

UNITED NATIONS



SECURITY COUNCIL OFFICIAL RECORDS

TWENTY-EIGHTH YEAR

1730th

MEETING: 22 JUNE 1973

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1730)	1
Adoption of the agenda	1
Admission of new Members:	
(a) Application of the German Democratic Republic for admission to membership in the United Nations: Letter dated 12 June 1973 from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the German Democratic Republic to the Secretary-General (S/10945);	
(b) Application of the Federal Republic of Germany for admission to membership in the United Nations: Letter dated 13 June 1973 from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany to the Secretary-General (S/10949);	
(c) Report of the Committee on the Admission of New Members concerning the application of the German Democratic Republic and the application of the Federal Republic of Germany for admission to membership in the United Nations (S/10957)	1

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.

SEVENTEEN HUNDRED AND THIRTIETH MEETING

Held in New York on Friday, 22 June 1973, at 10.30 a.m.

President: Mr. Y. MALIK
(Union of Soviet Socialist Republics).

Present: The representatives of the following States: Australia, Austria, China, France, Guinea, India, Indonesia, Kenya, Panama, Peru, Sudan, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America and Yugoslavia.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1730)

1. Adoption of the agenda.
2. Admission of new Members:
 - (a) Application of the German Democratic Republic for admission to membership in the United Nations:

Letter dated 12 June 1973 from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the German Democratic Republic to the Secretary-General (S/10945);
 - (b) Application of the Federal Republic of Germany for admission to membership in the United Nations:

Letter dated 13 June 1973 from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany to the Secretary-General (S/10949);
 - (c) Report of the Committee on the Admission of New Members concerning the application of the German Democratic Republic and the application of the Federal Republic of Germany for admission to membership in the United Nations (S/10957).

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Admission of new Members:

- (a) Application of the German Democratic Republic for admission to membership in the United Nations:

Letter dated 12 June 1973 from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the German Democratic Republic to the Secretary-General (S/10945);
- (b) Application of the Federal Republic of Germany for admission to membership in the United Nations:

Letter dated 13 June 1973 from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany to the Secretary-General (S/10949);

(c) Report of the Committee on the Admission of New Members concerning the application of the German Democratic Republic and the application of the Federal Republic of Germany for admission to membership in the United Nations (S/10957)

1. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Russian*): In accordance with the decision adopted at the 1729th meeting of the Security Council, the Committee on the Admission of New Members has held its meeting and has submitted to the Council a report [S/10957] together with the summary record of the meeting [S/C.2/SR.42], in which the views of all members of the Committee are set forth.
2. I should like to congratulate the Committee on its decision to recommend that the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany be admitted to membership in the United Nations. In accordance with the agreement we reached and if there are no objections by members of the Council, the Security Council will first take a decision on the substance of these applications for admission to membership in the United Nations, and then members of the Council will make their statements.
3. In this connexion I should like to remind the Council that it was agreed after consultations among members that the Council would take a decision on this question by consensus, i.e., without voting.
4. Since there are no objections, I take it we are agreed on this procedure.
5. Now I want to draw the attention of members of the Security Council to paragraph 3 of the report of the Committee on the Admission of New Members, which contains a draft resolution which the Committee recommends the Council to adopt. I shall read out the text.

"The Security Council,

"Having considered separately the application of the German Democratic Republic [S/10945] and the application of the Federal Republic of Germany [S/10949] for admission to membership in the United Nations,

"1. Recommends to the General Assembly that the German Democratic Republic be admitted to membership in the United Nations;

"2. Recommends to the General Assembly that the Federal Republic of Germany be admitted to membership in the United Nations."

6. In accordance with the agreement reached earlier among members of the Security Council, which I have already mentioned, the Security Council, like the Committee on the Admission of New Members, is ready to adopt the draft resolution without voting.

7. Since there are no objections from members of the Council, I shall take it that the Council decides to recommend to the General Assembly that the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany be admitted to membership in the United Nations.

It was so decided.

8. By recommending that these two States be admitted to membership in the United Nations, the Council is making another substantial contribution to the cause of ensuring international peace and security and—something which is also most important—to the cause of implementing and consolidating the principle of the universality of the United Nations, which is stipulated in the Charter.

9. Permit me, on behalf of the Security Council and all its members, to congratulate the future new Members of our Organization—the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany—and to say that I am sure that the General Assembly will in turn adopt a decision on the admission of these two States to membership in the United Nations in accordance with the Security Council recommendations and that it will comply in this matter with the provisions of Article 4, paragraph 2, of the Charter.

10. By adopting such a decision the United Nations will contribute to the strengthening of international co-operation, the consolidation of peace and security in Europe and throughout our planet and the further development of relations of friendship, co-operation and mutual understanding among States and peoples on the basis of universal recognition of the principle of peaceful coexistence.

11. Now the Council will hear the statements of those members who may wish to speak on this agenda item.

12. Mr. DE GUIRINGAUD (France) (*interpretation from French*): In recommending to the General Assembly that it should receive the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic into the family of the United Nations, the Council has unanimously adopted a decision the historic nature of which is clear to everyone, and probably no one will be surprised to hear me describe this as a historic decision. The representative of France must naturally congratulate himself on seeing that our Organization is coming closer to its ideal of universality. The representative of France is obviously gratified at the thought that the United Nations will soon have in its midst two new Members with a wealth of labour and industry. First and foremost, however, the representative of France continues to be struck by the importance of the subject put before us for our consideration.

13. The geographical area which is henceforth to be represented in our midst is not just any geographical

area as far as France is concerned. It is peopled by men who for centuries have been neighbours of the French and with whom we have had changing but always close relations. This people, whose merits we have been able to appreciate even when we were compelled to combat them, has produced distinguished minds which have never ceased to speak to us. And now, here today, these neighbours are entering our Organization of peace-loving nations. This event can only be welcomed by a country like France—which helped to found our Organization, immediately after and because of a Second World War provoked by inhuman excesses that had taken over the German Reich.

14. You will I am sure allow me to expatiate on a theme which is so closely linked to the history of my country and to say first of all that France believes it has played a role in the remarkable evolution which has occurred over the past 25 years. The governments that have decided on France's policy towards Germany have all been bent on replacing enmity by reconciliation, mistrust by trust, and rivalry by understanding. How could one fail to mention here the names of Robert Schuman and of Konrad Adenauer, and naturally we should also mention the lofty figure of General de Gaulle. This man went furthest in the direction, or rather in the revolution, which profoundly transformed the nature of Franco-German relations. It is sufficient here if I mention the treaty of friendship that France and the Federal Republic of Germany concluded in 1963, by virtue of which Mr. Georges Pompidou, the President of the French Republic, finds himself this very day at Bonn. The co-operation which links our two countries can be viewed only with favour by the rest of the world, and this is all the more true since it is not confined to the political problems of the moment but, by redoubling the ties between French and German youth, it is helping to found the future.

15. Lastly, I should like to recall that together France and the Federal Republic, in concert with seven other countries, have embarked upon a task of great scope. The nine countries members of the Common Market wanted to inject new meaning into their concept of Europe. They decided to break with the notion of empire which was inherited from our most remote past, and everyone knows how much this idea has dominated the fate of our continent. They wanted once and for all to repudiate a mirage of their history and to replace it by the only idea consistent with the conditions of existence in modern Europe, namely, material integration on such a broad scale that it becomes irreversible and a political agreement based on the permanent harmonization of national interests. I shall not dwell on the merits, or terms of example, of such an enterprise in a world which, in its turn, should also give up all temptation towards empire-building. I would merely emphasize that the German nation, which was the last victim of the mirage that I have been discussing, finds in its past a wealth of evidence of a humanitarian tradition, and we are glad that Europe already, and the United Nations very shortly, can benefit from that tradition.

16. Accordingly, both at the bilateral level as well as in collective terms we have done what was within our power to transform the political conditions of the

European continent. And while it is true that France in the past has not entertained similar relations with the German Democratic Republic, it is France's intention, if that country agrees, henceforth to develop with it the relationships of co-operation which are characteristic of the ties between European countries.

17. The situation which we have reached in the course of a generation has developed considerably since the four Powers took control of Hitlerite Germany. Everything counsels us today to give our support to the membership applications which have been submitted to us. That attitude is in accordance with the Quadripartite Declaration of 9 November 1972, which was transmitted to the Governments of the two candidate States and also to the Secretary-General of our Organization and which was circulated by the latter to all Member States [S/10952-S/10955]. In that text the four Powers have stated that they would support the applications for membership of the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic as Members of the United Nations, and have affirmed that that membership would in no way affect the rights and responsibilities of the four Powers or the corresponding quadripartite agreements, decisions and practices related thereto.

18. I have mentioned the efforts at reasoned trust which have prevailed in the reconciliation between France and the Federal Republic of Germany and which now governs their friendship. I should like once again to emphasize the wisdom which has guided the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic on the relationships they have built between themselves. That wisdom has helped greatly in making possible the resolution that we have just adopted. If the great difficulties that were encountered could be overcome, the merit for that devolves in the first place upon the German negotiators themselves, Chancellor Brandt and his Ministers on the one hand, and the leaders of the German Democratic Republic on the other. Last Wednesday their efforts led to the result which had been sought for so long: the two Governments concerned have proceeded to an exchange of notes which brings into operation the fundamental Treaty,¹ which is the basis of the relations that they have decided to establish between themselves.

19. I should also like to express a word of satisfaction about the Treaty of 12 August 1970 and those that were concluded or initialled between the Federal Republic of Germany on the one hand and Poland and Czechoslovakia on the other. Those agreements undeniably have facilitated the relaxation of tension not only in Central Europe but also throughout our continent. As evidence of that, I need only point to the success of the preliminary discussions on the European Conference on Security and Co-operation.

20. France, which has the feeling that it has constantly contributed to the work of which it is now noting the first positive results at the European level, is naturally pleased to see the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic also make their entry simultaneously onto the world scene. Perhaps other

divided nations will, one day, follow their example if they succeed in settling their problems. I have no doubt that those whom the United Nations fought 30 years ago will soon confirm their new wisdom and their desire for peace in our midst and will contribute to the work of our Organization, with the individual genius which has already had such a generous and fruitful influence on the history of mankind.

21. Mrs. Cisse (Guinea) (*interpretation from French*): In adopting this morning by consensus the report of the Committee on Admission of New Members, recommending to the General Assembly the admission of the German Democratic Republic, the Council has just performed an act of justice which has long been awaited. That historic decision, we are convinced, will mark a new stage in the process of international *détente* which has been under way for some years now.

22. My delegation has always deplored, and continues to deplore, the fact that certain Powers, including the German Democratic Republic, Viet-Nam and Korea, have been kept outside the international Organization, even though they meet, more than some other powers, all the conditions laid down by the Charter. Many concrete examples which I shall refrain from mentioning here are all factual evidence which prove convincingly that the peoples of those countries aspire only to peace and stability in the world.

23. The German Democratic Republic, whose admission we have just recommended to the General Assembly, has been, ever since its creation and the confirmation of its existence as an independent and sovereign State, a country which aspires only to peace not only with its neighbours but also with all countries which share the same feeling.

24. We take pleasure in stressing that that sentiment has subsequently characterized its attitude in its relations abroad. That is why it, too, has entered into direct co-operation in all fields—political, economic, cultural—with the young independent States of Africa, including my own country, the Republic of Guinea. And if today the German Democratic Republic enjoys the admiration of more than 80 countries, with which it maintains diplomatic relations, it is indeed because of its policy of peace, solidarity and co-operation, based on the equality of States and respect for their sovereignty.

25. My delegation also takes pleasure in noting with satisfaction that the Democratic Republic of Germany, already a member of several specialized agencies of the United Nations, has always honourably acquitted itself of all its tasks in those agencies. Its total, unreserved assistance to the liberation movements commands the respect and admiration of the African States and peoples. It is in consideration of the facts I have mentioned, and because of our own volition we have chosen to be brief, that my delegation announces its full support for the application for admission of the Democratic Republic of Germany.

26. Unfortunately, my delegation is not in a position to make a similar announcement with regard to the Federal Republic of Germany. We should therefore like to express the strongest reservations concerning

¹ Treaty on the Basis of Relations between the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic, signed at Berlin on 21 December 1972.

paragraph 2 of the resolution, on the admission of the Federal Republic of Germany to the United Nations.

27. My delegation, without wishing to disturb the happy atmosphere of *détente* which has marked this debate, would like—without dwelling at greater length on the factual details and the political considerations which have led to our reservations—to explain what has led to the deterioration of relations between the Republic of Guinea and the Federal Republic of Germany. My country, the Republic of Guinea, immediately after its independence maintained political, economic and cultural relations with the Federal Republic of Germany, a country for which our people had great respect. That country, to the immense surprise of everyone, took advantage of that noble sentiment, about which the Federal Republic of Germany was mistaken, to infiltrate the ranks of our militants in order methodically to set out upon a course of economic sabotage and systematic corruption of officials at all echelons in our country. Thus, with one of the most subtle kinds of organization, the Federal Republic of Germany, through its technical-assistance personnel and its Ambassador in Conakry, made it its business to destroy our people, to wipe out our sovereignty and to make of our country a puppet State in its pay. Repeatedly, my Head of State, President Ahmed Sékou Touré, denounced those facts and drew the attention of world public opinion to them, appealing to the diplomatic missions accredited to our country urgently to help us preserve our national cadres. In defiance of the appeals of our Head of State, the Federal Republic of Germany improved its methods of setting up cells, in agreement with the sworn enemies of the peace- and justice-loving peoples, international imperialism, headed by Portugal, which led to a very difficult situation, which exploded on 22 November 1970 in a vast act of armed aggression against our people—peacefully sleeping after an arduous day of Ramadan—plunging Guinea into mourning and bloodshed.

28. For many years the energies of my people were diverted from their productive activities, which did considerable damage to our development. In that stupid act of aggression, in an attempt to bring about colonial reconquest, my people lost many of its sons.

29. The people of Guinea is a peaceful people which does not harbour grudges and which has faith, always faith, in the future. However, there is something else it cannot forget. It is the reality of the coalition between South Africa, Portugal, Rhodesia and the Federal Republic of Germany, which results in the international community witnessing in almost total impotence the strengthening of the investments of the Federal Republic of Germany in Namibia, paralysing the action of the United Nations for a peaceful settlement in order to restore to the people of Namibia its right to self-determination. We are helpless witnesses to the development of military co-operation between the Federal Republic of Germany and the above-mentioned countries, co-operation the consequences of which are having a dangerous effect upon the struggle of our valiant freedom-fighters in Guinea (Bissau) and Mozambique, destroying innocent human lives and social structures in the liberated areas.

30. I repeat that my country is a peace-loving State which aspires to respect for the principles laid down

by the Charter. Therefore, we can only be troubled at the admission of a State such as the Federal Republic of Germany, whose acts are not in keeping with the requirements of the Charter. My delegation wishes to express the ardent hope that the important decision taken today by the Security Council will not become a day to regret.

31. Mr. JAMIESON (United Kingdom): My delegation welcomes the applications of the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic for entry into the United Nations. We have therefore joined in the adoption by consensus of the resolution before the Council.

32. The phrase "a historic occasion" is overworked, but its use today is more than justified. The Security Council has adopted without dissent a resolution recommending the admission of two States which were for long regarded as being mutually hostile and as members of mutually hostile military camps. Some members of the Council have had long-standing and close ties with the Federal Republic of Germany. Others have had equally long-standing links with the German Democratic Republic. But today the applications of both for membership of the United Nations have received the endorsement of this Council.

33. In the case of my own country, for example, we have for long had the closest of ties with the Federal Republic of Germany. We are fellow members of the European Economic Community and allies in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Our two countries are united in the importance we attach to these partnerships, which are the cornerstones of our security and our prosperity. I am sure that the United Nations will provide yet one more field in which we shall co-operate to our mutual benefit, and we warmly welcome the application with which we have just dealt. There can be no doubt that the Federal Republic of Germany will make important contributions across the whole range of this Organization's activities.

34. Thanks to recent developments we have also been able to offer a sincere welcome to the application of the German Democratic Republic. As is known, my Government established diplomatic relations with the German Democratic Republic earlier this year and henceforth we look forward to increasing contacts here in the United Nations and to increasing bilateral exchanges in every field.

35. Thus it is that I think that our welcome today to these two European States must go further than the customary platitudes, the polite remarks about the applicant States, the references to universality and so on, which are usual on these occasions. For although the Council's action today foreshadows the accession of two States at the very heart of Europe whose populations together amount to 77 million people, it also symbolizes something of the greatest concern to all of us who have the peace of the world at heart. Not so many years ago only the most staunchly optimistic, equipped with the most rose-tinted of spectacles, would have foreseen the progress which we have witnessed recently towards a relaxation of tension and elimination of the sources of conflict in Europe. Who at that time could have predicted with any confidence that this Council would be able to adopt today's draft resolution

without dissent? And yet the fact that we have done so demonstrates the worth of the long drawn out process of patient negotiation which has taken place, involving both the two German States themselves and other Powers immediately concerned.

36. This process of negotiation, which included the negotiation in 1970 of the treaties between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Soviet Union and Poland, contrast with the atmosphere of confrontation which had beset central Europe since the Second World War. I have no need on this occasion to describe subsequent events in full, but in November last year talks between the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic culminated in a General Relations Treaty which provided for the establishment of normal relations between the two. As members of this Council will know, this Treaty is now in force as a result of an exchange of notes which took place on Wednesday. The Quadripartite Declaration, to which the representative of France has already referred, and which has been circulated to all Member States, was another of the steps in the course of events which led to the meeting of the Security Council today, and I should like at this point to associate my Government with the remarks of my French colleague concerning that Declaration.

37. But today's meeting is not the end of the story, because it is symbolic of something else. The relaxation of tension in the very heart of Europe is closely linked with the wider search for *détente*. On 3 July the European Conference on Security and Co-operation will open in Helsinki. This would not have been possible without the improvement in the relations between East and West which I have described. And in the circumstances now created, this conference will give us the opportunity, which we must surely seize, to make further progress, to the benefit of all, with realistic measures to improve security, and to increase the mutual confidence which is essential to it, to seek practical ways to develop good neighbour co-operation; and to lower the barriers which have for too long divided the peoples of Europe. As my Secretary of State said in the General Assembly on 27 September 1972 " . . . we must, if life is to be tolerable, replace the negative conception of co-existence with a fabric of trust".²

38. Similarly, and as part of the same process, we welcome the prospect of negotiations on mutual and balanced force reductions which we hope will begin in the autumn. No one pretends that this will be an easy matter to deal with. But if it is possible to reach agreement on measures designed to create confidence, these negotiations offer the opportunity of finding some way of lowering the level of armed forces and armaments in central Europe while at the same time maintaining undiminished security for all at each and every stage of the process.

39. Let me conclude by repeating that we look forward to continuing in this Organization as elsewhere in co-operation with the Federal Republic of Germany. We look forward equally to increasing contacts with

the German Democratic Republic. The contributions that the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic have made to the process of *détente*, not least by the conclusion of the inner-German agreements and arrangements and of the General Relations Treaty, constitute striking evidence of their qualifications for admission to the United Nations. Let me add, as the representative of a European country, what pleasure the filling of this European gap in our Organization gives my Government. But perhaps the last word should rest with the millions of Europeans who, one day, may be able to ascribe to a process of genuine *détente*, of which our action today is a hopeful symbol, not only freedom from crisis and war but also an age of co-operation, confidence and prosperity, to the benefit not only of Europe but to all Members of the United Nations.

40. Mr. SCHAUFLE (United States of America): My delegation wishes to associate itself with the statements made this morning by the Permanent Representatives of France and the United Kingdom. We too are pleased that the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic have submitted applications for membership in the United Nations. My Government will continue to support those applications.

41. The United States views the spirit of co-operation displayed by the consensus in the Security Council today as a further indication that patience and good will can help develop new relationships in areas long characterized by frictions. These new relationships can serve not only the cause of peace but also the day-to-day well-being of millions of people. This has a positive impact on the United Nations, the two German States, and the cause of international peace.

42. The United States has sought to bring about improvements in international relations through careful negotiations to replace hostility with mutual understanding. Today's action by the Security Council is evidence that we all are making significant progress towards accomplishing these goals. Obviously this is not and cannot be the work of one country or one group of countries. In the present case we have sought to co-operate with the Soviet Union as well as with the Federal Republic of Germany and our other Western allies who share with us—and with the international community in general—a common interest in eliminating the causes of tension in central Europe.

43. The Federal Republic of Germany has earned in this process our particular admiration. Its leadership has sought—we believe, successfully—to deal constructively with national problems while taking into account the responsibilities which it and others bear for the maintenance of peace, stability and security in Europe. We can, I believe, count on this same constructive attitude on the part of the Federal Republic of Germany in the work of the United Nations.

44. We also welcome the declared intention of the German Democratic Republic to work unreservedly in fulfilling the United Nations mission of peace and in promoting the economic and social advancement of all peoples. Each German State has great resources in scientific capacity, a skilled population and a strong economy. Both States have indicated a desire to be of assistance in bringing about economic and social

² Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Plenary Meetings, 2042nd meeting, para. 108.

progress around the world. We are convinced that they will be able to do so. We are particularly gratified that as Members of the United Nations they will be able to work with each other in contributing to the successful achievement of United Nations programmes and objectives. The admission of the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic to full United Nations membership this fall, when they will receive the approval of the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly, will add important new strength to the United Nations—a development of historic importance to this world body and to the goals it pursues in the interests of us all.

45. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Russian*): I should like to make the following statement on this item on behalf of the delegation of the UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS.

46. The Soviet delegation has been very happy to support the application of the German Democratic Republic for admission to membership in the United Nations and the application of the Federal Republic of Germany for admission to membership in the United Nations. We cannot fail to note the unanimity with which the Security Council today adopted a decision on the admission of these two German States to the United Nations.

47. This decision may be boldly described as a truly historic landmark in the development of post-war international relations in Europe and the world and in the history of the United Nations itself, which was born in the fire and travail of the Second World War, in the harsh years of the struggle against aggression and fascism, as the hope of all mankind and as a guarantee that peace could be won and consolidated, that the horrors of war would never return, that the "policy of force" and its use in international relations would be ended for ever and that peace would triumph everywhere on earth.

48. Today the Security Council has unanimously supported the applications for admission to membership in the United Nations of the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany, two sovereign States which have recognized the United Nations Charter and have undertaken to carry out all the obligations of United Nations membership. This Security Council action is a true reflection of the enormous and irreversible changes which have taken place in the contemporary world as a result of the unceasing efforts of all peace-loving and progressive forces, primarily of the countries of the socialist community, throughout the post-war period. It is a direct consequence of the easing of international tension, which has made particular progress in recent years.

49. By adopting this decision the United Nations is drawing the final line on the balance-sheet of that great world tragedy which began a third of a century ago in Europe and has caused immeasurable suffering to the peoples of the world. In the United Nations system the policy and practice of discrimination against individual States have been ended. A new era is dawning in the history of the activities of the United Nations—the long-awaited era of universality.

50. The admission of the German Democratic Republic to membership in the United Nations must be

viewed as yet another direct and especially important indication of the recognition of the growing international role and authority of the German Democratic Republic, an independent, sovereign socialist State and a consistent advocate of peace, international security and social progress. The peaceful foreign policy of the German Democratic Republic is of great significance for the cause of peace and *détente* in Europe and for the organization of all-European co-operation. The role of the German Democratic Republic as an influence for peace and security in European and world affairs is growing steadily.

51. The German Democratic Republic maintains that the favourable changes which have been achieved in the international situation should be made irreversible. Mr. Honecker, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, stated:

"This is the goal of our policy too. We advocate compliance with the letter and spirit of the treaties which have been concluded; in accordance with their purport, they should be the most effective means of guaranteeing peace and the easing of tension."

52. The broad international recognition of the German Democratic Republic has also been reflected in the fact that today the German Democratic Republic has diplomatic relations with more than 80 States on all continents of the world. This international recognition of the German Democratic Republic is clear evidence of the irreversibility of the social and political changes of historic importance which have taken place in Europe and of the complete failure of the policy of seeking to achieve diplomatic isolation of this socialist German State in international relations and political discrimination against it in the United Nations system.

53. This accomplishment required enormous efforts and a constant struggle on the part of the socialist and many other peace-loving States friendly towards the German Democratic Republic—States which strove persistently for the realization of the principles of the equality of rights of all States and peoples and respect for their sovereignty, and for observance of the principle of the universality of the United Nations, which is stipulated in the Charter and has been reaffirmed by decisions of the General Assembly.

54. The Soviet Union has long been linked by the firmest bonds of close, sincere and selfless friendship with the German Democratic Republic, a socialist German State, the ally and friend of the countries of the socialist community. We were always among those who rendered all possible support to that country in the matter of its admission to membership in the United Nations. Today we can state proudly and with a feeling of deep satisfaction and of duty done that the efforts of those who consistently and constantly advocated the just and equal treatment of all States and who defended and affirmed the principle of the universality of the United Nations were not in vain. They have been crowned with success. There can be no doubt that the admission of the German Democratic Republic to membership in the United Nations will serve the cause of strengthening universal peace. This is an important step of great historical significance and it

will serve the interests of all peace-loving States, the United Nations itself and the peoples of Europe and the whole world.

55. With its highly developed economy, advanced scientific and technological experience and rich cultural traditions the German Democratic Republic makes its own weighty contribution to the development of international co-operation and economic, trade, scientific, technical and cultural relations, and occupies a worthy place among the most highly developed States of Europe and of the whole world. By an overwhelming majority of votes at the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly the German Democratic Republic was elected, at the same time as the Federal Republic of Germany, to the Governing Council of the United Nations Environment Programme. That was the first time the United Nations had taken a vote affecting the two German States and it amounted to a vote of international confidence in them; the same number of votes—120—were cast in favour of the election of the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany to the Governing Council. That was undoubtedly symbolic. The German Democratic Republic was next elected unanimously by the Economic and Social Council to membership of the Economic Commission for Europe, where it successfully and fruitfully co-operates with other United Nations Members. No one can doubt that as a fully fledged Member of the United Nations the German Democratic Republic will put its resources, progressive political experience and economic potential to full use in seeking to realize the noble purposes of the United Nations and to bring about international co-operation.

56. For more than 20 years the USSR and the countries of the socialist community have striven ceaselessly and purposefully to restore international justice and end the discrimination against the German Democratic Republic in the United Nations and in all other international organizations. I must tell you that I am personally very happy that it fell to my lot as Permanent Representative of the USSR to the United Nations to enjoy the great honour of presiding over the Security Council when it adopted this historic decision on the admission of the two German States to membership in the United Nations.

57. Today we are loudly acclaiming the major political advances which have been achieved and are being achieved in Europe through the efforts of all peace-loving countries acting on the initiative of the States of the socialist community. That Europe which more than once has been a dangerous hotbed of aggressive wars causing enormous destruction and the deaths of millions of people must recede and is receding into the past forever. It is our sincere wish—and we are doing everything we can to bring this about—that Europe should become a new continent, a continent of peace, mutual trust and mutual co-operation among all States and peoples on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence. As previous speakers have already noted, we must count among the political advances in Europe, first and foremost, the consolidation in treaty form of the principle of the inviolability of the frontiers of European States, including the frontier between the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany, as they were established after the Second

World War. The treaties of the USSR and the Polish People's Republic with the Federal Republic of Germany and the General Relations Treaty between the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany are having a favourable influence on the political situation in Europe, opening up broad opportunities and prospects for further important positive changes in European relations.

58. The delegation of the USSR considers that the admission to the United Nations of the Federal Republic of Germany, like the admission of the German Democratic Republic, is one of the most important events in the history of the life and work of the United Nations; it is equally a long overdue, essential international political action capable of exerting a favourable influence both on the general state of international relations and on the activities of the United Nations.

59. Speaking at a reception on 21 May 1973 during his stay in the Federal Republic of Germany, Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, stated:

“The hour is at hand when the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany will take their places in the United Nations and will be able to make a worthy contribution to the work of that world organization. All this substantially alters both the international situation of your country and, to a considerable degree, the general climate of relations between Western and Eastern Europe.”

60. In this connexion we cannot fail to express our satisfaction and our certainty that the trend towards the easing of international tension and the consolidation of the policy of peaceful coexistence will prevail over the negative trends of the gloomy years of the “cold war” in world politics. And in this sense the admission of the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany to the United Nations is an eloquent testimony of this positive and irreversible process which inspires in peoples the certainty that the cause of peace and international co-operation, towards which Members of the United Nations must strive—in accordance with the obligation imposed by the purposes and Charter of the United Nations—will inevitably triumph. The stifling atmosphere of the “cold war” years is gradually being replaced, although not without difficulty, by the invigorating climate generated by the easing and relaxation of international tension. The policy of reason, peaceful coexistence and non-use of force in international relations is replacing the policy of “negotiation from a position of strength”. Confrontation and hostile alienation are giving way to communication and discussion, new evidence of which is provided by Leonid Ilich Brezhnev's visits to France, the Federal Republic of Germany and the United States of America and his fruitful talks with the leaders of those States.

61. As a fully fledged Member of the United Nations, the Federal Republic of Germany—which is economically, scientifically, technically and culturally one of the highly developed States of Europe and the world—will find broad opportunities to make its own worthy contribution to international co-operation among all States; to the multifaceted activities of the United

Nations and to the improvement of the political climate in Europe and throughout the world.

62. In welcoming the admission of the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany to the United Nations, I feel, as the representative of the Soviet Union, that this is an opportune moment to draw the attention of the distinguished members of the Security Council once again to the important political results of the visit to the Federal Republic of Germany of L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which took place in May this year. That visit marked a turning-point in the relations between States which in the very recent past had been diametrically opposed on almost all major issues. We are sure that there are now good prospects for the establishment between the USSR and the Federal Republic of Germany of relations of good-neighbourliness, mutual understanding and co-operation in the interests of peace and for the development of comprehensive and long-term economic, technical and cultural links and co-operation between the two States. All this consolidates the move towards new and normal political and other relations—long overdue in a time of peace—and towards co-operation between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany.

63. The Soviet Union is pursuing a consistent and purposeful policy designed to bring about *détente* and the strengthening of peace and the security of peoples, with the support of and in co-operation with all States of the socialist community and all peace-loving countries of the world. The process of normalization of relations between the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic and between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Polish People's Republic, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and other socialist States, the admission of the two German States to the United Nations, the constructive and flourishing co-operation between the Soviet Union and France, the measures for the development and strengthening of good-neighbourly relations between the USSR and Japan, the mutual understanding reached with the Government of the United States of America on a number of very important questions of international politics and the present visit to the United States of L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and the further development and strengthening of relations of friendship and co-operation between the USSR and India and other countries of Asia and with the countries of Africa and Latin America are all vital links in the noble efforts of our people, Party and Government to achieve *détente*, the strengthening of security, the renunciation of the use of force in international relations and the establishment of lasting peace on earth.

64. In this connexion it is appropriate to quote from L. I. Brezhnev's speech at the dinner which he gave yesterday in the Soviet Embassy in Washington in honour of President Richard Nixon. Mr. Kurt Waldheim, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, was also present. Mr. Brezhnev said:

"I shall not be mistaken if I say that the spirit of our talks and the basic direction of our joint efforts have been determined by recognition of one

major factor: the need to do everything possible to ensure that the peoples of the earth may live free from the threat of war and live in security, co-operation and association with each other. This is the imperative dictate of our times. We must devote our joint efforts to the achievement of this goal."

65. Mr. JOB (Yugoslavia): The unanimous adoption by the Security Council of the resolution to recommend to the General Assembly the admission of the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany to membership of the United Nations both marks, and in itself constitutes, an event and a development of very great importance.

66. As a European country that suffered terribly, and fought and liberated itself in the Second World War, as a founding Member of the United Nations, as a socialist and non-aligned nation long engaged in active efforts to overcome the cold war and its, or any other, divisions in Europe and elsewhere, Yugoslavia is most deeply gratified by the major decision that we have been able to take today. Indeed, for the reasons mentioned, we find ourselves very fortunate in having this opportunity to participate, as members of the Council, in this historic act.

67. Having experienced the ravages of the two world wars in the life span of one generation and conscious of the new requirements of the contemporary world of the Charter, of the end of colonialism, of the universal and essential demand and need for the democratization of international relations, and, particularly, of the necessity to settle international issues and problems by peaceful means, Yugoslavia exerted, very early after the war, special efforts aimed at normalizing relations in Europe and transcending its divisions by recognizing the realities on its soil. We recognized and established relations with the Federal Republic of Germany in 1952. We recognized and established relations with the German Democratic Republic in 1957. Simultaneously, together with our non-aligned partners and, particularly, in the call addressed to the great Powers by the Belgrade Summit Conference of Non-Aligned Countries in 1961, we made an urgent appeal for moving away from the dangerous and sterile confrontations dividing Europe and the world and for embarking upon the path of negotiations and coexistence. Some of these early efforts and contributions did not always meet with instant recognition and the immediate widest acceptance then, but we are glad to note that Europe has ever since been moving towards an era of co-operation.

68. The important network of agreements between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Soviet Union, Poland and now Czechoslovakia, and, of course, the important agreements between two German States, with all the concomitant instrumentalities, constitute a basic and most essential structure, the foundation upon which it was possible to build subsequent developments that made today's meeting and decision a reality.

69. The positive and timely initiatives of the Government of the Soviet Union, of the Federal Republic of Germany and other direct participants on both sides were instrumental in opening the way for these agreements. Let us also be aware and appreciative of all those untiring and imaginative efforts of all those

statesmen, Governments and political forces which, directly or indirectly, with the support and active urging of all the peoples of Europe, have contributed to that.

70. We have always held the view that the recognition of realities on the soil of Germany and in post-war Europe generally, far from freezing them, is the only way to bridge the gaps and barriers of divisions. Current developments, accelerated substantive progress in relations between European countries across formerly forbidding obstacles of all kinds, and the progress made towards the European Security Conference to be held shortly, prove in our opinion that this is so. The recognition of realities, mutual accommodation, and not trying to gain one-sided advantages at the expense of the other side, the recognition and stressing of common interests and not blocs or any other rivalries and differences have again proved to be by far the best method of arriving at generally beneficial and acceptable solutions.

71. We have staunchly maintained that active coexistence through the development of free exchanges of all kinds, and not just the absence of war, not just passively coexisting side by side, is precisely what the interests of European and world peace and security require in our day and age. Free and sovereign relations between all States, based on equality, independence, respect for territorial integrity and non-interference in internal affairs, without the threat or use of force, irrespective of differences or similarities in their social systems, remain the only realistic and possible basis of progressive co-operation in Europe and elsewhere.

72. In hoping and working for a major advance along that road at the European Security Conference—in which the aforementioned agreements between the two German States and other countries constitute an indispensable enabling step—we are mindful of the utmost need that the favourable developments on the continent should not result in making Europe introvert, self-centred and selfish. Europe too—each and every European State—lives in a “world-village” where, as we have already had the occasion to say, no one can fare well because someone else fares badly. Europe and the world should know, from abundant and painful experience, that *détente* has to be everybody's if anyone is to be safe, that peaceful Europe cannot long endure with the flames of war still at its doorstep.

73. We are confident, and therefore gratified, in our knowledge that the clearing of the way for the full and equal contribution of the Federal Republic of Germany and of the German Democratic Republic to all-European and universal co-operation among nations, their admission to the United Nations, will enhance the individual and collective capabilities of both German States, as well as of Europe as a whole, towards investing their full share in promoting the peace, security and progress of all the members of the international community, on all continents. The pursuance of these goals, as well as of the other basic objectives of our Organization, such as the liberation of the world from the anachronistic and intolerable evils of colonialism, racism, and others, will be, we are hopeful and confident, strengthened by the greater contribution that the two German States, which have solemnly declared their acceptance of the living obligations contained in and under the Charter and their willingness to carry

them out, are to make as Members of the United Nations.

74. The entry of the two German States, with their greatly talented people, endowed with resources in all fields of human endeavour, is a remarkable achievement instilling new strength into the United Nations. That is why this is a truly important page in the life and progress of our Organization, a further long step towards its full universality. Despite all the Cassandras who, for whatever reasons, try to belittle the United Nations or predict the repetition of the sad experiences of a former era, our world Organization is growing stronger as its universality is more complete. Indeed, we have to note with profound satisfaction that ours is an organization which everybody wants to get into, not out of, which is a sure sign of strength and health. And that is the reason why we do not congratulate the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany only on the Council's decision today, but congratulate ourselves and our Organization as well.

75. In concluding, let me stress that we welcome with particular pleasure the unanimous adoption of the Council's resolution, because of the friendly and developing relations that my country has with both the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic, relations that have been greatly strengthened by the exchanges of visits between President Tito and his counterparts in both German States. Those relations have been further promoted by the recent official visit to Yugoslavia of Chancellor Brandt, whose peace-making efforts have so deservedly earned him the Nobel Prize, and by the official visit of our Prime Minister, Džemal Bijedić, to the German Democratic Republic. We are looking forward very much to the approaching date of the General Assembly's final decision and to our co-operation with the two new Members of the United Nations.

76. Mr. JANKOWITSCH (Austria) (*interpretation from French*): The Security Council has just unanimously approved the draft resolution submitted to us by the Committee on the Admission of New Members. Indeed, that unanimity expressed by members of the Council is the most eloquent proof that our decision is not only of rare importance but also in keeping with a wish we have all long had.

77. The Council has been asked to consider the applications for admission presented by two States whose absence had been felt as a grave anomaly. The letters sent by the Foreign Ministers of the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany to the Secretary-General were therefore more than a mere formality. The applications for admission of the two German States are in fact the visible and spectacular sign of a process of *détente* and normalization which has steadily gained ground in Europe, particularly in middle Europe. The stages in that process of *détente*, the consequences of which have benefited the whole of Europe, are well known and I think it unnecessary to remind the members of the Council of them.

78. The whole world will recall, however, the profound and favourable response to the agreements concluded three years ago by the Federal Republic of Germany on the one hand and with the Union of Soviet Socialist

Republics and Poland on the other, agreements followed by a certain number of treaties between the German States which led to the signing and ratification of the fundamental Treaty between the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic—a convention which came into force very recently.

79. That work of peace and reconciliation is worthily associated with that mentioned this morning, in very impressive terms, by the representative of France, the purpose of which was the reconciliation of the German people with the people of Western Europe, primarily with the people of France.

80. Many speakers have rightly stressed the profound significance of the new agreements, particularly those between the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic, agreements which form the basis for the normalization not only of their relations between themselves but also of their relations between Eastern and Western Europe. The importance of these agreements in themselves, the usefulness of these juridical instruments, is, however, largely surpassed by the new spirit of trust and co-operation which has been established in a part of Europe so often war-torn and crisis-ridden. In expressing our gratification at this new spirit, we should like to pay tribute to the statesmen who are responsible for this profound change in the political climate of Europe.

81. I would be straying outside the framework of this brief statement if I were to enumerate all the efforts which have been made and were I to congratulate individually all those who contributed to the success of that task. However, in awarding the Nobel Peace Prize to the Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, Mr. Willy Brandt, the international community intended thereby to pay singular tribute to a man whose contribution to the work of peace in Central Europe was of the highest importance. This Nobel Peace Prize of 1971 reminds us of that of 1926 which was awarded, in recognition of their efforts at reconciliation between the German people and their enemies in the First World War, to Aristide Briand and Gustav Stresemann.

82. In stressing the relaxation of tension which has so felicitously come about in Europe and which marks present relations between European States—whose representatives will be meeting in a few days in Helsinki for the European Conference on Security and Co-operation—we should like to express the hope that the peace which has finally been won by Europe will benefit other continents, and I should like, in this context, to quote what the Federal Minister of Foreign Affairs of Austria, Mr. Kirchsclaeger, said to the General Assembly on 5 October 1972:

“... I fully realize that the solution of the problems existing in Europe would not by itself eliminate tension, warfare and injustice in other parts of the world. It may, however, be justified to assume that a solution of European problems in the spirit of the United Nations Charter would not fail to have its impact on other continents too. The whole world has suffered in the course of this century from the consequences of two wars which spread from Europe. Why, then, should the whole world not benefit from

the consequences of a peaceful development in Europe?”³

83. That will on the part of Europe not to turn inwards, to make a contribution to world *détente*, is being manifested today by the applications for admission of the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic, two States which are undertaking in this way henceforth to share the responsibility incumbent on Member States of the United Nations to maintain international peace and security. Their devotion to the principles of the United Nations Charter has already been manifested impressively and profoundly in the policies of peaceful co-operation which they have formulated towards each other.

84. In supporting their applications for admission we should like to express our conviction and certainty that they will, as fully fledged Members of the United Nations, make a valuable and necessary contribution to the work of the Organization. Their membership of the United Nations will constitute not only a considerable strengthening of our Organization, but also a decisive step towards its universality.

85. When the time comes, my country will of course be expressing through a more authorized spokesman all its feelings with regard to the admission of these two new Members, and our great satisfaction on this historic occasion.

86. In greeting the two future Members we should like to bid welcome to two European countries linked to our own country, Austria, by the history of our continent and by a common cultural and linguistic heritage. The co-operation which will be established between us in the United Nations will once again be symbolic of the new good-neighbourly relations established between Austria, on the one hand, and the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic, on the other. The relations which have already existed for more than 20 years between Austria and the Federal Republic of Germany and to which are now added the recently-established relations with the German Democratic Republic, are based on mutual respect for independence and sovereignty.

87. It is on that basis that we see the future of our relations. It is in this European and world spirit, a spirit of firm devotion to the principles of the United Nations, that we take pleasure in noting the warm welcome given by the Council this morning to the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic.

88. Sir Laurence McINTYRE (Australia): The Council has had before it today the report of its Committee on the Admission of New Members, which has recommended to the Council that it adopt a resolution recommending in turn to the General Assembly that the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany be admitted to membership of the United Nations. In the course of the Committee's consideration of the applications for membership submitted by both Governments, my delegation said that it had examined them carefully and was satisfied that both countries were eminently qualified for membership

³ *Ibid.*, 2054th meeting, para. 58.

and were determined to fulfil their obligations under the Charter in accordance with their joint affirmation in the Treaty that came into force yesterday. It has now given us great satisfaction to support the Committee's unanimous recommendation, and I join with my colleagues in expressing the sincere hope that it will be overwhelmingly accepted by the General Assembly at its twenty-eighth session.

89. Let me say that Australia greatly values the close and friendly relations that it has enjoyed with the Federal Republic of Germany in recent years. We are confident that a warm and co-operative association between our two countries as fellow Members of the United Nations will serve only to consolidate and further strengthen those relations.

90. As to the German Democratic Republic, I should like to recall that one of the first acts of the Australian Government which took office last December was to enter into diplomatic relations with its Government. In the subsequent joint communiqué it was stated that in reaching their decision to establish diplomatic relations, both Governments were prompted by a desire to promote friendly relations to the mutual advantage of both countries; and my Government announced last week the designation of Australia's first Ambassador to the German Democratic Republic.

91. What we have done today represents the first step towards what can indeed only be described as a historic decision by the United Nations. The second and final step has to be taken by the General Assembly, and we can look forward to it with confidence as well as hope. Even so, we must wait for that final decision before we can extend in full measure the welcome that the occasion will call for; and my delegation, as a member of this Council, which has the duty under the Charter of examining and endorsing the qualifications of new applicants for membership, will expect to join whole-heartedly in that welcome.

92. In the meantime, let me only say again that a historic decision is in the making, a decision which is bound to affect significantly and beneficially the whole texture of the United Nations, its operations and its influence.

93. For the United Nations, admission of the two Germanys would represent a giant stride towards universality of membership, which all of us have held as an ideal, but which we have not always been able to apply in practice. Here we have the prospect of United Nations membership for two States, with a total population of some 77 million people, both dedicated, under the terms of their Treaty of 21 December 1972, to the purposes and principles embodied in the Charter and to the settlement of their disputes by peaceful means, without resort to the threat or use of force. It must be obvious that in terms of population and also of the energy, creativity and versatile talents of the German people, the full participation of the two German States in the activities of the United Nations could represent a substantial accretion of its strength and influence throughout the international community.

94. The very fact of attainment of membership of the United Nations by both Germanys could scarcely

fail to help relieve international tensions everywhere, and especially in Europe itself—which, I may say, would be bound to give reassurance and hope to the people of Australia, with their recollection of all the Australian lives lost on European battlefields twice in this century in the cause of freedom and human dignity.

95. In our deep satisfaction over the great change that has taken place in relations between the two applicants—for so long thought of as irreconcilable—we do not of course assume that all problems between them have been solved; nor should we take it for granted that the framework of the relationship between them will necessarily remain static. We note, for example, the view of the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany that the terms of its Treaty with the German Democratic Republic do not conflict with the political aim of the Federal Republic to work for a state of peace in Europe in which the German nation will regain its unity through free self-determination.

96. We can be fully justified in believing that the two States of Germany, by their Treaty of December 1972, and now by their preparations to enter the United Nations and play their full part in its work, have taken a long step towards that *détente* which peoples everywhere have longed for—always with hope, sometimes with a sense of frustration.

97. Of all those on both sides who have worked long and patiently to improve relations between the Federal Republic and the Democratic Republic and who merit our gratitude, none can deserve greater credit and higher praise than the Chancellor of the Federal Republic, Herr Brandt, for the unsurpassed contribution he has made to the cause of peace and understanding, not only between the German States but throughout the whole of Europe.

98. Let me end by repeating that it has given my delegation great satisfaction to endorse our Committee's recommendation that the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany be admitted to membership of the United Nations; and we commend that recommendation whole-heartedly to the next session of the General Assembly.

99. Mr. ANWAR SANI (Indonesia): It is with great pleasure that my delegation has supported the applications of the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany for membership in the United Nations. We look forward to welcoming the delegations of those two countries to the forthcoming session of the General Assembly. My delegation is convinced that both Germanys will contribute positively to the efforts of the United Nations to achieve its aims and purposes.

100. The decision of the Security Council to recommend to the General Assembly that the two Germanys be admitted to membership of the United Nations is of historic importance to the United Nations and to the world. That event has been made possible as a consequence of various developments in the world, among which we note in particular the atmosphere of *détente*, the evolution of mutual accommodation and the development of more cordial relations between East and West.

101. The relaxation of tension has done much to dispel the atmosphere of distrust that has kept the two

Germany from membership of the United Nations for such a long time. The fact that they were not Members of the United Nations has never prevented Indonesia from developing friendly relations and close economic co-operation with the two German States. Indonesia has since the 'fifties established diplomatic relations with the Federal Republic of Germany and consular relations with the German Democratic Republic which have recently been elevated to the diplomatic level. We therefore whole-heartedly welcome the opportunity to continue those friendly relations and close co-operation now also within the framework of the United Nations.

102. The hopes for peace of the peoples of Europe in particular, and of the world as a whole, will be greatly strengthened by the accession of the two German States to our world Organization. Furthermore, their accession means a noteworthy advance towards realization of the principle of universality which my delegation regards as fundamental to the search for international peace and understanding.

103. The international community has come more and more to support the view that each of its Members without exception should shoulder a portion of the responsibility for the fate of humanity and that in order to discharge that grave responsibility each and every nation must be allowed to play its appropriate role in the world Organization. We should also not overlook the importance of the significant assistance both German States have given to the economic development of many developing countries. My delegation hopes that their admission to the world Organization will further strengthen the efforts for the successful achievement of the objectives and goals of the Second Development Decade.

104. We live in an era of universal interdependence. It is an era in which, if I may quote from the inaugural address of Mr. Adam Malik, Foreign Minister of Indonesia, as President of the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly, "the diversity of nations is set in the essential unity of mankind".⁴ Such an understanding of the present world order requires us to forge an Organization whose membership encompasses all the nations of the world, including the divided nations, without prejudice as to political ideology or social system.

105. The admission of the two German States to the United Nations will set a precedent for other divided countries whenever they wish and agree to undertake a similar step.

106. Mr. HUANG (China) (*translated from Chinese*): The German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany applied for membership in the United Nations on 12 and 13 June 1973 respectively. The Chinese delegation is of the opinion that, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the United Nations Charter, both the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany are qualified for membership in the United Nations, and we therefore support their application and agree that the Security Council should recommend to the General Assembly

⁴ *Ibid.*, Twenty-sixth Session, Plenary Meetings, 1934th meeting, para. 64.

the admission of the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany to membership in the United Nations. It is the hope of the Chinese delegation that upon the approval of the above-mentioned applications by the General Assembly the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany will make their due contributions to the realization of the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter.

107. After the Second World War, for reasons known to all, Germany was divided into two States. Nearly 28 years have elapsed since the end of the Second World War, but the peace treaty with Germany has not yet been concluded and the two German States are still living under abnormal conditions. We maintain that a just and reasonable settlement of the German question should be achieved at an early date on condition that the interests and wishes of the people of the two German States should be respected and that the affairs of the German people should be settled by the German people themselves through consultations.

108. The Chinese people have long had friendly relations with the German people. China has established diplomatic relations with both the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany. China is ready to develop its relations further with the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. We believe that with the further development of our State relations and people's contacts with the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany, the friendship between the Chinese people and the German people will certainly further develop and grow stronger.

109. Mr. ABDULLA (Sudan): It is with particular pleasure that the Sudan delegation associates itself with the resolution the Council has just adopted by consensus recommending to the General Assembly that the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany be admitted to membership in the United Nations.

110. My delegation finds itself in the happy position of having enjoyed cordial relations with each of them for some years. In the case of the Federal Republic of Germany, diplomatic, economic and cultural relations date back to the time of the independence of the Sudan in 1956. It is gratifying that these relations continue to grow and develop in a spirit of mutual confidence and understanding. Similarly, my country enjoyed commercial and cultural relations with the German Democratic Republic for some time, and they ultimately developed into a full-fledged diplomatic relationship.

111. My delegation will therefore look forward to reflecting that relationship in closer and fuller co-operation with the delegations of those two countries within the United Nations in the very near future.

112. My delegation is also pleased that the reasons which made it impossible for those countries to become Members of the United Nations have been removed. It is, however, quite opportune and appropriate to their strategic positions in Central Europe that they join the international community at a time when the movement for peace and co-operation is in process in

Europe. The energy and dynamism of each of them will no doubt leave their marks in that movement.

113. While we join the international community in welcoming the movement for peace and prosperity in the northern hemisphere, we should constantly remind ourselves that peace and prosperity can be meaningful only in its universal application. The more universal the movement becomes the more appreciation and support it merits in the third world.

114. In Africa and in the Arab world in particular, where the new candidates entertain or are likely to entertain good relations with the countries of those regions, hopes will hinge on the role and contribution of the two countries towards international peace and security in those parts. For nowhere in the world is peace more threatened than in the Middle East, where Zionism occupies and oppresses, and in southern Africa, where racism, *apartheid* and colonialism dominate and exploit, in the Portuguese-occupied territories, in Zimbabwe, in Namibia and in South Africa.

115. We are confident that the two new candidates can play a positive role in proportion to their great political, economic and moral capacities and resources, whether in the Middle East, in Southern Africa, or elsewhere, towards the promotion of peace and the advancement of mankind.

116. Once more my delegation extends a warm welcome to the German Democratic Republic and to the Federal Republic of Germany, and to the international community.

117. Finally, Mr. President, you deserve our profound appreciation and congratulations for the skilful and dedicated manner in which you have guided the Council during all the various stages of these two applications for membership, to this successful and happy conclusion.

118. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Russian*): I thank the representative of the Sudan for the kind words he addressed to me.

119. Mr. SEN (India): The Security Council meeting today to approve the applications from the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany for admission to membership of the United Nations is of unusual significance. The United Nations, which was formed to prevent "succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind", has taken today the first formal and civilized step to remove the difference between the victors and the vanquished. I say "civilized" because we cannot and must not live in the past, but move forward to build together a better future. This indeed is the spirit of our Charter.

120. It gives us particular pleasure therefore to find that the Committee on admissions has recommended speedily and unanimously the acceptance of both the applications, that the simultaneous declarations by the Governments of France, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and the United States of America have underwritten the applications and that the two German States have solemnly declared their willingness to carry out the obligations contained in the Charter. In approving the applications, the Security Council has judged that both the States are able and willing to carry out these

obligations. Since it was the general wish of the Council to refer the applications to the Committee on admissions before taking a final decision, we accepted that consensus, although we would have been prepared and ready for the Council to take a decision straightaway on the applications yesterday.

121. The Government of India has attempted to make the representation at the United Nations more and more universal. Admission to the United Nations of the two German States with a population of nearly 78 million people marks an important step towards a more effective world Organization. We hope, therefore, that when the Council takes up the question of admission of other States, it will demonstrate the same sense of urgency and give the same degree of encouragement to millions of people who are still outside but who wish urgently and demonstrably to live in peace and prosperity and in co-operation with the rest of their fellow-beings in the world.

122. Several speakers before me have emphasized how the present applications of the two German States came about as a result of the *détente* in Europe and described, doubtless briefly, the steps leading to such a *détente*. We welcome those developments and continue to believe that European security is not only vital in itself but contributes in a large measure to international peace and security. We further believe that a very large number of the newly independent countries, particularly in Asia and Africa, by keeping out of the old policy of confrontation and by following the path of non-alignment, did help the process of *détente* not only in Europe but elsewhere in the world as well. With this added strength of success, it is our hope that it will certainly be our endeavour to make the policy of non-alignment work towards greater goals of peace and security throughout the world and to strive towards a world not torn by conflicting economic interests, by hegemony and spheres of influence, by a balance of terror and power, but towards a world where we can all live and work together as good neighbours and share the achievements of mankind in a just, honourable and friendly manner.

123. In this task the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany have already made important contributions both bilaterally and multilaterally. Their admission to the United Nations would, on the one hand, give formal recognition of their important contribution and, on the other hand, ensure that the resources, vigour and wisdom, as well as the rich historical and cultural traditions of these two great countries, would support, sustain and coordinate our collective efforts in the years to come.

124. With a population of 17 million people and an area of 41,635 square miles, the German Democratic Republic is today one of the leading industrial nations of Europe. It has worked hard for friendly relations with other countries and has established diplomatic relations with 84 States in all parts of the world. The German Democratic Republic is a member of several specialized agencies and other international organizations and it is expected to join the International Atomic Energy Agency shortly.

125. Friendly ties between the German Democratic Republic and India have grown steadily. It is now one

of India's important trading partners and our co-operation in trade, industry, scientific and technological exchanges shows promising possibilities. The recent establishment of diplomatic relations was followed by a visit this year of our Foreign Minister to that country. In a joint statement issued at the end of this visit, they advocated, among other things, the membership of the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany to the United Nations in the very near future. Both sides called for the admission without further delay of the People's Republic of Bangladesh to the United Nations. We are therefore particularly glad to carry out the terms of the joint statement in so far as the admission of the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany is concerned and should soon have the pleasure of welcoming both the German States in the forthcoming session of the Assembly as full Members of the world Organization. We look forward to working with them in the fullest co-operation. We are confident that as Members of the world Organization both the German States will use every opportunity for the maintenance and the consolidation of world peace and for collective effort for development and progress.

126. The Federal Republic of Germany with a population of nearly 62 million and an area of approximately 75,000 square miles is a member of all the specialized agencies and has been an observer member of the United Nations since 1952. Its effective participation in these organizations is well known. As one of the leading industrial and trading nations of the world, the Federal Republic of Germany has pursued a developmental policy which envisages promotion of economic and social progress in the developing countries in a system of world-wide partnership. The total foreign aid given by the Federal Republic of Germany from 1952 to 1972 comes to 56,600 million Deutschmarks of which 6,600 million Deutschmarks were given during 1971 alone. The foreign aid was 0.87 per cent of the gross national product in 1971; Asia received 509.8 million Deutschmarks and India 270 million Deutschmarks in 1971. India's developmental efforts have been considerably facilitated with the timely assistance from the Federal Republic of Germany.

127. India has maintained friendly relations with the German Federal Republic ever since the end of the war and the future offers promising prospects of further growth and co-operation in many fields. At the end of our Foreign Minister's visit to the Federal Republic of Germany in May this year, a joint statement was issued. I shall quote two sentences from that statement. The first is:

"The Indian side referred to the continuing support of the Indian Government for the Federal Government's peace efforts and indicated their interest in a further positive development in Europe."

The second sentence I should like to quote is:

"In the bilateral talks it was noted that Indo-Federal Republic relations in the political, economic and cultural fields had developed satisfactorily. The two sides discussed possibilities of expanding their co-operation further on the basis of partnership already existing in many fields."

So from both bilateral and multilateral points of view, we are happy that the Federal Republic of Germany will soon be joining the United Nations as a full Member and extend its co-operation in the cause of international peace and progress.

128. Ever since we achieved our own independence we have steadily developed political and economic ties with the two German States. Further, German scholars, artists, musicians and scientists have for several decades had special appeal to our own men and women of intellect and sensitivity. For years now there has been a profound cultural interaction between the Indian and German peoples. In welcoming the Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany in 1967, the Prime Minister of India, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, said:

"It would not be an exaggeration to say that no European nation made a greater attempt to discover and understand the ancient wisdom of India than Germany did. The reason is obvious. Philosophical inquiry is the fundamental basis of the genius of the German people, which those famous last words of Goethe: 'Light more light', sum up so completely. Goethe's sensitive spirit responded instinctively to Sanskrit literature. It was the work of German scholars, notably Max Mueller, that enabled us in our turn to rediscover ourselves."

129. The people of India have great admiration for the people of the two German States, for the vitality, perseverance and ability. The world has seen how since the end of the war in 1945 they have been mainly responsible for the astounding recovery and the great progress in commerce, industry and technology. With their presence and participation in the United Nations they can and will, we are sure, make most effective contributions towards the great goals to which we are all committed through our Charter.

130. Mr. PEREZ DE CUELLAR (Peru) (*interpretation from Spanish*): My country is most gratified that the Security Council has given a favourable reception to the requests for admission to the United Nations of the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany and that it has decided to recommend these to the General Assembly.

131. My delegation has no doubt that the forthcoming Assembly session will fully endorse the entry of both countries to our Organization and believes that it would be proper to extend to them our congratulations and our welcome at that time, but I cannot refrain from stating now that Peru has supported by its vote the entry of the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany into the Organization, not only because it is aware that both fully satisfy the requirements laid down in the Charter but also because their presence will make a valuable contribution to the attainment of the purposes and objectives of this Organization. The entry of the two German Republics would also be a tremendous step towards that unshakable goal, which is to ensure that the United Nations is the reflection of the international community without exception.

132. We also wish to emphasize that this fact will be evidence of the utmost significance and impact as

to the increasing process of international *détente*, in which the firm political will and the wisdom of the leaders of both German States have unquestionably been decisive factors.

133. Lastly, we think that this is an appropriate opportunity to point out that my country's economic relations with the German Democratic Republic have grown and developed advantageously in recent years and that diplomatic relations have just been initiated in most auspicious circumstances. Peru is sure that its relationships of all kinds with the German Democratic Republic, as is the case with the other countries of Eastern Europe, will be characterized by close and reciprocal collaboration and friendship.

134. We are also gratified to emphasize the excellent relationships of friendship and broad economic co-operation that my country maintains and has maintained for more than 20 years with the Federal Republic of Germany. In the field of international co-operation, the presence of the Federal Republic of Germany has been a highly positive element which has had its impact not only in Peru and in Latin America in general but also in all parts of the third world. Its assistance to development has been characterized by its fidelity to the principles and practices recommended by the Organization.

135. The decision taken by the Security Council and that which we have no doubt will be adopted by the forthcoming session of the General Assembly will inevitably have clearly beneficial effects for the United Nations and the international community as a whole.

136. Mr. RIOS (Panama) (*interpretation from Spanish*): My delegation has carefully considered the requests for admission to membership of the United Nations submitted by the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany. We have no objections or arguments to raise against them. On the contrary, we gave them our favourable and enthusiastic support this morning, certain that they will properly comply with the requirements laid down in Article 4 of the Charter. We have before us documents S/10949 and S/10945 which prove to us that the two political entities quite clearly have fulfilled the formality required under rule 58 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council.

137. We are participants in and witnesses to a decision which marks a high point in the life of the United Nations.

138. The German nation, which is today divided by different political and social systems, in the course of its history has been a trail blazer in science and technology. The German genius has been pre-eminent in various areas of cultural activity. The German people is an example of devotion to work, discipline and tenacity. Over a relatively short period of time, on the ruins left by a war waged without let or hindrance, there were built two German States whose progress and development today have reached amazing levels. And in this context it is appropriate to point out for the purposes of the work of the United Nations that the economic prosperity and the industrial development achieved by these two German States have been reflected in the developing countries through a series

of programmes of technical assistance and highly diversified aid. Within the International Development Strategy and in the activities featured in the United Nations development decades, the participation of the two States with which we are dealing today has been widely known and indeed outstanding. Quite logically, it is to be expected that on their entry into the United Nations we may witness a strengthening and a larger contribution of effort in these areas to which I have just referred.

139. But while it is true that the entry of the two German States into membership of the United Nations is of great importance for the development plans and programmes, it is equally obvious that this fact creates a series of political ramifications which are of even greater magnitude. I would say that the approval of these applications that we have given today is an event of true practical significance in the attainment of a relaxation of tensions within the European Community. It is undoubtedly one of the most significant steps towards leaving aside once and for all the sterile and very often dangerous confrontations of the cold war. Indeed, the Germans themselves take this to mean that the United Nations is opening the door wide to them to enter into arrangements that will permit of closer communication and effective understanding for the settlement of differences and disagreements which in the past have had such sombre consequences. Perhaps, for those same very weighty reasons, we will soon see communications between the two Germanys normalized and the walls and regulations removed which heretofore have made the peaceful settlement of disputes so difficult.

140. I should point out most emphatically that by permitting entry of the two German States into the United Nations we are also paving the way for making the proposed European Conference on Security and Co-operation and the strengthening of international security more viable and ensuring that it produces positive results. This will undoubtedly have a favourable impact on the reduction of military forces and the limitation of strategic and other weapons.

141. I should like to emphasize another equally significant factor: the admission of the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic to membership of the United Nations is specifically in accordance with the objective of universality, which has consistently been defended with such zeal within this Council.

142. For the reasons that I have given and on the instructions of my Government, we have supported the resolution in document S/10957.

143. On behalf of the Government and people of Panama and on my own behalf, I welcome the plenipotentiaries of the German States who are present here and I express my sincere hope that the entry into the United Nations of the countries they represent will signify a positive step forward in the search for peace and prosperity for mankind. I request them to convey the expression of these sincere desires of Panama to their respective Governments and peoples.

144. In conclusion, I should like on this occasion to offer our sincere co-operation to the future delegations

of the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic in everything that relates to the tasks and purposes of the United Nations.

145. Mr. ODERO-JOWI (Kenya): The approval by consensus of the draft resolution concerning the admission of the two German States to membership of the United Nations marks the end of an era of rivalry and lack of understanding characteristic of the negative hangover of the post-Second World War era. The admission of the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany to membership of the United Nations will open the way to the achievement of greater international co-operation in solving international problems in consonance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter.

146. Anticipating positive action by the General Assembly, my delegation welcomes both countries to the United Nations family and congratulates them for their willingness to co-operate with the collective will and wisdom of humanity in the pursuit of peace and order and the promotion of the fundamental principles of the United Nations Charter.

147. It is the hope of my delegation that those countries still plagued with strife and divided by ideologies and mutual hostility will emulate the example of the two German Republics. We also hope that nations like those of the Middle East which are still so furiously at odds will learn from the two German Republics the efficacy of settling disputes and differences by peaceful means.

148. My delegation looks forward to the most fruitful and fraternal co-operation with the delegations of the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany in our common endeavour to give effect to the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and the various decisions, resolutions and declarations of this Council and the other organs, agencies and bodies within the United Nations system.

149. The admission to membership of the United Nations of the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany will give all our delegations the opportunity to co-operate in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations in order to work for a new world order, progress for our peoples and international peace and security. We are confident that in this endeavour the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany will make their long-awaited positive contributions. My delegation will co-operate with both their delegations in harmony and in equity and with full respect for their sovereignty and national identity.

150. The admission of the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany to membership of the United Nations will now bring the two Republics face to face with some of the burning issues with which the United Nations is seized. As a representative of an African country I cannot hesitate to point out that, in our judgement, the situation in southern Africa is one of the most intractable and serious international issues that the United Nations faces today. In southern Africa

we have minority racist and Fascist régimes oppressing and literally enslaving our people, violating their human and fundamental rights, while at the same time working in collusion with Portuguese colonialism to frustrate our people's aspirations for freedom, human dignity and human progress.

151. In welcoming the two new Members to the family of the United Nations, and as we applaud this event as a significant step towards the achievement of universality of United Nations membership, we also hope that this move towards universality of membership of the United Nations will be matched by a determination to uphold the universality of the application of the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter. We sincerely hope that the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic will join hands with all forces working to eliminate the evils of *apartheid* in South Africa and to bring about the restoration of the rights of the peoples of Namibia and Southern Rhodesia and the liquidation of Portuguese colonialism in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau).

152. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Russian*): There are no more speakers on the list. The Security Council has completed its consideration of the question of the admission of new Members to the United Nations—the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany.

153. In accordance with the second paragraph of rule 60 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council, I request Mr. Kurt Waldheim, the Secretary-General, to forward to the General Assembly the text of the resolution adopted today by the Security Council together with the verbatim records of the Council's meetings of 21 and 22 June.

154. I think that it is the general opinion and hope of all members of the Council that the General Assembly will take a favourable view of the Security Council recommendation concerning the admission of the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany to membership in the United Nations and that it will in turn support these two major European States in the matter of the adoption of a positive decision on their admission to the United Nations and will thereby ensure their participation in the noble cause of strengthening peace and international security and developing co-operation between States in the community of States Members of the United Nations.

155. Before adjourning the meeting I should like to make the following announcement: at the request of Ambassador Odero-Jowi, Permanent Representative of Kenya to the United Nations, the President of the Security Council intends to hold informal consultations in the office of the President of the Security Council, with all members of the Council in connexion with the item on the Council's agenda relating to consideration of the situation in the Middle East. If there are no other requests or comments, I shall take it that the Council agrees with this proposal.

The meeting rose at 1.25 p.m.

HOW TO OBTAIN UNITED NATIONS PUBLICATIONS

United Nations publications may be obtained from bookstores and distributors throughout the world. Consult your bookstore or write to: United Nations, Sales Section, New York or Geneva.

COMMENT SE PROCURER LES PUBLICATIONS DES NATIONS UNIES

Les publications des Nations Unies sont en vente dans les librairies et les agences dépositaires du monde entier. Informez-vous auprès de votre librairie ou adressez-vous à: Nations Unies, Section des ventes, New York ou Genève.

КАК ПОЛУЧИТЬ ИЗДАНИЯ ОРГАНИЗАЦИИ ОБЪЕДИНЕННЫХ НАЦИЙ

Издания Организация Объединенных Наций можно купить в книжных магазинах и агентствах во всех районах мира. Наводите справки об изданиях в вашем книжном магазине или пишите по адресу: Организация Объединенных Наций, Секция по продаже изданий, Нью-Йорк или Женева.

COMO CONSEGUIR PUBLICACIONES DE LAS NACIONES UNIDAS

Las publicaciones de las Naciones Unidas están en venta en librerías y casas distribuidoras en todas partes del mundo. Consulte a su librero o diríjase a: Naciones Unidas, Sección de Ventas, Nueva York o Ginebra.
