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MEETING: 29 SEPTEMBER 1975

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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.

1844th MEETING

Held in New York on Monday, 29 September 1975, at 3 p.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/1844)

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 3.30 p.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 taken by the Council [1842nd and 1843rd meetings], I invite the representatives of Algeria, Bulgaria, Cambodia, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, India, Laos, Madagascar, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, Senegal, Sri Lanka and Yugoslavia to take part in the discussion without the right to vote and to occupy 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. Sipraseuth (Laos), Mr. Rabetafika (Madagascar), Mr. Puntsagnorov (Mongolia), Mr. Jaroszek (Poland), Mr. Datcu (Romania), Mr. Fall (Senegal), Mr. Amerasinghe (Sri Lanka) and Mr. Petrić took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

2. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I now call on the representative of India, whom I invite to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

3. Mr. JAIPAL (India): Mr. President, may I extend to you, on behalf of my delegation, felicitations on your assuming the office of President of the Security Council and wish you every success. May I also express through you to the Council my delegation's thanks for granting us this opportunity to express our views on the matter now engaging the attention of the Council. The item before us is the letter dated 19 September 1975 from the President of the General Assembly to the President of the Security Council [S/11826] communicating the terms of General Assembly resolution 3366 (XXX) concerning the applications for admission to the United Nations of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Republic of South Viet-Nam. The views of my delegation on this matter were explained fully last month [1836th meeting] when the Council considered the same two applications. However, on this occasion I should like to stress a new element in the situation, which is the adoption by the General Assembly, without opposition, of its resolution 3366 (XXX).

4. I wish to recall first that the General Assembly, in adopting this resolution, has affirmed the right of the two applicant States of Viet-Nam to be Members of the United Nations and also accepted that they fully qualify for admission. Secondly, the General Assembly is convinced of the ability and willingness of these two States to carry out the obligations of United Nations membership. Thirdly, the General Assembly has taken note of the fact that their eligibility for admission has not been questioned by any member of the Security Council.

5. In these circumstances, the General Assembly has expressed the opinion that the two States of Viet-Nam should be admitted to the United Nations. The vote recorded by the General Assembly was 123 in favour, none against, with 9 abstentions. The meaning of this overwhelming vote without any dissent is quite plain: that is, the expectation of the General Assembly that the members of the Security Council will maintain the votes which they cast on General Assembly resolution 3366 (XXX). But that expectation would be realized only if the question before us were to be considered by itself, and were

not complicated by the attitude of members to other unrelated matters.

6. The rejection of the applications of the two Vietnamese States by the Security Council last month [*ibid.*] was due to the special features of its provisional rules of procedure which enable certain unrelated matters to be linked, so that the consideration of the present question becomes subject to conditions which have come to be known as "package deals". My delegation does not accept the validity of any condition for admission that is not stipulated in Article 4 of the Charter. In our view, the application of each State for admission should be considered on its individual merits and exclusively with reference to the conditions for eligibility set out in Article 4. Any other course of action would be patently unfair to the applicant State, and certainly would not be in conformity with the Charter. Unfortunately, on the previous occasion other issues were brought in and the decision of the Council was not only to the detriment of the admission of the two Vietnamese States, but also to the disservice of the other unrelated question and the prospect of its own solution in accordance with the Charter.

7. Once again the Security Council has before it on its agenda the applications for admission of the two States of Viet-Nam. Although the agenda has dissociated other matters from the question of admission of the two States of Viet-Nam, it is clear to us that the same unrelated question of the admission of another State is being brought in again. The result may well be that none of these three States will be admitted.

8. My delegation has always been in favour of the so-called principle of universality, which is really not one of the principles of the Charter but has found general acceptance as a desirable purpose of the Organization. I understand that at the 53rd meeting of the Security Council the Secretary-General stated that the founding Members of the Organization agreed that the United Nations must be as universal as possible. In practice, however, it is not possible to maintain the principle of universality because under existing procedures membership is not only subject to the fulfilment of the conditions stipulated in Article 4 of the Charter, but is also dependent on the affirmative votes of the five great Powers.

9. Apparently not all the Members of the United Nations have accepted the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice of 1948¹ to the effect that a Member is not juridically entitled to make its consent to the admission of a State dependent on conditions not expressly set out in Article 4, paragraph 1, of the Charter, especially the additional condition that a State may be admitted only if another State is also admitted. Now, failure to accept the opinion of the International Court of Justice made package deals inevitable, and the admission of

a State became dependent in fact on its relations with the great Powers.

10. However, most of us have now come to believe that the days of package deals are over, especially when the goal of universality for the Organization is so near. It seems to us, therefore, very odd to link the admission of the two States of Viet-Nam to the Korean question. Is it the contention that the denial of the admission of the two Vietnamese States would facilitate the solution of the Korean question? On the contrary, the admission of the two States of Viet-Nam might possibly help to isolate the Korean question so that it could be dealt with in a manner unrelated to the history of Viet-Nam. In our view, therefore, the admission of the two Vietnamese States will not prejudice in any way the solution of the Korean question.

11. We hope, therefore, that the Security Council will pay adequate respect to the General Assembly's overwhelming expression of opinion contained in its resolution 3366 (XXX). That opinion reflects two things. First, it reflects the desire of the two Vietnamese States to seek the wider assistance that membership in the United Nations implies; secondly, it reflects the desire of the General Assembly to provide that assistance. The message of the General Assembly to the Security Council is simply to give up the old tactics of the cold war, to take into account the new spirit of détente, and to recommend the admission of the two States of Viet-Nam. In these circumstances, we take the position that the decision by any member of the Security Council not to cast a negative vote would only enhance the prestige and the influence of that member. Costa Rica's decision to vote in favour of the admission of the two States of Viet-Nam has certainly increased its stature and prestige in our estimation. It is with this conviction that we would appeal to the Security Council to ennable itself in this historic moment.

12. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): Mr. President, before I proceed to expound the position of the Soviet Union on the subject before us, I should like to congratulate you, on behalf of the Soviet delegation, on your assumption of the lofty post of President of the Security Council. The Soviet delegation welcomes you as the representative of a friendly country and is prepared to co-operate with you until your term of office ends. We should also like to give due recognition to your predecessor, Mr. Saito. As we all know, he had a major share in dealing with many questions during his presidency and he tackled them brilliantly.

13. At the request of the General Assembly, the Security Council is once again considering the question of the admission to membership in the United Nations of the two Vietnamese States: the

Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Republic of South Viet-Nam. As far as the substance of the position of the Soviet Union is concerned on this matter, it has been expressed with perfect clarity by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union, Mr. Gromyko, in his statement in the general debate of the thirtieth session of the General Assembly on 23 September, when he made the following statement:

"Having defended their sovereignty and independence in the long struggle, the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Republic of South Viet-Nam now express their willingness to participate within the framework of the Organization also in efforts to develop international co-operation. We are convinced that the admission of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Republic of South Viet-Nam would be fully in keeping with the lofty purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations; and the Soviet Union supports the request of their Governments to that effect. No one who stands for peace should fear such a decision of the United Nations."²

14. A similar position was expressed, as members of the Security Council are aware, by the delegation of the Soviet Union when this matter was considered in the Council in August of this year [*1834th-1836th meetings*]. We can only express our regret that because of the negative vote cast at that time in the Council by one of the permanent members of the Council, this body was deprived of any possibility of taking a positive decision on the question of the admission of these two sovereign Vietnamese States to membership in the United Nations.

15. Our second consideration of this matter is something which has been dictated by a decision of the General Assembly in its resolution 3366 (XXX). In its resolution, which was adopted by an overwhelming majority of votes, the Assembly expressed its definite view that both Vietnamese States should be admitted to membership in the United Nations.

16. Correspondingly, the Assembly requested the Security Council to reconsider immediately and favourably the applications of the two States for admission to the United Nations in strict conformity with Article 4, paragraph 1, of the Charter. That means that, according to the firm conviction of the General Assembly, the two States are peace-loving and have adopted and assumed the commitments contained in the Charter of the United Nations and can and wish to fulfil those obligations.

17. The adoption by the General Assembly of that resolution is of tremendous international, political and moral significance, as is borne out by the fact that practically one half of the States Members of the United Nations—approximately 70 States—were sponsors of the draft resolution. The overwhelming majority, in the full sense of those words, voted in

favour of the resolution: that is, 124 Member States; 123 voted in favour at the time and another delegation subsequently indicated its intention to vote in favour. Not a single Member State voted against adoption of that resolution at the thirtieth session of the General Assembly. Certain delegations simply abstained in the vote. A negative vote on that resolution was not cast even by the country whose representative had in the Security Council voted against the admission of the two States to the United Nations. This is the first important fact and conclusion to be drawn when one bears in mind the situation in August, when the Security Council considered the matter for the first time.

18. The second new fact is that admission to membership in the United Nations of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Republic of South Viet-Nam was supported by the overwhelming majority of the States Members of the United Nations whose heads of delegations have spoken in the general debate at the thirtieth session of the General Assembly. Zaire, Mali, Zambia, New Zealand, Equatorial Guinea, Australia, Sweden, Iraq, Afghanistan, Chad, the German Democratic Republic, Yugoslavia, Romania, Mongolia, Bulgaria, Poland, India, Dahomey, the United Republic of Tanzania, Ghana and many, many others quite unambiguously and unequivocally came out in favour of the admission of the two Vietnamese States to membership in the United Nations; undoubtedly the list will grow as the general debate continues in the General Assembly.

19. The third and most important new fact is the statements now being made in the Security Council by such a large number of delegations of the socialist and non-aligned countries which are not members of the Security Council in favour of an immediate and positive solution of this question at this its second consideration by the Council. We pay due respect to the consistency and the position of principle of the non-aligned countries on this question. In the Political Declaration and Strategy to Strengthen and to Intensify Solidarity and Mutual Assistance among Non-Aligned Countries adopted by them at the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Lima last August, the non-aligned countries officially committed themselves to support the admission of the two Vietnamese States to membership in the United Nations.

20. We understand and fully share the noble motives that led the fraternal socialist countries to adopt their position and the delegations of the Assembly to support the admission to the United Nations of the two Vietnamese States. The participation in the work of the Council of a large number of socialist and non-aligned countries and their outright support for the General Assembly resolution regarding admission of the two Vietnamese States to membership in the United Nations provide abundant proof of the fact that the entire world community supports the just

demand of the two Vietnamese States to be accepted to membership in the United Nations.

21. We cannot fail to regret that the powerful voice and will expressed by those who support and are friends of the Vietnamese States have not been heeded by the one permanent member of the Security Council which continues to abuse the right of veto. At any rate, such a conclusion can be drawn from the statement of the representative of the United States at the meeting of the Council on 26 September of this year [*1842nd meeting*]. In wrapping up into one package deal the question of the admission of the two Vietnamese States to membership in the United Nations and the question of the application of South Korea, the representative of the United States declared that he would veto any other way of considering this question in the Council which would lead to the two Vietnamese States, the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Republic of South Viet-Nam, being admitted to membership in the United Nations as required by the resolution of the General Assembly.

22. As far as the substance of this question is concerned, as has been correctly pointed out by many members of the Security Council, the practice that has arisen in the case of divided countries is that they are accepted to membership in the United Nations only if they both express desire and consent to become members. In the case of the two Viet-Nams, that consent is complete and has been internationally recognized as a result of the favourable vote on General Assembly resolution 3366 (XXX).

23. Unlike the situation with the two Viet-Nams, in South Korea and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea there is no unanimity regarding membership in the United Nations. For the admission of new Members to the United Nations one definite condition must be fulfilled: in the case of two sovereign States coming into existence on the territory of a single State, such admission should be possible only with the mutual consent of those two States.

24. With all due respect to the Minister for External Relations of Costa Rica, we cannot agree with one of the arguments he put forward in the Security Council [*ibid.*]. He was inaccurate when he stated that the admission to the United Nations of the two German States had taken place as a result of agreement between rival Powers. That is not in accordance with the facts. The admission of the two German States became possible only when both German States expressed their will to become Members of the United Nations. Until such mutual consent had been expressed their admission to the United Nations was impossible.

25. At its meetings the Security Council has confirmed that it does not believe that there exist definite conditions for considering the application

of South Korea for membership in the United Nations. The Council decided that it was inappropriate to consider South Korea's application and there is no need to revert to that matter now.

26. The Soviet delegation wishes to draw attention to one more particular point. Certain speakers, representatives of capitalist countries, have expressed misgivings about the United Nations turning into a club of people who think alike, or into a single-party organization. Gentlemen, you need have no fears on that score. Experience and reality have shown that there are quite enough people of a capitalist turn of mind already in the United Nations. Reference to the possibility of a single-party United Nations or its turning into a club of likeminded people is reminiscent of the time of the cold war. Everybody knows who initiated that policy and who for about 10 years blocked the admission of a large group of socialist countries to membership in the United Nations. I have referred to this in the General Assembly. It is also known that the initiator of that policy was neither a socialist country nor a non-aligned country. The one that pursued the policy of blocking the admission of socialist countries to the United Nations at that time is trying to continue that policy even today in an attempt to prevent the admission to the United Nations of two socialist States, the two Viet-Nams.

27. Against the backdrop of these well-known and very obvious facts it is not difficult to see that arguments about the alleged danger of there being a single-party United Nations are quite simply fictitious and devoid of any foundation. No argumentation can be put forward to justify such an approach on the part of those who are opposed to the admission of the two Viet-Nams to the United Nations. Attempts to block the admission of these two States to membership in the United Nations cannot close the door to the admission of the two sovereign Vietnamese States into international society. The point of view of common sense and justice, which in this question is shared by the absolute majority of States Members of the United Nations, is that an immediate practical decision must be taken on this matter, and it cannot be ignored by anyone.

28. Previous speakers have quite correctly stated that blocking the admission of the two Vietnamese States to membership in the United Nations will bring back the atmosphere of the cold war, despite the fact that that atmosphere has already given place to a new international climate which is characterized by a relaxation of international tension. It is quite obvious to all that it is precisely the improvement in the international situation and the fact that the era of the cold war has gone for ever that have made it possible for extremely important steps to be taken towards the implementation of the principle of universality in the membership of the United Nations. As a result of the relaxation of tension, the legal rights

of China have been restored in the United Nations, the two sovereign German States have been admitted, and so has Bangladesh. It is quite obvious that we must take advantage of the improvement in the international climate in order to admit to membership in the United Nations those two Vietnamese States. This would be a genuinely correct and reasonable approach.

29. The Soviet Union, its people, its Party and Government have always been on the side of the militant freedom-loving Vietnamese people. We have always given them extensive assistance and support, and we take pride in the fact that all this has been very much valued by and has met with the gratitude of the Vietnamese people and its Government. In a recent telegram from the leaders of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, which was addressed to Mr. Brezhnev, Mr. Podgorny and Mr. Kosygin, in reply to their congratulations on the thirtieth anniversary of the founding of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, it was officially stated: "We express to you our sincere gratitude for the powerful assistance and the tremendous, valuable and effective help given by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union, the Soviet Government and the fraternal Soviet people".

30. In conclusion, the delegation of the Soviet Union would like to stress the following. We are deeply convinced that those whom this concerns directly should heed the convincing voice of reason expressed by the States of all peoples of the world in General Assembly resolution 3366 (XXX), on the question of the admission of the two Viet-Nams to membership in the United Nations. Any further delay in admitting the two sovereign Vietnamese States to the United Nations cannot be justified in any way.

31. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The next speaker is the representative of Laos. I should like to ask him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

32. Mr. SIPRASEUTH (Laos) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, allow me first to express to you and the other members of the Security Council my gratitude for having given me an opportunity to speak and to present the position of the Government of National Union of Laos with regard to the question now before the Council. Before doing so, I should like to emphasize my gratification at seeing you, Mr. President, an eminent representative of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, a country for which my country has deep feeling and great respect, presiding over the work of the Council during the month of September.

33. The Security Council is reconsidering the question of the admission of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Republic of South Viet-Nam to

the United Nations. However, this time the facts of the matter have been clearly defined. As each of us knows, it is at the request of the General Assembly that the question of the admission of the two Vietnamese States has once again been placed before the Council. That request carries the fullest possible weight because it has the support of the overwhelming majority of the members of the General Assembly who voted in favour of the draft resolution. To refresh the memories of the members of the Council, the result of the vote on resolution 3366 (XXX) was 123 votes in favour, none against, with only 9 countries abstaining. Moreover, the Council's task has this time been made all the easier by the fact that the text of the resolution adopted leaves no room for misunderstanding or beating about the bush. The resolution "requests the Security Council to reconsider immediately and favourably" the request for admission of the two Vietnamese States to the United Nations.

34. In our view, to act otherwise would be to fail to recognize the ardent and pressing desire of the broad majority of peoples and countries that make up the Organization. Such a position would moreover seriously impair the objective of universality which the United Nations wishes to achieve, in order to help it in its basic task of maintaining international peace and security. That basic task is not furthered by excluding from United Nations activities those countries that for various reasons are called upon to play a primary role in international affairs.

35. In this connexion, it is relevant to recall the serious error that for 25 years was committed in the Organization when some fully representative countries which were eligible for membership were unjustly excluded from the activities of the Organization. That error deeply affected the activities of the United Nations during that period and was deeply felt and lamented by the international community. That error was finally rectified, to the greatest possible advantage of the Organization. To be sure, it is better late than never, but how many opportunities for achieving the objectives of the Charter and strengthening international co-operation have been lost! Are we going once again, for one reason or another, to repeat the error of the past, by refusing to admit the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Republic of South Viet-Nam as fully fledged Members of the Organization?

36. The world situation, and particularly the situation in South-East Asia, has changed considerably and for the greatest good of the peoples of the region and was reached the point of no return. Whether one wishes it or not, it is irrevocable. To recognize this reality and the profound aspirations of the peoples of Viet-Nam, Kampuchea and Laos to be masters of their fate in territorial integrity and live in understanding with all peoples, co-operating with them to maintain international peace and

security, is fully in keeping with the new state of affairs that is emerging in the region.

37. My delegation's great interest in the question before the Council at this meeting can easily be understood. Indeed, the people of Laos, like the people of Cambodia, feels itself united to the Vietnamese people by geographical, historical, political and cultural ties. We have always helped one another in our struggle against the common enemy to achieve national liberation. During this period of 30 years of difficult, bloody but victorious struggle, we have experienced together, each according to its territorial size and population, much sadness, suffering and sacrifice. The victory won over the colonialist, neo-colonialist and American imperialist forces was our joint victory. It was also a victory won by all progressive peoples throughout the world who prize peace and justice. Thus, the question of the admission of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and of the Republic of South Viet-Nam to the United Nations is of direct concern to us. We were deeply saddened and frustrated by the recent veto cast by the representative of the United States [*1836th meeting*] when this question was studied by the Security Council last August.

38. This time, despite the fact that the representative of the United States already stated during the Security Council meeting on Friday [*1842nd meeting*] that he intended to use his country's right of veto to prevent the admission of the two Vietnamese States to the United Nations, in opposition to the wish of the overwhelming majority of the members of the General Assembly which had recommended it, we urgently appeal to that representative to change his attitude and to vote in favour of their admission. The question of Viet-Nam should be studied independently. It cannot be connected to any other questions; nor can it, as has been claimed by the representative of the Government of the United States, be connected to the Korean question either in terms of law or of justice, because the political and historical facts in these two countries are fundamentally different.

39. In the eyes of the world, South Korea has for more than 20 years been an American military base. The Government there is purely an American creation; it is therefore without sovereignty and implements American policy. A fact that clearly demonstrates this is the dispatch of the puppet troops of Park Chung Hee to fight in South Viet-Nam and to commit atrocious crimes against its people. The two Vietnamese States, that have now emerged victorious from their heroic struggle in the American imperialists' war of aggression, are two totally peaceful independent and sovereign States without any foreign bases or troops on their territory.

40. My delegation believes—and we are not the only ones, as can be seen by the result of the voting on

General Assembly resolution 3366 (XXX) which led to the convening of this meeting of the Security Council—that the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Republic of South Viet-Nam fulfil all conditions stipulated in Article 4, paragraph 1, of the Charter for becoming fully fledged Members of the United Nations. Thus, a vote in favour of the admission of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Republic of South Viet-Nam to the United Nations would be a demonstration of the United States Government's intention of living on good terms with all countries in accordance with the burning desire of the American people.

41. Mr. HUANG Hua (China) (*translation from Chinese*): The Chinese delegation has supported from the very outset the applications of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Republic of South Viet-Nam for membership in the United Nations. On 11 August when the Security Council first considered their applications, we expounded in a comprehensive and detailed way our position on the related questions [*1835th and 1836th meetings*] and we shall not repeat it here. It was entirely unjustifiable for the United States representative arbitrarily to link them to the completely irrelevant question of the so-called application of the Park Chung Hee clique of South Korea for a package deal and, after the rejection of its unreasonable proposition by the Security Council, to veto, on the pretext of the so-called principle of universality, the applications of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Republic of South Viet-Nam. This is also in direct violation of the related provisions of the Charter of the United Nations.

42. We are pleased to see that, on 19 September, the General Assembly adopted, by the overwhelming majority of 123 votes, a resolution pointing out that the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Republic of South Viet-Nam should be admitted to membership in the United Nations and requesting the Security Council to reconsider immediately and favourably their applications in strict conformity with Article 4, paragraph 1, of the Charter. This resolution gives expression to the wishes of the overwhelming of the States Members of the United Nations. It has also upheld the provisions of the Charter related to the examination of the application of new Members and their admission. The unreasonable United States proposition for a so-called package deal has been rejected once again.

43. But when the Security Council, in pursuance of General Assembly resolution 3366 (XXX), is reconsidering the applications of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Republic of South Viet-Nam, the United States has once again brought up its so-called package deal, which has already gone bankrupt. The only difference is that, after the unreasonable United States demand was firmly rejected by the overwhelming majority of Member

States and refuted indisputably, the United States, in an effort to justify itself, has made an about-turn, calling black white by imputing its own indefensible argument which is in violation of the relevant provisions of the Charter to those countries which uphold the Charter. How can this become plausible? In fact, anyone can see at first glance that such a practice is the same old wares of the so-called package deal, but with a new wrapping. In obstinately defying the General Assembly resolution, which reflects the just voice of the numerous third world and other small and medium countries, the aim of the United States Government is not only to continue to obstruct stubbornly the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Republic of South Viet-Nam from entering the United Nations, but arbitrarily to thrust the Park Chung Hee clique into the United Nations so as to enable the United States troops to hang on in South Korea and perpetuate the division of Korea, thus realizing its scheme of creating "two Koreas". This is of course absolutely unacceptable to the entire Korean people and all the justice-upholding countries and peoples throughout the world.

44. We have consistently held that the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is the sole legal sovereign State of the Korean nation. The Park Chung Hee clique of South Korea is not qualified at all to apply for membership in the United Nations. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea was admitted as a member of the non-aligned movement at the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries held at Lima not long ago. This further testified to the enhancement of the international prestige of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea whose just cause of the independent and peaceful reunification of the fatherland has enjoyed the support of more and more justice-upholding countries and peoples.

45. It is the common aspiration of the entire Korean people to realize the independent and peaceful reunification of their fatherland at an early date. The presence of the "United Nations Command" and the continued stationing of United States troops in South Korea constitute the biggest obstacle to the realization of the Korean people's independent and peaceful reunification and the root cause of the tension and unrest on the Korean peninsula.

46. In these circumstances, the draft resolution sponsored by Algeria and 42 other sponsors for accelerating the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea sets forth the practical steps and reasonable way for a settlement of the Korean question. Since the General Assembly at its current session has included this item with priority in its agenda, we maintain that the Assembly should adopt that draft resolution³ in order to create favourable conditions for promoting the realization of the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea and peace on the Korean peninsula.

47. We firmly believe that it is a just cause and general trend for the people of divided countries to regain their age-old unification, which can certainly be realized. It is futile for any force on earth to try to obstruct this just trend. What is more, it will surely bring serious ill consequences for itself.

48. In conclusion, we firmly maintain that the Security Council should respect General Assembly resolution 3366 (XXX), and in strict accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter, recommend to the Assembly the admission of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Republic of South Viet-Nam to membership in the United Nations, thus ending the utterly abnormal situation in which they have arbitrarily been obstructed from joining the United Nations.

49. Mr. RYDBECK (Sweden): My delegation wishes to reiterate its support for the applications by the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Republic of South Viet-Nam for membership in the United Nations. Both the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Republic of South Viet-Nam are peace-loving States that have accepted the obligations contained in the Charter and are able to carry out those obligations. As the applications are in full accordance with the requirements of the Charter, it is Sweden's opinion that the two States should be admitted to membership in the United Nations in accordance with the relevant procedures.

50. Now that the Vietnamese people has at long last obtained its independence and peace, it should be the most natural thing for all of us, Members of the United Nations, to welcome the two States of Viet-Nam as new Members of the Organization and invite them to participate in our efforts to build a future, in peace and prosperity, for all the peoples of the world. Sweden is firmly convinced, as are other States, of the necessity of upholding in principle and in practice the universality of the United Nations. However, my delegation also holds the strong conviction that each application for membership should be considered on its own merits. Sweden therefore considers it wrong to link the application of one State to that of another. The effect can be to delay membership of a State which qualifies for membership and would otherwise be rapidly admitted to the United Nations. The Swedish delegation therefore deplores that because of such a link the veto of one of the permanent members of the Security Council has prevented the Council from acting favourably on the demands for admission to the United Nations of the two Vietnamese States. The Swedish delegation urges the Council to recommend this time unanimously the admission of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Republic of South Viet-Nam to the United Nations.

51. Mr. SAITO (Japan): In regard to the admission of the Republic of South Viet-Nam and the

Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam to the United Nations, my delegation has already had the opportunity in this chamber on a previous occasion when the Council dealt with the matter to express Japan's support for their admission [1836th meeting]. We believe that those two applicant States are qualified for membership in the United Nations under Article 4 of the Charter, and we voted for their admission at the Security Council meeting on 11 August 1975 [*ibid.*]. In this connexion, my delegation wishes to reaffirm its belief in the desirability of universality of membership. We are firmly convinced that by opening its doors to all peace-loving States the United Nations can strengthen its functions in the field of maintaining peace and security and developing friendly relations among all States throughout the world.

52. My Government is of the view that the admission of those two States would assuredly constitute a significant step towards the strengthening of the United Nations and contribute in a meaningful way to the restoration of friendly relations among the nations of South-East Asia as well as to the stability of the Pacific area. Japan is confident that such a step would prove a positive element in enhancing international peace and security. We trust that both States will be able to overcome the difficulties in the tasks of reconstruction and development of their countries and that they will soon be able to make an important contribution to the international community.

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

54. Mr. SALIM (United Republic of Tanzania): Last week, when the General Assembly took the decision, in resolution 3366 (XXX), to ask the Council to reconsider the applications of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Republic of South Viet-Nam, we were, I submit, given an invaluable opportunity to correct an anachronistic situation that had arisen as a consequence of the misuse of the veto power by the United States. We were sincerely hoping that the United States would take this opportunity to rectify the mistake it had committed by blocking the admission of the two Vietnamese States to the Organization, for it was our hope that this would be a golden opportunity for that country to declare to the world that it was prepared to move into a new era of relationships, based on equality and mutual respect, with those whom it had sought to subject to the most outrageous devastation, both human and material. It is regrettable that, at least judging by the statement made by Mr. Moynihan last Friday [1842nd meeting], that is not to be the case.

55. In my statement during our last debate on this question [1836th meeting] I said that the United Republic of Tanzania was privileged to identify itself with the struggle of the people of Viet-Nam. I wish now to reaffirm our continued support for the continued struggle of the people and Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Viet-Nam to regain their rightful places in the Organization. I do so in the firm conviction that a people that has struggled in such difficult conditions against the mightiest military Power in the world deserves to reap the fruits of its struggle, and also in the firm belief that that people's exclusion from membership does harm to the principle of universality which the founding fathers of the Organization advocated.

56. The people of Viet-Nam have set a good example to all struggling peoples in the world. Theirs is an example of determination and perseverance. Theirs is an example of struggle for liberation. Theirs is an example of a people seeking justice. And those are the very principles which the Organization seeks to achieve in the world of today. The exclusion of that people, therefore, is a denial to the Organization of an extraordinary contribution to the fulfilment of these principles. It is a negative step with regard to the achievement of the objective of freedom, peace, security and international understanding.

57. Be that as it may, and in spite of the fact that we are aware of the threat of the veto, I submit that no manœuvres, no veto can undermine the significance of the victory of the people of Viet-Nam. The Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Republic of South Viet-Nam can draw encouragement from the fact that the international community has overwhelmingly hailed their just struggle and their just victory. The General Assembly has now demonstrated that it is not the two Vietnamese States that have been isolated but, rather, the forces of what can only be described as irrationality and stubborn confrontation.

58. For Africa, which has been a continent subjected to colonial oppression and subjugation by the imperialist Powers, the determination of the Vietnamese people and the support of the international community give us encouragement that the situation that obtained 30 years ago no longer exists. No longer is it possible for the forces of imperialism to continue their outmoded domination. Of equal significance—and this must be underscored—is the refusal of the United Nations to give in to the whims of those who wish to perpetuate injustice. It is certainly a source of encouragement that, when the General Assembly was called upon to pronounce itself on this question, the international community was not found wanting. This is therefore a lesson to all those who still find pride in living in accordance with the injustice of the past. They must know that

peoples will not rest until all their rights have been won, and that any obstacles in the way of the achievement of those rights will be swept away.

59. It is in response to the demand of the overwhelming majority of the international community—as reflected in the adoption of General Assembly resolution 3366 (XXX) of 19 September 1975, supporting the membership of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Republic of South Viet-Nam—that the Council is now meeting to reconsider the application of the two Viet-Nams. That resolution, which was adopted by a decisive vote of 123 in favour and none against, requested the Security Council to reconsider immediately and favourably—I repeat: immediately and favourably—the applications of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Republic of South Viet-Nam, and to do so in strict conformity with Article 4, paragraph 1, of the Charter.

60. True to the aspirations and expectations of the General Assembly, the delegations of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, China, Guyana, Iraq, Mauritania, Sweden, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Republic of Cameroon and the United Republic of Tanzania have submitted draft resolutions S/11832 and S/11833. My delegation, which is privileged to introduce these two draft resolutions on behalf of the nine sponsors, wishes to take this opportunity to make a few general observations.

61. To begin with, as members of the Council will certainly have noted, the draft resolutions are as brief as they are simple and precise. They simply seek to do what the General Assembly expects us to do. In recommending to the General Assembly that the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Republic of South Viet-Nam should be admitted to membership in the United Nations, the two draft resolutions are simply echoing the wishes the aspirations and the desires of the overwhelming majority of mankind.

62. In introducing these two draft resolutions, the sponsors wish to emphasize what is most important for the purpose of the proceedings of the Council—that the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the Republic of South Viet-Nam fully qualify for membership in the Organization. Their applications are in strict conformity with Article 4, paragraph 1, of the Charter of the United Nations; thus, they have accepted the obligations of membership and the principles of the Organization. To our knowledge and as we understand it, there are no other criteria that must be met for these two applications to be entertained.

63. In fact, I note with tremendous interest that in his statement to the Council on Friday last, Mr. Moynihan of the United States said something quite significant on the issue of merits and criteria.

Referring to a ruling of the International Court of Justice, he endorsed that ruling and said that it stated, *inter alia*, that “each application should be considered on its merits, on the basis of established criteria” [1842nd meeting, para. 99]. Those are not my words; they are the words of the representative of the United States of America. And yet, sad to note, in the same statement in which Mr. Moynihan emphasized the principle of merits and criteria in respect of each application, he went on to subject the applications of the two Viet-Nams to other factors completely unrelated to the applications themselves.

64. Thus, the sponsors of these two draft resolutions wish to emphasize that they are strictly in conformity with the provisions of the Charter. It is the hope of the sponsors—and I think there is considerable optimism behind that hope—that every member of the Council will consider the applications of the two Viet-Nams on their merits and cast their votes accordingly. In that connexion, I would welcome the statement by the Minister for External Relations of Costa Rica that his delegation will be voting in favour of the admission of the two Viet-Nams [1842nd meeting].

65. Thus, if I may presume to say so, it is clear that in its views the Council is at one with the General Assembly, and that the overwhelming majority of the members of the Council are prepared to respond favourably to the views expressed by the overwhelming majority of the General Assembly. We thus have the situation which I described in my last statement on this question: the situation of one delegation, the situation of a minority—what I called an “absolute minority”—determined to impose its will against the wishes of the absolute majority both in the Council and in the Assembly. I wish, even at this very late hour, to launch an appeal to that friendly delegation to desist from that course of action and to respond favourably to the wishes of the international community, for I do not believe that it serves anyone’s interest to try to fight the Vietnamese war again using the Security Council chamber as a battlefield.

66. My delegation is aware that in the course of these proceedings there have been attempts to introduce extraneous matters with regard to the applications of the two Viet-Nams. I have already explained the position of the sponsors and I should like now to reiterate very briefly the position of the Government of the United Republic of Tanzania on this question.

67. We are opposed to, and in fact we deplore, or—if I may quote the terminology used this morning by my good friend Mr. Richard, the representative of the United Kingdom—we treat with not a little contempt any attempt to link the application of Viet-Nam with any other application. We believe

that each and every single application of a potential new Member of the Organization should be treated on its own merit. We deplore any manœuvres calculated to block the membership of Viet-Nam. We certainly and categorically reject any so-called package deals. I already had occasion to point out at a previous meeting on this question that the United Republic of Tanzania, like many members of the Council, has never been a party to package deals, could not be a party to package deals and refuses to be a party to any package deals.

68. With respect to the application of South Korea—and I see that our friend the representative of the United States, who I am sure has found that the argument of the package deal does not hold water, is now trying to use, in a twisted way, the position of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea as an argument to show that this also constitutes some sort of package deal—we are told that we should not allow the opposition of the Democratic Republic of Korea to block the membership of South Korea.

69. I do not want to go into the details of this point because the delegation of the United Republic of Tanzania has already made its position clear, but I should like to say that our position on the application of the Republic of South Korea is not based on the position of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. For one thing—and I think it is important for members of the Council to know this, and I am sure they do know it—what we were considering when the Security Council rejected the application of the régime of South Korea was only the application of South Korea. We do not have an application from the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for membership in the Organization. If we had that application, then we would be talking in terms of *quid pro quo* and package deals. But, in rejecting the proposal to include the question of the application of the régime in South Korea in the agenda of the Security Council, my delegation is motivated by the spirit of consistency in the Organization. My delegation is also motivated by the desire to ensure that one body of the United Nations does not take one decision while another body of the Organization takes a position different from and perhaps completely contradictory to the decision taken by the former body.

70. I do not want to burden the Council with the details, but I think—particularly for the benefit of those who have any doubts as to why the Tanzanian delegation opposed the inclusion of the question of the application of Korea in the agenda—that it may be useful for me to read into the records of the Council what I said on the question of Korea at the meeting on 11 August 1975:

“The issue of Korea is a totally extraneous and different problem. That problem is currently under

consideration in the General Assembly. South Korea, as the Organization knows and recognizes, is an entity carved out of what the Korean people know and maintain is one Korea. Neither the Korean people nor the Organization has accepted the permanency of two Koreas, artificially divided by external forces. Indeed, in spite of the adverse situation, the two sides of Korea affirmed the inadmissibility of two Koreas when they jointly stated in their communiqué of 4 July 1972 that they would both work peacefully towards the reunification of their country. That communiqué was warmly welcomed by the Organization in a General Assembly decision of 1973 and in General Assembly resolution 3333 (XXIX). The resolution and the decision are not only a recognition of the need to respect the wishes of the Korean people for the reunification of Korea, but also actions intended to promote and assist the efforts at reunification.

“Consequently, the act of the South Korean régime in applying for membership in the Organization—which, in effect, is an attempt to ask the Organization to recognize the existence of two separate Korean States—is clearly contrary to the spirit of the decisions adopted by the General Assembly in 1973 and 1974; these were decisions which were adopted by consensus and which can certainly be considered as promoting the just struggle of the Korean people for national reunification.” [1836th meeting, paras. 137 and 138.]

71. Those were the reasons behind the Tanzanian delegation’s position with respect to the application of Korea, and for the very same reasons my delegation would have been very well prepared to go along with the consideration on its own merits of each and every single application that came before the Council.

72. The attempt by those who wish to block the applications of the two Viet-Nams to link the applications of the two Viet-Nams with the application of South Korea is irrational, inconsistent and illogical. For those reasons it is the hope of my delegation, as indeed of the eight other sponsors, that the draft resolutions will command the support of the overwhelming majority of the members of the Council, and if possible the unanimous support of the Council.

The meeting rose at 4.50 p.m.

Notes

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

² *See Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirtieth Session, Plenary Meetings, 2357th meeting.*

³ Subsequently adopted by the General Assembly as resolution 3390 B (XXX).