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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.

2025TH MEETING

Held in New York on Wednesday, 20 July 1977, at 10.30 a.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/2025)

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 11.05 a.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 decisions taken yesterday, I invite the representatives of Algeria, Angola, Bulgaria, Chad, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Guinea, Guyana, Hungary, Indonesia, Iraq, Jamaica, Japan, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Mongolia, the Philippines, Poland, Sri Lanka, the Syrian Arab Republic and Yugoslavia to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Bouayad-Agha (Algeria), Mr. de Figueiredo (Angola), Mr. Yankov (Bulgaria), Mr. Dessande (Chad), Mr. Gómez Anzardo (Cuba), Mr. Rossides (Cyprus), Mr. Jachek (Czechoslovakia), Mr. Zachmann (German Democratic Republic), Mr. M. S. Camara (Guinea), Mr. Joseph (Guyana), Mr. Hollai (Hungary), Mr. Anwar Sani (Indonesia), Mr. Kubba (Iraq), Ms. Mair (Jamaica), Mr. Kanazawa (Japan), Mr. Boulom (Lao People's Democratic Republic), Mr. Rabetafika (Madagascar), Mr. Yeo (Malaysia), Mr. Kanté (Mali), Mr. Nyamdo

(Mongolia), Mr. Reyes (Philippines), Mr. Czarkowski (Poland), Mr. Amerasinghe (Sri Lanka), Mr. Sibahi (Syrian Arab Republic) and Mr. Mujezinović (Yugoslavia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

2. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Chinese*): In addition, I have received a letter from the representative of Burundi in which he requests 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 him 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 the representative of Burundi to take the place reserved for him at the side of the Council chamber, on the usual understanding that he will be invited to take a place at the Council table whenever he wishes to address the Council.

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

4. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Chinese*): The first speaker is the representative of Jamaica. I invite her to take a place at the Council table and to make her statement.

5. Ms. MAIR (Jamaica): Mr. President, I should like first to express the gratitude of my delegation to you and the other members of the Council for affording us the opportunity to participate in the debate on the question now before the Council. I should also like to take this opportunity to express our very great satisfaction at seeing you, the representative of a very great nation, the People's Republic of China, a country for which our Government and people have the highest esteem and with which we enjoy most warm and friendly relations, presiding over the deliberations of the Council as it deals with the application of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam for membership in the United Nations.

6. Our delegation would also like to join those who have taken this opportunity to congratulate most warmly our colleague, Ambassador Consalvi, on his recent appointment to the high post of Minister for External Relations of his country, Venezuela, one of the Member States of our region.

7. We have requested permission to take part in the discussion on this important question in order to reaffirm

the most unreserved support of my Government for the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to membership in the United Nations.

8. The international community is aware, and my own delegation is convinced, that the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam meets fully all the requirements for admission to the Organization. In addition, we are equally convinced that as a full Member it will make a most valuable and constructive contribution towards fulfilling the goals and ideals of the Charter.

9. Members of the Council will recall that for 30 years the Vietnamese people waged a long, arduous self-sacrificing struggle against the forces of colonialism and imperialism; they fought for justice, for freedom and for their legitimate right to self-determination and independence. Theirs was one of the most heroic struggles of modern times. It won the admiration of peoples all over the world, and in particular of those peoples which have also had to struggle for their own national liberation and sovereignty. The ideals for which they fought so courageously are among those basic principles which are enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations.

10. After these many years of great suffering and tragic losses, they have won the right to live in freedom and in peace, and now the Government of Viet Nam is engaged in the process of rebuilding its country after the ravages of war, with determination and dedication and with respect for those principles which this Organization is committed to uphold. These efforts deserved the full support of the international community, and without further delay it should demonstrate this by embracing this great nation into its membership.

11. My delegation believes that the United Nations will be enriched by the presence of Viet Nam as a full Member, for that country brings with it into the international community an inspiring experience from which we have much to learn as together we pursue the building of a world based on peace, freedom and justice.

12. As a member of the non-aligned movement, my country has already formed a valuable association with the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, and we foresee continuing co-operation within that movement, as well as within the context of membership in the United Nations. As developing countries, we face similar problems and we share the same overriding objectives of focusing the efforts of the United Nations on building a world based on economic justice and on peace.

13. My delegation welcomes the indications that the application of Viet Nam for membership will receive the unanimous approval of the Council. We are most confident that, as the Council accepts the draft resolution now before it, it will be acting in accordance with the wishes of the whole international community and ensuring implementation of the principle of universality.

14. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Chinese*): I thank the representative of Jamaica for the congratulations she extended to me, and in particular for the warm sentiments

she has expressed towards the Chinese Government and people. We have similar respect for the people and Government of Jamaica.

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

16. Mr. GOMEZ ANZARDO (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, first of all, I should like to say to you and to the other members of the Council how grateful my delegation is for being allowed to participate in this debate on the application for admission of the fraternal Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to United Nations membership. At the same time, I wish to extend to you our congratulations on your accession to the presidency of the Council for this month. Your esteemed qualities augur well for success in your endeavours.

17. I sincerely endorse the words of those representatives who have hailed the well-deserved promotion to the important post of Minister for External Relations of the Government of the fraternal people of Venezuela of Ambassador Simón Alberto Consalvi, who will surely continue in his new important post to bring to the United Nations his vast experience and recognized talent.

18. Once again the Security Council is considering the application for admission to the United Nations of the heroic Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. It is incredible that more than a year has gone by and we are still debating this question, when we are all aware that we are not discussing questions either of substance or of form, since Article 4 of the Charter is clear, precise and explicit in stipulating as a condition for admission to membership that the State be peace-loving, that it accept the obligations contained in the Charter, and that, in the judgement of the United Nations, it be able and willing to carry out those obligations.

19. Both in the General Assembly and in the Security Council, nearly all the Member States voted in favour of Viet Nam's admission because it manifestly meets all requirements.

20. The Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, by a rare set of circumstances if we bear in mind its origins and history, has no peer in its struggle for peace and as a peace-loving State. As long ago as 1894, José Martí, in the midst of his tenacious and selfless task of organizing the Cuban war of independence, wrote with his fertile pen about the admirable heroism of the Annamese who were struggling for their sovereignty and their country against colonialism.

21. Now, in this century, the people of Viet Nam have remained faithful to its history and origins and have astonished the world and won admiration by defending its right to live in peace, fighting against its powerful aggressors until they were defeated and banished from its soil. Viet Nam, united now and institutionally consolidated as a State by the democratic process of the ballot box in an exemplary popular vote that built a socialist society, was the vanguard trench where the battle was waged for all peoples. Viet Nam was able to face aggression and sacrifice,

defeating imperialism in order to preserve its independence and international security and thus assisting in the strengthening of world peace and security.

22. The Socialist Republic of Viet Nam is *de facto* and *de jure* a peace-loving State which has applied for membership in the United Nations, accepting the obligations contained in the Charter. It maintains relations with more than 100 States with different social systems throughout the length and breadth of all continents, is an outstanding member of the non-aligned movement and belongs to the major international organizations for development and co-operation in various fields.

23. The Government of the United States was unable to present any worth-while argument against the admission of Viet Nam. On every occasion, it advanced false, irresponsible and hardly serious reasons which had no relation to what is laid down in Article 4 of the Charter. It has made improper and wrongful use of the power of the veto, thereby undermining the principles and prerogatives attaching to that power and damaging the image of the United Nations in the eyes of the world.

24. Following the unanimous decision in the Committee on the Admission of New Members and the statement of the representative of the United States to the effect that it would not bar the legitimate aspiration of the Vietnamese people to membership in the United Nations, we wish to emphasize, since we now deem it appropriate, necessary and just, that the wounds of the war of aggression against Viet Nam cannot easily be healed. We were all witnesses to that deplorable and uncivilized act, which can be justified only by the essence of the imperialist institution, of domination and expansion, destruction, exploitation and death.

25. As a remembrance of and a tribute to the valiant people of Viet Nam, to the millions of martyrs which made possible, with international solidarity and the assistance of the socialist States, the crushing defeat of imperialism and its puppets, I shall read a press release from that recent past which gives an account of an unpublished event of the undeclared war that violated to the extreme the most basic of human rights, namely, the right to live and to exist. The press release reads:

“From 18 to 30 December 1972, Yankee aviation unleashed bestial attacks on Hanoi, the capital of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, and on Haiphong, the second most important city of that country. During that time, the Republic of Viet Nam was attacked by air with more than 1,000 sorties, and of these more than 500, which included B-52 aircraft, attacked Hanoi, the capital. More than 1,000 tons of bombs were dropped by the Yankee air force in the course of those days, which are universally known as Nixon's bloody Christmas.

“The genocide provoked during that period in Hanoi and Haiphong by the Nixon Administration was indignantly condemned by all peoples throughout the world, including the American people.”

Accordingly, the cities, the fields, the factories, the schools, the hospitals, the parks, the bridges, the dams, the roads,

the railways and even the rivers were totally destroyed or paralysed.

26. The unforgettable father of Viet Nam, Ho Chi-Minh, stated: “Our people will win the final victory, and once we are at peace we shall build a far more beautiful Viet Nam.”

27. Viet Nam is in urgent need of total reconstruction because of the devastation brought by machine guns and the most sophisticated weapons, which were tested in that country for the first time. All peoples are indebted to the Vietnamese people. Hence world solidarity must be mobilized in that direction, to assist in the reconstruction of Viet Nam. But, first and foremost, Viet Nam is entitled to just and due payment as reparation for the incalculable damage caused by the responsible country, namely, the United States of America.

28. My delegation endorses and supports the draft resolution introduced by the representative of India which several members of the Council have joined in sponsoring and which recommends to the General Assembly that the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam should be admitted to the United Nations. With its experience in struggling for peace and for survival, Viet Nam, we are sure, will add to the prestige of the Organization.

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

30. Mr. DESSANDE (Chad) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, I must, first of all, tell you and all the other members of the Council how grateful my delegation is for the opportunity that you have just given us to speak today in this august body on the important question of the re-examination of the application of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam for admission to the United Nations. We thank you for this opportunity.

31. This is an apt occasion for me to congratulate you warmly, you who represent the People's Republic of China, on your assumption of the lofty functions of President of the Security Council for the month of July. It is also appropriate for me to emphasize here the excellent co-operation which exists and is growing and developing so harmoniously between your great country and mine, Chad. The happy outcome of the last debate of the Council once more confirmed your eminent virtues and your wealth of experience as a seasoned diplomat. That outcome was reassuring to my delegation and leads it to believe that the debate that is now being held under your clear-sighted direction will undoubtedly achieve the same resounding success.

32. In speaking at this stage of the discussion, my delegation merely wished to emphasize the regret that it voiced at the previous session of the General Assembly at not seeing the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, an independent country, occupying its place among us. We were particularly anxious to reiterate the total support of my Government for the admission of that country. The laudable exploits of its valiant people have won our admiration and our respect.

33. It would not be fitting for me to protract in any way this discussion in the Council by dwelling on the long and difficult pilgrimage undertaken by the valiant and courageous people of Viet Nam in search of independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. As everyone knows, that country was subjected to an unprecedented trial. I mean the armed conflict that started in 1945, was interrupted in 1954 by the Geneva Agreements and finally came to an end in 1973 as a result of the Paris Agreements. The formula "Viet Nam is one; the Vietnamese people is one; no force in the world can obliterate this truth" has therefore not been simply a dream. For many years now it has been a concrete fact. At the cost of a thousand sacrifices, the people of Viet Nam have recovered their freedom and founded an independent and unified nation which aspires to justice, peace and international security, for the strengthening of which it has expressed the ardent desire to make its contribution in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

34. The Socialist Republic of Viet Nam already belongs to a number of international organizations, including the non-aligned movement. Like Chad, it is a member of the Co-ordinating Bureau of that movement, and it has devoted itself fully to the work of that body, to the satisfaction of all. As has been confirmed by a number of members of the Council, it has signed a number of agreements on co-operation with several Member States of the Organization. Its admission to the United Nations will enable it to continue, in close co-operation with all peace—and justice-loving countries, the efforts it has already undertaken for its national reconstruction and, furthermore, will give a greater opportunity to our dear colleague, Ambassador Dinh Ba Thi, to participate fully, on behalf of his country, in the task of building international peace and security.

35. Listening yesterday to the statements made by members of the Council and other speakers who have preceded us, my delegation has been led to believe that the obstacles which have hitherto prevented the admission of Viet Nam to the United Nations appear to have been removed and that therefore the present debate, in view of the new circumstances, is taking place in auspicious conditions. Therefore my delegation has every reason to think and to hope that the wise decision of the Council will give us in the near future the very pleasant opportunity and great pleasure of addressing its warm and sincere congratulations to the delegation of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam on its admission to the United Nations.

36. I should not like to conclude my remarks without requesting you, Mr. President, to be kind enough to convey the warm congratulations of my delegation to Ambassador Consalvi, who has been promoted by his country, Venezuela, to the very responsible position of Minister for External Relations. We wish him every success in his new office.

37. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Chinese*): I thank the representative of Chad for the congratulations and encouraging words he addressed to me. I share his gratification at the growing relations of co-operation and friendship between Chad and China.

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

39. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): On behalf of the delegation of Cyprus I thank the Council for allowing me to participate in this debate on the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to the United Nations.

40. I take this opportunity to express to you, Mr. President, our heartiest congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Council. I also heartily welcome you as Permanent Representative of your country. Your diplomatic experience and political wisdom can be of great service to the United Nations and to your country, which we hold in particular esteem and respect for its ancient wisdom and present achievements. With its long spiritual tradition and its philosophical background, China can make significant contributions to our world of today and also to the necessary progress towards a simpler, less tortuous and wider approach to life in relations among nations, an approach more suited to the needs of an advanced technological era.

41. My delegation wishes to express its full support for the admission of Viet Nam to the United Nations. It is for us a source of satisfaction and optimism that the people of Viet Nam, after long years of heroic struggle for freedom and self-determination in circumstances of appalling vicissitude, internal division and strife and continuing war and outside intervention, have cast away with tenacity and determination the pernicious effects of partition, and now emerge as a free and unified nation seeking its place in the sun.

42. We feel that, as a full Member of the United Nations, Viet Nam will make an important contribution to the cause of international understanding and peace. After having for many years experienced the bitter taste of insecurity, anarchy and war, the people of Viet Nam are in a better position to understand the significance of freedom and peace and therefore to contribute towards making the United Nations an effective instrument of international legal order, security and peace in the world. By the admission of Viet Nam, the universality of the United Nations will be further enhanced, and thereby progress will be made towards rendering the Organization as effective as it must be.

43. We consider that Viet Nam fully merits admission to the United Nations, particularly having regard to its positive conduct since the termination of the war. Among its other merits, Viet Nam has shown humane understanding of the difficulties involved in regard to the great number of missing persons whose fate remained undetermined after the end of the war. We therefore commend the Government of Viet Nam for the genuine efforts it is making to trace those persons, efforts that have already resulted in the remains of a number of American nationals being returned to their country. This is a most satisfactory development from the point of view of human rights. The tragedy involved for the close relatives of the missing persons is indescribable. Not knowing the fate of their dear ones makes their life a continuous, unending daily agony. Are they dead? Or are they suffering in dungeons? These are

excruciatingly painful questions and it is inhuman to allow them to go unanswered. We are therefore gratified to note that the Government of Viet Nam has been and is exerting genuine efforts towards putting an end to such inhuman torment. Most regrettably, the same thing cannot be said about the fate of over 2,000 missing persons in the case of Cyprus, where those manifestly responsible for accounting for those missing persons have allowed nothing to be done to trace them. That contrast should be borne in mind by the Security Council.

44. It is generally a gratifying and hopeful sign that, in the relations between the United States and Viet Nam, the human element has prevailed. The American people in their overwhelming majority had persistently manifested their determination to put an end to the Viet Nam war and all the inhumanity involved in it. That genuine feeling of the American people played an important role in the positive development of the problem of Viet Nam towards peace. Correspondingly, the Vietnamese people are showing respect for the principles of humanism. That is a positive and very hopeful development towards international co-operation.

45. We therefore strongly support the admission of Viet Nam, as promising a constructive contribution to the world Organization in its quest for international security and peace and thus enhancing the achievement of the objectives of the non-aligned movement—as was so pertinently pointed out yesterday by its current Chairman, and President of the General Assembly, Ambassador Amerasinghe of Sri Lanka [2024th meeting]. Among those objectives is the promotion of the effective functioning of the Organization, so as to ensure international security, thereby making wars not only unnecessary but also impossible. That is the way to peace. That is the way that we hope will be chosen also by Viet Nam, which has suffered so much from a lack of international security which inevitably leads to war.

46. Before concluding, I should like to convey, on behalf of my Government and on my own behalf, hearty congratulations to Ambassador Consalvi on his assignment to the post of Minister for External Relations of Venezuela, a country with which we have most friendly and cordial relations. Ambassador Consalvi's high qualities of wisdom and experience in the conduct of political affairs, as well as the diplomatic skill with which he is endowed, vouch for success in his new important office.

47. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Chinese*): I thank the representative of Cyprus for the congratulations he extended to me. We regard his praise for China as very important support and encouragement from a friend.

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

49. Mr. KUBBA (Iraq): I should like first to express my delegation's pleasure, Mr. President, at seeing you, the representative of a great and friendly country, the People's Republic of China, presiding over the Council while it is discussing a very important issue.

50. The question of the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam is of prime importance to the international community. It highlights one of the basic principles of the Charter, namely, the right of all peace-loving States to membership in the United Nations. It also highlights the differences between practice and principle which some are trying to introduce into our Organization.

51. The heroic and victorious people of Viet Nam have long been denied the exercise of one of their basic inalienable rights, namely, the right of their State to its legitimate place among Member States of the Organization. In proclaiming the right of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to membership in the United Nations, we are but putting forth a claim to the observance of a basic principle of the Charter, something which cannot be denied to any peace-loving State. The international community is bound by the principles of the Charter because its Member States have agreed to abide by its provisions and to implement them.

52. The glorious victory achieved by the people of Viet Nam and the birth of their State, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, were acclaimed by the Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries at their fifth Summit Conference, held at Colombo in August 1976. This was proclaimed to be a victory of militant solidarity and effective co-operation among the peoples struggling for independence and freedom, the non-aligned countries and other progressive forces in the world. The Conference called upon the Security Council to give prompt and positive consideration to the application of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam for admission to membership in accordance with General Assembly resolution 3366 (XXX).

53. The Government of Iraq has always supported the struggle for national liberation of all oppressed peoples and condemned the aggressive forces of imperialism, racism and all other forms of aggression. We have unswervingly upheld the right of all people to self-determination, free of any alien domination. In his statement before the General Assembly on 5 October 1976,¹ Mr. Saadoun Hammadi, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Iraq, condemned the stand taken by the United States against the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and called for the admission of the Republic to the United Nations. The United States position is a clear example of the misuse of the veto power for political reasons.

54. The Government of Iraq hopes that the victorious Socialist Republic of Viet Nam will be allowed fully to exercise its rights and will be admitted to membership in the United Nations without any further delay, to enable it to participate with other nations in promoting international peace and security.

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

56. Mr. KANTE (Mali) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, allow me first of all to discharge the pleasant

¹ Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-first Session, Plenary Meetings, 18th meeting.

duty of congratulating you most cordially on behalf of my delegation on your accession to the presidency of the Security Council. This is a well deserved tribute which through you is paid to your great country and to the great people of China for the historic role they have played in the emancipation of peoples.

57. The great revolution started in 1949 by the Chinese Communist Party under the firm leadership of its helmsman, President Mao Tsetung, an outstanding figure of history, continues to inspire the struggles for political, economic, social and cultural liberation being waged throughout the world for the democratization of international relations and for the bringing into being of a new international economic order, a juster world society based upon interdependence and effective solidarity among nations.

58. Here I should like to express our great satisfaction at the exemplary relations the Government of the People's Republic of China has maintained with my country since it acceded to independence in 1960.

59. Need I recall here that your first act as President was to recommend to the General Assembly, on 7 July, the admission to the United Nations of the Republic of Djibouti, that ancient colonial Territory for whose independence your great country, displaying the strict consistency that has characterized its international policy, spared no effort and no resource?

60. That the admission to the United Nations of the heroic Socialist Republic of Viet Nam is being considered by the Security Council under your presidency is far more than a mere coincidence. This is a historic event which confirms the community of destiny of the two peoples of China and Viet Nam, who remained in solidarity at all stages of the total war imposed by the imperial colonialist forces upon the country of that other great and venerated master of global revolution, Ho Chi-Minh.

61. The unanimous recommendation of the Committee on the Admission of New Members for the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam is but an act of justice fully deserved by that country, which has paid the heaviest of tributes in defence of its freedom and to bring about fulfilment of the ideals of the Charter. Furthermore, this decision accords with the profound aspirations of the peoples of the entire world, which were forcefully expressed in General Assembly resolution 31/21 of 26 November 1976. That resolution strongly urged the Security Council to reconsider favourably the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to the United Nations. This decision is a just tribute to the people of Viet Nam, who, with indomitable courage and adamant determination, defeated the over-equipped armies of aggression. The longest colonial war of our time thus ended to the advantage of Viet Nam. My delegation would like to avail itself of this opportunity to hail the memory of all the Vietnamese patriots who died heroically to defend the independence and unity of their country.

62. My delegation cannot fail to rejoice at the spirit of understanding so far evinced by the new American Admin-

istration of President Jimmy Carter. This evolution puts and end to the negative attitude of its predecessor, which on three occasions improperly opposed the admission of Viet Nam to the United Nations although that country fulfilled all the conditions required under the Charter and had, what is more, solemnly committed itself to respect its principles. Today, the monstrous frustration that was felt by the entire world is no more than a memory, albeit a bitter one. In restoring the legitimate rights of heroic Viet Nam, the Security Council will have restored its own authority and credibility.

63. Now that the formality of admission has been settled, it remains for the United Nations to devote itself to giving substantial aid to the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam in the gigantic task of national reconstruction upon which it has embarked. It is the duty of every Member State to make its contribution and to shoulder its responsibility for the healing of the war wounds.

64. My delegation urges the Government of the United States, in the new spirit characteristic of it, to continue the negotiations it has started with the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam with a view to finding appropriate solutions to their differences in accordance with the provisions of the January 1973 Paris Agreements.

65. At the conclusion of this debate, a new State will be joining the community of nations. The principle of universality, although under attack for some time, has endured and today has been fully upheld.

66. The Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, with its 50 million inhabitants and its long tradition of struggle to preserve peace and freedom, will, we have no doubt, bring a wealth of experience to our Organization. The world, and in particular the countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations, which, at their recent conference, emphasized the highly peaceful role of that country in their region, cannot fail to rejoice.

67. My delegation hails the sister delegation of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, led by its eminent Ambassador, our brother Dinh Ba Thi, because of the new victory its country has just won on the battlefield for the reaffirmation of its national identity. My delegation wishes to assure it of the total support of the Government and people of Mali and their active solidarity with the Government and heroic and valiant people of Viet Nam. We have no doubt that the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam will also win the battle for national reconstruction it has embarked upon since the reunification of the country. The United Nations, our Organization, will, we are certain, assume its share of responsibility.

68. Before concluding, I should like to express the gratitude of my delegation to the members of the Security Council for extending to us the privilege of participating in this debate.

69. I further wish to avail myself of this opportunity to express, through the delegation of Venezuela, our most friendly and fraternal congratulations to Ambassador Simón Alberto Consalvi, the representative of Venezuela,

who will shortly leave us to assume the lofty functions of Minister for External Relations of his country, the post to which he has just been appointed. We can only rejoice at that choice and at the confidence which the President and Government of Venezuela have once again shown in him. Ambassador Consalvi, courteous and skilled in international question, is a seasoned militant for the cause of the third world, and thus has all the qualifications for success in the new and lofty post which will crown his rich and brilliant career at the service of mankind and democracy.

70. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Chinese*): I thank the representative of Mali for the friendly congratulations he addressed to me. China and Mali enjoy very friendly relations. I believe that his praise for China will encourage China to exert even greater efforts in its socialist revolution and construction.

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

72. Mr. SIMBANANIYE (Burundi) (*interpretation from French*): The heroic and victorious struggle of the Vietnamese people has created in South-East Asia conditions for international peace and security. That is why the Security Council, under the relevant provisions of Article 4 of the Charter and in the context of General Assembly resolution 31/21, is called upon to take this opportunity to pay a well-deserved and heartfelt tribute to that peaceful and united people and to render justice to that invincible nation.

73. What could be more moving and more encouraging than to see the Council presided over by the representative of a country which has constantly displayed both sympathy for and solidarity with not only the Vietnamese people during its long and arduous liberation struggle but also all those peoples of the world that are fighting against colonialism, imperialism and racism. The delegation of Burundi would like to take this opportunity to express its pleasure at the excellent relations of friendship and active solidarity existing between the People's Republic of China and the Republic of Burundi. The people of Burundi will always appreciate the objective support and assistance of the Chinese people in their struggle against colonialism and foreign domination. We are pleased to state that the teachings of the late Chairman Mao Tsetung that countries want independence, peoples want revolution and nations want liberation are now being put into effect throughout the world, because that is an inevitable historical process. It is also encouraging to see that, in this last quarter of the twentieth century, the eight principles of co-operation of the late Prime Minister Chou En-lai have enlightened the international community about the new horizons and the new dimensions of co-operation between peoples.

74. Thus, Mr. President, you represent a great people with revolutionary traditions, a people whose solidarity with oppressed peoples is an international duty. Your eminent qualities as a statesman as well as your commitment to defending and ensuring the triumph of the ideals and purposes of our Organization augur well for the success of this important debate. I should like to express to you and

to the other members of the Council my sincere thanks for allowing the delegation of Burundi to participate in this discussion, without the right to vote.

75. The people of Burundi had a long experience of the oppression of colonialism and foreign domination. On a number of occasions, imperialism has tried to undermine the national unity and independence of our country. Under the enlightened leadership of Colonel Jean-Baptiste Bagaza, President of the Supreme Revolutionary Council and President of the Republic, the people and Government of Burundi are more than ever committed to the struggle against imperialism, racism and colonialism.

76. The savage aggression perpetrated against the Vietnamese people was regarded by the people of Burundi as an attack against all those peoples that are determined to protect their independence and their dignity, despite the problems of development and the very few means of defence available to the countries that have only recently won their international sovereignty. The arsenal of mass destruction and annihilation which was used against an entire people struggling against foreign occupation indicates the force with which imperialism is prepared to strike. Furthermore, the entire world witnessed a struggle carried out with unparalleled courage. Mankind lived through the glorious events in which a people won a crushing victory over a most formidable enemy. That victory offers encouragement to those peoples that are fighting for equality, dignity, freedom and survival, such as the peoples of Azania, Namibia, Zimbabwe and Palestine and others that are still suppressed and that have risen up against the oppressor. Following that example we can say without any risk of error that the future belongs to those that take up arms to wage the struggle and that many victories have to be won against the enemy before one can negotiate with him. The triumph of the Vietnamese people is tangible proof that a united and revolutionary people cannot be vanquished and that it can thwart any plots directed against its unity and personality. The reunification of Viet Nam, which is in accordance with the profound aspirations of the Vietnamese people and the wishes expressed by President Ho Chi-Minh, indicates the path we should take in solving the thorny problem of the peaceful reunification and independence of the Korean State. That process clearly shows that one of the essential prerequisites is the withdrawal from South Korea of all the occupying armed forces.

77. Furthermore, the fact that the Vietnamese people has scored such spectacular successes is due not only primarily to its own genius and the most sublime sacrifices of its martyrs but also to the active solidarity of all the socialist countries and all peace and justice-loving peoples. This unity in the battle against oppressive régimes such as the systems of *apartheid*, colonialism and racism in South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe should light the path of the peoples that have always supported the liberation struggle, such as those of the People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union. The confrontation taking place on the African continent, for example, would only reinforce the criminal action of those régimes and delay the final victory of those militant peoples. The example of Viet Nam has proved right the great Western statesmen such as, to cite but two, General de Gaulle and Prime Minister Palme, who

saw things as they were and did not hesitate to discourage or even to condemn intervention or, more precisely, intolerable aggression against the Vietnamese people.

78. The present discussion should also enable the permanent members of the Security Council to refrain from improper use of the right of veto, a privilege to which they can lay claim only in cases involving the maintenance of international peace and security and by no means, in the spirit of the Charter, to exert pressure on any State with which negotiations must be entered into on an equal footing in order to settle disputes. The Socialist Republic of Viet Nam could have become a Member of our Organization when it first applied for admission, if these considerations had not stood in the way of the application of the relevant provisions of the Charter.

79. The Socialist Republic of Viet Nam is a peaceful State which has never harboured any warlike designs or perpetrated any aggression against another State. On the contrary, the Vietnamese people, although the victims of imperialist aggression, have, through their authentic representatives, stated their readiness to accept the obligations contained in the Charter. Furthermore, no State can claim that the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam is unable to carry out these obligations or that it is unwilling to do so. In spite of the colossal toll in human lives and the massive destruction of its economy, Viet Nam has proved to the world its ability to defend its sovereignty and its territorial integrity. It has guaranteed with exemplary courage respect for the rights of individuals and for international treaties, reflecting the ideals and the purposes of our Organization. We are entitled to conclude that only the policy of hegemony has until now prevented the admission to our Organization of a State enjoying all the attributes of a sovereign State and which has resolved to contribute effectively to the realization of the aims and purposes of the United Nations.

80. In the light of this glorious page in the history of the twentieth century, all States should embark upon the course of establishing democratic relations in international affairs. Non-interference in the internal affairs of other States should henceforth be the golden rule for Member States, particularly those which have been granted significant powers and privileges under the Charter.

81. It is the duty of the international community to make a substantial contribution to the reconstruction of Viet Nam. A particular obligation falls upon those States which, directly or indirectly, made themselves responsible for the aggression committed against Viet Nam, which resulted in a colossal toll in human lives and massive destruction of property. The time has come for all States to refrain from embarking upon such criminal ventures either against the people of Viet Nam, who have won the admiration of us all, or against any other State whatever its socio-economic system or its defence capability.

82. In conclusion, I wish, on behalf of my Government, to reiterate our unreserved support for the application of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam for admission to membership in the United Nations. I wish this friendly country great success in the reconstruction of its unified land and in the building of a new society.

83. Finally, I should like, on behalf of the delegation of Burundi, to welcome the appointment of Ambassador Consalvi, representative of Venezuela, to the post of Minister for External Relations. On behalf of my Government, I wish him happiness and every success in his new important functions.

84. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Chinese*): I thank the representative of Burundi for the friendly encouragement which he directed to me in his statement. China and Burundi enjoy relations of friendship and co-operation. We also share the view that all just struggles in the world will support each other. In this regard China has not done quite enough. We are grateful to Burundi for its support.

85. There being no further speakers, I shall now make a statement in my capacity as the representative of CHINA.

86. On 10 August 1976, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam submitted its application for admission to membership in the United Nations [*see S/12183*]. Between September and November of the same year, the Security Council considered that application. At the time, the Chinese delegation pointed out in unequivocal terms that, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam was qualified for membership in the United Nations and that it therefore firmly supported its application and opposed the use of any pretext by any country to obstruct its admission to membership in the United Nations. It was only because of the unreasonable obstruction raised by a permanent member under a certain pretext that the Security Council was unable to recommend the admission of Viet Nam. Thereafter, the General Assembly, at its thirty-first session, by an overwhelming majority of 124 votes, adopted a resolution 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 application of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam [*resolution 31/21*]. This was a most explicit expression of the common will of the overwhelming majority of States Members of the United Nations. On 11 July this year, the representative of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam addressed a letter to the Secretary-General [*see S/12361*], requesting the Security Council to reconsider its application in accordance with the aforesaid General Assembly resolution.

87. The Chinese delegation firmly supports the above-mentioned legitimate request of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and holds that the Security Council should now adopt a resolution, immediately and without any delay, recommending to the General Assembly the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to membership in the United Nations.

88. Under the leadership of their great leader, President Ho Chi-Minh, and the Community Party of Viet Nam, the Vietnamese people, who have a glorious revolutionary tradition, won complete victory in the national liberation war after waging protracted arduous struggles. Following the thorough defeat of the United States imperialist aggression, the fraternal Vietnamese people speedily brought to fruition the great cause of reunifying the

fatherland as envisaged in President Ho Chi-Minh's will. They have also continually scored new victories in consolidating the fruits of revolution, restoring and developing industrial and agricultural production and building their country. The Chinese people hail the great historic victory won by the fraternal Vietnamese people in the great cause of achieving the independence and liberation of the whole nation and bringing about the reunification of their fatherland, and we wish the Vietnamese people continued new victories in their cause of revolution and construction in the future.

89. The peoples of China and Viet Nam have forged a profound militant friendship in the prolonged revolutionary struggles against imperialism. The Chinese people have always treasured this friendship. Under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party headed by the wise leader Chairman Hua Kuo-feng, the Chinese Government and people will continue to implement steadfastly Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in foreign affairs and, as always, work to consolidate and develop the militant friendship between the peoples of China and Viet Nam. We are also convinced that, upon admission to membership in the United Nations, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam will make positive contributions to the realization of the purposes and principles of the Charter together with all the justice-upholding Member States.

90. In my capacity as PRESIDENT, I take it that, if no other representative wishes to speak at this stage, the Council is ready to proceed to the adoption of the draft resolution submitted by Benin, China, France, India, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Mauritius, Pakistan, Panama, Romania, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Venezuela. The draft resolution is contained in document S/12366. In accordance with the arrangements agreed upon earlier, it is my understanding that members of the Council agree that this draft resolution may be adopted by consensus, without being put to the vote. Accordingly, if I hear no objection, I shall declare the draft resolution adopted.

*The draft resolution was adopted.*²

91. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Chinese*): I shall immediately request the Secretary-General to transmit this recommendation to the General Assembly.

92. The representative of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam has expressed a wish to speak before the adjournment of this meeting. In accordance with the Council's previous decision on this matter [*2023rd meeting*], I now invite the representative of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

93. Mr. DINH BA THI (Socialist Republic of Viet Nam) (*interpretation from French*): Sir, may I first warmly congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of July and extend to you our best wishes for success in the exercise of your lofty functions.

94. Viet Nam and China are fraternal countries which are closely linked in the glorious revolutionary struggle of their two peoples. During our people's two wars of resistance against foreign aggression, as well as in the task of post-war reconstruction, the fraternal Chinese Communist Party, Government and people have given us powerful support and valuable assistance. The support and brotherly assistance of the Chinese people, as well as of other fraternal socialist countries and the peoples of the entire world, constituted an important contribution to the final victory of the long and difficult struggle of our people for national independence and the reunification of our country, as well as to our great success in the socialist construction of our country. The Vietnamese people constantly bear in their hearts profound gratitude for the noble support of the fraternal Chinese people. It is our firm conviction that the solidarity between Viet Nam and China, based on the principles of proletarian internationalism and tempered during the severe trials of our long revolutionary struggle, continues to grow stronger and to develop.

95. For 30 years the Vietnamese people waged a struggle requiring suffering and sacrifice to regain its national independence and reunite its country. The Government and people of Viet Nam pursue a foreign policy of peace, friendship and co-operation with all peoples, on the basis of mutual respect, independence, sovereignty, equality and mutual interest. We are pleased to note that the peoples of the entire world have placed great value on the struggle of the Vietnamese people and on its foreign policy, which they consider to be an important contribution to the common struggle of peoples in the defence of international peace and security, for national liberation, for the safeguard of the independence and sovereignty of peoples, and thus for the achievement of the objectives of the Charter of the United Nations. That is the reason why almost all the Member States have affirmed that Viet Nam is fully qualified to be a Member of the United Nations, and, by an overwhelming majority, have expressed, in the course of several meetings of the Security Council and at the thirtieth and thirty-first sessions of the General Assembly, their support for the admission of Viet Nam to membership in the United Nations. It is public knowledge that, but for the improper use of the right of veto by the United States on unwarranted pretexts, Viet Nam would have become a Member of the United Nations in 1975.

96. Today, after three meetings, the Council has unanimously adopted the draft resolution sponsored by 11 countries recommending that the General Assembly should admit the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to membership in the United Nations. Thus, the Council was able to adopt a resolution that was in conformity with the Charter and with the wishes of almost all the Members of the Organization.

97. I take this opportunity to express, on behalf of our Government, our most sincere gratitude to you, Mr. President, to all former and present members of the Security Council and to all the representatives of States Members of the United Nations which have, since 1975, supported our legitimate right to be admitted to the United Nations. We also express our most sincere gratitude to all the representatives of the socialist countries, to the Co-ordinating

² See resolution 413 (1977).

Bureau of the Non-Aligned Countries and its Chairman, to the working group for the admission of Viet Nam and of Angola and to other friendly countries which spared no effort in supporting our just cause and actively participated in this debate. We sincerely thank all those representatives who have been so good as to speak in the Council to demand of the Government of the United States that it should fulfil its obligation to contribute to the healing of the wounds of war and to the post-war reconstruction of Viet Nam. It is perfectly clear that world public opinion is and always will be on the side of Viet Nam in demanding of the Government of the United States that it should live up to the commitments laid down in article 21 of the Paris Agreements on Viet Nam.³ It is a matter of honour, of conscience and of responsibility which the United States Government cannot under any pretext shirk.

³ United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 935, p. 2.

98. I should like to join preceding speakers in congratulating Ambassador Consalvi on his appointment as Minister for External Relations of Venezuela.

99. To conclude, I wish to express my thanks to you, Mr. President, and to all the other members of the Security Council for having given me the opportunity to speak in this important body.

100. The PRESIDENT (*translation from Chinese*): On behalf of the Chinese delegation, I wish to extend warm congratulations to the delegation of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam on the adoption by the Security Council of the resolution recommending the admission of their country to the United Nations.

The meeting rose at 12.40 p.m.