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Chairman: Prince WAN WAITHAYAKON (Thailand).

AGENDA ITEM 21

**Admission of new Members to the United Nations:
reports of the Security Council and of the
Committee of Good Offices (A/2973, A/AC.80/
L.3/Rev.1) (*continued*)**

1. Mr. NUÑEZ PORTUONDO (Cuba) believed the admission of new Members to be the most important question to come before the United Nations in the ten years of its existence. Cuba considered it a duty to warn the peace-loving peoples of the world that adoption of the proposal for the simultaneous admission of eighteen States would mean a triumph for international Communism.

2. The draft resolution introduced by Canada (A/AC.80/L.3/Rev.1) departed from normal practice in that it did not name the applicant States to be considered for membership by the Security Council. Furthermore, it entailed reconsideration of General Assembly resolutions 296 G (IV) and 620 C (VII) by excluding consideration of the Republics of Korea and Viet-Nam, which had applied for admission and had been found qualified. It also excluded the Federal Republic of Germany, which had not applied. By doing so, it paved the way for great political injustice and it set a very grave precedent.

3. Both the Republic of Korea and Viet-Nam had been the victims of Communist aggression. In the first case, that aggression had been recognized by the United Nations and the armed forces of fifteen Member States had come to the defence of their Korean ally. North Korea and Communist China had been declared aggressors by the United Nations, and it was they that bore responsibility for the failure to unify Korea. It was difficult to justify the exclusion of the Republic of Korea from the United Nations by arguing that North Korea could not be admitted because it was an enemy State under Soviet domination. Similarly, the territory of Viet-Nam had been partitioned by force of arms and that was no grounds for denying it membership. In Germany, the Soviet Union had taken over the eastern part of the country illegally and had set up a Government which in no way represented the population. The repeated efforts of the great Powers to bring about German unification had been frustrated by the Soviet Union, which set communization of the country as a precedent.

4. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics), intervening on a point of order, pointed out that the German question was not under discussion and that, under the Charter, the Assembly was not competent to discuss it. Moreover, neither part of Germany was among the States which had applied for membership in the United Nations. Any reference to the German question was therefore clearly out of order.

5. The CHAIRMAN pointed out that the item entitled "Admission of New Members to the United Nations" was broader than the subject of applications for membership and more general than the subject of the joint draft resolution. Accordingly, he did not feel that he could rule the Cuban representative's reference out of order but he would appeal to him to dispose of it very briefly.

6. Mr. NUÑEZ PORTUONDO (Cuba), resuming his statement, emphasized that the joint draft resolution represented the triumph of the "package deal", which had been opposed by the majority of the Assembly and by the permanent members of the Security Council. In that connexion, he cited statements made during the First Committee debates at the sixth session by the representatives of the United Kingdom (496th meeting) and the United States (497th meeting) strongly deprecating any "package deal" and insisting, in line with the advisory opinion handed down by the International Court of Justice in May 1948¹ that each application for membership should be considered separately, on its merits, in order to determine whether the applicant State fulfilled the membership requirements laid down in Article 4, and that admission of any one State should not be made conditional on the admission of any other. The United States representative had pointed out, in particular, that Italy, the Republic of Korea and Libya, which had special claims to United Nations membership, risked exclusion from the Organization solely because of Soviet opposition. It was now proposed, by approving the simultaneous admission of eighteen States, to surrender to the Soviet Union and to give it the satisfaction of seeing its satellites secure the votes which had so consistently been refused them. Indeed, that was the object of the Soviet amendment (A/AC.80/L.5); moreover, it implicitly vetoed the applications for membership of the Republic of Korea, Viet-Nam and the Federal Republic of Germany because they had resisted attempts at communist domination.

7. In view of the position taken by the sponsors and supporters of the joint draft resolution, to the effect that the proposal was a compromise between the requirements of the Charter and political realities, and of their implicit acceptance of the Soviet contention that the four Balkan States and the Mongolian People's Republic were peace-loving States, qualified for membership, the Cuban delegation felt bound to protest and to point out the dangerous implications of that position.

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

It was tantamount to a nullification of Article 4 of the Charter and of the International Court's advisory opinion. It meant, for example, by inference, that the Mongolian People's Republic was considered to be as fully qualified for membership as Italy.

8. The Cuban amendments (A/AC.80/L.7 and Corr.1) were intended to correct an important omission in the joint draft resolution: reference to the conditions laid down in Article 4. The "widest possible membership" was never meant to include States that were not peace-loving and that did not fulfil the further conditions prescribed by the Charter. The Cuban amendment (A/AC.80/L.8) to the USSR amendment was based on the fact that the Republic of Korea and Viet-Nam had already been declared by the Assembly to be qualified applicants, despite Soviet opposition. The Assembly could hardly justify the omission of those States from the roster of applicants which the Security Council was being asked to consider.

9. Cuba was opposed to the admission of the four Balkan States and the Mongolian People's Republic. The Governments which had generally been recognized to be puppet régimes imposed by the Red Army had not overnight become the legitimate representatives of their peoples. Cuba's opposition was consistent with the views expressed by the General Assembly in earlier resolutions. The Assembly had unequivocally condemned Hungary, Bulgaria and Romania for failure to respect human rights and the fundamental rules of international law. By other resolutions, it had disqualified those States from membership in the United Nations. Membership in the United Nations entailed obligations to comply with international treaties, respect freedom of expression, thought and religion, and observe the basic rules of civilized society. The Balkan States which the United Nations was now being asked to admit had openly and consistently violated all those obligations.

10. The *Ad Hoc* Committee on Forced Labour, established under Economic and Social Council resolution 350 (XII), had stated in paragraph 133 of its report (E/2431) that Bulgarian penal legislation could constitute the basis of a system of forced labour aiming at the political correction and re-education of those opposed to the political ideology of the Government and that Bulgarian administrative law made provision for a system of detention with compulsory labour imposed by the administrative authorities; that the law was expressly aimed at the opponents of the established political order and that the application of the law resulted in a system of forced or corrective labour employed as a means of political coercion. The Committee had reached similar conclusions concerning the situation in Romania and Hungary, where the administrative authorities could sentence persons to forced labour without the intervention of a court of law. In paragraph 549 of its report, the Committee had said that a system of forced labour as a means of political coercion was found to exist in its fullest and most dangerous form where it was expressly directed against people of a particular "class" and even against political "ideas" or "attitudes", and it had found that such a system was by its very nature a violation of the fundamental rights of the human person as guaranteed by the United Nations Charter and proclaimed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. In the circumstances, should the United Nations admit the satellite States to membership and thus disregard the provisions of the Charter and of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights?

11. Religious freedom was not observed in the States under Soviet control. Lenin had called religion the opium of the people and Stalin, in an exchange of views with United States labour leaders in 1927, had asserted that communism was opposed to all religions. A constant anti-religious campaign had been waged in the countries within the Soviet orbit and while the applicants might now declare their willingness to give effect to the provisions of the Charter concerning human rights and fundamental freedoms, so long as there was no change in the Soviet Union's policy, there was no prospect that conditions in the satellite States would improve.

12. The Governments of Albania, Romania, Hungary and Bulgaria had mounted the attack against the Roman Catholic Church in three stages. Efforts had first been concentrated on disrupting religious ceremonies, arresting Church dignitaries, exerting economic pressure on the clergy and promoting an intensive campaign in the Press and over the radio. During the second stage, the religious Press had been subjected to censorship and confiscation. The clergy had been spied upon and their sermons censored, laying the Church open to Communist infiltration. The third stage, involving the total or partial suppression of the Church or its manipulation as a Communist front, had been characterized by deportations, arrests, the closing of Church-controlled schools and the installation of pro-Communists in the pulpit. At that stage, religious youth and charitable groups had been dissolved. According to the 1949 census, over 95 per cent of the population of Hungary had been of religious persuasion and for that reason, the Communist Government in Hungary had devoted strenuous efforts to the destruction of all forms of religious belief, particularly the Roman Catholic faith. Religious orders had been abolished, the Papal Nuncio and other Catholic dignitaries had been expelled from the country and road-side chapels had been destroyed. In addition, a campaign of persecution had been launched against Cardinal Mindszenty for his strong opposition to the Government's efforts to destroy religion, particularly the confiscation of religious schools. It was now alleged that Cardinal Mindszenty had been released from prison, which, even if true, would not justify his trial on trumped-up charges and his subsequent torture. In actual fact, recent Press reports showed that Cardinal Mindszenty was still in custody.

13. Yet that same Hungarian Government, which had been condemned by the United Nations and had launched a campaign of violent oppression against the Church, was now applying for admission to the United Nations. By granting Hungary's application the Assembly would be sanctioning that country's actions against the Catholic Church and its dignitaries in Hungary.

14. A similar campaign of oppression had been waged against Moslems. Approximately five million Moslems had been sent to forced labour camps in the Soviet Union and in Romania most of the Moslem leaders had been arrested and charged with failing to obey regulations governing the practice of religion. In many instances, their fate was still unknown. In Albania, where 70 per cent of the population was of Moslem faith, efforts had been made first to persuade the people that Islam and the teachings of Marx and Lenin were not incompatible.

15. Protestants and Jews in the satellite countries had also been persecuted, their schools closed and their leaders removed from office, to be replaced by Communist sympathizers. When the people had refused to

accept the Communist appointees, the Governments had arrested and exiled Protestant leaders and dissolved Protestant charitable organizations in reprisal. The Bulgarian Government had arrested fifteen Protestant ministers and condemned them to prison, while others had been sentenced to forced labour. The Romanian Government, in approving statutes for the organization and operation of churches of various Protestant sects, had prohibited them from having contacts with similar organizations in other countries.

16. A further example of the readiness of Albania for membership was to be found in the Corfu Channel case. In 1946, in time of peace, the Albanian Government had sown mines in the Corfu Channel and had caused extensive damage and loss of life to British shipping and personnel. The International Court of Justice, in its judgment of 15 December 1949², had found Albania at fault and had awarded the United Kingdom damages amounting to about £840,000. The Albanian Government had refused to comply with the judgment or to pay the damages. It was difficult to understand how the United Kingdom representative could suggest that Albania should be admitted to the United Nations as a peace-loving State when it had been condemned by the International Court of Justice as just the contrary. The Court's advisory opinions, and especially that of 30 March 1950³, provided evidence of violations by the Governments of Bulgaria, Hungary, Romania and Albania of the most elementary principles of international law.

17. He had information, which he would make available to delegations upon request, to show that there were 198 slave labour camps in Hungary, 98 in Romania and 97 in Bulgaria. He had no information on the number of such camps in the Mongolian People's Republic, but had serious reservations concerning its qualifications as a sovereign State within the meaning of Article 4 of the Charter. He doubted whether the Chinese delegation, whatever pressure it was subjected to, would accept the entry of the Mongolian People's Republic, since to do so might be to open the door to such States as the People's Republic of China, which the Organization had repeatedly refused to accept.

18. He noted certain newspaper articles claiming that the Latin American group of States unanimously advocated the entry of the eighteen applicants. The Latin American group was certainly a geographical entity and had a president, who was alone empowered to speak on its behalf. The admission of eighteen new members with no previous guarantee that the rights of the Latin American States to continue their present level of participation in various organs of the General Assembly would be a tacit abandonment of rights; the delegations concerned would have to consult their Governments and he could not engage their future responsibility unless the requisite guarantees were forthcoming.

19. The Soviet Union had made much propaganda concerning the admission of new Members, but reference to Security Council records would show that, in fact, it was the Soviet Union which had consistently blocked the admission of a number of genuinely peace-loving States. Now the Soviet Union wished to delude public opinion into the belief that the entry of new Members was being prevented by the opposition of other States.

² *Corfu Channel case, Judgment of December 15th, 1949: I.C.J. Reports 1949, p. 244.*

³ *Interpretation of Peace Treaties, Advisory Opinion: I.C.J. Reports 1950, p. 65.*

20. His delegation had always maintained that there should be no veto on the admission of new Members. It was ludicrous to say that Spain, Italy and Portugal could not gain admission unless Albania, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria and the Mongolian People's Republic were also accepted. The admission of States which were not peace-loving was a violation of Article 4 of the Charter, and, in any case, the provision that a prior recommendation of the Security Council was required did not imply that that recommendation must necessarily be positive. If the General Assembly voted on applications for admission, any genuinely peace-loving State should be able to gain admission to the Organization even if one of the permanent members of the Security Council had voted against it, always provided that it had obtained seven favourable votes in the Security Council.

21. His delegation was unimpressed by the argument that principles must be sacrificed to obtain the admission of certain States which had a perfect right to be in the United Nations. That argument could be valid only if no other legal means existed for ensuring the admission of those States.

22. Mr. NASZKOWSKI (Poland) deplored the Cuban representative's attitude when the admission of new Members might well lead to a general improvement in international relations. The deadlock on admissions was not due to any fundamental objections to enlarging the Organization, but was merely the result of the attitude of certain groups of States which were opposed to the admission of other States whose systems of government were different from their own. That was contrary to the elementary principles of the Organization, which had been established to promote co-operation among States having different systems of government. His delegation would welcome the admission of all the States which had been waiting for many years; on some of them it had reservations, but it agreed that it was in the interests of the Organization to admit all candidates. Indeed, the fact that so many countries fulfilling the required conditions had not obtained admission was bound to detract from the Organization's efficiency. He noted with satisfaction that that fact had been widely appreciated.

23. The draft resolution (A/AC.80/L.3/Rev.1) did not designate the candidates but made it clear that any form of discrimination was excluded and that it was proposed to admit all the eighteen applicants, and to leave aside the question of the divided States of Korea and Viet-Nam.

24. He disagreed with the Netherlands and United Kingdom representatives that to specify the names of States would be to impose a decision on the Security Council. In his view adoption of the draft resolution would represent the taking of a standpoint by the General Assembly and would thus constitute a recommendation which the Security Council must take into account.

25. He regretted that the Cuban amendments (A/AC.80/L.7 and Corr.1) were calculated to sow discord at a time when there had been a *rapprochement* of views in the Committee, and to perpetuate the spirit of the cold war, even though the political situation was being transformed. His delegation would vote against the amendment.

26. Both Korea and Viet-Nam had a right to become Members of the Organization, but nothing could be done

until both countries had had an opportunity to indicate that they were prepared to do so.

27. A large number of the candidates for admission were European States. Their admission would put an end to the paradox whereby, despite the importance of Europe in questions of peace and security, many European States had hitherto remained outside the United Nations. Their admission would also increase the chances for the peaceful stabilization of Europe through a system of collective security.

28. The representation of the countries of Asia and Africa, which at the Bandung Conference had indicated their desire to participate more actively in the establishment of good international relations, would also be increased if the eighteen countries were admitted.

29. The Mongolian People's Republic was an Asian State which fulfilled all the requirements for membership. It had made its contribution to victory in the Second World War and had since concentrated on its own economic development and had become a factor for peace and stability in the Far East. It had diplomatic representation in a large number of States.

30. Albania had been one of the first victims of aggression in Europe and had fought valiantly against occupation in the Second World War. It was now laying the foundations of a new life and overcoming the backwardness which was a legacy of foreign domination.

31. The peoples of Hungary, Romania and Bulgaria had been of considerable assistance to the Allies during the closing phases of the Second World War. They had since undergone great political and social changes and their constitutions now ensured full political, social and religious freedom. Before the war the Balkan countries had been a constant source of unrest, but under their new régime they had become a stabilizing factor in that region and had been co-operating with the United Nations in its specialized agencies and in the Economic Commission for Europe.

32. The problem of the admission of new Members appeared close to solution, but in view of the importance of the issues it was vital that all Members of the Organization should adhere to the purposes and principles of the Charter and should abstain from any unjust discrimination.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.