

UNITED NATIONS



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**1843<sup>rd</sup>** MEETING: 29 SEPTEMBER 1975

NEW YORK

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## 1843rd MEETING

Held in New York on Monday, 29 September 1975, at 10.30 a.m.

*President:* Mr. Moulaye EL HASSEN (Mauritania).

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

### Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1843)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. Letter dated 19 September 1975 from the President of the General Assembly to the President of the Security Council (S/11826)

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

### Adoption of the agenda

*The agenda was adopted.*

Letter dated 19 September 1975 from the President of the General Assembly to the President of the Security Council (S/11826)

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): In accordance with the decision of the Council [1842nd meeting] to invite the representatives of Algeria, Bulgaria, Cambodia, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, India, Madagascar, Mongolia, Poland, Senegal, Sri Lanka and Yugoslavia to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, under the terms of Article 31 of the Charter and the relevant provisions of the provisional rules of procedure, I invite those representatives to take the seats reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

*At the invitation of the President, Mr. Rahal (Algeria), Mr. Ghelev (Bulgaria), Mr. Sarin Chhak (Cambodia), Mr. Alarcón (Cuba), Mr. Vejvoda (Czechoslovakia), Mr. Adjibadé (Dahomey), Mr. Florin (German Democratic Republic), Mr. Hollai (Hungary), Mr. Jaipal (India), Mr. Rabetafika (Madagascar), Mr. Puntsagnorov (Mongolia), Mr. Jaroszek (Poland), Mr. Fall (Senegal), Mr. Amearinghe (Sri Lanka) and Mr. Petrić (Yugoslavia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.*

2. Mr. RICHARD (United Kingdom): I shall be brief, since my delegation addressed the Council on this issue only last month [1834th and 1835th meetings] and the views of my Government on the three requests for admission which were on the provisional agenda are, I think, well known. My Government has diplomatic relations with both the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam. We voted for their admission to the United Nations at our earlier meeting [1836th meeting] and we shall do so again. We also voted in the General Assembly in support of resolution 3366 (XXX), sponsored by Algeria and others, which we are now considering.

3. My Government wishes to see the United Nations developing into a truly representative world organization in which all countries can participate without let or hindrance and in which the views of all can be heard. It is in that belief that we have supported and will continue to support the two Vietnamese applications for admission to the Organization. It is also for that reason that we deplore the decision taken once again in the Council not even to consider the new application for admission from the Republic of Korea. It is not the view of my Government only that the Republic of Korea is fully qualified for membership of the United Nations; resolutions of the General Assembly have repeatedly affirmed this and, as the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Korea has pointed out in his letter of 21 September [S/11828, annex], his country is an active member of almost all the specialized agencies and other United Nations bodies. It has diplomatic relations with over 90 Members of the United Nations.

4. Admission and approval are not synonymous. Indeed, if they were, the Organization could not survive. It is precisely those States of which we do not approve that have the right to belong to the United Nations. Otherwise it becomes an unrepresentative club of like-minded nations which, however convenient that might be for those inside it, could hardly be said to fulfil the universal aim of the Charter.

5. Where, then, do we go now on the Korean application and why has it again been excluded from the agenda? The problems of that unhappy peninsula are manifold and will not be solved by admission to the United Nations, nor will they be solved or

brought nearer to solution by exclusion from the United Nations. It cannot be seriously argued that a desire for reunification is a good ground in itself for non-admission. Were that so, the two Viet-Nams should be treated in the same way as Korea has been, since reunification was said to be one of their major objectives.

6. The failure of the Security Council even to consider Korea is lamentable. I must say that my country regards the hypocrisy of the manoeuvres which have kept this item off the agenda with great concern and with not a little contempt.

7. The PRESIDENT (*interprétation from French*): The next speaker is the representative of Yugoslavia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

8. Mr. PETRIĆ (Yugoslavia): Mr. President, let me first express to you and to the members of the Council my delegation's appreciation of your having acted promptly on our request to address the Council on the matter before it. At the same time, may I congratulate you on discharging the high responsibilities of President of the Council for the month of September. I do so with particular pleasure, conscious of the friendly and warm relations prevailing between our two non-aligned countries.

9. My delegation has already, and recently, stated its views on the right of the Republic of South Viet-Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam to be admitted to the United Nations, both in the Security Council [*1835th meeting*] and in the General Assembly.<sup>1</sup> What makes this present consideration of this item special is that it comes after the General Assembly's vote affirming in resolution 3366 (XXX) that the two Vietnamese States should be admitted to the Organization and that the Council should reconsider the matter immediately and favourably. No one can and no one should try to obstruct their admission after such a decision by the only major organ of the United Nations in which all Member States are represented. In this connexion, we have three main considerations in mind.

10. First, there has never before in the history of the Organization been such a majority, without any direct formal opposition by negative votes, in favour of the admission of any applicant as that expressed in the momentous vote of 123 in favour, none against and only 9 abstentions. There could hardly be a more compelling expression of the categorical will of the collective membership of the community of nations as a whole, enjoining those who are behaving most unfairly to desist from frustrating the general will. We have never before had a situation of one veto in the Security Council opposed to 123 affirmative votes in the General Assembly, including the votes of four of the permanent members of the Security Council. Indeed, the United

States is assuming a grave responsibility in doing that, considering all the implications of such an ill-advised deed. It is bad enough when a veto frustrates the action of the Council and its overwhelming majority in favour of the admission of a new Member. But it is infinitely worse and graver to do so after the General Assembly has made the will of its absolute majority formally known.

11. Secondly, as we were also eloquently reminded by the representative of Mexico, Mr. García Robles, in his statement in the General Assembly on the 19th of This month,<sup>1</sup> the use of the veto to prevent the admission of a State to the United Nations not only goes directly against the spirit of the Charter and the letter of the most specific advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice,<sup>2</sup> but also directly flies in the face of the obligations specifically and formally assumed by the permanent members in their separate quadripartite statement of 8 June 1945, at San Francisco,<sup>3</sup> not to use the veto to impede the action of the Council, and certainly not in a matter such as the one before us today.

12. Thirdly, riding roughshod over the express will of the General Assembly is still more grave and unacceptable, as Article 4 of the Charter clearly states that the General Assembly is the principal organ which makes decisions about admissions, while the Security Council makes recommendations. Thus, we have a situation of the veto being applied by the United States, although the only organ that makes decisions on the matter has asked the Council to make a positive recommendation.

13. It should be recalled here that Article 10 of the Charter states clearly:

"The General Assembly may discuss any questions or any matters within the scope of the present Charter or relating to the powers and functions of any organs provided for in the present Charter, and, except as provided in Article 12, may make recommendations to the Members of the United Nations or to the Security Council or to both."

One also recalls that, when it was thought in the past that the Security Council was unduly prevented from exercising its responsibilities, recourse was found through such methods as the General Assembly "Uniting for peace" resolution 377 (V), which enabled the General Assembly to act instead.

14. Urgent and fervent appeals were addressed to the United States by several delegations in the debate on Friday [*1842nd meeting*] not to continue to oppose the will of the majority, the practically unanimous request of the membership of both the General Assembly and the Council. We all heard, on Friday, the statement of the United States delegation to the apparent effect that it would use the veto again.

Is there any hope of their reconsidering their decision? Is it still too much to expect, even from the strongest, to realize that they are stronger, and not weaker, when they show that they, too, are able to be reasonable, that they pay attention to what 123 nations are urging them to do constructively in the interest of all?

15. Before concluding let me very briefly draw the attention of the members to the fact that of late an argument is being used to the effect that the majority wants to discriminate between applicants for membership on ideological grounds, that so-called "one-party States" are favoured, while those with "parliamentary democracies" are rebuffed. This, of course, is completely untrue. There is really no need here to go into such questions as what is democracy and what is not; who supports and has the best relations with totalitarian dictatorships; who was, and where, interfering with the results of parliamentary, multiparty elections to transform them into the worst terrorist police States, and so forth. It is sufficient to recall that it was the non-aligned countries—and this is one of their greatest contributions to the peace of the world—that prevented the alignment of the world into two opposing ideological and military blocs, and that there were times when such a position of theirs was called "immoral". Should we really go into the record about who was blocking the admission of so many countries on ideological grounds and when? Is it not really better not to go into all that? We are not here to score debating points and, in the organs of the United Nations, where every utterance is instantly scrutinized by many equally able minds, nothing that is not well-founded and serious can survive, or have effect, for very long.

16. In concluding I should like, even at this late hour, even after their statement last Friday, to ask the United States delegation, to reconsider and go along with all of us, with the overwhelming majority of the Member States, and refrain from using the veto. It is the living experience of all members here, that none can for long oppose the Organization as a whole, without damaging not only the interests of others, but its own interests as well.

17. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The next speaker is the representative of Mongolia, whom I now invite to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

18. Mr. PUNTSAGNOROV (Mongolia) (*interpretation from Russian*): Allow me first of all, Mr. President, to congratulate you warmly on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council and wish you all success in conducting the work of this important body of the United Nations. I should like also to thank you and the members of the Security Council for having given me an opportunity to speak here and set forth the position of my delegation on the item under discussion.

19. The question of the admission of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Republic of South Viet-Nam to membership in the United Nations takes on particular significance and acuity in view of the veto cast by one of the permanent members of the Security Council. That act of injustice towards the two sovereign Vietnamese States stands out in stark contrast against the background of positive changes which have occurred in contemporary international relations. The emergence in the international arena of those two States, which sprang from the ruins of colonialism, as a result of the victory of the revolutionary national liberation movements is a characteristic feature of our times. The Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Republic of South Viet-Nam are the embodiment of the vital force and indefatigability of that phenomenon. Essentially, the action which has been directed against the legitimate rights of the Vietnamese people affects the vital interests of all peoples who have embarked on the course of national independence and the aspirations of all people of goodwill.

20. It is impossible to justify in any way the discriminatory treatment of a people which, in its heroic struggle against colonialism and imperialist aggression, at the cost of untold sacrifices, has made a tremendous contribution to strengthening peace and international security and to the triumph of the great cause of national and social liberation. The historic victory of the Vietnamese people removed one of the most dangerous hotbeds of local war which was threatening to turn into a generalized conflict, and to a large extent served to strengthen international détente. The liberation struggle of the Vietnamese people, relying on the comprehensive assistance of the socialist countries, was widely supported by progressive world public opinion. As is well known, solidarity with the patriotic forces in Viet-Nam took the form of a powerful international anti-imperialist, anti-militarist movement.

21. The Vietnamese States are playing an important part in international life, particularly in Asian affairs. It is perfectly obvious that in the present circumstances it is impossible to attempt to solve the most important problems of ensuring the safety and security of South-East Asia without the participation of the two Vietnamese States. The fact that the immediate admission of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Republic of South Viet-Nam to membership in the United Nations has been demanded by the overwhelming majority of Member States representing a wide range of political systems shows the extent to which the international role and authority of the Vietnamese States has grown. The foreign policy of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Republic of South Viet-Nam is helping to improve the international atmosphere and in that way to achieve the lofty aims of the United Nations.

22. It is not necessary to attempt to prove that the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Republic

lic of South Viet-Nam fully meet the requirements of Article 4, paragraph 1, of the Charter of the United Nations. The international legal standing of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Republic of South Viet-Nam cannot be called into question by anyone—even by the State which cast a veto, whose representative, as the Council knows, has frequently had occasion to state that he was prepared to vote in favour of their admission to the United Nations. However, that Power, in its deeds, by artificially linking the question of the admission of the two Vietnamese States with the question of South Korea, which is completely irrelevant to it, has attempted to prevent the two Vietnamese States from becoming Members of the United Nations—an attempt that is inconsistent with the Charter of the United Nations.

23. The statements of representatives of many States in the Security Council and in the General Assembly have convincingly exposed the invalidity of that tendentious approach. How can one really overlook the qualitative difference in the situations on the Indo-Chinese and Korean peninsulas? Whereas the Vietnamese people has successfully exercised its right to self-determination, the vital national problems of Korea have not yet been solved and the two parts of the country have no single view regarding membership in the United Nations. In a situation where the two parties involved in Korea, on the initiative of the Korean People's Democratic Republic, have already started a dialogue and laid down the basic principles of national reunification, it is the duty of the United Nations to do everything in its power to promote the peaceful and democratic unification of the country and its formation into a single State.

24. We should also recall the consensus adopted by the General Assembly on 28 November 1973 in support of negotiations between the parties "so as to expedite the independent peaceful reunification of the country".<sup>4</sup> The Korean question has for many years been the subject of discussion in the United Nations and is now a separate item on the agenda of the thirtieth session of the General Assembly. The United Nations will still have to discuss such important aspects of the Korean problem as the withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea in order to help to bring about a positive outcome. It is known also that the Seoul régime is making every attempt to impede a peaceful settlement. In such circumstances, any unilateral actions aimed essentially at splitting the country would have a deleterious effect on the situation in Korea and in the Far East.

25. The urgent tasks which the United Nations is now facing in order to strengthen and further consolidate international détente make it absolutely essential that the two Vietnamese States should be represented in this world forum. The admission of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Republic of

South Viet-Nam to the United Nations would undoubtedly promote the strengthening of the effectiveness of what is being done by the United Nations by way of preserving peace and security and further enhance the prestige of the Organization. It is only the United Nations that stands to lose by the absence of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Republic of South Viet-Nam, since they are important factors for strengthening peace and stability in Asia and throughout the entire world. Another veto, if one is in fact cast, will hardly shake the unanimous opinion held by the overwhelming majority of States Members of the United Nations regarding membership of the two Vietnamese States in the Organization.

26. It is our belief that the United Nations must reflect the realities of the present day and the spirit of the new changes that should prevail over recurrences of the cold war. The Mongolian People's Republic insists that an end be put to those actions which are aimed at placing obstacles and delays on the path of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Republic of South Viet-Nam to membership in the United Nations.

27. The workers of Mongolia are linked with the people of Viet-Nam by close ties of brotherly friendship and close co-operation. During the liberation struggle waged by the Vietnamese people, the Mongolian People's Republic, together with other socialist countries, resolutely upheld the just cause of Viet-Nam, both morally and materially. We are convinced that the representatives of the Vietnamese people, a people that has won general respect for its dauntlessness, its nobility and its heroism, should be admitted to the United Nations without any conditions or reservations being attached to that admission. Our delegation would appeal to the members of the Security Council to be bold and objective and vote unanimously in favour of the admission of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Republic of South Viet-Nam to the United Nations. That is precisely the kind of decision expected of us by progressive mankind.

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

29. Mr. VEJVODA (Czechoslovakia): Mr. President, may I first of all, through you, thank the members of the Security Council for their decision enabling me to appear before this forum. It is both an honour and a pleasure for me to attend the Council's deliberations under your wise direction. Czechoslovakia was one of the sponsors of the draft resolution adopted as resolution 3366 (XXX) by the General Assembly at its thirtieth session, in which it recommended the admission of both Vietnamese States to the United Nations and called upon the Security Council to reconsider without delay its decision of 11 August 1975. The agenda of the Secu-

city Council includes but one issue, delineated in that General Assembly resolution of 19 September 1975 and offering the Council an opportunity to redress the injustice perpetrated on the Vietnamese people.

30. The statement of 19 September 1975 by the two Vietnamese Permanent Observers to the United Nations says:

"We hope that the United States Government will ultimately adopt an attitude which accords with the wish, thus clearly reaffirmed, of the peoples of the world to see the Republic of South-Viet-Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam take their rightful places within the international community. Such an attitude, which is simply in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, will undoubtedly contribute to the normalization of relations between the United States and Viet-Nam on the basis of the Paris Agreement, on Viet-Nam, and to the development of friendly relations between the two peoples."<sup>5</sup>

31. Through the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people for freedom and independence, a glorious chapter has been inscribed in modern history. For many years the people of Viet-Nam fought for the total exercise of the right of the Vietnamese people to live in independence, to enjoy peace and prosperity as equals among nations. The Vietnamese people, who enjoyed the support of all the progressive forces of the world, came out of this struggle victoriously. At the present time there are two sovereign States in the territory of Viet-Nam. Both are States of free Vietnamese people, whose courage and skill in their fight for freedom were admired by the whole world. It was therefore quite natural that not only the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, which had been a fully recognized State for many years, but also the Republic of South Viet-Nam should have achieved broad international recognition within a short period of time.

32. Both of those States have applied for admission to membership in the United Nations. Through their acts, both the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Republic of South Viet-Nam have demonstrated their willingness to assume the obligations contained in the Charter of the United Nations and to fight, together with other peace-loving countries—also within the Organization—for the establishment of durable peace and international security. The fight of the Vietnamese people against foreign aggression and for their freedom was fully in harmony with the noble goals of the United Nations. The world public therefore considers it logical, legitimate and only just for the two Vietnamese States to be admitted to membership in the United Nations. The fact that so far this has not happened, because of the negative attitude of the great Power which only recently was still preventing—through the use of the most up-to-date means of war—the people

of Viet-Nam from exercising their inalienable rights, has not added to the authority particularly of that great Power. Is it surprising then that the world public understands the United States veto as an effort by that Power to continue its hostile policy towards the Vietnamese people, at least by diplomatic means, after having failed to break their will for independence even by the use of the most up-to-date machinery of war?

33. In trying to justify the step taken by his Government in the Security Council, the representative of the United States connected the admission of the two Vietnamese States with the admission of the South Korean régime to the United Nations. The top priority task in Korea is the question of the withdrawal from the southern part of the country of all foreign troops which are stationed there unlawfully under the United Nations flag. There is no doubt that, upon the withdrawal of the foreign troops from South Korea, the Korean people will take advantage of their sovereignty to settle the question of their unification as well as the question of joining the United Nations. The attempt somehow to connect the admission of the two Vietnamese States to the United Nations with the settlement of the Korean issue—which, by the way, will also be dealt with in due time at the current session of the General Assembly—rests on a completely artificial structure.

34. This year one of the most dangerous hotbeds of war was liquidated in South-East Asia. The entire world unanimously welcomed the termination of the Indo-China war as a significant contribution to the relaxation of tension in the continent of Asia and throughout the world. Both Vietnamese States have earned the right to become Members of the United Nations, since they fully meet the requirements laid down in the Charter of the United Nations for States wishing to be admitted to the Organization. The admission of both these States into the United Nations is a cause equally as just as the previous struggle of their people for their independence and fully sovereignty. It will be a logical culmination of the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people.

35. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The next speaker is the representative of Cambodia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

36. Mr. SARIN CHHAK (Cambodia) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, my delegation would like to express to you our sincere thanks for having given us this opportunity to address the Security Council. My thanks also go to all members of the Council. I am particularly pleased to have an opportunity to make a statement at a time when the representative of Mauritania is exercising presidency of this august assembly. I extend my warm congratulations to you, Mr. President, and my best wishes for the successful accomplishment of your task.

37. My congratulations are also extended to your country, Mauritania, which enjoys great international prestige because of the wise policies of its eminent leader, the great pilgrim of peace in Africa, President Mokhtar Ould Daddah, and thanks to the consistent and tireless efforts of the Mauritanian people to co-operate in the cause of social progress and peace throughout the world. Between Kampuchea and Mauritania there exists deep and firm friendship built up over the years and greatly strengthened during our struggle for national liberation. Mauritania, from the beginning, gave its support to the struggle of the people of Kampuchea, and you, Mr. President, keenly defended our just cause in this assembly. I thank you sincerely once again.

38. With regard to the requests for admission to the United Nations of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and of the Republic of South Viet-Nam, my delegation reiterates its full support. The Security Council and the General Assembly have already considered the problem thoroughly. There are many relevant arguments in favour of the admission of those two sovereign States. The Vietnamese people struggled valiantly for several decades for its national liberation and achieved an outstanding victory which enabled it to regain its independence and sovereignty and to rebuild its country in the new-found peace. That long struggle of the heroic Vietnamese people, carried on in close solidarity with the struggles of the peoples of Kampuchea and Laos was an important contribution to the cause of peace and progress throughout the world. That overwhelming victory, like that which the people of Kampuchea achieved on 17 April 1975, is also that of all peoples of the world fighting for independence, freedom and dignity against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

39. The Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Republic of South Viet-Nam fulfil all necessary conditions stipulated in Article 4 of the Charter for becoming Members of the United Nations. They are able to meet their obligations and they have committed themselves to do so. Their long struggle and their policy of independence, peace and non-alignment are a guarantee of this. No Member of the Organization can contest this fact. The entry of those two sovereign States would be a valuable contribution to the cause of peace and development, and would also constitute a factor of stability in South-East Asia and in the world.

40. Convinced of the relevance of these arguments, the Security Council, on 11 August 1975, voted almost unanimously in favour of admitting those two States [1836th meeting]. The only obstacle was the veto of the United States of America. In the General Assembly there was a unanimous vote by the members in favour of resolution 3366 (XXX), sponsored by more than 60 countries, requesting the Security Council to reconsider favourably these two requests for admission.

41. There is no foundation for linking the two requests for admission of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Republic of South Viet-Nam to the request for admission of Korea. The Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Republic of South Viet-Nam are sovereign States, fulfilling all the conditions laid down in the Charter and both wishing to join the United Nations. South Korea does not fulfil any of those conditions. In fact, South Korea is not an independent political entity; it is only a part of Korea. The 38th parallel is only a provisional demarcation line, not a border between States. This has been confirmed by the unanimous will of the Korean people as a whole for reunification of the two parts of Korea. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea believes that Korea should not be admitted to the United Nations before reunification. Also, to accept the admission of South Korea would be to violate the accepted jurisprudence in this field on the pretext of achieving universality in the United Nations, and an attempt to interfere in the internal affairs of the Korean people and to perpetuate the division of Korea.

42. The reunification of Korea, which is in consonance with the desire of all Korean people, cannot yet be achieved because of the presence of American troops in South Korea. To make possible the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea, the necessary favourable conditions must be established. These conditions are the elimination of the United Nations Command, the withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea, and the translation of the Armistice Agreement into a peace agreement. That is the aim of the draft resolution sponsored by Algeria and more than 40 other States, including Kampuchea.<sup>6</sup>

43. My delegation does hope that the Security Council will reconsider favourably the requests for admission of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Republic of South Viet-Nam, in accordance with the unanimous desire of the General Assembly. The United States veto constitutes a challenge to the overwhelming majority of the members of the Security Council and to the General Assembly as a whole.

44. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The next speaker is the representative of Poland. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

45. Mr. JAROSZEK (Poland): Mr. President, allow me to extend to you and to members of the Council the gratitude of the Polish delegation for having provided us with the opportunity to present the position of my Government on the item now being dealt with by the Security Council concerning the applications of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Republic of South Viet-Nam for admission to the United Nations. The representative of Poland in fact already spoke on this matter at the meeting of



the Security Council on 11 August. We have asked to participate in the debate again today in view of the General Assembly's request that the Security Council reconsider the question. I should like to express my particular satisfaction, Sir, at being able to speak in this chamber under your able and competent guidance.

46. The Polish Foreign Minister, Stefan Olszowski, stated in the general debate of the thirtieth session of the General Assembly on 25 September:

"Among the newly admitted Member States we miss the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Republic of South Viet-Nam, in spite of these two States' applications for admission. By its heroic struggle the people of Viet-Nam has proved its steadfast love of freedom and independence. The two Vietnamese States have given ample evidence of their respect for the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, and they are fully qualified to become Members of the Organization. Poland firmly supports the admission of the two Vietnamese States to membership in the United Nations."

47. Indeed, a manifest expression of this support is the fact that we are here today in the Council. By the same token, together with more than 60 Member States, Poland sponsored the text adopted as resolution 3366 (XXX), in which the General Assembly, *inter alia*, reaffirmed the legitimate right of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and of the Republic of South Viet-Nam to be Members of the United Nations, considered that the two Vietnamese States should be admitted to membership in the United Nations and requested the Security Council to reconsider their applications. That text was supported by 123 Member States and not a single delegation voted against it.

48. Those facts serve to show that the international community is determined to solve the matter quickly and positively and that it categorically rejects all artificial hindrances to the admission of the Vietnamese States to the United Nations which are outside of the provisions of the Charter and especially Article 4.

49. At this juncture I should like to reiterate the arguments raised a few days ago in the General Assembly by Polish Deputy Foreign Minister Stanislaw Trepczyński,<sup>1</sup> that both the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Republic of South Viet-Nam fulfil all the conditions for becoming Members of the United Nations, as stipulated by the Charter of the United Nations. They are peace-loving States, they both expressly declared acceptance of the obligations contained in the Charter and they are able and willing to carry them out in the best of faith. Therefore, any delay in a positive solution of the question of admission to the United Nations of the Vietnamese States has no justification whatsoever.

50. The Polish delegation would like to state again that making the positive solution of this matter dependent upon pre-conditions which have nothing to do with Article 4 of the Charter is groundless, harmful and detrimental to the functioning of the Organization. We are firmly convinced that the admission to the United Nations of the two Vietnamese States would only strengthen the Organization; it would consolidate its universality and have a positive bearing upon the further normalization of the situation and détente in South-East Asia.

51. At the same time, the admission to the United Nations of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Republic of South Viet-Nam would constitute an act of historical justice towards the people of Viet-Nam. Finally, it would be an act in harmony with the growing atmosphere of détente, normalization of relations and strengthening of peaceful coexistence in the world. For all those reasons, Poland wholeheartedly joins in and supports the appeal to the Security Council to give its positive recommendation for admission to the United Nations of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Republic of South Viet-Nam.

52. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): Before calling on the next speaker, I wish to inform members of the Council that I have just received letters from the representatives of Laos and Romania requesting that they be permitted, under the terms of Article 31 of the Charter, to participate, without the right to vote, in the Council's discussion of the item on the agenda. Since there is no objection, I intend, in accordance with rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Council, and as is customary, to invite those representatives to participate, without the right to vote, in the Council's discussions. I now invite the representatives of Laos and Romania to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber, it being understood that they will be invited to take a place at the Council table when it is their turn to speak.

*At the invitation of the President, Mr. Sipra-seuth (Laos) and Mr. Datcu (Romania) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.*

53. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I invite the representative of Romania to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

54. Mr. DATCU (Romania) (*interpretation from French*): I should like to extend both to you, Sir, and to members of the Security Council the gratitude of my delegation for having given us this opportunity to set forth the position of Romania on the item which the Council is now discussing. I feel that I should also tell you, Sir, that it is particularly gratifying for me to see you preside over the work of this important body of the United Nations. I should

like to voice my conviction that through your qualities as an experienced diplomat, your devotion, shared by your country as well, to the destiny of the Organization, you will thereby make a genuine contribution to the fulfilment of the tasks which are incumbent upon the Security Council pursuant to the Charter of the United Nations.

55. Romania has already had an opportunity to set forth its views both before the Security Council and the General Assembly in connexion with the admission to the United Nations of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Republic of South Viet-Nam. That is why it is not my intention to review this position now or to dwell particularly on the legal and political arguments in favour of honouring their requests for admission to membership in the United Nations.

56. Furthermore, both during the discussions which took place on 11 August here [1836th meeting] and in the General Assembly on 19 September,<sup>1</sup> those delegations which spoke adduced convincing arguments which fully justify honouring the requests of these two Vietnamese States to become Members of the Organization. But my delegation would like on this occasion to emphasize the fact that in addition to those political and legal arguments, which are irrefutable and which, furthermore, no one has questioned, we now have the moral and political backing—expressed in a most forthright way—of the General Assembly. The vote taken on 19 September in the General Assembly on resolution 3366 (XXX), of which Romania was one of the sponsors, forcefully proves that the overwhelming majority of the States Members of the United Nations solidly supports the admission of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Republic of South Viet-Nam to membership in the United Nations.

57. There can be no doubt that the presence in the United Nations of the two Vietnamese States as fully fledged Members would be consistent with the Charter of the United Nations and would constitute an important contribution to the efforts being made by the Organization to maintain international peace and security and to develop co-operation among peoples. As the Romanian delegation had an opportunity of stating during the debate in the General Assembly, there can be no doubt that the only conditions that must be met in order to be admitted to membership in the United Nations are those set forth in Article 4 of the Charter. It follows that the imposition of any conditions over and above those set forth in the Charter for the admission of a State to the United Nations would appear to be an attempt to go beyond the provisions of the Charter.

58. The Security Council and each and every one of its permanent members cannot continue to ignore an opinion that has been expressed in such an unequivocal and clear way in the supreme forum

of the United Nations. It is true that the Charter confers special rights upon the permanent members of the Security Council, but we do not believe it accords with the letter and spirit of the Charter to abuse those rights in order to promote injustice.

59. We hope the Security Council will not create a situation that will damage its prestige and that of the Organization as a whole and which may have a negative impact upon international life. That is why I should like on this occasion to reiterate that the Romanian Government firmly supports the requests submitted by the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Republic of South Viet-Nam. We would make a fresh appeal that, in accordance with the recommendations of the General Assembly and in the spirit of justice and international legality, the Security Council now recommend the admission to the United Nations of those two countries.

60. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I invite the representative of Bulgaria to take his place at the Council table and to make his statement.

61. Mr. GHELEV (Bulgaria) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, I should like to thank the members of the Security Council for having given me this opportunity to address the Council on behalf of the Bulgarian delegation on a question to which my Government attaches great importance. It is a particular pleasure for me to extend to you, Sir, our warmest congratulations as you serve as President of this high body during the month of September. You are an outstanding representative of a country with which Bulgaria enjoys links of friendly co-operation. We are convinced that under your guidance the Council will be able to reach a decision that accords with the principles of the Charter and with justice on the matter that is again before it.

62. The question of the admission to the United Nations of the Republic of South Viet-Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam has been transmitted to the Council in accordance with General Assembly resolution 3366 (XXX), adopted by the General Assembly by an overwhelming majority. Bulgaria was one of the sponsors of that resolution, which was sponsored by an impressive number of Member States. Moreover, during the debate in the General Assembly on that resolution, many delegations categorically underscored the fact that the Council must immediately and favourably reconsider the requests for admission to the United Nations of the two Vietnamese States.

63. It should be pointed out that, during the general debate of the thirtieth session, responsible representatives of the majority of States made similar statements in favour of the admission of the two Vietnamese States. The present discussion in the Security Council in accordance with General Assembly resolution 3366 (XXX) demonstrates the importance and urgency attached to this problem.

64. All these facts need no further comment. They speak for themselves and demonstrate, if that is necessary, that a positive solution to the question of the admission of the two Vietnamese States must not be further delayed. These facts also faithfully reflect the will and demand of the overwhelming majority of Member States and world public opinion. It is extremely unfortunate that representatives of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and of the Republic of South Viet-Nam were not among us as fully fledged Members at the very beginning of the thirtieth session of the General Assembly. No one is unaware of why that was not the case, despite the votes of 13 members of the Council for the admission of the two countries to the United Nations.

65. The position adopted by a permanent member of the Council has temporarily impeded a favourable solution of this problem. We do not believe this position is a reasonable one. In fact, it is untenable. To continue along this path would be to persist in error. It is more than certain that a repetition of this injustice would not diminish the authority or nobility of the dauntless Vietnamese people. Even less would it impinge, even momentarily, upon the profound respect and immense sympathy felt for the Vietnamese people throughout the world.

66. A people that for 30 years was the victim of the greatest injustice, a people that has dauntlessly passed through the most serious and cruel trials and sufferings in fact long ago won its right to be a fully fledged member of the international community. We have already, stated, but we wish to stress once more that the right to be admitted as a fully fledged Member of the Organization was won by the peoples of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and of the Republic of South Viet-Nam in the heroic struggle in which they demonstrated their attachment to the cause of peace and justice, that is, to the most sacred principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

67. No one can doubt or deny the fact that the two Vietnamese States fully meet the conditions for membership stipulated in the Charter of the United Nations. The argumentation put forward to justify the veto cast by a permanent member of the Security Council on this problem is inaccurate. No rhetoric could make such considerations any more convincing. Now when the Council has made two procedural decisions closely connexed with the substance of the matter [1834th and 1842rd meetings], and after the adoption of General Assembly resolution 3366 (XXX) thereon, one might hope attempts to connect the question of the admission of the two Vietnamese States with other questions would be abandoned. It should now be more than crystal clear that the excuse that has been made is not valid from the legal viewpoint and even less so from the political or moral viewpoints.

68. The Bulgarian delegation had an opportunity to express its position with regard to the admission of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Republic of South Viet-Nam in the debate in the Security Council at the beginning of August [1836th meeting]. That position was reiterated by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Mr. Petar Mladenov, in his statement on 26 September before the General Assembly.<sup>8</sup>

69. My delegation hopes that the unjustified and unjustifiable obstacles to a just settlement of the question of the admission of the Vietnamese States will be eliminated. It is the only solution in accordance with the Charter, justice and the cause of peace and understanding among peoples. It would be extremely difficult for the world public to understand a new postponement of this solution. Moreover, it is obvious that such a postponement could not be maintained. There can be no doubt that a decision in favour of the admission of the two Vietnamese States would answer the needs of international policy. It would have most favourable effects on the evolution of international relations and on the activities of the United Nations. It can be said without any hesitation that the two Vietnamese States would make a worthy contribution to those activities and that the Organization itself, by admitting those countries, would make a stride forward towards true universality.

70. We salute the people of the Republic of South Viet-Nam and the people of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, and we support their desire to participate in United Nations activities. We fully support those aspirations and we firmly endorse their candidacy. The international community and the Organization have in effect, already expressed their desire to have those two States admitted to the United Nations.

71. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I thank the representative of Bulgaria for the very kind words which he addressed to me and which reflect the firm and ever-growing relationship between Mauritania and Bulgaria. The visit made last year by our head of State to Bulgaria was an important step in the development of those relations, and we are particularly gratified that it took place.

*The meeting rose at 12.35 p.m.*

#### *Notes*

<sup>1</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirtieth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 2354th meeting.

<sup>2</sup> *Admission of a State to the United Nations (Charter, Art. 4), Advisory Opinion: I.C.J. Reports 1948, p. 57.*

<sup>3</sup> United Nations Conference on International Organization, III/1/37.

<sup>4</sup> *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-eighth Session, Supplement No. 30, p. 24, item 41.*

<sup>5</sup> See A/10257, annex.

<sup>6</sup> Subsequently adopted as General Assembly resolution 3390 B (XXX).

<sup>7</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirtieth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 2361st meeting.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, *Plenary Meetings*, 2363rd meeting.

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