet-Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam to membership in the United Nations has absolutely no relation to the Korean problem or the question of the possible admission of South Korea to membership in the United Nations.

158. In this connexion, we must once again point out and emphasize, as a number of those who have spoken at this meeting have done, that the practice which has arisen of admitting to membership in the United Nations States whose territories are divided consists of the fact that they are admitted only—and I emphasize “only”—if both have expressed the wish and mutual agreement to become Members of the United Nations. Between the two Vietnamese peoples there is complete agreement on this point. Unlike the South and North Vietnamese peoples, North and South Korea do not have concordant views about being Members of the United Nations. It is quite obvious that to link the question of the admission to membership in the United Nations of North and South Viet-Nam with a completely extraneous matter cannot but be regarded as a deliberate attempt to complicate and frustrate a positive decision on the admission of the two Vietnamese States to the United Nations.

159. We all know what the differences are between the two Koreas on becoming Members of the United Nations. North Korea is in favour of the further relaxation of international tensions on the Korean peninsula and of ensuring that the necessary conditions are brought about for the democratic development of the country so that a united Korea can become part of the international community and a Member of the United Nations.

160. Nor can we fail to note the fact that those who today blocked the admission of the Republic of South Viet-Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam to membership in the United Nations have in fact, in their words, spoken out in favour of dialogue between North and South Korea in order to bring about a peaceful reunification. That is, at least, what appears in the official joint communiqué of the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of Japan published recently in the American press subsequent to the visit of the Prime Minister of Japan to the United States. But in reality, insistence upon the separate admission of Korea to the United Nations has the single aim of furthering the dismemberment of Korea. One thing is being said while another is being done.

161. The position of the Soviet Union on this question is well known. It has frequently been expounded at sessions of the General Assembly and at meetings of the Security Council, including the last meeting of the Council. We shall not repeat it here. We shall say only one thing: that linking questions that are essentially different is a deliberate step that does not strengthen the United Nations but on the contrary helps to undermine it.

162. Those who put barriers in the way of the admission of the Republic of South Viet-Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam to the United Nations speak a great deal about the universality of the United Nations. They allege they are in favour

of that impeccable principle and are in practice opposed to a selective approach in implementing it. Unfortunately, it must be noted that their actions are completely discordant with their words. In this connexion, we might recall the history of the admission to the United Nations of many States, when it was precisely a selective approach to the principle of universality that closed the door in the face of many States, and primarily the socialist States.

163. We all know that, because of such a policy and practice, for almost 10 years after the founding of the United Nations hardly a single new Member was admitted. It has been recalled here that the party that used the veto had never done so before when voting on draft resolutions on the admission of new Members to the United Nations. But back in those days there was no need for them to use their veto. At that time I myself was in the Security Council, representing my country, and the situation was as follows. There were 18 applications for membership before the Council. The first came from Albania. I alone voted in favour of that application, whereas 10 members abstained. And so there was no need to use the veto. It was enough to abstain, and the necessary number of votes for the admission of a socialist State were not to be found. So the veto was not used. Now, of course, the situation has changed. A new majority has emerged in the United Nations that assumes a correct posture on questions of admission to membership in the United Nations. Therefore those who were against the admission of socialist States to the United Nations—in this case, the two Vietnamese States—now have to apply the veto for the first time in the history of the United Nations.

164. In those days, our country was willing to find a way out of the deadlock, and an attempt was made to get out of the situation that had arisen. There arose the idea of admitting to membership in a package deal those who wanted to become Members of the United Nations. I happen to have some notes here on one such meeting in the Security Council. In 1948, at the 204th meeting of the Council, the representative of Poland submitted a draft resolution for the simultaneous admission of five States—Bulgaria, Finland, Hungary, Italy and Romania. What did Australia, the United States and the United Kingdom do? They voted against it, and the main argument put forward in their statements at the time was that the question of their admission should be taken up separately for each State, one at a time, and not in a “package”.

165. Here is a second example. In 1949, at the 428th meeting of the Council, the representative of the Soviet Union submitted a draft resolution for the joint admission of 12 States, which seemed at the time to be the only answer to the problem facing the Council. When it came to the vote on a socialist State being accepted for membership in the United Nations, we witnessed a conspiracy of

abstentions. The necessary number of votes could not be mustered. In reply to the proposal of the Soviet Union on the admission of 12 States, the representative of the United States made a counter proposal that the Council should consider and vote individually each of the requests of those countries. That was the actual picture. So why should we change the position now and insist that a package deal be accepted? If one is consistent, there is absolutely no reason to link the admission of the two Vietnamese States with the Korean question and the possibility of admitting South Korea as a Member.

166. However, with the passage of time, actually, with the passage of 10 years' time, justice has finally triumphed and reigns supreme. History shows that obstructionist policy does not yield the desired results. In the final analysis, it simply damages those who uphold such a policy. We are certain that the just cause of the Republic of South Viet-Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam will triumph, and in the end the Security Council will recommend to the General Assembly that it admit to membership in the United Nations these two sovereign socialist States. The sooner that is done, the better it will be for the good name of the Security Council and the United Nations as a whole.

167. The PRESIDENT: The list of speakers has now been exhausted. I should therefore like to revert to the subject I mentioned earlier relating to the

special report which the Security Council must, in accordance with the third paragraph of rule 60 of its provisional rules of procedure, submit to the General Assembly when it does not recommend an applicant State for membership. In the meantime, the draft text of an appropriate report has been circulated around the Council table. That text has been prepared by the Secretariat in accordance with the request I made earlier at this meeting.

168. Does any member of the Council wish to make any comment or observation on the draft special report to the General Assembly? If not there being no objection, I shall take it that the Security Council approves the special report to the General Assembly called for in rule 60 of the provisional rules of procedure.⁵

It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 6.20 p.m.

Notes

¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 27*, annex 1.

² *Ibid.*, *Twenty-eighth Session, Supplement No. 30*, p. 24, item 41.

³ United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 935, p. 16.

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

⁵ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirtieth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 22, document A/10179.

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60
61
62
63
64
65
66
67
68
69
70
71
72
73
74
75
76
77
78
79
80
81
82
83
84
85
86
87
88
89
90
91
92
93
94
95
96
97
98
99
100
101
102
103
104
105
106
107
108
109
110
111
112
113
114
115
116
117
118
119
120
121
122
123
124
125
126
127
128
129
130
131
132
133
134
135
136
137
138
139
140
141
142
143
144
145
146
147
148
149
150
151
152
153
154
155
156
157
158
159
160
161
162
163
164
165
166
167
168
169
170
171
172
173
174
175
176
177
178
179
180
181
182
183
184
185
186
187
188
189
190
191
192
193
194
195
196
197
198
199
200
201
202
203
204
205
206
207
208
209
210
211
212
213
214
215
216
217
218
219
220
221
222
223
224
225
226
227
228
229
230
231
232
233
234
235
236
237
238
239
240
241
242
243
244
245
246
247
248
249
250
251
252
253
254
255
256
257
258
259
260
261
262
263
264
265
266
267
268
269
270
271
272
273
274
275
276
277
278
279
280
281
282
283
284
285
286
287
288
289
290
291
292
293
294
295
296
297
298
299
300
301
302
303
304
305
306
307
308
309
310
311
312
313
314
315
316
317
318
319
320
321
322
323
324
325
326
327
328
329
330
331
332
333
334
335
336
337
338
339
340
341
342
343
344
345
346
347
348
349
350
351
352
353
354
355
356
357
358
359
360
361
362
363
364
365
366
367
368
369
370
371
372
373
374
375
376
377
378
379
380
381
382
383
384
385
386
387
388
389
390
391
392
393
394
395
396
397
398
399
400
401
402
403
404
405
406
407
408
409
410
411
412
413
414
415
416
417
418
419
420
421
422
423
424
425
426
427
428
429
430
431
432
433
434
435
436
437
438
439
440
441
442
443
444
445
446
447
448
449
450
451
452
453
454
455
456
457
458
459
460
461
462
463
464
465
466
467
468
469
470
471
472
473
474
475
476
477
478
479
480
481
482
483
484
485
486
487
488
489
490
491
492
493
494
495
496
497
498
499
500
501
502
503
504
505
506
507
508
509
510
511
512
513
514
515
516
517
518
519
520
521
522
523
524
525
526
527
528
529
530
531
532
533
534
535
536
537
538
539
540
541
542
543
544
545
546
547
548
549
550
551
552
553
554
555
556
557
558
559
560
561
562
563
564
565
566
567
568
569
570
571
572
573
574
575
576
577
578
579
580
581
582
583
584
585
586
587
588
589
590
591
592
593
594
595
596
597
598
599
600
601
602
603
604
605
606
607
608
609
610
611
612
613
614
615
616
617
618
619
620
621
622
623
624
625
626
627
628
629
630
631
632
633
634
635
636
637
638
639
640
641
642
643
644
645
646
647
648
649
650
651
652
653
654
655
656
657
658
659
660
661
662
663
664
665
666
667
668
669
670
671
672
673
674
675
676
677
678
679
680
681
682
683
684
685
686
687
688
689
690
691
692
693
694
695
696
697
698
699
700
701
702
703
704
705
706
707
708
709
710
711
712
713
714
715
716
717
718
719
720
721
722
723
724
725
726
727
728
729
730
731
732
733
734
735
736
737
738
739
740
741
742
743
744
745
746
747
748
749
750
751
752
753
754
755
756
757
758
759
760
761
762
763
764
765
766
767
768
769
770
771
772
773
774
775
776
777
778
779
780
781
782
783
784
785
786
787
788
789
790
791
792
793
794
795
796
797
798
799
800
801
802
803
804
805
806
807
808
809
810
811
812
813
814
815
816
817
818
819
820
821
822
823
824
825
826
827
828
829
830
831
832
833
834
835
836
837
838
839
840
841
842
843
844
845
846
847
848
849
850
851
852
853
854
855
856
857
858
859
860
861
862
863
864
865
866
867
868
869
870
871
872
873
874
875
876
877
878
879
880
881
882
883
884
885
886
887
888
889
890
891
892
893
894
895
896
897
898
899
900
901
902
903
904
905
906
907
908
909
910
911
912
913
914
915
916
917
918
919
920
921
922
923
924
925
926
927
928
929
930
931
932
933
934
935
936
937
938
939
940
941
942
943
944
945
946
947
948
949
950
951
952
953
954
955
956
957
958
959
960
961
962
963
964
965
966
967
968
969
970
971
972
973
974
975
976
977
978
979
980
981
982
983
984
985
986
987
988
989
990
991
992
993
994
995
996
997
998
999
1000

كيفية الحصول على منشورات الأمم المتحدة

يمكن الحصول على منشورات الأمم المتحدة من المكتبات ودور التوزيع في جميع أنحاء العالم . استعلم عنها من المكتبة التي تتعامل معها
أو اكتب إلى : الأمم المتحدة ، قسم البيع في نيويورك أو في جنيف .

如何购取联合国出版物

联合国出版物在全世界各地的书店和经售处均有发售。请向书店询问或写信到纽约或日内瓦的联合国销售组。

HOW TO OBTAIN UNITED NATIONS PUBLICATIONS

United Nations publications may be obtained from bookstores and distributors throughout the world. Consult your bookstore or write to: United Nations, Sales Section, New York or Geneva.

COMMENT SE PROCURER LES PUBLICATIONS DES NATIONS UNIES

Les publications des Nations Unies sont en vente dans les librairies et les agences dépositaires du monde entier. Informez-vous auprès de votre libraire ou adressez-vous à : Nations Unies, Section des ventes, New York ou Genève.

КАК ПОЛУЧИТЬ ИЗДАНИЯ ОРГАНИЗАЦИИ ОБЪЕДИНЕННЫХ НАЦИЙ

Издания Организации Объединенных Наций можно купить в книжных магазинах и агентствах во всех районах мира. Наводите справки об изданиях в вашем книжном магазине или пишите по адресу: Организация Объединенных Наций, Секция по продаже изданий, Нью-Йорк или Женева.

COMO CONSEGUIR PUBLICACIONES DE LAS NACIONES UNIDAS

Las publicaciones de las Naciones Unidas están en venta en librerías y casas distribuidoras en todas partes del mundo. Consulte a su librero o dirijase a: Naciones Unidas, Sección de Ventas, Nueva York o Ginebra.
