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NOTE

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

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

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

2024TH MEETING

Held in New York on Tuesday, 19 July 1977, at 3 p.m.

President: Mr. CHEN Chu (China).

Present: The representatives of the following States: Benin, Canada, China, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, India, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Mauritius, Pakistan, Panama, Romania, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America and Venezuela.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2024)

1. Adoption of the agenda

2. Admission of new Members:

Report of the Committee on the Admission of New Members concerning the application of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam for admission to membership in the United Nations (S/12367)

The meeting was called to order at 3.35 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Admission of new Members:

Report of the Committee on the Admission of New Members concerning the application of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam for admission to membership in the United Nations (S/12367)

1. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Chinese*): In accordance with the decision taken at the 2023rd meeting, I invite the representatives of Angola, Bulgaria, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Guinea, Guyana, Hungary, Indonesia, Japan, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, Malaysia, Mongolia, the Philippines, Poland and Sri Lanka to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. de Figueiredo (Angola), Mr. Yankov (Bulgaria), Mr. Gómez Anzardo (Cuba), Mr. Jachek (Czechoslovakia), Mr. Zachmann (German Democratic Republic), Mr. M. S. Camara (Guinea), Mr. Joseph (Guyana), Mr. Hollai (Hungary), Mr. Anwar Sani (Indonesia), Mr. Kanazawa (Japan), Mr. Boulom (Lao People's Democratic Republic), Mr. Yeo (Malaysia), Mr. Nyamdo (Mongolia), Mr. Reyes (Philippines), Mr. Czarkowski (Poland) and Mr. Amerasinghe (Sri Lanka) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

2. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Chinese*): In addition, I have received letters from the representatives of Algeria, Chad, Jamaica, Madagascar, the Syrian Arab Republic and Yugoslavia in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the question on the agenda. Therefore, in accordance with the provisions of Article 31 of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure, as well as with the usual practice of the Council, I propose to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote.

3. In view of the limited number of places available at the Council table, I invite those representatives to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber, on the usual understanding that they will be invited to take a place at the Council table whenever they wish to address the Council.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Bouayad-Agha (Algeria), Mr. Dessande (Chad), Ms. Mair (Jamaica), Mr. Rabetafika (Madagascar), Mr. Sibahi (Syrian Arab Republic) and Mr. Mujezinović (Yugoslavia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

4. Mr. LAPOINTE (Canada) (*interpretation from French*): Before I address myself to the item before us, please allow me to add my voice to those of my colleagues in expressing to Ambassador Consalvi the most heartfelt congratulations of the delegation of Canada on his appointment as Minister for External Relations of his country. The admirable qualities of tact, intelligence and *savoir-faire* which he has evinced in all his activities in our Organization guarantee that he will be able to discharge his new and important responsibilities successfully. We extend to him our most sincere best wishes.

5. The Canadian delegation has the honour unreservedly to support the draft resolution recommending to the General Assembly that the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam should be admitted to membership in the United Nations. The admission of that country is not only desirable in itself but also conforms with the objective of universality the United Nations has set for itself as the best guarantee of international understanding. Canada has long been an advocate and defender of the principle of universality, so we shall be very happy to join other Governments in welcoming the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam as the 149th Member of the United Nations.

6. I am bound to add that my delegation is specially interested in the admission of this new Member for a number of reasons. At the express request of the interna-

tional community, Canada has devoted almost 20 years to seeking a peaceful solution to the Indo-Chinese conflict, first with the Governments of India and Poland and later with the Governments of Hungary, Indonesia and Iran. During that period many Canadians became closely concerned with the evolution of the situation in that region and felt deep friendship for the Vietnamese people. Other Canadians—doctors, nurses, technical experts, missionaries and volunteers of every kind—have even worked on the spot for many years, thus reflecting in specific action their compassion for the tragic sufferings of that people. Finally, Canada has participated in international efforts at the United Nations and elsewhere to bring Viet Nam out of the economic chaos into which it has been plunged by a long conflict and its disastrous consequences.

7. It is therefore an extension of its past activities when Canada today pronounces itself in favour of the admission of Viet Nam to the United Nations and to other international organizations. This support also reflects our concern to promote peace, stability and economic development in South-East Asia, because Canada is a country of the Pacific as well as of the Atlantic and has long endeavoured to increase co-operation among the nations of that region.

8. Our relations with Viet Nam are, furthermore, based on solid foundations. Thus we accredited an ambassador to Hanoi even before the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam was instituted. A little later, last year we received the Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Hoang Luong, and Hanoi decided to open an embassy at Ottawa. No later than last Friday, 15 July, we had the pleasure of welcoming the first resident Ambassador of Viet Nam to Canada, Mr. Tran Tuan Anh. We are responsive to the needs of Viet Nam after that long war, and we shall continue to provide it with the same humanitarian aid as in the past. Through the United Nations, we have contributed these last years to projects implemented in Viet Nam under the auspices of UNICEF, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the World Food Programme. We are also discussing other forms of economic co-operation suited to the interests of our two countries. Lastly, within the United Nations we intend to continue our dialogue with Viet Nam on questions of peace and prosperity for Asia and the entire world.

9. It is for those reasons that we have no hesitation in supporting the draft resolution recommending to the General Assembly that the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam should be admitted to the United Nations.

10. Mr. AL GAYED (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya): I should like first of all to extend the warm congratulations of my delegation to our distinguished colleague Ambassador Consalvi of Venezuela upon his appointment as Minister for External Relations of his country. The Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and Venezuela share excellent relations in many fields, and we are confident that those relations will continue to grow when Ambassador Consalvi assumes the duties of his new position.

11. My delegation has consistently supported the application of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam for admission to membership in the United Nations. It has been a source of

deep regret to my delegation that this application has been repeatedly obstructed and delayed, even though it fully complies with Article 4 of the Charter. My delegation expresses its satisfaction that the Security Council is now reconsidering this important question in the light of General Assembly resolution 31/21.

12. My delegation has in the past expressed its reservations in regard to the addition of conditions not present in the Charter for admission to membership in the United Nations. Article 4 states in very explicit terms that membership in the United Nations is open to all peace-loving States which accept the obligations in the Charter and are able and willing to meet those obligations. The application of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam fully satisfies these conditions. The Prime Minister of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam has declared his country's acceptance of the Charter obligations and its solemn undertaking to meet these obligations. The Socialist Republic of Viet Nam has, moreover, pursued a policy that entirely complies with the principles and objectives of the United Nations.

13. In this regard, it should be pointed out that, at its thirty-first session, the General Assembly adopted resolution 31/21, by which it considered that the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam should be admitted to membership in the United Nations, and recommended that the Security Council should reconsider the matter favourably in strict conformity with Article 4 of the Charter.

14. The admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to full membership will bring the United Nations one step closer to the attainment of one of its most cherished objectives, that of universality of membership. My delegation would particularly welcome the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to full membership because we have witnessed the extent and value of that country's contributions in the context of the non-aligned movement, of which it is already a member. In fact, the people of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam are already significant members of our world community for, in a real sense and in a spiritual sense, they have for a long time been part of our international ethos. In their long and heroic struggle to attain freedom, self-determination and national unity, the people of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam have made significant contributions to the development and victory of twentieth-century ideals, especially those so nobly pursued here at the United Nations. The just struggle of the Vietnamese people has inspired and enhanced the confidence and idealism of many other national liberation movements around the world.

15. In conclusion, the delegation of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya is convinced that the application of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam for membership in the United Nations is in complete conformity with the provisions of the Charter and that when it is finally admitted to full membership the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam will make a valuable contribution to the work of the United Nations and to the achievement of its worthy objectives. Consequently, and in view of the fact that the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam entertain warm, co-operative and cordial relations, my delegation takes particular pride in

co-sponsoring the draft resolution before the Council, by which the Council recommends the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to membership in the United Nations. My delegation is confident that this draft resolution will meet with the unanimous support of the Council.

16. Mr. HOUNGAVOU (Benin) (*interpretation from French*): On behalf of the delegation of the People's Republic of Benin, I should like to express to you, Mr. President, our sincere satisfaction with the objective, able and responsible way in which you are guiding our various debates during this month of July.

17. I would also take this opportunity warmly to congratulate our friend Ambassador Consalvi on his promotion to the important post of Minister for External Relations of Venezuela. During his brief stay with us here in the Council, Ambassador Consalvi has demonstrated remarkable qualities which have earned him the esteem of all his colleagues. We extend to him our best wishes for success in his new post.

18. The position of the People's Republic of Benin on the question, once again before the Council, of the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to the United Nations is well known. Benin, like all other countries devoted to peace and justice, from the outset staunchly supported the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, and we did so for two basic historical reasons.

19. The first reason is that the heroic and courageous people of Viet Nam was for more than 30 years subjected to a series of colonialist and imperialist aggressions. Never in human memory has any other people on our planet been subjected, so unjustly, to such severe trials. During that long struggle for national liberation against its internal enemies, constituted by puppet rule, and its external enemies, constituted by colonialist and imperialist domination, the people of Viet Nam, under the enlightened direction of its patriotic leaders, showed immense political courage, making the greatest sacrifices ever endured in the history of mankind for the cause of freedom and independence.

20. The people of Benin, a revolutionary people which followed in the footsteps of the people of Viet Nam in victoriously repelling the imperialist aggression of Sunday, 16 January 1977, is very proud of the pages written in letters of gold by the people of Viet Nam in the history of the struggle of the peoples, a constant struggle, a struggle without respite, against the enemies of the self-determination and total independence of the peoples and for liberation from the political, economic and cultural slavery imposed by the imperialist Powers.

21. It can never be said too often that the struggle waged by the Vietnamese people is an inexhaustible source of inspiration to all the peoples of the world struggling for peace and security, the principal aims of the Charter of the United Nations.

22. Throughout 1975 and 1976 my country maintained that, after having finally triumphed over the imperialist armed aggression and reunited its country under the

emblem of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, that State met all the conditions laid down in Article 4 of the Charter for admission to full membership in the United Nations.

23. At the appropriate time, Benin denounced the abuse of the veto by a member of the Council, which prevented the admission of that peaceful country to the United Nations. The official reasons advanced at the time had nothing to do with the contents of the Charter. Benin sincerely regrets that unfortunate episode, which is now part of the annals of history and which the Vietnamese people will never forget.

24. The second historical reason for our position is that for two years now the overwhelming majority of our Organization has been supporting Viet Nam's candidacy. The just feelings of that enormous majority are expressed here by 11 members of the Council, including Benin, in submitting to the Council for its approval the draft resolution in document S/12366. We hope that this draft will be adopted unanimously.

25. I cannot end my statement without referring to the immense programme of national reconstruction undertaken by the people of Viet Nam. The reconstruction of Viet Nam, ravaged by 30 years of imperialist war, is not a task for the people of Viet Nam alone; it concerns the entire international community, and particularly those who for overt or covert reasons brought death, desolation and destruction to Viet Nam. It is they who must make amends by agreeing to assume their responsibilities in the task of national reconstruction undertaken in that country.

26. Mr. CONSALVI (Venezuela) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I consider myself to be fortunate when speaking for the last time in the Security Council as the representative of Venezuela to be able to express our support of the application of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam for membership in the United Nations.

27. The entry of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam into the United Nations will represent a milestone of singular importance because this is an organization of sovereign and independent States and there are few peoples who have struggled so relentlessly and with such heroism for their independence and sovereignty as have the Vietnamese people. With their membership, we come ever closer to achieving the principle of universality, which is a fundamental pillar of the United Nations. Viet Nam will enter the Organization at a time propitious for co-operation and solidarity and at a time when the third world is striving arduously to establish a more balanced and definitely a more just world order.

28. Venezuela, with its unflagging faith in the United Nations and firmly convinced of the role which the Organization represents in building a world in conformity with its universalist ideals, wishes now to welcome the State which will be the 149th Member: the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam.

29. At this time, we should like to express our best wishes for an auspicious future for Viet Nam as a sovereign and independent country. Let the many wounds of the past be

healed and let the largest possible number of peoples and nations contribute to the task of reconstruction. We all have a debt towards the Vietnamese people. In expressing our feelings, we are bound to add that we are also pleased by the significant fact that the draft resolution introduced by India and co-sponsored by Venezuela can be adopted by consensus.

30. Mr. President, speaking for the last time before the Security Council as Ambassador of Venezuela, I wish to express to you, and to all the members of the Council, as well as to all the other representatives who have spoken in this debate, my boundless gratitude for the praise expressed about me and to thank all members for their good wishes on the assumption of my new functions. I have run the initial risk of all United Nations ambassadors and it is a comfort and an encouragement for me to be able to follow the example of many other colleagues who are now Ministers for Foreign Affairs of their country. Believe me when I say that no experience has been better for me than to work with you on some of the most arduous problems which the Council has considered during the year 1977.

31. In conclusion, I should like to add a few words to express my great appreciation to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for his many personal courtesies and to repeat to him admiration for him and my solidarity with the work that he is doing.

32. Mr. MURRAY (United Kingdom): The views of my delegation on the application of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam for membership in the United Nations have already been placed on record on a number of occasions and I shall not take the time of the Council in repeating them at length. My Government has diplomatic relations with the Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. We have already voted for its admission to the United Nations on a number of occasions both in the Security Council and in the General Assembly. My Government will therefore support the draft resolution which is now before us, introduced by our colleague from India. We are pleased that the difficulties surrounding this application in the past have been overcome and that there is now a good prospect that the Council will be able to reach agreement to recommend its acceptance to the General Assembly.

33. As we have made clear on previous occasions, my Government believes strongly in the principle of universality of United Nations membership in order that the Organization may develop into a truly representative world body in which all countries can participate without let or hindrance and in which the views of all can be heard. In accordance with that belief, we have supported the applications of Viet Nam in the past and do so again on this occasion. We have noted that, in his letter of 10 August 1976 to the Secretary-General [see S/12183], the Prime Minister of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, Mr. Pham Van Dong, stated that his country accepted the obligations contained in the Charter and solemnly undertook to carry out those obligations. Accordingly we support the draft resolution now before us.

34. In anticipation that the draft resolution will be adopted and that the General Assembly will in due course

act on the recommendation of the Council, I take this opportunity to express my delegation's welcome to the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam as a prospective Member of the United Nations.

35. In conclusion, I should like, on behalf of the United Kingdom delegation, to join in the congratulations offered to our colleague Ambassador Consalvi on his appointment as Minister for External Relations of Venezuela. Venezuela has been playing an increasingly important role in world affairs in recent years, particularly in the economic field. It is good that its Ministry of External Relations should now be under the direction of someone wholly familiar with and skilled in the ways of the United Nations. But we here are the losers and we shall miss Ambassador Consalvi. We shall miss his broad experience, his wise guidance and common sense in our counsels. I personally shall miss his delicate sense of humour. During the month of March, I heard him tell a number of his colleagues that he hoped that the Council would get through as much business as possible under the United States presidency in March, since he had no confidence whatsoever in the abilities of the President for April. I was momentarily surprised that a diplomatist of Ambassador Consalvi's habitual tact should speak in this way of a colleague, until I realized that he was speaking with becoming modesty about himself.

36. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Chinese*): The next speaker is the representative of Bulgaria. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

37. Mr. YANKOV (Bulgaria): Mr. President, I should like, first of all, to extend to you, and through you to the members of the Security Council, the deep appreciation of the delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria for having granted it the opportunity to take part in the Council discussion on the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to the United Nations.

38. I should also like to congratulate you, Mr. President, on your accession to the presidency of the Council for the month of July.

39. I wish, in my turn, to join the previous speakers in extending my warmest congratulations to Ambassador Consalvi on his appointment to the high office and new responsibilities assumed by him as the Minister for External Relations of a friendly country with which my country maintains excellent relations.

40. On behalf of my delegation, I am very pleased to extend a cordial welcome to the representatives of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, led by Ambassador Comrade Dinh Ba Thi.

41. This is not the first time that the Security Council has convened to consider the question of the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. We are all very well aware of the causes which earlier prevented the Council from adopting a positive decision on this matter of exceptional importance not only to the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam itself but also to the vast majority of States Members of the United Nations as well as to the Organization itself.

42. The People's Republic of Bulgaria, like many other States Members of the United Nations, has consistently stood against any attempts to obstruct the admission to the world Organization of one of the major, independent and peace-loving States of the world: the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. The Bulgarian delegation has many times in the past stated, and will restate now, that the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam is entitled to the indisputable right to stand among us as a fully fledged Member of the United Nations. The Vietnamese people has won this right in a hard struggle against foreign colonizers and imperialist aggression and in its fight for the freedom and independence of its fatherland. The heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people, its exemplary valour and courage in the face of countless sacrifices will go down in history as an example of the aspirations and persistence of all oppressed nations for national and social liberation. The valiant struggle of the Vietnamese people was crowned with a great victory resulting in the creation of the independent, united and peace-loving State of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam.

43. During the very first months after the birth of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, the Fourth Congress of the Communist Party of Viet Nam clearly defined the principal directions for the future development of the country, namely, to use to the full extent favourable international conditions for the prompt healing of the wounds inflicted by the war; to restore the country's economy; to expand cultural activities and further develop science and technology; to strengthen national defence capabilities; to promote the building of the material and technical bases of socialism in Viet Nam; and to continue waging, shoulder to shoulder with the fraternal socialist countries and all peoples of the world, a ceaseless fight for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism and actively to assist the struggle of peoples against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism.

44. We are now all witness to the Vietnamese people's conversion of its militant heroism of the wartime years into selfless labour feats for the realization of the decisions of the Fourth Congress of the Communist Party of Viet Nam. We see the emergence of a united and peace-loving Viet Nam as a mighty and prosperous socialist State.

45. The Socialist Republic of Viet Nam has consistently upheld the cause of national liberation, peace and peaceful co-operation among nations. This has won it the esteem of the vast majority of nations. Today it maintains diplomatic relations with more than 100 States, and has already been admitted to membership of a number of international organizations within the United Nations system and become a member of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Countries.

46. On the Asian continent, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam represents a powerful and stabilizing factor for peace and co-operation among States. The historic victory of the Vietnamese people and the consistent peace-loving policy of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam has won widespread recognition in the United Nations too. The overwhelming majority of Member States have already a number of times unequivocally stated their support for the admission of Viet Nam without delay into the ranks of the world Organization. Not long ago the Co-ordinating Bureau of the

Non-Aligned Countries again called upon the Security Council to give prompt and positive consideration to the application of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam for United Nations membership, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 31/21. This appeal enjoys the full support of my country. It reflects the genuine aspiration of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to participate in United Nations activities while offering an active contribution to the strengthening of world peace and security and the development of international co-operation.

47. The Socialist Republic of Viet Nam has met all the requirements of the Charter as set forth in Article 4, and has undeniably demonstrated its devotion to United Nations principles and purposes as well as its firm determination to live up, steadfastly and to the letter, to the obligations stemming from the Charter.

48. The Socialist Republic of Viet Nam has indeed demonstrated and continues to demonstrate its readiness for a just settlement of the war's consequences and for the implementation of the arrangements under the Paris agreements of 1973.¹ The Socialist Republic of Viet Nam has manifested ample evidence of its goodwill in this respect, namely, the settlement of the missing-in-action issue and the normalization of its relations with all States, including the United States. For its part, the United States should honour its commitments and assume in good faith its international obligations stemming from the Paris agreements to participate in the tending and healing of the wounds inflicted by the war.

49. The Bulgarian people followed with great sympathy the heroic struggle of the fraternal Vietnamese people against foreign imperialist aggression and for liberty and national independence. Together with the other countries of the socialist community and with all peace-loving and democratic nations, Bulgaria¹ unflinchingly sided with the just cause of the Vietnamese people and rendered all-round friendly assistance within its power. As the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and President of the State Council of Bulgaria, Todor Zhivkov, recently declared:

"Our country rendered all-round and selfless assistance to the Vietnamese people during its armed resistance against aggression. It will continue to render such assistance now in the days of peaceful creative labour. The Bulgarian Communist Party and the Bulgarian Government shall in the future as well strengthen steadfastly the indestructible Bulgarian-Vietnamese friendship in the struggle for our common aims and ideals — the construction of socialism and communism."

50. On behalf of the Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, my delegation insistently calls upon the members of the Council to support the request of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and unanimously to recommend its admission to membership in the Organization. We are hopeful that, this time, sound reason will prevail and that the Council will heed the clearly expressed will of the overwhelming majority of Member States that the just cause of socialist Viet Nam should triumph.

¹ United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 935, p.2.

51. In conclusion, I should like to state that the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam should take its legitimate place among us in the United Nations. This is a matter that brooks no further delay. The Bulgarian delegation is firmly convinced that it will have the pleasant opportunity cordially to congratulate the delegation of the fraternal Socialist Republic of Viet Nam on its admission to the United Nations at the very opening of the thirty-second session of the General Assembly.

52. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Chinese*): The next speaker is the representative of Algeria, whom I invite to take a place at the Council table and to make a statement.

53. Mr. BOUAYAD-AGHA (Algeria) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, when some years ago, in your presence, your friendly country, the People's Republic of China, was admitted to the United Nations, the Algerian delegation felt great joy. Today, seeing you preside over the Security Council which is examining another application for admission: that of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, we feel additional satisfaction because your presidency will perforce be a landmark on the path towards the universality of the Organization.

54. This is not the first time my delegation has taken the floor in a debate on the question before the Council, the significance and scope of which we fully appreciate. For that reason, I shall not dwell on the arguments already adduced by my delegation in favour of the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to the United Nations. Suffice it to say that, after so many years of foreign intervention and the presence of a series of foreign armies, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam now exercises its right to decide on its own affairs. As a member of the family of non-aligned countries, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam makes an invaluable contribution to the actions of the non-aligned countries, with which it has wrought close links of friendship, esteem and co-operation. These links are so profound and extensive that my delegation cannot conceive how the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam has heretofore been deprived of membership in our Organization without the trust that the non-aligned countries spontaneously place in the ideals and principles of the United Nations being irreparably undermined.

55. The Socialist Republic of Viet Nam fully meets the conditions enunciated in Article 4 of the Charter and we have never accepted the arguments invoked in the past to block its application for admission. A fundamental fact, a fundamental element demands that the members of the Council should accede to the application for admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam: it is that, more than any other people, the Vietnamese people, which has lived through the horrors of war and the destruction caused by it, is a people that aspires to peace and has consented to turn over once and for all this sad page in its history. Evidence of this is the serious attitude of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam in tackling the tasks of reconstruction. We Algerians are in a good position to understand and appreciate the tremendous work done by the Vietnamese people. The Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, which has come to the end of a long war, is well aware of the need to

develop the country, to eliminate the aftermath of that war. The international community is duty bound to provide assistance to heal its wounds, the more so since the Vietnamese people has already shown its will to co-operate with all peoples. The United Nations may play a major role in this.

56. A considerable step forward will be taken when the Council accedes to the application of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and recommends to the General Assembly the admission of that non-aligned country to the United Nations, where we may benefit from its experience and co-operation. Then we shall quickly see the withering away of distrust, misunderstanding, rancour and disillusionment, which will finally give way to the virtues enunciated in the Charter, that is to say, tolerance and a spirit of good-neighbourliness, which the Vietnamese people displays perfectly in developing relations with the countries of South-East Asia, where it already plays an active role.

57. The Socialist Republic of Viet Nam resolutely follows the path of peace and national independence and wishes, side by side with other Member States, to make its contribution to the strengthening of peace and international security. The admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam can only strengthen the United Nations.

58. Before concluding, Mr. President, I should like to express to you and the members of the Council the gratitude of my delegation for allowing me to take part in this debate

59. I wish also to extend my sincere and heartfelt congratulations to Ambassador Consalvi on his recent appointment as Minister for External Relations of Venezuela, a friendly country with which we maintain very close relations.

60. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Chinese*): I thank the representative of Algeria for the friendly sentiments he expressed with regard to me. China and Algeria enjoy very friendly relations. I should like to take this opportunity once again to thank the representative of Algeria for the struggle he waged and the results he achieved in restoring to the People's Republic of China its lawful rights in the United Nations.

61. The next speaker is the representative of Sri Lanka, whom I invite to take a place at the Council table and to make a statement.

62. Mr. AMERASINGHE (Sri Lanka): Mr. President, the delegation of Sri Lanka is greatly beholden to you and to the other members of the Council for permitting us to participate, without the right to vote, in the discussion of the question now before the Council. It is rarely that my delegation seeks to speak in the Council. The fact that we have sought such permission on this occasion is a measure of the importance that my Government attaches to this question and of the special interest we take in it.

63. Today, I speak in a dual capacity: as Permanent Representative of Sri Lanka to the United Nations and as the representative of the current Chairman of the non-

aligned movement. My country's natural sense of solidarity with a fellow member of the Asian community of nations makes it both a most pleasant duty and a great privilege for us to have this further opportunity of demonstrating what has never been in question, namely, our unqualified support for the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to membership in the United Nations.

64. The people of Sri Lanka are loyal and fervent friends of the Vietnamese people. The strength and fervour of this friendship are derived from a common cultural heritage the most precious element of which is a religious faith shared by a preponderant majority of our two peoples. That friendship has been further reinforced by a profound admiration for the dauntless courage and matchless endurance shown by the Vietnamese people in a struggle that lasted for 30 years, a struggle that made of it a testing ground for the most wicked and inhumane forms of warfare ever practised, a struggle that bled that country white and left it a waste land, darkened by misery and privation, but illumined by indestructible hope and faith, both in the justice of the cause for which it gave so much and in its future.

65. As the representative of the current Chairman of the non-aligned group, I presumed to voice the feelings and convictions of a group of 86 nations which has steadfastly given its support to the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to membership in the United Nations. We are proud of the fact that the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam is itself a member of the non-aligned group and has already made its mark there.

66. This meeting has a special significance that should not escape us. It is presided over by the representative of a country which, for 21 years, was denied its legitimate rights in the United Nations. On the occasion of the restoration of your great country's legitimate rights in this Organization we witnessed what we shall witness today: the vindication of the principles embodied in the Charter, the principles that form the foundation of this edifice of peace.

67. Every such act is an act of redemption that heightens the prestige of this Organization. Although the facts of history must not be forgotten or suppressed lest we fail to profit by the lessons that the past has taught us and lest we fail to avoid such costly delinquencies and aberrations in the future, this is not the occasion for recrimination. We meet today, not to speak of victor or of vanquished. We are met here today to preside over and to promote a ceremony and a process of reconciliation and restitution. The act of restitution is a recommendation to the General Assembly that the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam should be admitted to membership in the United Nations to take its rightful place in the community of nations, which our Organization so well represents. We are confident that the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam will, by its performance and conduct, prove the wisdom of the Council's decision. It already has achieved something unparalleled in the aftermath of the Second World War, that is, the reunification of that divided country through the free will of its people. We rejoice in the Security Council's proposal to deal with this question through the most seemly and dignified procedure of consensus without resort to a vote. In the certain

expectation that the Council will recommend to the General Assembly the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and that the Assembly will accept and endorse that recommendation, we extend to the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam our most sincere felicitations.

68. We should like to congratulate the new administration of the United States on its decision to adopt an enlightened policy and for giving us once again a glimpse of the true character and genius of the American people, a people whose forefathers brought forth on this earth a generation conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. The new Administration has set alight again the torch that it once held so high and has revived our faith in its great traditions.

69. We are happy to note that, as the people of Viet Nam emerge from the vale of tears that has so long engulfed it, there is a spontaneous response to the call for assistance and co-operation to repair the havoc of war and to set that nation on the road to peace, tranquillity and increasing prosperity.

70. In conclusion, I wish to express to my colleague, Ambassador Consalvi of Venezuela, my own and my delegation's warmest congratulations on his elevation to the office of Minister for External Relations of Venezuela, an office whose incumbency I am sure he will adorn.

71. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Chinese*): I thank Ambassador Amerasinghe for the statement he has just made as representative of Sri Lanka and on behalf of the non-aligned countries. I thank him also for the friendly sentiments he addressed to the Government and people of the People's Republic of China.

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

73. Mr. JACHEK (Czechoslovakia): Mr. President, first of all, I should like to express to you and to the other members of the Council our thanks for complying with the request of my delegation to be allowed to participate in the Council's deliberations on the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to the United Nations, an agenda item which is of primordial importance for the United Nations and for all of us. At the same time, I wish to congratulate you on discharging the high responsibilities of President of the Council for this month.

74. On behalf of my delegation, I should like to congratulate Ambassador Consalvi most sincerely on his appointment as Minister for External Relations of Venezuela, a country with which Czechoslovakia has close and friendly relations.

75. As is well known, the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to full membership in the United Nations is not a new item on the agenda of the Council; nor is it a problem calling for lengthy consideration. The inviolable right of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to membership in the United Nations is undoubted and its application has received tremendous support from the

international community, notably at the last session of the General Assembly, and elsewhere.

76. The Vietnamese people have borne great sacrifices during their long heroic struggle against foreign aggression and for independence, freedom and unity. The Socialist Republic of Viet Nam has gained great authority among the States of the socialist community, as well as among the non-aligned and other States. Its foreign policy is oriented towards peaceful and friendly co-operation based on the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. Today, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam has diplomatic relations with about 100 Member States and is developing friendship and co-operation with all peace-loving countries, regardless of their social systems. Briefly stated, those are the main reasons for which the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam is entitled — as indeed it has been entitled — to full membership.

77. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam are joined by the deep friendship of their peoples, which was tested during the time of struggle of the Vietnamese people against aggression, when Czechoslovakia, together with the other States of the Socialist community, stood firmly on the side of the Vietnamese people and extended effective support to it. After 30 years of unbelievable hardship and great sacrifice, this heroic struggle has been crowned by victory, not only for the Vietnamese people but for all peace-loving forces in the world. The struggle of the Vietnamese people has become a symbol and an incentive for the anti-colonial and national liberation struggle, in Asia as in other parts of the world. Indeed, the victory of the Vietnamese people represents a very significant contribution to the strengthening of peace all over the world.

78. I should like to greet the delegation of representatives of the fraternal Socialist Republic of Viet Nam present here, headed by Ambassador Comrade Dinh Ba Thi, and to assure them of the invincible solidarity and support of my Government and all the Czechoslovak people in their just struggle for the recognition of the rights belonging to the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam as a sovereign, peace-loving and equal member of the international community, as well as of our support to the Vietnamese people in the building of socialism in that great unified socialist country.

79. We firmly believe that the unfortunate experience of past years will not be repeated in connexion with the present application for the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to the United Nations, that is, the experience of 1975, when the admission of the then-existing two Vietnamese States was prevented, and that of last year, when the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam was prevented by the exercise of the veto on the part of the United States. The Czechoslovak delegation deeply regrets those exercises of the veto which, in our opinion, were contrary to the spirit of the Charter and of no benefit to the development of peaceful relations, particularly between the American and Vietnamese people. We firmly believe that it belongs to the past and that the Government of the United States, in view of its responsibility for the damages caused to the Vietnamese people and taking into consideration the obligations resulting from the

agreements of 1973 which it accepted in connexion with the termination of the war and the re-establishment of peace in Viet Nam, will adopt constructive measures towards the opening of a really peaceful period in the normalization and development of relations between the two countries and effectively contribute to the healing of the serious consequences of the war in Viet Nam.

80. The Czechoslovak delegation is of the opinion that the time is more than ripe for the Security Council to take positive steps for the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to the United Nations. Today, the United Nations can pay back to the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam at least part of what has been due to it. We believe that the recommendation of the Council to the General Assembly will be a positive one, adopted by consensus, and that we shall welcome the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam among the Member States of the United Nations within the shortest possible time. This will represent a significant act not only for the further strengthening of international peaceful co-operation but also for the enhancement of the prestige of the United Nations.

81. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Chinese*): I now invite the representative of Poland to take a place at the Council table and give him the floor.

82. Mr. CZARKOWSKI (Poland): Mr. President, please accept our congratulations on your assumption of the Security Council presidency for the month of July.

83. This is the fourth series of meetings and this meeting one of more than a dozen which the Council has held in the last two years devoted exclusively to the important and long-overdue question of the admission of heroic Viet Nam to membership in the United Nations. As on previous occasions, Poland is joining the resounding voice of the world community in support of the application of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, whose representatives, and Ambassador Dinh Ba Thi in particular, we welcome wholeheartedly in this chamber today.

84. We are grateful to you, Mr. President, and to the entire Council for giving us the opportunity to restate Poland's views on the matter.

85. I wish the Council all success at its present series of meetings in arriving at a decision that has been impatiently awaited and might be universally acclaimed as a victory of political reason and as proof of the lasting validity of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

86. Poland's credentials for supporting Viet Nam's cause in our Organization are well established. They derive from my country's own historical experiences, which have taught us how to appreciate our own freedom and that of others. They derive from the role Poland has played for a number of years as a member of the supervisory and control commissions in Indochina.

87. As early as two years ago, in August 1975, when the Council was for the first time considering Viet Nam's application, I had the occasion [*1836th meeting*] to stress

in this very room the outstanding significance of the victory of the people of Viet Nam for world peace and for the climate of international relations at large. We were also heartened at that time by the overwhelming reaction of relief and understanding demonstrated in this connexion by the American people. For we have always believed that there can never be barriers to the victory of a just cause. Precisely such has been the cause of the people of Viet Nam. Sooner or later it had to win, as it ultimately did. That is why the Chairman of the non-aligned movement, the Prime Minister of Sri Lanka, Mrs. Bandaranaike, could say from the rostrum of the General Assembly:

"If the non-aligned nations have acclaimed the victories of the peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea in their valiant struggles against the forces of reaction and intervention, it is because their success has been a vindication of the basic principles for which the non-aligned movement has fought for over two decades."²

88. This vindication has assumed new and historic dimensions thanks to the meaning of the adjective "Socialist" which precedes the words "Republic of Viet Nam". It is in fact worth remembering, particularly at this time, when the entire progressive world will soon be celebrating the sixtieth anniversary of the great October Socialist Revolution, an event which has directly or indirectly laid the ground for all the positive developments in world relations of the present era.

89. The Socialist Republic of Viet Nam has paid dearly for its right to independent existence. In more than 30 years, the people of Viet Nam has valiantly overcome all its hardships and courageously repelled armed aggressions, the price of which was a countless toll of death and suffering for Vietnamese families.

90. Having obtained its independence, the people of Viet Nam vigorously took up the enormous task of post-war reconstruction and the promotion of friendly relations and co-operation with other nations. From the very outset, it has had the continued assistance of the socialist States, including my own, which are offering their support to Viet Nam in the spirit and on the basis of friendship and brotherly relations of members of the socialist community. Viet Nam's post-war efforts are also illustrated by its impressive progress in normalizing and expanding relations with the overwhelming majority of States. Its membership in the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Countries is, as has already been pointed out today, eloquent testimony to that country's true international standing.

91. That the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam is not yet a full-fledged member of the United Nations represents one of the sad anachronisms of our time. In fact, for the international community, Viet Nam became an honorary member of this Organization long before the five consecutive and isolated vetoes against its membership. Since its very inception, it has fully conformed with the provisions of Article 4 of the Charter, the only valid criteria for admission to membership in the United Nations. Two

special resolutions of the thirtieth and thirty-first sessions of the General Assembly recommended that the Security Council should reconsider the matter favourably in strict conformity with Article 4 of the Charter [*resolution 3366 (XXX) and 31/21*].

92. The time has come for justice to be done without any further delay in the cause of Viet Nam's membership. Once this is realized, we should not forget that there is one more side to the plea for justice for Viet Nam: the question of responsibility for assistance in the task of reconstructing the country's war-torn economy. We trust that the provisions of the Paris Agreements on ending the war and restoring peace in Viet Nam regarding assistance in the reconstruction of that country will be fully adhered to.

93. In the meantime, we are glad to note that some, though as yet not all United Nations agencies—I shall gradually joining in international efforts of assistance to the mention in a positive sense only the United Nations Development Programme—are gradually joining in international efforts of assistance to the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam.

94. The delegation of Poland believes in the collective wisdom of the Council. We trust that the Council will this time spare us the regrettable disappointments of the last two years concerning the question before it and will recommend to the General Assembly the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to the United Nations. It goes without saying that this admission will constitute a contribution of paramount significance to the maintenance of international peace and security, the basic objective of this Organization. In this strong conviction we reiterate our unreserved support for the application before the Council.

95. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Chinese*): The next speaker is the representative of Malaysia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make a statement.

96. Mr. YEO (Malaysia): In the absence of my Ambassador, Mr. Tan Sri Zaiton Ibrahim, I should like, on behalf of the Malaysian delegation, to extend to you, Sir, our warmest congratulations and good wishes on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of July. It is indeed a pleasure for me to address the Council for the first time under your presidency, not only on behalf of the delegation of Malaysia but also in my capacity as Chairman of the Asian Group for the month of July. I am certain that members of the Asian Group will agree with me when I say that we are indeed gratified to see you presiding over the Council's deliberations on the important question of the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to membership in the United Nations. I feel confident that your wisdom and diplomatic skills will guide the deliberations of the Council to a happy conclusion.

97. I should like to extend my deep appreciation to members of the Council for acceding to my request to be allowed to participate in the discussion of the question before us today.

98. I would also, before proceeding further, extend, on behalf of the Asian Group, our warmest congratulations to

² *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-First Session, Plenary Meetings, 11th meeting, para. 27.*

Ambassador Consalvi on his appointment as Minister for External Relations of Venezuela. We wish him success in his new post.

99. It is indeed very appropriate that we in the Asian Group should speak up in full support for the membership application of a fellow Asian country, an application which we have supported in the past. It will also be recalled that the application of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam received the strong support of the non-aligned countries at their fifth Summit Conference, held at Colombo in August 1976. As has been stated in the past, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam possesses all the attributes of an independent and sovereign country that eminently qualify it for admission to membership in the United Nations in accordance with Article 4 of the Charter. We are pleased to see, therefore, that on this occasion the Committee on the Admission of New Members has unanimously recommended the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. The Asian Group looks forward to welcoming the new addition to the Group and is confident that the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam will make a useful contribution to its deliberations and activities.

100. For Malaysia it is an added privilege and pleasure to have the opportunity of reiterating its support for the application of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam for membership in the United Nations. Malaysia enjoys friendly relations with the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, founded on mutual respect for each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity and on non-interference in each other's internal affairs. Our Foreign Minister's recent visit to the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam was a further manifestation of our desire to have good-neighbourly and mutually beneficial relations with that country.

101. It will be noted that with the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, the whole of the South-East Asian region will be fully represented in the Organization. That will afford the countries of the region with yet another forum in which to work in close co-operation to realize the objectives and principles of the Charter and to further the efforts towards strengthening regional stability and development.

102. It is therefore our considered view that the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam should be admitted to the United Nations without any further delay, in keeping with the principle of the universality of this Organization, so that it can play its rightful role in the Organization. We are firmly convinced that, as a Member of the United Nations, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam will make every effort staunchly to uphold the ideals contained in the Charter and support all United Nations efforts to bring about peace and security in our region and in the world and to achieve friendly relations, international co-operation and understanding amongst all peoples.

103. On behalf of the delegation of Malaysia and the Asian Group, I therefore wish to reiterate our full support for the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. We hope that the draft resolution before us will be adopted unanimously by the members of the Council.

104. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Chinese*): The next speaker is the representative of the Philippines. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

105. Mr. REYES (Philippines): Mr. President, permit me first of all to express my delegation's gratification at seeing you presiding over the Council and effectively applying the plenitude of your wisdom, your political experience and your diplomatic skills to the difficult task of solving a question of profound concern to the entire membership of the United Nations.

106. I am grateful to you and to the members of the Council for allowing me to speak briefly on that question: the application of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam for admission to the United Nations.

107. My delegation associates itself with others in firmly supporting Viet Nam's application. Our support is a reaffirmation of our position on this question last year, when we co-sponsored the text of resolution 31/21, adopted by the General Assembly on 26 November 1976, which recommended that the Security Council should reconsider the matter favourably in strict conformity with Article 4 of the Charter. Viet Nam's qualifications under Article 4 cannot be questioned and should no longer be at issue. Viet Nam's application should be approved on its merits.

108. There are of course other considerations, which have been mentioned during the discussion.

109. First, the principle of universality of United Nations membership, which we all recognize, will be further realized, as it was with the admission last year of Angola, Samoa and the Seychelles; and as it will be again if the Republic of Djibouti is admitted this year, as expected.

110. Secondly, the cause of justice will be served.

111. Thirdly, the process of normalization in South-East Asia, in the wake of a long, bitter, destructive and costly war, will be substantially advanced. This is a process in which my country is vitally interested and which it has been doing its utmost to encourage. Responding positively to Viet Nam's welcome initiative, we have established diplomatic relations with Viet Nam and opened the doors to mutually beneficial co-operation in the economic field. President Marcos of the Philippines has offered appropriate economic assistance towards the reconstruction and rehabilitation of Viet Nam within the context of Viet Nam's own needs and priorities. The Philippine Government is a contributor to the United Nations Indo-China Trust Fund initiated by the Secretary-General and to the Solidarity Fund for the Reconstruction of Laos and Viet Nam established by the non-aligned summit meeting at Colombo last year.

112. Looking beyond our region, we see wider benefits to world peace and stability accruing from the admission of Viet Nam to the United Nations.

113. Mindful of all those considerations, the Philippine delegation joins in expressing the hope that the Security

Council will adopt unanimously the draft resolution submitted by 11 members in document S/12366, which recommends to the General Assembly the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam.

114. Finally, at the risk of being ruled out of order for knowingly deviating from the agenda item under consideration, I should like to add our heartiest felicitations to the representative of Venezuela, Ambassador Consalvi, on his richly deserved and universally welcomed promotion to the post of Minister for External Relations of his country. We extend to him our best wishes for a most successful tenure of that post.

115. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Chinese*): The next speaker is the representative of Indonesia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

116. Mr. ANWAR SANI (Indonesia): Mr. President, I should like on behalf of the Indonesian delegation to express our appreciation to you and, through you, to the other members of the Council for giving my delegation the opportunity to address the Council during its consideration of the question of the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to membership in the United Nations.

117. I should like to take this opportunity to extend—somewhat belatedly—my warm personal welcome to you as the new Permanent Representative of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations. I should also like to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of July. My delegation is confident that, under your guidance, the proceedings of the Council will be brought to a successful conclusion.

118. Allow me also to join previous speakers in congratulating our colleague the representative of Venezuela on his appointment to the very important post of Minister for External Relation of his country.

119. The Indonesian delegation has asked to be allowed to participate in the consideration of the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to the United Nations in order to express its unreserved support for the application and the hope that the Council will act positively upon it. It was to Indonesia's great disappointment that the Council last year failed to recommend to the General Assembly the admission of Viet Nam. It is therefore with a deep sense of satisfaction that we welcome the draft resolution submitted to the Council, which commends to the General Assembly the admission of our neighbour, Viet Nam, to the Organization.

120. As we have stated many times in the past, Indonesia has consistently supported the principles of sovereign equality and universality with regard to membership in the United Nations as important pillars in promoting friendly relations among nations and as an effective means of establishing international peace and security.

121. In our opinion, it is clear that the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam fulfils the requirements set forth in the Charter for membership in the United Nations. As a

sovereign and independent State it has demonstrated its readiness to carry out its obligations under the Charter. Therefore, it has the right to take part in the work of our Organization on a basis of sovereign equality with the other Members, and my delegation is confident that Viet Nam will participate and contribute positively to the efforts of our Organization in finding peaceful solutions for the problems the world is facing today. In addition, the Indonesian people have always had great admiration for the long and heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people for sovereignty, independence and unity, a struggle which caused much suffering and required great sacrifice.

122. The admission of Viet Nam to the United Nations is viewed with particular importance by my delegation because of the fact that our two countries are situated in the same region. Indonesia and Viet Nam have long enjoyed friendly relations, to the mutual benefit of our two countries. It is important to note that Indonesia, appointed a Consul General at Hanoi as early as 1955, after the Bandung Conference. In fact, I had the honour to be sent by my Government on the first Indonesian official mission to Hanoi, in late 1954. The representation was elevated to full diplomatic status in 1964 and, since then, Indonesia has maintained an Ambassador at Hanoi. After the Paris Conference, Indonesia was associated with developments in Viet Nam as a member of the Control Commission.

123. My delegation is convinced that the admission of Viet Nam will open up new avenues of co-operation not only for peace, security and development in South-East Asia but also for co-operation with all the countries of the world.

124. In the light of those considerations, my delegation is particularly pleased that the question of the admission of Viet Nam has now been brought again before the Security Council for its consideration and approval. We are confident that the Council's unanimous endorsement will serve to promote both the principles of the Charter and the objectives of the Organization.

125. In conclusion, my delegation looks forward to close co-operation with the delegation of Viet Nam at forthcoming sessions of the General Assembly and in other United Nations activities.

126. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Chinese*): I should like to inform members of the Council that I have just received letters from the representatives of Cyprus, Iraq and Mali in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the question on the Council's agenda. Consequently, I propose, in accordance with the usual practice and with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, under the provisions of Article 31 of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

127. In view of the limited number of places available at the Council table, I invite those representatives to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber, on the understanding that they will be invited to take a place at the Council table when they wish to address the Council.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Rossides (Cyprus), Mr. Kubba (Iraq) and Mr. Kanté (Mali) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

128. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Chinese*): The next speaker is the representative of Mongolia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

129. Mr. NYAMDO (Mongolia) (*interpretation from Russian*): Mr. President, I should like to congratulate you on your assumption of the post of President of the Security Council for the month of July.

130. I should like to express the gratitude of my delegation to all members of the Council for allowing us to speak on the question before the Council.

131. I should like also heartily to welcome Ambassador Dinh Ba Thi, Permanent Observer of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to the United Nations and our other Vietnamese friends who are taking part in the work of the Council.

132. The Mongolian delegation would like once again to reaffirm its position of principle with respect to the question of the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to membership in the United Nations. The Mongolian People's Republic, as an Asian socialist country, has given in the past and continues to give major importance to the rapid settlement of this question.

133. I should like to underscore at the outset the fact that the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam not only meets the membership requirements of the Charter but also that it is a true champion of international peace and security. Viet Nam has made a most important contribution to the cause of defending and implementing the lofty ideals and principles enshrined in the Charter.

134. It is known to all that the Vietnamese people, relying on the support provided by all progressive and peace-loving forces, especially the countries of the socialist community, and fighting the long, extremely difficult struggle against imperialist aggression and foreign intervention, won a brilliant and historic victory, which has opened up the most favourable prospects for the implementation of its sacred rights to freedom and independence and for the restoration of national unity.

135. Thus the people and State of Viet Nam were not only upholding one of the most important principles of relations among States—non-interference in internal affairs of other States—but also showed great skill in eliminating one of the most dangerous international hotbeds of conflict and promoting peace and security in Asia and the Far East as a whole.

136. We are pleased to note that the international activities and policies of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam have further enhanced and promoted the prestige and authority of that nation in the international community. This is confirmed by the fact that approximately 100 countries now maintain diplomatic relations with Viet Nam and that

most of the Western countries have begun normalizing their relations with that country and establishing businesslike contacts with it. Another example of the wide recognition of Viet Nam's role in the world arena was the election of that country as a member of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Countries at the fifth Summit Conference held by those countries at Colombo in August last year.

137. Proceeding from the above, one can easily conclude that the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to membership in the United Nations is undoubtedly a major event in the history of our Organization.

138. The course of events has clearly shown and continues to show that any manoeuvres with regard to the question of the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam are in the final analysis doomed to failure.

139. It is well known to all that the General Assembly has in the previous two years—namely in 1975 and 1976—adopted two resolutions, which received the support of the overwhelming majority of Member States and in which the legal right of Viet Nam to become a Member of our Organization is emphasized. At the fifth Summit Conference of non-aligned nations, many other States spoke in favour of Viet Nam's admission.

140. Those joint efforts taken by the international community and by all progressive humanity cannot help but promote the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to membership in the United Nations. My delegation is therefore confident that the Security Council will unanimously adopt the draft resolution now before it and vote in favour of Viet Nam's admission.

141. My delegation would like to express once again its full and unreserved support for the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to membership in the United Nations. The admission of Viet Nam would undoubtedly promote the cause of international peace and security and strengthen international détente and the implementation of the principle of universality of the Organization.

142. At the present time, the Vietnamese people is dealing peacefully with the problem of eliminating the aftermath of war and reconstructing its economy. We should like, in this respect, to mention the great responsibility of those who forced upon the Vietnamese people a destructive war which resulted in a colossal number of victims and enormous ravages. We consider that the American side should make its contribution to the restoration by the Vietnamese people of the economy of their country.

143. In conclusion, I should like to join the preceding speakers who congratulated Ambassador Consalvi of Venezuela upon his appointment to the lofty post of Minister for External Relations. I wish him every success in his new post.

144. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Chinese*): The next speaker is the representative of Angola. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

145. Mr. DE FIGUEIREDO (Angola): We are gathered here today to support a cause, not merely to state a case. Simply put, the victimization of Viet Nam has got to stop, for the atrocities inflicted upon the courageous and revolutionary people of Viet Nam have gone on too long, merely changing their form. Viet Nam was never to be allowed to attain sovereign independence. When the forces of imperialism suffered a tremendous defeat with the reunification of Viet Nam, they quickly regrouped and launched another strategy: Viet Nam was not to be allowed to stand in the ranks of United Nations membership.

146. The delegation of the People's Republic of Angola would like to state here that, even in presenting its cause and stating its case, Viet Nam does not stand alone. Whatever the contingency, whatever the issue, behind every Vietnamese stands a phalanx of revolutionary comrades all over the world. The brave people of Viet Nam has waged a heroic war of independence, one of the longest in the history of independence movements. It has lived so long in the shadow of war that entire generations have known no peace, battling against an enemy which had no right to be within even a couple of thousand miles of the country. This long war was thrust upon the people of Viet Nam by the alien forces of colonialism and imperialism. Generations of our Vietnamese brothers and sisters have paid with their blood to fill the coffers of imperialism. Even now, after its hard-won independence, after having successfully evicted the enemy from its soil, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam has been too long denied its rightful place in the world community. Again, it was the old enemy which sought to keep Viet Nam out: the forces of imperialism and colonialism.

147. The Socialist Republic of Viet Nam has always demonstrated solidarity with and support for those fighting oppression and aggression everywhere. For generations of revolutionary freedom fighters in the third world, Viet Nam has long stood as a symbol of determination, of hope and of eventual success, and it is these people who, in reciprocating the same fraternal spirit of friendship and solidarity, stand here now to plead the cause of the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to the United Nations. Actually we should not have to stand and plead this cause: Viet Nam should have been made a Member of the United Nations by right, as set forth in the Charter.

148. What right does any State have to veto the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to membership in this world community? My delegation understands the situation only too well, for not too long ago the People's Republic of Angola was confronted with the same strategy by the same enemy. Ironically, the enemy is always the same, whether in the hills of Viet Nam, the villages of Angola, the Sowetos of South Africa or the bedouin villages of the Middle East. The international community is only too aware of this enemy, for most of us have been its victims. Therefore it has an obligation to help the heroic people of Viet Nam to heal the wounds of decades of war and exploitation. The Government and people of Angola have long expressed their solidarity with, and offered their total support to, the heroic revolutionary comrades in Viet Nam.

149. We cannot fail to note that those who have always objected to the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam usurped a right that was not theirs: the denial of membership to a fully sovereign, independent State.

150. The Angolan delegation, for its part, wishes to take this opportunity to salute the people of Viet Nam, which has so gallantly faced the burden of imperialist victimization and never wavered on its path towards fighting and righting the wrongs perpetrated by imperialism and colonialism all over the third world. We whole-heartedly support the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and look forward to seeing, very soon, the Vietnamese delegation seated in the chambers of the United Nations.

151. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Chinese*): The next speaker is the representative of Guinea, whom I invite to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

152. Mr. M. S. CAMARA (Guinea) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, first of all I should like to extend to you the warmest congratulations of my delegation on your accession to the presidency of the Council and to express my heartfelt gratitude for being allowed to take part in the debate on the admission of Viet Nam to the United Nations. For us it is a matter of great satisfaction to see a representative of the People's Republic of China presiding over the discussion of this question. The People's Republic of China can rightly be proud of a glorious tradition of struggle against foreign invasion and domination and for the total liberation of all oppressed peoples. The historic example of the great People's Republic of China has inspired many people throughout the world, which to a large extent has made it possible to put an end to the oppression and exploitation imposed on them by unscrupulous aggressors. One cannot speak of the historic conference on Indo-China held at Geneva in 1954 or that held at Bandung in 1955 without recording the positive participation of the People's Republic of China. When one's country is a great one such as yours, a country which, furthermore, has given the world men of the stature of Chairman Mao Tsetung and Prime Minister Chou En-lai, one can rightly be proud.

153. My delegation cannot fail to mention a happy event in the life of our friend Ambassador Consalvi of Venezuela, a man of great human qualities and a seasoned diplomat, who has just been appointed to the lofty post of Minister for External Relations of his country. To express on this occasion the deep joy we feel is a most elementary duty for my delegation, particularly because of the ties of friendship and fruitful co-operation between our two countries.

154. Backed by the great People's Republic of China, its natural ally, resolutely supported and assisted in its struggle for national liberation by the powerful Soviet State and the entire socialist community, and enjoying the militant solidarity of the forces of progress throughout the world, the valiant and courageous people of Viet Nam, renowned for its tradition of indomitable struggle, has, at the cost of hard and painful sacrifices, vanquished its enemies within and without.

155. My delegation believes it is appropriate here to pay a resounding and highly deserved tribute to the venerated President Ho Chi-Minh, one of the great revolutionary figures of our century, who was commonly called "Uncle Ho" in Viet Nam. Thirty years ago, this great man proclaimed to the world, at the very place where his imposing mausoleum has now been built, the birth of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and later made it possible for the Vietnamese nation to win the signal honour of beating one by one all the imperialist armies. "Uncle Ho", the father of the Vietnamese nation, affirmed more than once: "Viet Nam is one; the Vietnamese nation is one and undivided. The waters may dry up and the mountains erode, but nothing can erase this immutable reality." The thinking of Ho Chi-Minh represents what is best in that nation of 50 million people. The adamant resistance of its valiant fighters has doubtless contributed to the affirmation of the sovereignty of many countries which are today Members of the United Nations.

156. The countless martyrs and the still fresh wounds of that fighting country turn to us and ask the Security Council, in which we place our legitimate hopes, to grant its request to assume its rightful place in our Organization. To admit to the United Nations a peaceful, reunited, independent, democratic and socialist Viet Nam is quite normal and morally significant. This act will make a reality of the principle of the universality of our Organization. In fact, the young Socialist Republic of Viet Nam is prepared to contribute effectively and with dignity to the triumph of world revolution, to the triumph of justice, solidarity and peace among all States and all peoples.

157. Our delegation is happy to note that with the installation of a new American Administration reason has triumphed over rancour.

158. The people of Guinea, rich in old traditions of struggle and combat against foreign domination, understands the situation of our Vietnamese brothers. The Socialist Republic of Viet Nam is a friend and ally of the Republic of Guinea, and the Vietnamese Communist Party and the Democratic Party of Guinea have always maintained cordial relations.

159. In solidarity with their struggle and their combat, my delegation can only encourage all the fortuitous initiatives that will ensure success for the present efforts towards the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to membership in the United Nations in the near future.

160. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Chinese*): I thank the representative of Guinea for the congratulations he addressed to me. In particular, I wish to thank him for his expressions of deep friendship for the great leader and teacher of the Chinese people, the late Chairman Mao Tsetung, and to our esteemed and beloved late Premier Chou En-lai. We shall take the expressions of such sentiments as a great support for and encouragement to the people of China. The Chinese people will strive to do even better in their socialist revolution and construction so as to live up to the expectations of the people of the world.

161. The next speaker is the representative of Madagascar. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

162. Mr. RABETAFIKA (Madagascar) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, I would be failing in my duty if I did not express to you, on behalf of the delegation of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar, and through you to the other members of the Council, our sincere thanks for being allowed to take part in this important debate. We would add to those thanks our feeling of deep satisfaction at seeing the Council being presided over during this month of July by the representative of a great country of the third world with which we have special ties of friendship and co-operation as a result of our common choices, initiatives and destiny.

163. Finally, we would express to Ambassador Consalvi, the representative of Venezuela, our sincere congratulations on his recent appointment to the post of Minister for External Relations of his country.

164. Immediately following its victory, the Vietnamese people proclaimed through its eminent leaders its will to cement relations of friendship and co-operation with all peoples, without any exception, as well as its determination to base those relations on respect for the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of the "five principles" of non-alignment.

165. The great majority of States accepted that declaration at the very outset, but others took more time to recognize it. Thus, the commitment on behalf of the Vietnamese people under Article 4 of the Charter will be endorsed by our Organization only after a two-year hiatus, during which we encountered misunderstanding, distrust and bad faith, and after four debates at the level of the Security Council. Nevertheless, the adoption of General Assembly resolution 3366 (XXX) of 19 September 1975 without opposition, left no doubt as to the attitude of almost all the Member States concerning the candidacy of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam.

166. Like other countries which have always actively supported that candidacy, the Democratic Republic of Madagascar has every reason to welcome the favourable situation of today. We are proud of having made our contribution to the success of the just cause of the Vietnamese people, and our pride is equalled only by the joy we feel in seeing our Organization finally about to become reconciled with its own principles with regard to the Vietnamese people.

167. For 30 years, because of the determination of the great Powers, and in spite of the repeated appeals of the world's conscience and the most highly authorized persons, the United Nations was not able to play a really significant role in the settlement of the Vietnamese war. We must admit that we shirked our responsibilities when there was in that region a breach of peace and security. The Vietnamese people, in all dignity, endured the greatest suffering and the worst humiliations that can be imagined. Today we must make sure that that suffering was not in vain. Following the logic of the principles of the Charter and the declarations

regarding relations between States, international security and the liberation of peoples, our Organization must recognize, in the most appropriate manner, that people's victory over colonialism, imperialism and foreign occupation and domination.

168. My Government has proclaimed several times, in this Organization and elsewhere, the faith that we have always had in the will of the Vietnamese people to comply unreservedly with the objectives and principles of the Charter and to support them vigorously when they are put in question. Indeed, it would be to misunderstand the deep meaning of the struggle waged by that people over three decades to doubt for a single moment that that struggle was waged in defence of the principles and objectives enshrined in the Charter, in particular those which have to do with the search for liberty, progress and social justice for all men, as well as those concerning the independence of nations and self-determination for all peoples.

169. We know that, beyond the universal recognition of the sovereignty of their State, our Vietnamese comrades are concerned above all with the possibility of carrying out, within the framework of the United Nations, a forward-looking policy towards all countries, and that that policy has been the cornerstone of their foreign policy. We know also that they wish to participate in the conduct of international affairs. We know, finally, that they have an original contribution to make in the light of the special experiences that they have lived through. How, then, can we not welcome with relief the fact that the Organization will no longer be deprived of this enriching factor—the revolutionary dynamism of the Vietnamese people?

170. It is a source of real satisfaction for us that, instead of having to prove the inanity of the political and legal arguments to which we have become inured, we are able today to note positive factors in the present situation.

171. First of all, we note that, in the absence of the normalization of American-Vietnamese relations, talks have resumed between the two countries, allowing a bilateral discussion of the outstanding problems which one of the two parties had been using to block the admission of the other to the Organization. Having always maintained that the latter should not be used as an instrument of national policy, we denounced at the time the initiative whereby bilateral problems were invoked to prevent the normal functioning of the United Nations. We do not conceal out of any false shame our legitimate satisfaction at knowing that we adopted a correct attitude and that the development of the situation proved us right.

172. Secondly, we call attention to the following points: the unblocking of a situation which has been static for too long, the return to a normal functioning of our institutions and the renunciation of unilateral, improper interpretations of the Charter.

173. The euphoria that such developments may inspire in us will be in vain if we do not take advantage of this opportunity to try to improve the rules governing our relations within this Organization. Our contribution in this respect is to propose once more that the Advisory Opinion

rendered by the International Court of Justice on 28 May 1948³ should be completed by another one that would exclude from the right of veto Chapter II of the Charter, which deals with the admission of new Members. We maintain that, as regards admission procedures, the Security Council is endowed with powers of recommendation only. At issue is the juridical value of a veto cast in exercise of that power, which must be differentiated from the decision-making power exercised within the context of the special mandate conferred on the Council regarding the maintenance of international peace and security.

174. Having made those observations, I wish to add before concluding that, even if the favourable outcome of Viet Nam's candidacy does not seem to be in doubt at present, the ambiguity surrounding this all-too-clear question has lasted too long for us not to demand a positive attitude on the part of all members of the international community consisting in the unequivocal recognition of the sovereignty of the Vietnamese people, its right to deal with all other peoples on the basis of strict equality, its right to independence and its right to adopt an ideology and a political régime of its own choice. Such an attitude would go beyond the simple passive acceptance that we perceive here and there and which, in the final analysis, is not to the credit of those who practise it and does not render full justice to the valiant people of Viet Nam. Today we hail their victory over the intolerance, distrust and ill-faith which we have constantly denounced.

175. The Democratic Republic of Madagascar welcomes in the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam a companion-in-arms in a struggle which will continue within this Organization to make it an instrument for the total liberation of peoples in all areas and for the triumph of justice and social progress.

176. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Chinese*): I thank the representative of Madagascar for the friendly sentiments he has addressed to me and to my country, China.

177. The next speaker is the representative of Yugoslavia, whom I invite to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

178. Mr. MUJEZINOVIC (Yugoslavia): Mr. President, may I, first of all, say how grateful my delegation is to have this opportunity to speak on this important issue at a time when you, the representative of the friendly People's Republic of China, are presiding over the meetings of the Security Council. Friendship and co-operation between the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the People's Republic of China are developing successfully and being enriched with new content. We are convinced that the dialogue established between representatives of our two countries at various levels will acquire a new quality in the forthcoming period and will further stimulate all-round co-operation between our two countries and, in particular, between our two Missions to the United Nations. Your personal qualities as an experienced diplomat will undoubtedly contribute towards the adoption, at the current series of meetings, of a satisfactory decision on the question on the agenda.

³ Admission of a state to the United Nations (Charter, Art. 4), Advisory Opinion: I.C.J. Reports 1948, p. 57.

179. I also wish to join previous speakers in extending my delegation's congratulations to Ambassador Simón Alberto Consalvi on his appointment to the very responsible post of Minister for External Relations of friendly Venezuela and wish him successful and fruitful work.

180. The Yugoslav delegation has asked for the privilege of addressing the Council on this matter in order to pledge its support for, and express its solidarity with, the application of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam for admission to the United Nations.

181. The question of the recognition of the legitimate rights of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam in the United Nations has been on the agenda of the world Organization far too long. We cannot but express our dissatisfaction over this fact, while at the same time voicing the hope that, on this occasion, the Security Council will finally adopt a unanimous and positive stand and recommend to the General Assembly that it admit the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to the United Nations.

182. All the speakers who have preceded me in this debate have explained, in a convincing and inspired manner, the positions of their countries with regard to this question. I should like to add Yugoslavia's voice to the voices of all those who consider that the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam fully meets the conditions for United Nations membership.

183. The Security Council is seized of the application of a peaceful country whose people have demonstrated their suitability for membership in the best possible manner—precisely by their heroic struggle for liberation and, since the end of hostilities, their dedication to the objectives of the United Nations and the principles of the Charter. By their determination, persistence and firm will in the struggle to assert their dignity, freedom and independence, the people of Viet Nam inflicted defeat on colonialism and foreign domination, the aim of which was to humiliate a people by force and deprive them of the basic human right to decide their own fate.

184. Thus the liberation struggle of the people of Viet Nam has provided history with an inspiring example showing that a people ready and resolved to defend its freedom and independence at any cost cannot be defeated regardless of what opponent is involved. Precisely, a people that has made tremendous sacrifices in the course of a long and devastating war it has waged for its liberation is in the best position to appreciate and respect the freedom and independence of other peoples. Viet Nam has given proof of its peaceful policy, founded on co-operation based on equal rights, mutual respect and non-interference in internal affairs, by taking constructive initiatives and pursuing efforts to promote all-round co-operation and good relations with all countries prepared to co-operate on a similar basis.

185. As a non-aligned country, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam has contributed specifically to the stabilization of the situation in South-East Asia and thereby to the consolidation of Asia as a whole. At the meetings and in other activities of the non-aligned countries, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam plays an active role by taking

constructive initiatives and adopting positions that have been elaborated over a period of many years in the course of Viet Nam's close connexion with the policy and movement of non-alignment. Through its struggle and its activity in international relations, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam is making a genuine contribution to the liberation of all peoples still deprived of their rights, and is contributing towards strengthening an international order founded on the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. For this reason, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam enjoys great prestige in the world and the support of all freedom-loving peoples.

186. I should like to avail myself of this opportunity to draw attention to yet another very important matter, namely, that it is known that, in the course of the long war, many cities and economic centres of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam were devastated, millions of lives were lost, countless social, health, family and personal problems were created for millions of people, millions of children were orphaned, economic flows were disrupted, and so on.

187. The international community is duty-bound to lend all-round assistance to the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam in its efforts to rehabilitate and reconstruct the country so that the wounds inflicted by war may be rapidly healed. It is not only the duty of the countries that took a direct part in the war to contribute unselfishly; it is also their duty to meet the obligations they have assumed with regard to lending assistance to the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam in order to enable it to continue to develop by relying on its own forces and to integrate itself as soon as possible into broader and equitable international economic co-operation.

188. On this occasion I also wish to emphasize that Yugoslavia has constantly supported the just struggle and aspirations of the people of Viet Nam to live in freedom and independence. Today, relations between the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia are well developed in the political, economic, cultural and other fields. As non-aligned countries, Yugoslavia and Viet Nam co-operate very closely with regard to the implementation of the decisions of the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries held at Colombo. We are confident that, at the forthcoming thirty-second session of the General Assembly, we shall have the opportunity to co-operate with the delegation of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam as a full Member of the United Nations. The admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam will constitute a further step towards strengthening peace and security. It will be a sign of appreciation of the policy of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and of its efforts to reconstruct the war-devastated country, and it will further strengthen the world Organization and enhance its universality.

189. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Chinese*): I thank the representative of Yugoslavia for the support and encouragement he gave me in his statement. The peoples of China and Yugoslavia have a deep and militant friendship. The two Governments enjoy a growing relationship of friendship and co-operation. Like the representative of Yugoslavia, I am gratified at this development and hope

that such relations of friendship and co-operation will further strengthen and develop.

190. The next speaker is the representative of the Syrian Arab Republic. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make a statement.

191. Mr. SIBAHY (Syrian Arab Republic) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, my delegation is happy and grateful to be able to speak, without the right to vote, before the Security Council, which is receiving the wise guidance guaranteed by your eminent qualities and the leading and energetic role your country has ceaselessly played throughout the world. You belong to a great and friendly country with which the Syrian Arab Republic is happy to have begun excellent relations. My delegation hopes that, during your wise presidency, particularly towards the closure of this meeting, the subject under discussion will be crowned with success.

192. The Security Council is once more examining the request for admission to the United Nations of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, a country which comes to the United Nations with a brilliantly impressive history of determined and victorious struggle against imperialism.

193. Indeed, the Vietnamese people were applauded and supported by the peoples of the world well before their amazing victory because, in contemporary history, they have written the most brilliant and glorious pages of heroism and sacrifice. What more can be asked of them now? Should they not—we believe they should—receive just and equitable compensation and be acclaimed with dignity both here and in the General Assembly regarding their admission to the international community? The veto cast earlier in the Security Council to block the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to membership has not tarnished and never shall tarnish the support and respect the Vietnamese have won on the battlefield as well as in the field of international relations with peace-loving countries throughout the world.

194. My delegation believes the Security Council has a special responsibility. This candidacy should be examined on the basis of the merits of the Vietnamese people and, by that criterion, a favourable recommendation should be made. To exercise its full authority, the Council must not be a prisoner of archaic considerations irrelevant to the merits of this request. My country unreservedly supports, in the full meaning of the term, the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. In supporting its admission we base our position on the conditions required by the Charter and the community of struggle which unites the Syrian people to their brothers, the Vietnamese people.

195. The only conditions laid down in the Charter for the admission of new Members are those found in Article 4, paragraph 1: in the first place the candidate must be a peace-loving State and in the second place it must accept the obligations contained in the Charter. There is a third condition, but it is not for the candidate to prove that it meets that condition; it is for the Organization itself to establish this. That condition is that the candidate, in the judgement of the Organization, is able and willing to carry out the obligations contained in the Charter. Now, a positive judgement has been repeatedly made by an overwhelming majority—indeed, almost unanimously—in the Organization—that is, in the General Assembly and the Security Council. It is thus clear, in view of this overwhelming majority—and, to avoid repetition, I shall not cite the references—that the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam is fully qualified to become a Member of the United Nations because it meets all the conditions laid down in the Charter.

196. Furthermore, my country is convinced that the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, which heroically struggled for its independence and sovereignty, will heroically struggle within the Organization also—once it has been admitted—for international peace and security and for the well-being of mankind, in accordance with the ideals of the international community and the Charter.

197. My delegation will welcome enthusiastically the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to this world Organization and will spare no effort to strengthen even further the excellent relations existing between us and the heroic people of Viet Nam and its future representatives at the United Nations.

198. My delegation hopes, Sir, that under your wise presidency the Security Council will unanimously recommend the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to the United Nations.

199. Before concluding, I should like on behalf of my delegation to extend sincerest congratulations to Mr. Alberto Consalvi, representative of Venezuela, on his appointment to the post of Minister for External Relations of his country, and to express our best wishes for success in his new post.

200. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Chinese*): I thank the representative of the Syrian Arab Republic for the encouraging words he has addressed to me. In particular, I thank him for his praise of the country I represent, the People's Republic of China. We shall regard that praise as encouragement to us to do even better in our revolution and construction.

The meeting rose at 6.15 p.m.

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