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NOTE

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

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

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1970th MEETING

Held in New York on Friday, 12 November 1976, at 3 p.m.

President: Mr. Jorge Enrique ILLUECA (Panama).

Present: The representatives of the following States: Benin, China, France, Guyana, Italy, Japan, Libyan Arab Republic, Pakistan, Panama, Romania, Sweden, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania and United States of America.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1970)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. Admission of new Members:
Report of the Committee on the Admission of New Members concerning the application of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam for admission to membership in the United Nations (S/12225)

The meeting was called to order at 3.50 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Admission of new Members:

Report of the Committee on the Admission of New Members concerning the application of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam for admission to membership in the United Nations (S/12225)

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I wish to inform members of the Council that I have received letters from the Permanent Representatives of Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Kampuchea, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, Madagascar, Malta, Poland, Sri Lanka, the Syrian Arab Republic, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and Yugoslavia in which they ask to be invited to participate in the debate. I therefore propose that the Council agree, in accordance with the provisions of Article 31 of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure, and if there are no objections, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote.

2. I shall invite the aforementioned representatives to take the places reserved for them at the side of

the Council chamber, on the usual understanding that they will be invited to take a place at the Council table when they wish to address the Council.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Alarcón (Cuba), Mr. Šmíd (Czechoslovakia), Mr. Keat Chhon (Democratic Kampuchea), Mr. Florin (German Democratic Republic), Mr. Hollai (Hungary), Mr. Sourinho (Lao People's Democratic Republic), Mr. Rabetafika (Madagascar), Mr. Gauci (Malta), Mr. Jaroszek (Poland), Mr. Kanakarathne (Sri Lanka), Mr. Allaf (Syrian Arab Republic), Mr. Shevel (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) and Mr. Petrić (Yugoslavia) took the places reserved for the them at the side of the Council chamber.

3. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Security Council will now take up the item on its agenda concerning the report of the Committee on the Admission of New Members concerning the application of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam for admission to membership in the United Nations.

4. In this connexion, the Council has before it a draft resolution sponsored by the delegations of Benin, China, Guyana, Libyan Arab Republic, Pakistan, Panama, Romania, Sweden, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United Republic of Tanzania contained in document S/12226. I have been asked to inform the Council that the delegation of France has requested to be added as a sponsor of that draft resolution.

5. Mr. KHARLAMOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): Today the Security Council again proceeds to consider the question of the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to membership in the United Nations. The delegations of the States members of the Security Council, as well as those of non-members of the Security Council, have already had the opportunity to explain their position on this particularly important problem.

6. Why does the delegation of the Soviet Union consider it necessary to speak now on this question? For our country, for the Soviet people and for the Government of the Soviet Union there is no dilemma as to whether or not to admit the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to the United Nations. Our people has been linked for many years by close and friendly

ties with the Vietnamese people. When the question arises once again whether the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam should be admitted to the United Nations, we do not hesitate; we reply: "It must be admitted immediately, without any procrastination, without any conditions and without any attempt to delay a decision on this question".

7. There is no reason at all which could justify any attempt to postpone a positive decision on this request of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. Indeed, what arguments, what motivations could be put forward by those who are still hesitating and who, when this matter is discussed, take a negative position, thus impeding the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to the United Nations?

8. Is the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam an independent State? Yes; the people of Viet Nam has proved this by its heroic struggle for freedom and independence. The people of Viet Nam has sacrificed thousands of lives to defend its freedom and independence. The blood of its best fathers, sons, daughters and children was shed to defend the right of that people to live freely and to move forward towards independent development, which is the path it has chosen.

9. Is the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam a peace-loving country? Yes, it is a peace-loving country. Its people, sacrificing life and limb, has struggled for peace in its land, for the right to live in the way best suited to its basic, vital interests.

10. Is the independent Socialist Republic of Viet Nam a free country with regard to its policies? It seems to me that even to ask such a question is absurd. Yes, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam is a free and independent State and, as such, it will develop and grow stronger.

11. Does the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam comply with the Charter of the United Nations? Perhaps this question should rather be put to those who are still impeding the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to the United Nations. As far as our country is concerned, we are firmly convinced and we declare here that the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, even though it is not yet a Member of the United Nations, not only complies with the Charter but is also firmly striving to achieve the noble purposes and principles of the United Nations in international affairs and relations among States.

12. Is the State of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam conducting a humane policy? Yes, it conducts such a policy and does so strictly, clearly and consistently. The people of that country has won peace by paying a high price. It conquered its freedom by paying a high price. It is not threatening anyone. It has chosen the path of socialist development and is firmly determined to construct a socialist society

in its country, a society which knows no calamity, nor the exploitation of man by man and which will open up the way to a just and happy society in Viet Nam.

13. Of course, in relations between States there are events and situations which cannot be easily forgotten by those who participated in them, and which are sometimes still felt after many years. And in the present case, we should not forget that. This is due to the recent cruel war. But is Viet Nam guilty of that war? Is it the Vietnamese people that started that war? No; I can say again, no. That war was imposed on it, and in that war it successfully defended its honour, its freedom and its independence in a long and difficult struggle.

14. In the situation that has now arisen, the best way for those who are still living with the ideas of the recent past would be to rise above those feelings and ideas and try to institute friendly relations with the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam.

15. Relations between States go through different phases, including periods of unfriendliness. This is what happened to the relations between the United States and Viet Nam. But one must look not at the past but at the future. Nobody can escape the reality of life. Viet Nam will exist; it will develop; it will grow stronger as an independent State. The number of its friends is great, and it will become even greater. The Soviet Union and all Viet Nam's sincere friends want to see that country become as the freedom-loving, heroic, honest, hard-working and intelligent people of Viet Nam itself wants it. It wants to see its country happy, flourishing and successful on the socialist path which it has chosen. We can all only wish it success in its difficult undertaking.

16. More than one year ago the Council considered the application of the two Vietnamese States for admission to the United Nations. At that time there were two sovereign Vietnamese States in existence. We recall that the positive solution of the question without any delay was even at that time supported by an overwhelming majority not only of the Security Council but also of the General Assembly. The Council at that time was not in a position to recommend the admission of the two States because of stubborn opposition and the negative vote, not backed by any reason at all, of one of its permanent Members, the United States. But 14 members of the Security Council [*see 1846th meeting*] and a majority of 123 in the General Assembly [*resolution 3366 (XXX) of 19 September 1975*] took a stand in favour of a positive solution of the question of the admission of the two Vietnamese States to the United Nations, in strict compliance with the provisions of the Charter. Unfortunately, repeated consideration of this question last year did not, for the reason we all know, lead to the only legitimate and just solution, which would have enabled the heroic Vietnamese

people to take its legitimate place in the United Nations.

17. In his letter of 10 August 1976 addressed to the Secretary-General [S/12183, *annex*], the Prime Minister of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam again solemnly declared that his country accepted the commitments enshrined in the Charter and agreed to abide by them. But at that time the Security Council was again not able to consider the matter in substance and to make a positive recommendation for the General Assembly to consider that application, again for the same reason—the threat of the use of the veto. That threat was wholly unjust, since it arose out of quite another question that had no relation whatsoever to the subject or to the matter contained in the letter of the Prime Minister of Viet Nam.

18. In the situation that arose at that time, the Council postponed consideration of the application until November, on the understanding, however, that the General Assembly would be able to consider the question of the application of Viet Nam at its thirty-first session. The Vietnamese side consented to such an approach in order not to complicate the situation. However, we never had any doubt as to what decision would be taken with respect to this problem and what decision would really be in keeping with the interests of peace and security, would serve the cause of peace, independence and equal rights for peoples and would be in accordance with the requirements of deepening the relaxation of international tensions.

19. The position of the Soviet Union on the question of the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam is well known. We firmly and unflinchingly support and will always support the admission of that country to the United Nations. Such a position is dictated by recognition of the enormous role played by the Vietnamese people in the strengthening of international peace and security. It is dictated by our solidarity with that people in its work and its struggle and by the whole of the history of Soviet-Viet Nam relations which are based on the solid foundation of true internationalism and friendship.

20. Our country helped in the creation of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam which came into existence 31 years ago. We shall continue to act in the same way in respect of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam.

21. I wish to quote here from the telegram of congratulations sent by Comrades Brezhnev, Podgorny and Kosygin, the leaders of the Soviet Union, to the leaders of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam on 2 September 1976. It reads:

“True to the principles of proletarian internationalism, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people will continue to

co-operate fully with the Vietnamese people as they build socialism, exerting every effort to develop and strengthen brotherly friendship and co-operation with the Workers' Party of Viet Nam and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, in the interest of strengthening the unity and solidarity of all socialist countries on the basis of the unshakable principles of Marxism—Leninism and proletarian internationalism.”

22. The Vietnamese people have now turned a new page in their history. The complete liberation of South Viet Nam in the spring of 1975 was the crowning point of the unification of the country as a State. The Socialist Republic of Viet Nam was then proclaimed. In the telegram of congratulations sent by the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Comrade Brezhnev; the President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Comrade Podgorny; and the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Comrade Kosygin, to the leaders of the Workers' Party of Viet Nam, they said:

“The creation of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam crowns many years of the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people under the leadership of its Marxist-Leninist vanguard, the Workers' Party of Viet Nam, for the confirmation of basic national rights, for the unity, independence and territorial integrity of the whole country. It is the expression of that people's sovereign will to construct a new free life in socialism.”

23. In these days the Vietnamese people, which is engaged in peaceful, constructive work, has been preparing for an important event, the opening of the Fourth Congress of the Workers' Party of Viet Nam. The success achieved by Viet Nam is obvious, because the tasks that were set by the Vietnamese revolution have been achieved: the South has been liberated; Viet Nam is now unified; it is free and democratic. Vast horizons have now been opened up for socialist construction on a wide scale.

24. The working people of Viet Nam now face new, enormous tasks in eliminating the effects of the war, developing the economy and culture and improving living conditions. A Constitution is being worked out in the country. This Constitution must crystallize the results of the struggle of the people of Viet Nam and will mobilize that people to make socialist changes, to create a new society and to build socialism in the country. A new task has been outlined for the country's speedy progress towards socialism, for transforming that land into a flourishing State for the happiness and welfare of all the people. Comrade Brezhnev recently said:

“Viet Nam, with its enormous experience of heroic struggle against imperialist aggression and for

freedom and independence, with its great revolutionary authority, has now become an important factor for peace in South-East Asia, and indeed in Asia as a whole."

25. Viet Nam's international authority and prestige are growing. By its long and heroic struggle for freedom and independence, the Viet Nam has earned the respect of progressive forces throughout the world. In that struggle the Vietnamese people has always received the unselfish help of the socialist countries, including the Soviet Union, and it has enjoyed the support also of the non-aligned countries.

26. In the political declaration on Viet Nam adopted by the Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Algiers, the victory of the Vietnamese people was considered to be the common victory of the non-aligned countries and of all the peoples struggling against imperialism and colonialism and for peace, national sovereignty, democracy and social progress.

27. In the Political Declaration and Strategy adopted at Lima in September 1975, the non-aligned countries directly committed themselves to supporting Viet Nam's admission to membership of the United Nations, as well as to achieving a positive solution of this question.¹

28. At the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held recently at Colombo, there was a very favourable assessment of the contribution of Viet Nam to the struggle of the peoples for national liberation and against foreign domination and subjugation. The Conference reconfirmed the determination of the non-aligned countries to support Viet Nam's application for admission to the United Nations. In the Political Declaration, the Conference called upon the Security Council to give prompt and positive consideration to the application of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam for admission to membership of the United Nations, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 3366 (XXX).²

29. The Socialist Republic of Viet Nam is taking an important post in the non-aligned movement: it has been elected to the Co-ordinating Bureau. So far, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam has established and is maintaining diplomatic relations with almost 100 States in the world, including 13 of the States members of the Security Council.

30. During the general debate at the thirty-first session of the General Assembly, the heads of delegations of more than 80 countries took a firm stand in favour of the immediate admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to the United Nations so that it can take the place in the United Nations to which it is entitled. They stressed that the Republic

of Viet Nam meets all the requirements that Members of the United Nations must meet, and they made a high assessment of that country's contribution to the restoration and maintenance of peace and security in the Asian continent and the whole world.

31. The application of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam for membership is a very logical and legitimate step. The Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, one of the largest States in South-East Asia, plays an active role in international relations. It has proved that it is prepared to carry out all the commitments that must be undertaken in accordance with the Charter.

32. The foreign policy of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam clearly shows that in its relations with other States it has taken a firm stand in favour of peace. Clear confirmation of this is found in the statement made following the Soviet-Vietnamese talks on 30 September 1975, which says that Viet Nam and the Soviet Union take a stand "in favour of the strengthening of peace and for the development of international relations on the basis of the non-use of force, of strict respect for the territorial integrity and sovereignty of all States, of non-interference in their domestic affairs, and of real equality and international co-operation among peoples".

33. Today, as we discuss the question of the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to the United Nations and the question whether that Republic meets the requirements for admission, there cannot be two opinions: the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam does fully meet all the requirements that must be met by all Members of the United Nations.

34. The Vietnamese people, engaged as they are in peaceful activities, is prepared to develop normal relations with all States, on the basis of the principles of respect for sovereignty, non-interference in domestic affairs, non-aggression, equality, mutual benefit and peaceful coexistence, principles which the Republic has proclaimed.

35. A positive solution to the question of the admission of Viet Nam to the United Nations would doubtless contribute to the further strengthening of peace not only in South-East Asia but in the entire Asian continent, and in fact in the world.

36. The Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, country that has taken the path of peace, national independence, unity and social progress, is fully entitled to place before us the question of its admission to membership in the United Nations. It wishes, together with other peace-loving States, to make a positive contribution to the cause of strengthening international peace and security, to the cause of friendship and co-operation among the peoples of the entire planet. This step must be supported by all those who are in favour of the strengthening and the universality

of the United Nations, all those who respect the sovereignty and independence of every country.

37. It is to be hoped that, this time, no artificial obstacles will be placed in the path of the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to the United Nations, that no artificial difficulties, old or new, will be raised to impede the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. If that were to occur, it would not be understood by any Member of the United Nations; it would not be understood by any people or any State, because it would be tantamount to ignoring the almost unanimous view that Viet Nam should immediately—not at some future date, but now—be admitted to the United Nations and take the place it is entitled to here.

38. Satisfaction should be given to the just and legitimate request by Viet Nam. The admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam will serve the cause of the achievement of the purposes and principles of the Charter. It will strengthen peace. It will consolidate détente in international relations.

39. Let us, then, take the hand that the intelligent, hard-working, freedom-loving people of Viet Nam hold out to us. Let us admit them to the international community. In so doing, we shall strengthen the United Nations; we shall make it more effective and more useful. There is not and there cannot be any justification for refraining from taking such action. The sooner all States—all of them, including the United States—recognize the need for the immediate admission of Viet Nam to the United Nations, the sooner the remains of the feelings of the recent past will be dispelled.

40. The Vietnamese people have every reason to be distrustful of and offended by those who imposed the war on them, yet they stretch out their hand to all of us through the United Nations. It is a hand of friendship, of co-operation and of peace. Viet Nam comes to the United Nations with honest intentions. It wants to co-operate with all in the important task of struggling for peace and freedom for all peoples. Viet Nam stretches out its hand to us, and proposes that we struggle together for the implementation of the major principles and goals of the United Nations so as to prevent a new war and to eliminate colonialism, racism and *apartheid* from our planet. Viet Nam proposes to all of us that we fight together against economic and cultural backwardness, a remnant of the past which afflicts the developing countries.

41. The whole world will judge the actions of the Security Council by the way it deals with the matter before us today. Let us, then, justify the hopes of the peoples. Let us unanimously decide to admit the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to membership in the United Nations.

42. The Soviet delegation entirely supports the draft resolution introduced today by the President of the Security Council and of which it is a sponsor, along with other States.

43. Mr. DATCU (Romania) (*interpretation from French*): Romania, which truly believes in the mission of the United Nations to unite the efforts of all peace-loving States to achieve common goals, as usual warmly supports the application of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam for membership in the United Nations.

44. There can be no doubt that Viet Nam fulfils all the conditions in Article 4 of the Charter concerning admission as a Member State. Furthermore, the admission of that country to the United Nations would be an act of justice to the people of Viet Nam, which was so sorely tried by its heroic struggle to achieve national independence and unity. Its entry into the United Nations would at the same time be a significant act that would benefit international peace and understanding and the very life of the Organization itself.

45. The Vietnamese people was forced to fight for 30 years against internal reactionary forces and against foreign imperialist intervention to defend its right to worthy development and independent growth and to reunify the country. The world today is aware that Viet Nam stands as the living symbol of the will of peoples to defend their sacred right to decide their own destiny, free from foreign interference.

46. Last year the people of Viet Nam succeeded in liberating the whole of its territory after a long struggle during which it had made innumerable sacrifices. This year, through general elections, the Vietnamese people expressed its desire to reunify its country. An historic event of international magnitude, the reunification of Viet Nam crowned the long struggle of the Vietnamese people to attain its aspirations to freedom, independence and social progress for its country. Thus the natural institutional framework of every nation was created, that is, a unitary State, which will undoubtedly encourage the full exploitation of the material and spiritual potential of the Vietnamese nation.

47. Romania, whose militant solidarity with the Vietnamese people during its struggle completely to free its territory is well known, is happy that the unified Vietnamese State has asked to be admitted to membership in the United Nations.

48. The admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to membership in the United Nations is but a logical and natural step, long awaited by the international community, in the entry of that country into the community of sovereign and independent States. It is also in conformity with the interests of both the United Nations and the people of Viet

Nam. We believe that the Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, which follows a policy of peace and co-operation among nations, is called upon to play within the community of nations a basic role in the consolidation of peace in South-East Asia and in the maintenance of international security in general.

49. Furthermore, the Vietnamese people, who are devoting their major efforts at present to the reconstruction and democratic development of their society, must in their complex undertaking be able to rely upon the support and solidarity of the entire international community and to benefit from the fruits of international co-operation in the international organizations.

50. I do not intend to adduce now all the political and legal arguments that clearly support the admission of Viet Nam to the United Nations. They are well known. I should merely like to stress that admission to the Organization must be considered a right inherent in all peace-loving, sovereign States—I repeat, a right inherent in all peace-loving, sovereign States. The admission of new Members must no longer be considered a favour dependent on the whims of certain privileged States. It is inadmissible to block the legitimate demand for admission of a State on the pretext of the bilateral relations with that State or certain aspects of such relations. In the case of Viet Nam, the normalization of relations with the United States is a matter that can have no bearing at all on its application for membership in the United Nations.

51. The admission of a State to the United Nations cannot be conditional upon the degree of progress towards a solution of bilateral problems between the State concerned and one of the permanent members of the Security Council.

52. Furthermore, we have noted the sincere desire of Viet Nam to normalize its relations with all States, including those which took part in the war against the Vietnamese people.

53. As is clear from paragraph 4 of the report of the Committee on the Admission of New Members, which the Council has before it, one of the permanent members of the Council declared that it could not support the application of Viet Nam for membership in the United Nations. We believe that neither the Council as a whole, nor any of its permanent members in particular, can disregard the opinion of the General Assembly. No one is unaware of the fact that the Charter confers special rights upon the permanent members of the Council, but it is wholly contrary to the very spirit of the Charter to abuse such privileges in order to perpetrate an injustice.

54. It is in the light of the views I have just voiced and on the basis of our position of principle that

Romania has joined in sponsoring the draft resolution of 10 November, sponsored by 11 delegations and contained in document S/12226, recommending the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to United Nations membership.

55. Mr. HUANG Hua (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): On 10 August 1976 [*ibid.*], the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam submitted an application for admission to membership in the United Nations. The Chinese delegation holds that, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam is fully qualified for membership in the Organization. Therefore, we firmly support its application and maintain that the Security Council should forthwith recommend the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam for membership in the United Nations.

56. Over a long period, the heroic Vietnamese people have waged an extremely arduous struggle for the independence of their fatherland and for national liberation. Holding high President Ho Chi Minh's glorious banner of "firm resolve to fight and win", the Vietnamese people under the leadership of the Workers' Party of Viet Nam have carried on valiant struggles over decades, successively resisted imperialist aggressors in a dauntless spirit of revolutionary heroism and achieved one victory after another. In the spring of 1975, they thoroughly defeated the domestic and foreign reactionary forces, liberated the whole of south Viet Nam and won complete victory in the war against United States aggression and for national salvation, thus achieving the independence and liberation of the entire nation.

57. This victory of the Vietnamese people brought to a glorious end the war for saving and defending the fatherland, which began with the August Revolution in 1945 and lasted 30 years, thus paving the way for the reunification of the whole country. On 3 July 1976, the Sixth National Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam solemnly proclaimed the reunification of the whole of Viet Nam. The reunification of Viet Nam is a great event in the political life of the Vietnamese people and is of great significance in the history of the Vietnamese national liberation struggle. The Vietnamese people's victory in their national liberation war constitutes an important contribution to the cause of liberation of the oppressed peoples and nations in the world and a heavy blow to imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism.

58. China and Viet Nam are friendly neighbours linked by mountains and rivers. There is a long-standing traditional friendship between the peoples of our two countries. Our two peoples have sympathized with and supported each other in our protracted revolutionary struggles against imperialism. The Chinese people warmly hail the great historic victory of the Vietnamese people in their great cause of

achieving the independence and liberation of the whole nation and the realization of the reunification of their fatherland and heartily rejoice at all the achievements scored by the Vietnamese people in their efforts to heal the wounds of war, restore and develop the economy, and carry out socialist transformation and socialist construction. The Chinese people will, as always, continue to make contributions to the enhancement of the revolutionary friendship between our two peoples and sincerely wish the Vietnamese people new and greater victories in their cause of revolution and construction in the future.

59. In our view, it is utterly unjustifiable for any country to obstruct the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to the United Nations on any pretext. We are convinced that upon its admission to the United Nations, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam will make positive contributions to the realization of the purposes and principles of the Charter together with all the other justice-upholding States Members.

60. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The next speaker is the representative of Sri Lanka, whom I invite to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

61. Mr. KANAKARATNE (Sri Lanka): Mr. President, let me first thank you and the other members of the Security Council for having given my delegation the opportunity of participating in the debate on the very important matter which has come up for deliberation this afternoon. The application of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam for membership in the United Nations is something which enlists the support of Sri Lanka for two reasons, and it is for those two reasons that we have sought your permission to address the Council as an interested delegation.

62. In the first instance, Sri Lanka and the Republic of Viet Nam are sister nations of the Asian continent, and we view with considerable dismay the inability of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam so far to become a full Member of the United Nations.

63. In the second place, I speak today before the Council not merely as the representative of Sri Lanka but as the representative of the current Chairman of the group of non-aligned countries now numbering 86 States Members of the United Nations. The Socialist Republic of Viet Nam is not only a member nation of that group but at the recent conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held in my country's capital in August this year, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam was elected a member of the 25-member Co-ordinating Bureau of that group of nations.

64. It was as long ago as August 1975 that applications were made on behalf of the two States that then formed Viet Nam for membership in the United Nations [S/11756 and S/11761]. Those States were

represented then by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Viet Nam and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. Those applications came up for discussion before this very Council in August 1975, and on that occasion two draft resolutions [S/11795 and S/11796], one in respect of each of the applications, gained a majority of 13 member States voting in favour; one, a permanent member, voting against, with one State abstaining [1836th meeting, paras. 105 and 196].

65. Subsequently, in that very year the United Nations passed by an overwhelming majority resolution 3366 (XXX) endorsing the application of the two States of Viet Nam and requesting the Security Council to reconsider their admission to membership. That vote was extremely significant: 123 Member States voted in favour of that resolution; not a single State voted against it, and 9 Member States abstained.

66. Subsequent to that resolution, on 29 and 30 September 1975 [1843rd to 1846th meetings], the Council met once again in response to the request of the General Assembly, and Security Council draft resolutions contained in documents S/11832 and S/11833 were voted on. The result of those votes, as we all know, was that 14 of the 15 members of the Council supported those draft resolutions; one member State, a permanent member of the Council, voted against them and therefore those draft resolutions were defeated.

67. We are met here again to discuss the same application, but in a changed situation. In mid-1976, as we have already heard, the two Vietnamese component States, by democratic elections and a referendum, unified themselves to form one unitary Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. If that member State which had voted against the successive applications of the two component States had any legal difficulties at that stage, it is the view of my delegation that such impediment no longer should be facing them. What we have for consideration is an application by a sovereign, independent State, a peace-loving State, for membership in the United Nations, the great international community of the world. In this connexion, it is our submission that the only relevant part of the Charter of the United Nations that needs to be applied and taken into consideration by the Council is Article 4, which says: "Membership in the United Nations is open to all other peace-loving States which accept the obligations contained in the present Charter". It is our sincere submission that the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam is just as qualified as any other Member now seated in the Assembly—indeed, we would think even more so than some of them—to be admitted as a sovereign, independent State with a peace-loving policy.

68. The fact that the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam is sovereign and independent cannot be gainsaid. Indeed, the fact that the heroic Vietnamese people

have for the last 30 years struggled to obtain their independence and their sovereignty is evidence enough of the fact that they are an independent nation.

69. I do not have to recall here the efforts, the sacrifices, the sufferings and the travails that more than a generation of Vietnamese people had to undergo and to face. Successive waves of the armed forces of foreign Powers entered their territory. After having successfully eliminated the French imperial presence, after having briefly resisted and overcome the armed forces of Japan, and after having fought for the last 12 or 13 years against more than half a million armed troops of other foreign Powers, this small, weak and essentially rural community of individuals, whom we know as the Vietnamese people, have surely justified before us all and before the bar of history their entitlement to be called genuinely politically independent and sovereign.

70. What is the second qualification for membership in the United Nations? That each applicant should be a peace-loving State. Is there any one of us around this table who can suggest by reference to recorded history that the Vietnamese people have ever been guilty of aggression? Have their armed forces marched across their frontiers? On the contrary, they have been the victims of aggression for the last quarter of a century or more. It was on their soil that others have come and fought for various purposes and for various motives. It is the view of my delegation, therefore, that both the political and legal requirements for the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to membership in the United Nations have been amply fulfilled by that Government and those people.

71. I said earlier in my remarks that I was speaking also as the representative of the current Chairman of the group of non-aligned countries. It is therefore relevant for me to point out to the Council the position taken up by the non-aligned countries in regard to Viet Nam in the past year or so.

72. As far back as August 1975, soon after the meetings of the Security Council of that month, a Co-ordinating Committee was set up by the non-aligned countries, which fully endorsed the application of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam—or the two component States at that time—for admission to the United Nations. Let me quote from that declaration of the Co-ordinating Committee of the Non-Aligned Countries:

“The Co-ordinating Committee whole-heartedly supports these candidatures, which it considers as being fully in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and as representing an action on behalf of peace, freedom and the fruitful development of relations of friendship and co-operation among all peoples.” [S/11793]

73. Subsequently, at the Ministerial Meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Countries held at Algiers between 30 May and 2 June 1976, in paragraph 5 of that meeting's Final Communiqué,³ the non-aligned countries were requested to extend vigorous support and to renew that support on behalf of the admission of Viet Nam to membership in the United Nations.

74. More recently, at the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries held at Colombo in August this year, there was a similar call on the part of the non-aligned countries for appropriate action with regard to the application of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam for membership in the United Nations. I quote from the Political Declaration of the non-aligned countries adopted at Colombo:

“The Conference further declared that the commitment entered into by the United States under article 21, chapter VIII, of the Agreement on ending the war and restoring peace in Viet Nam,⁴ signed on 27 January 1973, should be honoured and called upon the United Nations Security Council to give prompt and positive consideration to the application of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam for admission to membership of the United Nations, in accordance with resolution 3366 adopted by the United Nations General Assembly at its thirtieth session.”²

75. More recently, the Prime Minister of Sri Lanka, in her capacity as current Chairman of the group of non-aligned countries, said from the rostrum of the General Assembly of the United Nations:

“At the Colombo Conference, as at all previous meetings of the non-aligned, we have reaffirmed our adherence to the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and we remain committed to the cause of strengthening its role in all aspects of international life.

“A primary requirement for the strengthening of the United Nations is the universality of its membership. We cannot but express dissatisfaction and dismay at the continued denial, by the use of the veto, to nations which are qualified in every way and have won the recognition of more than two thirds of the membership of this Organization, of the opportunity to share in its endeavours.”⁵

76. It is our belief that the United Nations, representing the great family of nations, would benefit considerably by expanding its membership to fulfil the requirement of universality. We find it difficult to accept that bilateral difficulties or disputes or problems between such a nation and any other Member State of the Organization, albeit a permanent member of the Security Council, should vitiate the right to membership in this family of a State otherwise qualified

by the requirements of the Charter itself. We believe that if there are problems—and there are problems not only between Member States of the General Assembly but even among members of the Council—that is a matter which has no relevance to the problem of the qualifications of a State for admission to the United Nations.

77. We urge the one permanent member whose attitude and whose vote has prevented this small, heroic, sovereign, independent, peace-loving nation from joining our family to reconsider its position. We regret that a great Power, a major Power, wielding major influence in global affairs, cannot rise to the challenge and exhibit the statesmanship that our times require. We are sincerely convinced that, in its own interests as well as in the interests of the rest of the international community, it should find it possible to cast an affirmative vote on the draft resolution that has now been introduced to the Council, as such action would be of great benefit to itself and to the rest of us.

78. It is in that spirit, Mr. President, that we have sought your permission and that of the Council to place these facts before it for consideration. Long years ago—if I may cite an historical example—soon after Great Britain had defeated France, after seven years of wars in Europe, the then British Prime Minister declared in the House of Commons: “Mr. Speaker, Honourable Members, England has today saved itself by its exertions and the world by its example”. If I may change that quotation slightly, we urge the representative of the United States to show to us and, through us, to the world that it can save itself by its actions and perhaps the world by its example.

79. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The next speaker is the representative of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, whom I invite to take a place at the Council table and to make a statement.

80. Mr. SOURINHO (Lao People's Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, my first words will be words of sincere congratulation on your accession to the presidency of the Security Council for the month of November. I also wish to express to you and to all the members of the Council my gratitude for the permission granted to my delegation to participate in the debate of the Council to outline our position in respect of this important matter before the Council, the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to the United Nations. My delegation is happy to see that this question will be considered by the Council at a time when you, an eminent representative of the Republic of Panama, whom my country esteems highly, have assumed the presidency. Your great qualities and your dedication to justice are well known, and my delegation is sure that you will be successful in carrying out the important duties which have been entrusted to you.

81. We take this opportunity also to congratulate Mr. Akhund of Pakistan, who so tactfully and competently presided over the work of the Council in October.

82. My delegation attaches great importance to and has a special interest in the question now before the Council. Indeed, as an immediate neighbour of Viet Nam, my country, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, feels great solidarity with that country. We have geographical, historical, cultural and human ties which are well known to all. Moreover, the Lao, Vietnamese and Kampuchean peoples have had a common destiny for more than a century. We were all under the same colonial domination and oppression. We were exposed to the most cruel aggression from colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism. During the revolutionary struggles for the reconquest of our independence and freedom, struggles which went on for over 30 years, the Kampuchea, Lao and Vietnamese peoples fought against the common enemy. They shared hardships, they gave one another support and, thanks to their brotherly and militant solidarity, they have almost simultaneously achieved great victories over imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

83. In peace and in national reconstruction, as in wartime, our solidarity continues and is in fact even being reinforced. The struggle at present being waged by the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam in the diplomatic sphere to gain recognition for its cause is our struggle, too. The members of the Council will realize that we feel great emotion, but we are also full of determination as we speak here today to give our support to the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to the United Nations.

84. Its admission, which is expected and wished for by the overwhelming majority of the international community, is a necessity, particularly since Viet Nam has completely recovered its freedom and independence and has in a most peaceful and democratic way brought about its national reunification. The Vietnamese people has thus admirably demonstrated by many examples its capacity for sacrifice and heroism and has shown great political wisdom. Therefore one may be sure that the Organization will greatly benefit from the admission of Viet Nam to its ranks. It will be a great step forward for the United Nations on the path to the universality which is a pre-conditions of its effectiveness.

85. For the peoples of South-East Asia it will be a sign of normalization after the great changes that have occurred in that part of the world, normalization which is necessary because it will reinforce peace and stability in Indo-China, in South-East Asia and in the world.

86. For the peoples throughout the world who love peace and justice, its admission will not only

make good sense politically but will also be an act of justice which the Vietnamese people well deserve after fighting heroically, undergoing many sacrifices and always maintaining and upholding the ideals of the Charter. By its enormous sacrifices and the suffering it has endured, the Vietnamese people has served the Organization and, in fact, rendered great services to the international community as a whole.

87. On the basis of this consideration, my delegation wishes to appeal to all the members of the Council, and in particular to the permanent members of the Council, to be guided in their deliberations by consciousness of their responsibility and by justice, not by considerations which have no bearing on the subject-matter before us.

88. In this context, my delegation, at the risk of being repetitious, must state again that in the matter of the admission of new Members, Article 4, paragraph 1, of the Charter is the only legal, valid basis for the consideration of applications by the Council. To take any other course, and in particular to take into account elements which have nothing to do with the question of admission as such, would be profoundly discriminatory and arbitrary, and detrimental to the principles of the Charter.

89. The Security Council, the supreme organ of the United Nations, which has responsibility for the maintenance of world peace and security, must properly apply the provisions of the Charter if it wants the United Nations to respond to the hopes which the peoples of the world have placed in it. In any case, mankind, which in one generation has known so much destruction and terrible suffering in two world conflagrations—the second of which occurred because the League of Nations, owing to the many injustices it had perpetuated, was not capable of preventing it—certainly would not wish to see the United Nations, built on the ruins of the Second World War and the repository of the great ideals of peace, freedom, equality and justice, take the same path as its predecessor.

90. But concepts of justice and equality must be universal in character and applied to all peoples, including the Vietnamese people. The Council would commit a grave injustice against that heroic people if it continued to oppose the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to the United Nations. Furthermore, any manoeuvre or attempt to refuse or delay the immediate accession of that country to the United Nations when it meets all the stipulated conditions would be to defy the overwhelming majority of the Member States and of the international community as a whole. My country, for its part, will certainly denounce and condemn firmly any such manoeuvre.

91. Even though the matter now before the Council is perfectly clear, some doubts and uncertainties still weigh heavily on the deliberations of the Council,

and it must be said that the attitude of the United States, one of the permanent members of the Council, is responsible for this malaise.

92. My delegation recalls with regret that consideration of Viet Nam's application by the Council should have taken place on 10 September, but because of the United States election, it was postponed until today. Thus the thirty-first session of the General Assembly was deprived of the very valuable co-operation of the Vietnamese delegation. At that time, the outgoing Republican Administration of the United States, more preoccupied with its re-election than with the admission of Viet Nam to the United Nations and counting on rallying to its cause the votes of the most reactionary elements of the United States electorate, threatened to use its veto—as it had done the year before when the Council had considered the applications for admission of the Republic of South Viet Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam—if the candidacy of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam was submitted for consideration by the Security Council.

93. To show its good will, the Vietnamese delegation agreed, at the Council's request, to postpone for some time the submission of its candidacy, thus making it possible for the United States Government to avoid the unpopular exercise of the right of veto which would have put it in a very embarrassing situation just before the election.

94. Today, in the calm of the post-electoral period, the Government of the United States is certainly in a much better situation—at least we hope so—to approach the consideration of the application of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam which the justice and equity that are the dominant characteristics of the American people. But the Government of the United States, contrary to its past practice, is now maintaining a solemn silence which leads us to surmise that it is still refusing or hesitating to accede to the justified request of Viet Nam.

95. The refusal of the United States Government, if it is confirmed, would not only disappoint world public opinion but would be most prejudicial to the credibility of the Security Council and to the United as a whole, because no consideration of right or of fairness could justify such an arbitrary attitude.

96. But since the United States Government, which has no valid juridical reasons for preventing the admission, now raises the question of those missing in action during the war and makes Viet Nam's admission to the United Nations dependent on the solution of that problem, my delegation wants to make a statement on that subject. Even though, of course, we all feel the greatest compassion for the families of those missing in action, my delegation wants to stress forcefully that that question has nothing to do with Viet Nam's admission to the United Nations.

and it is certainly not appropriate for the United States to raise this question at this time.

97. The problem of the missing persons is a bilateral one; therefore, it should be settled within the framework of normal bilateral relations between the United States and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. Meanwhile, if the United States Government, as it has stated so many times, wants to put an end to the uncertainty and anxiety of the families of those missing in action and not to use the existence of that problem to continue to arouse the American people against the Vietnamese people, thus justifying its policy of hostility against Viet Nam, it should begin, on the basis of the Paris Agreements,⁴ to establish normal relations with Viet Nam, thus opening the way to co-operation in all fields, including that of those missing in action. In this connexion, the dialogue which is beginning today between the representatives of the United States and of Viet Nam will undoubtedly provide an opportunity once again to judge the sincerity of the United States Government.

98. The problem of persons who disappeared during the long war of aggression waged by the United States against the people of Viet Nam and the other peoples of Indo-China, does not preoccupy only the United States Government which is entirely responsible for it; this problem is equally urgent and tragic for the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, which also has a very long list of missing Vietnamese. In the view of my delegation, only sincere and constructive co-operation by the United States Government in response to the sincere and constructive co-operation already demonstrated by the Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, can contribute to putting an end to the anguish of the families of missing persons.

99. In respect of this grave problem, my delegation would like to cite some further examples which prove irrefutably that the Vietnamese Government wishes to bring about favourable conditions that would enable the Government of the United States to end its policy of unilateral recriminations and accusations and engage in a sincere search for solutions to the problem still pending.

100. These are the facts. In March 1974 the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, which was then North Viet Nam, authorized the Government of the United States to accept the repatriation of the remains of 23 American pilots killed in the attack against North Viet Nam. In December 1975, the Government of Viet Nam gave to the delegation of Senator Montgomery authorization for the repatriation of the remains of three American pilots who had been considered missing during the war. In April 1975, the Government of Viet Nam allowed the representative of Senator Kennedy to repatriate the remains of two American soldiers who were killed at the Tan Son Nhut airport

during the bombardment of Saigon. During the year 1976, the Vietnamese Government authorized the repatriation of all Americans who were stranded in South Viet Nam after April 1975. Finally, on 6 September last, the Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam communicated through its Embassy in Paris to the United States Government information on the 12 American pilots who were killed in the bombardments carried out against North Viet Nam.

101. Those acts of good will on the part of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam are such that the Government of the United States should also respond by acts of a similar nature, or should at least demonstrate that it wants to tackle seriously the problem of missing persons as a whole. The United States Government should not exploit for special aims the suffering of the families of the missing persons and it should not adopt an arrogant attitude towards Viet Nam, claiming that Viet Nam must immediately carry out article 8 (b) of the Paris Agreements concerning persons missing in action, while obstinately refusing to carry out its own obligations to dress the wounds of the war in Viet Nam, in accordance with article 21 of the Agreement. That method of proceeding, which shows the chauvinism of a great Power, is anachronistic and does not help to resolve the problems.

102. In the same of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, which was the only country in Indo-China to maintain diplomatic relations with the United States after the profound changes that occurred, not because it wants to receive any material or financial assistance, but because it wants to prove that the people of Indo-China desire to continue to have in the future fruitful and mutually advantageous relations with the American people, my delegation wishes to appeal to the Government of the United States to be faithful to the great traditions of liberty, equality and justice of the its people, and to adopt on the question of the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to the United Nations a realistic and constructive position in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations.

103. Furthermore, in requesting admission to the United Nations, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam is simply exercising its right as an independent State to occupy the place which belongs to it in the international Organization.

104. By reacting positively to this request, as demanded by the overwhelming majority of the international community and as the other members of the Security Council have unanimously done, the Government of the United States would be reaffirming the tradition of justice of its people.

105. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Bulgaria and Mongolia, in which they

ask to be invited to participate in the debate. In accordance with the provisions of Article 31 of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure, and if there are no objections, I propose to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote.

106. I invite the representatives of Bulgaria and Mongolia to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber, on the usual understanding that they will be invited to take a place at the Council table when they wish to address the Council.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Yankov (Bulgaria), and Mr. Puntsagnorov (Mongolia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

107. Mr. MIRZA (Pakistan): I should like first to take this opportunity to thank, on behalf of Mr. Iqbal Akhund, all the representatives for the very kind words which they addressed to him at our meetings yesterday and today.

108. It is the considered view of the delegation of Pakistan that the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam amply fulfils the conditions for membership laid down in the Charter. Further, its Prime Minister has declared that his Government accepts all the obligations contained in the Charter and solemnly undertakes to fulfil them.

109. The Socialist Republic of Viet Nam is among the new members of the third world. Its people have won their independence after an arduous and long struggle and are now engaged in repairing their economy and taking their rightful place in the comity of nations. The people and the Government of Pakistan hold in great respect the Vietnamese people and Government and wish them peace and prosperity. We also look forward to the contribution which the great Vietnamese people and its Government are certain to make to the just causes of the third world and unity among its peoples.

110. It is the sincere hope of my delegation that the Council will consider the application of Viet Nam on its objective merits and will recommend to the General Assembly that the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam be admitted to the Organization. We believe that the admission of Viet Nam to the United Nations will contribute to the strengthening of peace and stability in South-East Asia, a region which has suffered tremendous turmoil in the past and where it is essential that opportunities be given to the people to live in peace and amity. In our view, it will also promote international peace and security in general, thus ensuring the achievement of one of the basic objectives of the Organization. Further, we believe that Viet Nam's admission to the United Nations will facilitate the solution of the unresolved problems arising out of the conflict in Viet Nam.

111. With these thoughts and hopes, we urge the members of the Council to vote unanimously for the draft resolution in document S/12226, of which Pakistan has the honour to be a sponsor along with other delegations.

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

113. Mr. ALARCÓN (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, I should like at the outset to thank you and, through you, the other members of the Security Council for allowing my delegation to participate in this debate. It is a source of sincere satisfaction for me to participate in the work of the Council under your presidency. The presence of Panama in the Council is a tribute to its Government and its people and an expression of international solidarity in its just struggle for the effective exercise of national sovereignty over the whole of its territory, including the Canal and the Canal Zone. Your experience and talent will undoubtedly enable the Council fully to discharge its responsibilities in the course of the month of November.

114. Once again the Council is called upon to examine the application for membership in the United Nations of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. As we all know, it is doing so after having given an opportunity for mature reflection to one of its permanent members, which, obsessed by pressures of a local nature, indicated its intention of impeding a favourable decision on the admission of that State when the question was first brought to the Council's attention a few months ago.

115. If we are to believe the rumours that are rife in the corridors of this building, we must suspect that the present debate may conclude with new proof of the abusive, irresponsible and illegitimate use of the veto. Were that to be the case, the present discussion might lead us to consider the need to assess more thoroughly the conduct of certain Powers and the damage that this does to the United Nations and to the purposes and principles proclaimed in the Charter. For that reason, this situation calls for a rigorous but calm analysis of its true meaning and all its implications. That consideration seems all the more necessary for those countries which, linked to the Government of the United States by alliances which call upon them to share interests and responsibilities, would be in a position, at least in this case, to offer useful advice to the authorities in Washington.

116. The illegal use of the power of veto to stand in the way of the admission of a new State, despite the fact that its aspirations are in keeping with the terms of the Charter, is an inadmissible action which attacks and weakens the foundations of the very Charter on which the special prerogatives of certain members rest.

117. The admission of new members to the United Nations must be considered exclusively in accordance with what is set forth in Article 4 of the Charter. Aside from the terms laid down therein, there is absolutely no other condition for admission to the United Nations. To lay down any other condition would obviously be a clear and direct violation of the letter and the spirit of the basic document governing the activities of the Organization.

118. What the Council should do, the only thing it is authorized to do, is decide whether the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam is a peace-loving State and if, in the Organization's judgement, it is ready and able to fulfil its obligations under the Charter. It is on that and on that alone that the members of the Council must pronounce themselves. To adduce anything else would, above all, be irrelevant to the matter now before us. To use as a pretext for objecting to the admission supposed or real factors having nothing to do with the text of Article 4 would make that objection illegitimate, deprive it of any legal value and, consequently, make it inadmissible.

119. Nevertheless, we find ourselves in the unheard-of-situation of having kept outside the United Nations for more than a year after its first application a State which fulfils all the necessary requirements for becoming a Member. The votes taken in the General Assembly and in the Council have clearly demonstrated that almost all the delegations are in favour of the admission of Viet Nam.

120. None has dared to cast doubts on the fact that the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam is a peace-loving State. Because of its love of peace, independence and freedom, the Vietnamese people undertook the greatest sacrifices, confronted the most brutal aggression, resisted with heroism and unparalleled dedication and gained a total victory in the cruel war imposed upon it by United States imperialism. The Vietnamese epic not only constituted irrefutable proof of that people's will to live in peace and free from foreign domination but also made an invaluable contribution to the cause of all those struggling for emancipation, justice and a peaceful future.

121. In the world of today no one is better qualified to be termed a peace-loving State than the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. In order to secure the right to live in peace it faced the severest tests and forced the aggressors to their knees. The defeat of imperialism in Viet Nam allowed other peoples to preserve their own independence and security and created propitious conditions for the consolidation of world peace.

122. Similarly, it is obvious that almost all the members of the international community consider that the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam meets all the conditions for becoming a Member of the United Nations. The Socialist Republic of Viet Nam maintains normal relations with almost 100 States from all

regions and of all social systems and it has been admitted to a number of the specialized agencies of the United Nations system. The records of the General Assembly and the Security Council clearly show what is the view of the Organization on this matter. If Viet Nam is not yet in the United Nations, it is solely due to the obstructionist, arbitrary, illegal and discriminatory attitude of the Government of the United States of America.

123. The fallacious arguments adduced by the United States Government in an attempt to explain such unjustifiable conduct cannot bear the slightest scrutiny. They have nothing whatsoever to do with Article 4 of the Charter, and, as such, are inadmissible.

124. Last year the United States tried to make the admission of Viet Nam conditional on a totally alien matter. Today Washington wishes to justify the veto by using the demagogic argument of the so-called missing in action as a result of the criminal aggression which Yankee imperialism unleashed on the people of Viet Nam.

125. I think it is appropriate to note here that these persons did not disappear in Viet Nam while they were on a friendly visit, or when they had legally entered Vietnamese territory, or when they were engaged in tourism. Nevertheless, as the representative of the Lao People's Democratic Republic rightly pointed out a few moments ago, the authorities and other people in Viet Nam have shown great generosity and flexibility in connexion with these matters and, as he told the Council, the Vietnamese have made every possible effort to solve this question with the United States. Be that as it may, it is obvious that this question has absolutely nothing to do with the admission of a State to the United Nations. If anything, it is a question within the framework of the bilateral relations of the States concerned. It cannot be used, if common sense has any meaning at all, as a pretext to flout the opinion of almost all the Members of the United Nations concerning the admission of Viet Nam.

126. The use of this argument is, frankly, irresponsible. If the United States Government believes that the question of the admission of Viet Nam to the United Nations falls within the sphere of its national policy and that it must be conditioned on certain agreements it is seeking to obtain at the bilateral level, Washington is then, in fact, treating the matter as if it were a controversy in which the United States was one of the interested parties.

127. In such conditions, a United States veto, based on such a strange interpretation of international law, would be doubly illegal. If the matter could be reduced to a bilateral controversy, then the United States would have to abstain from voting, in accordance with Article 27, paragraph 3, of the Charter. What other intention could the drafters of the Charter have

had in including this paragraph, if it was not precisely to prevent any member of the Security Council from abusing its prerogatives in order to obtain advantages over other States?

128. The world is watching this debate. The peoples of the entire world demand that Viet Nam, unified under the banner of socialism, should occupy its rightful place in the United Nations. That is the right of the Vietnamese people, and it is in keeping with the interests of all peoples struggling for independence in Africa, Asia and Latin America. For that reason, the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries gave its enthusiastic support to Viet Nam's aspiration and called for a favourable decision by the Council. As the representative of Sri Lanka rightly said earlier in this meeting, that is an unvarying, constant attitude of the non-aligned movement, which understands that the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people was at the vanguard of the movement for emancipation of the peoples of the third world, and that it is an overriding interest of that movement that the discriminatory and aggressive policy carried out against the Vietnamese people should cease so that its lawful representatives may occupy their rightful place in the international community.

129. The exclusion of Viet Nam from the United Nations is the result of the continuance of the aggressive policy of imperialism, the same policy that sowed death and destruction in Indo-China. The international community cannot permit this to continue.

130. Whatever may be the result of this debate, the matter will not end here. The effort to render justice to the Vietnamese people will continue. And the aggressors must understand that they would suffer on the diplomatic field the same kind of exemplary defeat that they suffered on the battlefield.

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

132. Mr. KEAT CHHON (Democratic Kampuchea) (*interpretation from French*): I should like first to extend to you, Mr. President, our warm congratulations on your accession to the presidency of the Security Council at a time when your country, Panama, is celebrating the anniversary of its independence. Between Democratic Kampuchea and Panama, both non-aligned countries, there is a common aspiration to ensure the victory of the causes of our third world, in particular that of independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, as well as of the right of the people to be masters of their own fate. That is why our countries, although far from each other geographically, feel close and united in our common struggle. The delegation of Democratic

Kampuchea would like to express its sincere thanks to the Security Council for making it possible for us to speak during the consideration of the question of the admission of Viet Nam to the United Nations.

133. On 10 August last [*S/12183, annex*], the Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam submitted to the Secretary-General its application for admission to membership of the United Nations. The delegation of Democratic Kampuchea decisively and warmly supports that application.

134. After a long, unremitting, difficult and bloody struggle by the heroic Vietnamese people, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam became independent, sovereign and unified. Its foundation was thus the culmination and fulfilment of the profound aspirations of the Vietnamese people. That great event was a source of joy to all the peoples of the world. The people of Democratic Kampuchea, a neighbour and companion in arms of the people of Viet Nam, warmly congratulated and hailed that people. The Government of Democratic Kampuchea and the Governments of all friendly nations felt then and feel now that it is the right of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to become a Member of the United Nations, for it fulfils all the necessary conditions.

135. In August 1976 the Summit Conference of Non-Aligned Countries at Colombo also gave its decisive support to the application for admission to the United Nations of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam.² The Co-ordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Countries echoed that support on 8 September [*S/12198, annex*].

136. In the course of the general debate at the present session of the General Assembly very many delegations also spoke out in favour of the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. The Security Council has witnessed immense changes and upheavals in the world situation since the United Nations was founded. National sovereignty, the sovereignty of States and the right of each people to be master of its own destiny and that of its country, achieved after hard military and political struggles in Asia, Africa and Latin America, form part of an impetuous historic current that no one and nothing can resist. The same is true of the right of all independent and sovereign States to participate in the work of the United Nations and to be seated as full-fledged members of the international community.

137. In the light of those facts, the delegation of Democratic Kampuchea is convinced that the Security Council will shoulder its responsibilities and warmly and unreservedly vote in favour of the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to membership in the United Nations.

138. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The next speaker is the representative of

Mongolia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make a statement.

139. Mr. PUNTSAGNOROV (Mongolia) (*interpretation from Russian*): Mr. President, allow me first of all to express to you and to all the members of the Security Council our gratitude for this opportunity to participate in the debate. We take this opportunity to welcome you to your lofty position as President of the Security Council. We most sincerely wish you success in your endeavours.

140. It is symbolic and significant that the Security Council is discussing the question of admission to membership in the United Nations of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. In the application of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam it is stated that, having achieved independence and having completed the process of unification, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the Vietnamese people wish to join in the efforts of the United Nations in the struggle for peace, international security, independence and sovereignty for all peoples. This desire to become a Member of the United Nations is expressed by a State which represents an heroic people whose efforts in defence of peace and national independence and for the triumph of the new and just principles of international relations have received the broadest support and recognition.

141. At the price of enormous sacrifices, the Vietnamese people has shown by deeds its dedication to the noble ideals of the United Nations. The historic victory of the Vietnamese people has eliminated a hotbed of war in South-East Asia. It has contributed to the strengthening of peace in the Asian continent and to the consolidation of détente in international relations as a whole. The name of Viet Nam has become an international synonym for courage and determination in the struggle against imperialist aggression and internal reaction in the name of the great cause of freedom and national independence.

142. With the creation in June 1976 of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam the aspirations of the Vietnamese people to national reunification were fulfilled. The creation of a single powerful socialist State opened up broad horizons for the speedy economic and social progress of the country.

143. The domestic policy of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam is aimed at healing the cruel wounds of the war. It is further aimed at improving its economy, at cultural enhancement and its people's well-being.

144. It is well known that the foreign policy of the Vietnamese State is aimed at contributing to the positive changes occurring in international life. It is aimed at strengthening peace, friendship and co-operation among nations and at continuing the determined struggle against imperialism, colonialism,

neo-colonialism and racism. The peace-loving foreign policy of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, designed to establish and develop normal relations with all countries irrespective of their social structure and on the basis of mutual respect for independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, of mutual benefit and peaceful coexistence, found its clear reflection in the recent draft political report of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Viet Nam, which has been published and will be presented to the fourth Congress of that Party.

145. The international community has found in the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam an active supporter of peace and security in Asia and in the whole world; the international prestige and authority of Viet Nam have received world-wide recognition.

146. In the light of these facts, the efforts to obstruct the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to United Nations membership are unrealistic and, in fact, altogether intolerable. Such acts clearly contradict Article 4 of the Charter of the United Nations which states that:

“Membership in the United Nations is open to all... peace-loving States which accept the obligations contained in the... Charter and... are able and willing to carry out these obligations.”

The Socialist Republic of Viet Nam fully meets these requirements of the Charter.

147. The attempts, in violation of the Charter, to link Viet Nam's application for United Nations membership to problems which are bilateral in nature, are inadmissible and have no foundation whatsoever. Any problems related to the past Vietnamese war can and must be settled through negotiations between the parties involved. The delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic appeals to the United States to put an end to its tendentious and discriminatory approach to the question of the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to the United Nations, and presses for the immediate granting of its legitimate request.

148. The Government and people of Mongolia feel that the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to the United Nations would, in fact, be an honour for the Organization. The People's Republic of Mongolia, which maintains close relations of brotherly friendship and co-operation with the people of Viet Nam, is convinced that the admission to United Nations membership by the Republic of Viet Nam will enhance even more the prestige of the Organization and will contribute to improving the effectiveness of its actions. I am convinced that the whole world will welcome the admission of unified Viet Nam to the United Nations.

149. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The next speaker is the representative of

the German Democratic Republic, whom I invite to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

150. Mr. FLORIN (German Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): Mr. President, I thank you for the opportunity which has been given me to speak before this important organ of the United Nations. I am particularly happy to be able to congratulate you on behalf of my delegation, on your accession to your high office. In your person we are congratulating the representative of a country with which the German Democratic Republic enjoys close, friendly relations which are now being developed and strengthened. And I must tell you that we understand very well the aspirations of your people and its wish to strengthen the independence of your country.

151. I wish to take this occasion to congratulate the Permanent Observer for the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, our friend and comrade, Mr. Dinh Ba Thi, on his activities at United Nations Headquarters and to welcome him to this chamber, where the application of his country for United Nations membership is being discussed.

152. The people and Government of the German Democratic Republic are bound by ties of sincere friendship to the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. Through all the years of the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people, the German Democratic Republic, along with other States of the Socialist community, was at the side of the courageous Vietnamese people and gave them active support in their just cause.

153. At the ninth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of the German Democratic Republic, the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party and Chairman of the State Council, Mr. Erich Honecker, stated:

“Solidarity with the heroic Vietnamese people has always been close to our hearts. The victory achieved by that people in a bloody struggle has been a source of sincere satisfaction to our people. In future, too, we shall give the Vietnamese people active assistance in eliminating the consequences of the war, and will help them in their building of socialism.

154. The head of the Vietnamese delegation to that Congress Comrade Nguyen Duy Trinh, gave a high assessment of our assistance to the Vietnamese people when he said:

“In view of the new situation and the new tasks faced by the Vietnamese revolution, the moral and material assistance of the German Democratic Republic and of other brotherly countries, as well as of our friends throughout the world, is a powerful stimulus for the Vietnamese people to work relentlessly and selflessly so as to utilize this assistance

and international co-operation in the best possible manner and thus to overcome speedily the difficulties encountered in the aftermath of the war and to create the material and technological base for the building of socialism.”

155. The position of the German Democratic Republic on the question of the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to United Nations membership must be well known to the members of the Security Council, because my Government and people have always been guided—as, indeed, is required by the Charter—by the wish to enhance and further the universality of the Organization, to strengthen international peace and security and to contribute to equal co-operation among all States, in conformity with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations.

156. The request of the Government of the sovereign and independent Socialist Republic of Viet Nam for admission to membership in the United Nations is, without a doubt, in strict conformity with the provisions of the Charter. The Socialist Republic of Viet Nam is prepared and able to fulfil all obligations of United Nations membership. In this context, I want to draw attention to the text of the official letter of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam addressed to the Secretary-General [S/12183, annex].

157. The Socialist Republic of Viet Nam has conducted and continues to follow a consistent policy of peace and friendship with other States on the basis of mutual respect for national independence, sovereignty and equality, mutual benefit and peaceful coexistence. Today the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam maintains diplomatic relations with more than 100 States. It is internationally recognized as a respectable and respected State which not only carries weight in South-East Asia and on the Asian continent but also contributes considerably to international détente.

158. I would recall that the result of the debate on the question of Viet Nam at the thirtieth session of the General Assembly and in the general debate at the current session showed convincingly the predominant view in the world with regard to the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to the United Nations as a full Member State.

159. The Conference of Non-Aligned Countries which took place at Colombo gave firm support to the admission of Viet Nam to membership in the United Nations and called on the Security Council to consider favourably the application for such admission. Therefore, we are surprised to hear the statements from certain circles by which they attempt to exert pressure on the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and make its admission to membership in the Organization dependent on certain bilateral questions. To link the application of the Socialist Republic of

Viet Nam for membership in the United Nations with any problems that have no relation whatever to membership in the United Nations is incompatible with the Charter.

160. As the representative of the German Democratic Republic, I share entirely the view of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Countries, which, in their declaration of 8 September this year, said:

“any opposition to the admission of Viet Nam to the United Nations is legally and morally irrelevant, indefensible and unjustifiable, contrary to the Charter and an affront to the express wishes of the overwhelming majority of the Members of the United Nations representing the widest possible spectrum of international opinion” [S/12198, annex].

161. The war in Indo-China was cruel. It was imposed on the peoples of that region from outside and it cost millions of people their lives or their health. It exacted immense material sacrifices. Of course, after the end of such a war many questions arise which are usually taken care of in negotiations between the States involved. As regards the Vietnamese question, there is an agreement which forms an excellent basis for such negotiations. Moreover, the Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam has repeatedly shown its good will. From the representatives of the other side, even from official personalities, one hears that the war in Indo-China is now ended and that one should face the future. If this is so, then why do we hear statements here opposing the application of Viet Nam for membership in the United Nations?

162. Humane and humanitarian considerations have been mentioned, but if we look at the real substance of the problems and the understanding of these words in certain circles, we can discover something that is quite characteristic of the approach of imperialist circles to these so-called humanitarian questions. In particular, nothing is said about the millions of victims of the imperialist policies. There are no tears for them, not to mention any restitution. It is the political interests of specific circles only that are taken into account, circles that are still thinking in terms of a policy of strength. But fortunately, we can say that people are becoming increasingly aware of the real substance of that game.

163. We live in an era in which international relations have acquired a new quality. The principles of peaceful coexistence and mutually beneficial co-operation are practised increasingly in many spheres of public life. The concern of peoples to see the process of détente continue is increasing. Governments, their representatives, who are active in many spheres of international relations, and the United Nations as a whole are faced with great demands.

164. On behalf of the Government of the German Democratic Republic, I appeal to all members of the

Security Council to support the application of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam for membership in the United Nations.

165. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The next speaker is the representative of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. Accordingly, I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

166. Mr. SHEVEL (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): Mr. President, first of all allow me to thank you and the members of the Council for giving me the opportunity to speak in this important organ of the United Nations.

167. The Security Council is meeting in connexion with the application of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam for admission to membership in the United Nations. The Ukrainian SSR wishes to give strong support to this application, which is contained in a letter from the Prime Minister of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations [S/12183, annex], and we feel that this question must be resolved positively without any delay. In that letter it is stated that the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam accepts the obligations contained in the Charter of the United Nations and solemnly undertakes to carry out those obligations.

168. The admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, a peace-loving country, as a full member of the United Nations would be entirely in keeping with the requirements of Article 4, paragraph 1, of the Charter and is vitally necessary for the United Nations itself in order for it to enhance its efficiency, its prestige and its authority and to ensure the true universality of the Organization.

169. The immediate admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to the United Nations in fact has the support of an overwhelming majority of the Members. This was clearly shown during the discussion of this question in 1975 in the Security Council and also at the thirtieth session of the General Assembly.

170. As recently as a year ago, the General Assembly in its resolution 3366 (XXX), which was adopted by 123 votes, confirmed the legitimate right of Viet Nam to become a Member of the United Nations and also urged the immediate and speedy settlement of this question in strict accordance with the Charter. It is typical that not a single Member State voted against that resolution.

171. As has been pointed out, the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Colombo, called upon the Security Council to consider urgently and positively the application of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam for admission to membership in the United Nations, in accordance with the resolution 3366 (XXX).

172. By its lengthy and heroic struggle for freedom and independence and for the restoration and strengthening of peace in Indo-China and by its historic victory in that just struggle, Viet Nam made a tremendous contribution to the struggle of peoples for their national liberation, against imperialism, foreign intervention and aggression and in favour of the peace and security of peoples. The fact that peace was restored in Indo-China as a result of that victory considerably furthered the process of the improvement of the international situation not only in that region but throughout the world.

173. The victory of the people of Viet Nam, based on the unchanging, tireless and unselfish support given by the Socialist and non-aligned countries, defeated the intention of imperialism and its stooges to perpetuate the partitioning of the country and subject part of it to foreign domination and also removed the most dangerous hotbed of war in Asia.

174. As was emphasized at the Colombo Conference, the great victory of the Vietnamese people represents a weighty contribution to the joint struggle of the peoples of the non-aligned countries and other peoples and progressive forces against the common enemies of colonialism, neo-colonialism and racism and in favour of peace, national independence, democracy and social progress.

175. The reunification of Viet Nam, which was carried out in July this year at the desire of the Vietnamese people, and the formation of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam represented the culmination of many years of heroic struggle waged by the Vietnamese people in order to confirm their basic national rights to unity and independence and the territorial integrity of the entire country and represented the expression of the sovereign will of that people to build a free life in conditions of socialism.

176. The steps being taken in the international arena by the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam convincingly demonstrate its desire to build relations with various countries on the basis of the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. In its foreign relations the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam pursues a policy aimed at strengthening international peace and security, consolidating international co-operation and developing relations with all countries on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence, no-use of force and strict respect for the territorial integrity and independence of all States, non-intervention in their internal affairs, genuine equality and fruitful co-operation among peoples. Quite naturally, this policy is fully in accordance with the requirements of the Charter and enjoys the universal support of the Member States. Because of its well-founded peace-loving policy and its heroic struggle for peace, liberty, independence and social progress, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam enjoys wide international recognition and authority and the sincere friendship of the peoples of the world.

177. It thus is particularly strange that the implementation of the legitimate right of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to become a Member of the United Nations has already been blocked twice when this question was discussed in the Security Council, and it was precisely by that permanent member of the Security Council which for many years waged an aggressive war against the Vietnamese people. At the same time, in order to justify its negative position on the admission of Viet Nam to membership in the United Nations, that member used various artificial pretexts and made attempts to connect this question with other matters which are totally irrelevant to it.

178. The artificial blocking of the admission of Viet Nam to membership in the United Nations, thus making it impossible for that country to enjoy its legitimate right to become a Member of the United Nations, is a violation of the principles of the Charter and the principle of the universality of the United Nations. Such actions constitute a gross violation of the relevant provisions of the declaration of principles contained in the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, which confirms the necessity of respect for and the achievement of equality among all peoples of the world. These actions also ignore the desire expressed by the overwhelming majority of Members of the United Nations in resolution 3366 (XXX).

179. The contrived obstacles which have been placed in the way of the admission of Viet Nam to the United Nations cannot in any way be justified, particularly since, for its part, Viet Nam has frequently stated its readiness to normalize its relations with the United States and to solve all problems on the basis of the well-known Paris Agreements.⁴ The specific steps which have been taken by the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam in this area show both the sincerity of its declarations and the contrived nature of the pretexts which camouflage the obstacles erected to the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to membership in the United Nations.

180. Nor should we forget that the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam is a major State in Asia, with a territory of 333,000 square kilometres and with a population of 50 million people. That country, both because of its territorial extent and because of the size of its population, is considerably larger than some European countries. I should recall that, in population, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam ranks sixteenth in the world. How, then, can we accept the fact that the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, which is such a large State is having difficulty in being admitted to the United Nations?

181. We consider that any further delay in taking a positive decision on the admission of Viet Nam to membership in the United Nations is completely inadmissible from the point of view of the Charter and goes against the interests of the United Nations

itself, the strengthening of international peace and security and the normalization of the international situation and relations among States. Such a delay does not help to strengthen the United Nations and further promote an improvement of the political climate in the world; on the contrary, it leads to a violation of its principles and is tantamount to ignoring the reality of the present-day world and also is in conflict with the purpose of the further democratization of international relations.

182. The Ukrainian SSR calls upon all members of the Security Council to perform their duty and support the admission to the United Nations of a new Member, the peace-loving State of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam.

183. Such a step would be in accordance with the purposes of the United Nations, the principle of universality and the requirements of the Charter. It would be an important contribution to the further broadening of co-operation among peoples and the implementation in practice of the principle of peaceful coexistence. It would also assist United Nations efforts in the main orientation of its activities, that is, to strengthen international peace and security, and to broaden and increase the process of international détente.

184. We are convinced that the just cause of Viet Nam, which after the war embarked on a course of national restoration and social progress, will also triumph, just as its cause triumphed in the burdensome years of trial by war. And no manoeuvres will prevent the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, in the final analysis, from taking its proper place in the United Nations. That is the real state of affairs which is dictated by the imperious course of history.

185. We should like to express the hope that those who resist Viet Nam's admission to the United Nations will finally heed the voice of reason and common sense and not pile up artificial obstacles and delay a decision on this question, which has in fact been resolved in advance by the facts of life themselves.

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

187. Mr. PETRIĆ (Yugoslavia): Please accept my warm congratulations, Mr. President, and best wishes for success in your responsible duties. My pleasure in congratulating you is all the greater because you represent Panamá, with which Yugoslavia has very close and friendly relations.

188. The Yugoslav delegation pledged, in the course of this year's debate in the General Assembly, its unequivocal support for the right of the Socialist

Republic of Viet Nam to become a Member of the United Nations. We believe that the Security Council should declare itself in favour of the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam.

189. The Socialist Republic of Viet Nam showed maximum understanding on an earlier occasion of the well-known reasons suggested for postponement of consideration of its application for admission. That constructive behaviour of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam showed once again what was already known to us all, namely, that it is a country which has demonstrated its persistence, firm resolve and unbounded will to live as a sovereign, independent and united country, ready to assume its full share of responsibility as an equal member of the international community.

190. Owing to the fact that Security Council action was twice blocked by the use of the veto, it is now convened for a third time to consider the question of the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to the United Nations, although the General Assembly has expressed itself almost unanimously in favour of that country's admission to the world Organization. We believe that this time the decision will be positive.

191. In the opinion of our delegation, what is really involved in the Council's consideration of this matter is the case of a peace-loving country which has provided ample proof of its respect for the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. Viet Nam, which suffered enormous losses in the struggle for freedom and independence in the course of a long and devastating war, can best appreciate the freedom, peace and independence of other countries. Viet Nam has clearly proved this by its concrete initiatives and determination to develop good relations with neighbouring and other countries.

192. The contribution of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to peaceful co-operation has been very significant, even during the short period of time since the end of the war. By opting for the policy of non-alignment and becoming a member country of the non-aligned movement, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam has accepted a platform of international relations which enjoys the support of a very large number of countries. By developing its relations with many countries, regardless of differences in internal systems, by endeavouring to normalize relations even with countries which participated in the war against Viet Nam, and by undertaking efforts for the consolidation of the situation in Indo-China and Asia as a whole, Viet Nam confirms that it is dedicated to the implementation of the principles on which the Organization is based and which constitute the foundation of peace in the world.

193. During its long struggle for liberation from colonial invaders, the people of Viet Nam made

great sacrifices, while the country suffered vast devastation. The people of Viet Nam did not fight for its own liberation only; it made a great contribution towards strengthening the international relations provided for in the Charter. Consequently, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam rightly enjoys great prestige in the world.

194. It is obvious that the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam fulfils, both formally and substantively, all the conditions laid down in the Charter for the admission of new Members. We expect that by its decision the Security Council will enable Viet Nam to take the seat that rightly belongs to it during the current session of the General Assembly.

195. In this connexion, we should like to emphasize that Yugoslavia has constantly supported the struggle of the people of Viet Nam for freedom. Today, its relations with that friendly and peaceful country are well developed in the political, economic, cultural and other fields. We are convinced that the admission of Viet Nam to the United Nations would represent a further step in strengthening peace and security, and would be an expression of appreciation of Viet Nam's peaceful policy and of the efforts of its people to rebuild their war-devastated country.

196. In the Charter the conditions for the admission of new Members are clearly laid down. Therefore the specific interests and demands of a permanent Member of the Security Council cannot present an obstacle to admission to the Organization. Actually, past experience shows to what extent the misuse of the veto in particular cases prevented the United Nations from achieving universality. We are convinced that all the members of the Council will rise above their specific considerations, bring their position into harmony with the Charter and make possible the immediate realization of the principle of universality of the Organization.

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

198. Mr. GAUCI (Malta): Mr. President, please accept a brief homage from me on your assumption of the exacting duties of presiding over the Security Council for this month. Though our countries are geographically distant, the collaboration between our two missions has always been friendly and positive. It therefore gives me great pleasure to see your diplomatic skill and your country's commitment to peace finding expression in the high office you are occupying.

199. At this late hour I shall not take up too much of the Council's valuable time. My purpose in asking to appear before this august body today is a simple and straightforward one. It concerns the application

for membership which is being made by the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. It is not difficult to discern that that application is widely supported by international opinion. My country shares that opinion, and we feel that the troubles and tribulations which Viet Nam suffered in the recent past are all the more reason for it to be given the benefits of formal admission to the Organization, and that extraneous considerations should not constitute an obstacle to an application which satisfies all the requirements of Article 4 of the Charter. The declared policy of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, founded on peace and co-operation among nations, is sufficient evidence that it could make an effective contribution to the work and ideals of the Organization.

200. Allow me to recall that at a time shortly before the founding of the Organization, when its noble ideals were still stirring in the minds of the wartime leaders, the late President Roosevelt, whose citation on Malta occupies a prominent place in the heart of its people, stated in his last inaugural address: "We have learned to be citizens of the world, members of the human community. We have learned the simple truth, as Emerson said, that 'the only way to have a friend is to be one' ". I sincerely trust that this thought will inspire all delegations in the consideration of the application before the Council, and that acceptance will no longer be delayed.

201. In this spirit, the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam could provide an impetus for the resolution of any outstanding bilateral problems.

202. I wish to thank you, Mr. President, and the other members of the Security Council for allowing me to speak on this question.

203. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The next name on the list of speakers is that of the representative of Hungary. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

204. Mr. HOLLAI (Hungary): Mr. President, first of all, I should like to congratulate you and express our satisfaction that the presidency of the Security Council for the month of November has been bestowed upon you—a period in which the Council is embarking on its deliberation on a highly important item. I am happy to note the good and friendly relations between our two countries, manifested recently in the visit to Panama by the President of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic.

205. May I at the same time thank you and the members of the Council for giving my delegation the opportunity to express its views, albeit briefly, on the subject on our agenda, namely, the request for admission to the United Nations of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam.

206. I should also like to take this opportunity to welcome most heartily the delegation of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam.

207. Our reasons for asking to be heard on this subject can be summed up very briefly. We consider any request for admission an important matter both in the life of the Organization and in that of the applicant concerned, be it a big or small, developed or developing country. The admission of new members, regardless of their size or social system, and the increase in our membership have reflected the historic changes that have taken place since the founding of the Organization 31 years ago, thereby proving the ability of the United Nations to adapt itself like a living organism to the changes of time and circumstances and to reflect the realities of the world in which we live. In addition, the admission of new members has in fact contributed to the strengthening of the United Nations, not only because we have grown quantitatively, but because we have developed qualitatively as well. Even the smallest new Members have brought into the Organization their special characteristics, unique experiences, fresh ideas, and new approaches from which we can all benefit. And through its enlarged membership, the United Nations has become more and more universal, not only in organizational aspects but also in character.

208. If this is true in general, it is all the more so in the case of the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. Its admission would be of special significance and, indeed, of great benefit for the United Nations.

209. With a population of almost 50 million, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam is not a small country by any standard. The long history of the Vietnamese people is a shining example of a courageous struggle for freedom and independence and of the refusal of all foreign domination, ideals we all share and cherish. It was their self-sacrificing heroism which brought an end to the war in Viet Nam, a war which, while inflicting heavy losses and untold suffering on the people of Viet Nam, had been poisoning the international atmosphere for years. No nation in the world has recently suffered as much to gain independence as did Viet Nam. No nation's struggle has influenced and affected international relations and, in some cases, internal developments as much as has that of the heroic people of Viet Nam.

210. The establishment of peace in Viet Nam was a great historic service not only to the people of Viet Nam and the peoples of Indo-China but also to mankind as a whole. In this respect, we fully agree with the Secretary-General's statement in the introduction to his annual report on the work of the Organization when he said:

"The end of that war more than a year ago opened the door to a new and more peaceful future in the

region itself and to the development of more stable international relations among all the Governments concerned."⁶

That is one of the main reasons why the people and the Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam enjoy the respect and support of the vast majority of the Members of the United Nations.

211. Since last year's debate, the Vietnamese people has achieved one of its fundamental goals, the reunification of its country. Having achieved it, both the people and the leadership are directing all their resources and abundant energies to peaceful work to reconstruct and further develop the economy of the now unified country, to improve the lot of the whole population and to follow the chosen course of development, the building of socialism.

212. All the steps taken by the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam in the field of foreign policy serve the same purpose, that of developing friendly relations with other countries and ensuring favourable external circumstances, that is, peace, for the great work to be performed at home on the economic and social fronts.

213. According to Article 4 of the Charter, membership in the United Nations is open to all peace-loving States which accept the obligations contained in the present Charter and which, in the judgement of the Organization, are able and willing to carry out those obligations. The Socialist Republic of Viet Nam has expressed its acceptance of the obligations of the Charter. To say that that country is peace-loving must be an understatement in view of what it has gone through during its recent history, that of an especially cruel and savage war. The only condition for admission then remains, in the words of the Charter, "the judgement of the Organization". There can be no doubt that the Organization—the overwhelming majority of its members—is for the membership of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam.

214. As well as in last year's General Assembly resolution 3366 (XXX), this wish of the vast majority of the Member States was reflected in the Political Declaration of the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, which called upon the Security Council to give prompt and positive consideration to the application of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam for admission. This stand was reaffirmed in the declaration of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Countries of 8 September 1976 [S/12198, annex]. Moreover, the general debate at the present session of the General Assembly has proved beyond the slightest shadow of doubt that the Member States are for the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. We now need only the recommendation of the Security Council.

215. We strongly hope that those members of the Council which, by virtue of the Charter, have special

responsibilities and which therefore enjoy certain privileges in the Organization will act according to their responsibilities and not misuse their privileges concerning the admission of new members.

216. Finally, allow me as the representative of a socialist country to make a few more remarks in concluding my short statement. We are of course glad to have before us the request for admission of another socialist country. But among socialist countries, Viet Nam has a special place in the minds and hearts of the Hungarian people. Its cause has always been ours and the solidarity and sympathy of our people with the heroic people of Viet Nam have forged the closest friendship between our two countries. These close relations and the knowledge of the Government and the people of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam have convinced us that this request for admission meets all the conditions set out in the Charter. Those are the reasons for which my Government joins those demanding the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to the United Nations.

217. We hope that the Council will consider this case on its merits and recommend to the General Assembly the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. Such a decision would be in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and the wishes of the majority of the Members, would enhance the prestige of the Council and would serve well the general interests of the Organization. This step would at the same time be a further contribution by the United Nations to the attainment of the purposes of the Charter and to peace in general.

The meeting rose at 6.45 p.m.

Notes

¹ A/10217, Political Declaration and Strategy to Strengthen International Peace and Security and to Intensify Solidarity and Mutual Assistance among Non-Aligned Countries, para. 22.

² A/31/197, annex I, para. 101.

³ A/31/110, annex.

⁴ United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 935, No. 13295, p. 2.

⁵ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-first Session, Plenary Meetings*, 11th meeting, paras. 41 and 42.

⁶ *Ibid.*, *Thirty-first Session, Supplement No. 1A (A/31/1/Add.1)*, p. 3.