

# United Nations GENERAL ASSEMBLY

THIRTY-FIRST SESSION

Official Records



17th  
PLENARY MEETING

Tuesday, 5 October 1976,  
at 10.45 a.m.

NEW YORK

## CONTENTS

### Agenda item 9:

General debate ( <i>continued</i> )	
Speech by Mr. Motee'a (Democratic Yemen) . . . . .	305
Speech by Mr. Chiao Kuan-hua (China) . . . . .	306
Speech by Mr. Crosland (United Kingdom) . . . . .	310
Speech by Mr. Sipraseuth (Lao People's Democratic Republic) . . . . .	313

**President:** Mr. Hamilton Shirley AMERASINGHE  
(Sri Lanka).

## AGENDA ITEM 9

### General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. MOTEE'A (Democratic Yemen) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Mr. President, it gives me great pleasure to congratulate you upon your unanimous election to the presidency of the thirty-first session of the General Assembly. I am confident that, as an eminent representative of a friendly Asian country, you will greatly contribute to the success of this session of the General Assembly, because of your wide experience and dedication to the United Nations.

2. I should like also to express my appreciation to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Waldheim, for his untiring efforts in the search for a more effective role for our Organization in its efforts to achieve international peace and harmony.

3. At the outset of almost every session of the General Assembly of the United Nations history registers new victories for the peoples of the world—victories against colonialism and imperialism in all their manifestations. The admission of an increasing number of independent States to the United Nations is symbolic of the progressive changes that have taken place and are still taking place in the international arena since the establishment of the United Nations. We were greatly looking forward to the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and Angola as Members of our Organization this year, and this hope could have been realized had it not been for the United States vetoes, which were not based on any logical justification. On this occasion we should like to welcome Seychelles to the United Nations.

4. The struggle of peoples for political independence has given the United Nations its universal character by increasing its membership; but that struggle has, at the same time, brought about new challenges, because independence from the colonial yoke is not an end in itself. The aim for which

millions have sacrificed their lives has always been and still remains human progress, human dignity and human freedom. The achievement of those noble objectives for which people are striving is hindered by some economic, social and even cultural problems and by the manifestations of neo-colonialism, which constitutes a real obstacle to genuine independence. The inequitable international economic relations and the undemocratic patterns of existing relations among States in which the sovereignty of the small nations is not respected and attempts are made to impose colonial values and cultures on those peoples are all clear signs of the dangers of neo-colonialism to the existing international situation.

5. Despite certain developments here and there, and particularly in the Middle East, traditional colonialism is fading away and the system of *apartheid* is being violently shaken in southern Africa, while zionism has been internationally condemned as yet another racist and exclusivist ideology. Since the great victories achieved by the peoples of Viet Nam, Cambodia and Laos, international imperialism has resorted to a new system—one which assigns the role of combating national liberation movements and progressive forces to local subimperialist Powers, which have jointly undertaken the task of consolidating its influence and domination.

6. In our part of the world a national liberation movement, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman, has been struggling for genuine independence and national sovereignty since 1965. Today, it is not only facing an expatriate army and a host of international mercenaries in the pay of the Sultan but also the military intervention of a neighbouring State, which is acting as a military gendarme in our area. The People's Democratic Republic of Yemen strongly condemns all military intervention in Oman and reiterates its firm support for the just struggle of the Omani people against foreign intervention and for self-determination—a principle which we unequivocally uphold, whether it be in Oman or elsewhere in the world.

7. In the Middle East, too, the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO] is being subjected to an unprecedented military and political assault. While expressing our increasing concern over those regrettable developments, we strongly condemn all actions designed to stifle, weaken or circumvent the political and military integrity of the PLO—for the liquidation of the PLO would be tantamount to the liquidation of the Palestinian cause as a whole. Without a strong and viable PLO any solution to the Palestine question is simply inconceivable. The warm welcome shown by the Governments of the United States and Israel to the realization of the murderous plans to annihilate the Palestinians and the progressive Arab forces is living proof of the extent of the conspiracies that aim at the

liquidation of the Palestinian people and their just cause together with that of the entire Arab liberation forces. History will record that the unfolding tragedy in Lebanon has only bred more violence and instability, not peace.

8. If the Palestine problem is the core of what is called the Middle East conflict, the PLO is the sole legitimate leadership of the Palestinian people. Without the satisfaction of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people, including its right to establish an independent secular State in Palestine, peace will be elusive. But without the consolidation of the PLO genuine peace will be unattainable.

9. The recent Israeli plan for a peaceful solution of the conflict, proposed by its Foreign Minister, is indeed a mockery, when unremittingly new colonial settlements are established in the occupied territories and when the corner-stone of the Israeli policies is the increase of its immigrant population and the displacement and dispossession of the Palestinian people. Now, more than ever, it is clear that no solutions or resolutions can force Israel to withdraw from all the occupied Arab territories; neither will the national rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination and statehood be implemented unless they are backed by force. For what has been taken by force can be retrieved only by force.

10. In southern Africa, the long and arduous struggle of the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and Azania is beginning to bear fruit. The minority rebel régime in Rhodesia is staggering; Namibia is on the verge of drastic changes; and the *apartheid* régime in South Africa is profoundly shaken by popular revolt. No pacifying moves or delaying tactics can deprive the African peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and Azania of the attainment of their final goals. We salute their struggle and call for their unreserved international support.

11. At long last, the African continent is ridding itself of the yoke of colonialism. In two areas, however, the process of decolonization should not be delayed. We call upon France to respect the national unity of the Comoros and to return the island of Mayotte. In East Africa, we look forward to the earliest independence of the territory of Djibouti, and call for the removal of all military bases or installations from that territory.

12. In Korea, we call for the unconditional withdrawal of all foreign troops from South Korea, so that unity can be achieved by peaceful means and a unified Korea may be admitted to the United Nations.

13. And in Cyprus, too, we call for the withdrawal of all foreign troops and bases and for the full respect of its sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence.

14. In the Latin American continent, we salute the Cuban revolution, which is proving to the world that a small nation can resist all sorts of imperialist pressure and economic blackmail, thanks to the determination of the Cuban people and its leadership. We fully support the struggle of the people of Puerto Rico for self-determination and national independence. We also support the just demands of the people of Panama to assert their sovereignty over the Panama Canal. In Chile, we strongly

condemn the Fascist junta, which is not only suppressing the heroic Chilean people but is extending its terrorism beyond its borders.

15. At the outset of the fourth decade of the United Nations, we are faced with new problems and issues, such as the new international economic order, the law of the sea, and organized State terrorism on an international level. But some of the old problems still remain with us. Although the imminent danger of large-scale war has subsided, partly because of the policy of détente, the arms race and its qualitative destructive capacity is ever-increasing. Almost simultaneously, the gap between the developed and the developing countries is widening, thus creating an imbalanced international growth, which in itself is not conducive to peace and stability. It is in this sense that the new international economic order is seen as yet another necessary condition for international security and harmony. For, without collective economic security, international peace is illusive. The new international economic order, whose guidelines were laid down by the sixth and seventh special sessions, is not only intended to redress the economic grievances of the developing nations; it is primarily an important condition for genuine international co-operation and peace.

16. The maintenance and promotion of international peace and security is a prerequisite for progress and prosperity. Permanent peace cannot be realized through a state of no war accompanied by temporary tranquillity and stability; it can be realized only when it is established on principles of justice and equality. We notice with satisfaction the easing of tension in some parts of the world; yet the continuation of foreign occupation and imperialist aggression in other parts, the arms race and the economic imbalance pose a threat to international peace and security.

17. The People's Democratic Republic of Yemen supports all measures to curb the spiralling arms race. The declaration of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace [*resolution 2832 (XXVI)*] should guarantee the security, sovereignty and independence of both the coastal and land-locked States and the reduction of huge expenditures on arms by the States of the area, thus releasing those amounts for the purpose of their economic and social development. The security of the coastal and land-locked States in the Indian Ocean is not only endangered by the establishment of foreign aggressive military bases, such as the base in Diego García, but also by the expansionist ambitions of certain States in the area through their direct military interventions in the affairs of the others.

18. The role of the United Nations in preserving international peace and security is indispensable. That role can be enhanced only when the Charter of the United Nations, its principles and its purposes are fully respected and when its resolutions are implemented. Before we set to review the Charter, we should ask how its principles and purposes are being observed by Member States.

19. Democratic Yemen once again reaffirms its firm support for the United Nations and its commitment to its ideals and purposes.

20. Mr. CHIAO Kuan-hua (China) (*translation from Chinese*): We, the delegation of the People's Republic of China,

have come to attend the present session of the United Nations General Assembly today at a time of immense grief for the people of all nationalities in China. Chairman Mao Tsetung, the most esteemed and beloved great leader and teacher of the Chinese people, passed away on 9 September. The passing of Chairman Mao Tsetung is a loss beyond measure to the 800 million Chinese people. But for Chairman Mao, there would have been no victory of the Chinese revolution. But for Chairman Mao, there would have been no new China of today. Without the victory of the Chinese revolution under the leadership of Chairman Mao, the world would not have changed so vastly as it has. The extremely sorrow-stricken Chinese people are determined to turn grief into strength, to carry out Chairman Mao's behests and to carry through to the end the cause of the proletarian revolution in China which Chairman Mao pioneered. The Chinese people's revolutionary cause has worthy successors. Chairman Mao Tsetung has left us forever, but the magnificent contributions he made in revolutionary theory and practice are immortal. The radiance of Mao Tsetung thought will always illuminate our road of advance.

21. Here I wish to express once again, on behalf of the Chinese Government and people, our deep gratitude to the representatives of many countries who have at various meetings of the United Nations tendered condolences on the passing away of Chairman Mao Tsetung.

22. Chairman Mao Tsetung drew a whole series of profound conclusions from the contemporary international situation. The complete correctness of these conclusions is being more and more corroborated by the developing situation.

23. Back in the early 1960s, Chairman Mao Tsetung vividly portrayed the contemporary world situation in these verses:

"The Four Seas are rising, clouds and waters raging,  
The Five Continents are rocking, wind and thunder  
roaring."

The world situation has been in a state of great turmoil. All the political forces in the world have undergone drastic division and realignment as a result of prolonged contests of strength and struggles. On the one hand, there is the rise of the third world; on the other hand, there is the rivalry for hegemony between the two super-Powers—the Soviet Union and the United States. Countries want independence, nations want liberation, and the people want revolution—this has become an irresistible trend of history. Looking around the globe, one cannot find a single place of tranquillity. "The wind sweeping through the tower heralds a rising storm in the mountains." The factors for both revolution and war are increasing. As Chairman Mao Tsetung pointed out, the current international situation is characterized by great disorder under heaven, and it is excellent: this great disorder is a good thing, and not a bad thing, for the people. It throws the enemies into disarray and divides them, while awakening and tempering the people, thus pushing the international situation to develop further in a direction favourable to the people and unfavourable to imperialism and social-imperialism.

24. Making a penetrating analysis of all the basic contradictions of our time and the division and realignment of all the political forces in the world, Chairman Mao Tsetung advanced his great strategic concept of the three worlds. He pointed out that the United States and the Soviet Union make up the first world; the developing countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America and elsewhere constitute the third world; and in between the two is the second world composed of Europe, Japan, Canada and other countries. Lenin once said: "Imperialism is the progressing oppression of the nations of the world by a handful of great Powers; it is an epoch of wars among these Powers for the extension and consolidation of national oppression." At present, the Soviet Union and the United States, the two super-Powers constituting the first world, are the biggest international oppressors and exploiters of our time and they are the sources of a new world war. While the developed countries of the second world oppress and exploit third-world countries, they themselves are at the same time subjected to super-Power oppression, exploitation, control or threats. The numerous third-world countries are most heavily oppressed and exploited by colonialism and imperialism; they are the main force in the fight against imperialism, and particularly against super-Power hegemonism.

25. Chairman Mao Tsetung pointed out: "Who are our enemies? Who are our friends? This is a question of the first importance for the revolution."<sup>1</sup> Chairman Mao's concept of the three worlds provides orientation for the workers and oppressed nations and oppressed peoples of the world in their fight in the realm of international class struggle.

26. In the past year, the struggle against colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism waged by the people of the third-world countries has made great progress, though it suffered temporary setbacks in individual places. These people have further awakened and have strengthened their unity in struggle. The heroic people of Egypt, unable to bear social-imperialist bullying and oppression any longer, resolutely abrogated the Egyptian-Soviet treaty. The Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries withstood outside pressure and maintained the position of opposing imperialism, and particularly super-Power hegemonism. The people of Asia, Africa and Latin America have come to see more and more clearly the true colours of social-imperialism. The great African people are now launching an offensive on barbarous racism, and the handful of colonialists have been cornered in southern Africa. The situation there is complicated owing to the meddling of the two super-Powers. But the long-tempered African people are clear-headed. They do not believe the nice words of imperialism and social-imperialism, nor are they intimidated by their bluster. They will surely win their liberation by relying on their own armed struggle, strengthening their unity and persisting in this course. Chairman Mao Tsetung said:

"The evil system of colonialism and imperialism arose and thrived with the enslavement of Negroes and the trade in Negroes, and it will surely come to its end with the complete emancipation of the black people."

The future of Africa is infinitely bright.

<sup>1</sup> See *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung* (Peking, Foreign Languages Press, 1960), p. 12.

27. Strategically, Europe is the focus of contention between the Soviet Union and the United States for world hegemony. The so-called "European Security Conference" was in fact a "European Insecurity Conference". There are always some people in the West who want to urge social-imperialism eastward and divert this peril towards China, thinking it best if all is quiet in the West. The "European Security Conference" reflected such a Munich line of thinking. After the Conference concluded last year, these people thought that henceforth there would be peace and tranquillity in Europe. But since that Conference, the military threat posed by the Soviet Union against Western Europe and its political subversion there have been on the increase, and Europe is not more secure, but in greater danger. The desire of the European people for peace is understandable. But the Soviet Union has played up the "European Security Conference" with ulterior motives. It attempts thereby to put Western Europe off guard, divide and crush it piecemeal and ultimately seize the whole of Western Europe. The fact that strategically Europe is the focus of contention between the two hegemonic Powers, the Soviet Union and the United States, is determined by their fundamental interests. Some people take the lead in appeasing and making concessions to the expansionists, attempting to shift this strategic focus by recognizing their sphere of influence and giving them small favours. But such an attempt cannot be realized. The continued pursuit of such a policy will result in lifting a rock only to drop it on one's own feet. Forces opposing appeasement are now rising in the West. The unity of the West European countries has made new progress. We support the unity of Western Europe and wish to see Western Europe grow strong.

28. The rivalry between the two super-Powers, the Soviet Union and the United States, extends to all parts of the globe. The United States has vested interests to protect around the world, and the Soviet Union seeks expansion. This state of affairs is unalterable. In this world-wide rivalry, the expansionist activities of the Soviet Union are all-pervasive. A Soviet leader has openly declared that there is no corner of the earth that is not taken into account by them. Now more and more people have come to realize that the so-called "irreversible process of détente" constantly peddled by Soviet social-imperialism is but a fraudulent and hollow phase; every day it talks "peace" but practises expansion; every day it talks "disarmament" but practises arms expansion. Soviet social-imperialism is the biggest peace swindler and the most dangerous source of war today. The continued fierce rivalry between the two super-Powers is bound to lead to war some day. This is independent of man's will. The so-called "balance of power" is only a temporary, superficial and even deceptive thing. It cannot be relied upon to maintain peace. As Chairman Mao Tsetung pointed out, in an era when classes exist, war is a phenomenon between two periods of peace. The danger of a new world war is visibly growing, and the people of all countries must get prepared.

29. There is now a strange phenomenon in the world. Some people are terrified at the mention of the Soviet Union, thinking that it cannot be touched. This is superstition. Soviet social-imperialism is nothing to be afraid of. It is outwardly strong but inwardly weak. Alienated from the people, it is essentially feeble. It faces economic difficulties

and ever-sharpening class contradictions and contradictions among its nationalities. Carrying out expansion everywhere and committing all sorts of evils, it has affronted the people of the East European countries and of the world. Its offensive posture bears the seed of defeat. Chairman Mao Tsetung pointed out long ago: "All reactionaries are paper tigers."<sup>2</sup> "The revisionist Soviet Union is a paper tiger too." All the countries that are subjected to super-Power aggression, subversion, interference, control or threat should unite and wage a tit-for-tat struggle against it. "The people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history." The destiny of mankind is definitely not to be decided by any super-Power.

"People of the world, be courageous, dare to fight, defy difficulties and advance wave upon wave. Then the whole world will belong to the people. Monsters of all kinds shall be destroyed."<sup>3</sup>

30. Following Chairman Mao Tsetung's teachings, the Chinese Government and people firmly and unswervingly support the just struggles of all oppressed nations and oppressed peoples. Now, I would like to state our consistent position on some of the issues to be considered by the current session of the General Assembly.

31. We firmly support the people of Zimbabwe, Namibia and Azania in their just struggle against white racism and for national liberation. We warmly support the relevant resolutions adopted by the recent Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity and the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries [see A/31/197]. We firmly support the people of Zimbabwe in their armed struggle against the Smith white minority régime. We firmly support the people of Namibia in their armed struggle against forcible occupation by the reactionary authorities of South Africa and for national independence. We warmly hail the powerful mass movements of the people of Azania against racial discrimination and *apartheid*. We strongly condemn the Soviet Union for disrupting the unity of the Angolan national liberation movements and carrying out armed intervention in Angola. We are firmly opposed to the rivalry between the two super-Powers in southern Africa, and especially to social-imperialist attempts to seize the opportunity to sow discord and carry out armed intervention while pretending to support the national liberation movements.

32. We firmly support the Palestinian and other Arab peoples in their just struggle for the restoration of their national rights and the recovery of their lost territories and against the rivalry between the super-Powers for hegemony in the Middle East. We sincerely hope that the various political forces in Lebanon, together with the Arab States concerned and the Palestinian people, will set store by the national interests of Lebanon and the militant unity of the Arab countries and find a reasonable solution to their temporary differences through peaceful consultations free from super-Power interference.

33. We firmly maintain that the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus should be respected. We

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 72.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 82.

earnestly hope that the Greek and Turkish communities of Cyprus and the countries directly concerned will guard against super-Power meddling and gradually eliminate their differences through patient consultations on the basis of equality and in the spirit of mutual understanding and mutual accommodation.

34. We firmly support the Korean people in their just struggle for the independent and peaceful reunification of their fatherland. United States aggression and its interference in Korea are the main cause for recurrent tensions in Korea and for the failure to achieve an independent and peaceful reunification. The United Nations Command must be dissolved, and the United States armed forces must be withdrawn from South Korea. The division of Korea must end, and the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea must be realized. This is not to be hindered by any force on earth.

35. We firmly support the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to membership in the United Nations. The United States threat to use the veto is utterly unjustifiable. We firmly support the just struggle carried on by the people of East Timor under the leadership of the Frente Revolucionária Timor Leste Independente [FRETELIN] in defence of the independence and territorial integrity of their country against foreign aggression. We hold that the position of the Association of South-East Asian Nations for the establishment of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality free from interference by foreign Powers should be respected.

36. We firmly support the proposal of the Government of Sri Lanka to declare the Indian Ocean a zone of peace.<sup>4</sup> We firmly support the proposal of the Government of Pakistan to establish a nuclear-free zone in South Asia.<sup>5</sup> We firmly support the solemn statement of the King of Nepal declaring Nepal a zone of peace. We firmly support the reasonable position taken by Bangladesh on the question of sharing the water of the Ganges river.

37. We firmly support the just struggle of the third-world countries for the establishment of the new international economic order. To attain this aim, the third-world countries have, since the sixth special session of the United Nations General Assembly, made many efforts at various international conferences. But owing to obstruction by the super-Powers, these efforts have so far not achieved the progress they ought to have. Facts prove that the super-Powers will never lightly give up their prerogative of exploiting and plundering the developing countries. We approve of dialogue, but first of all one must be strong. The developing countries can wrest back, step by step, positions on the economic front occupied by the super-Powers only if they maintain independence and self-reliance, fully exercise their state sovereignty, take firm hold of their national resources, develop and expand their national economies, consolidate and expand the associations of raw material-producing countries and strengthen their mutual help and co-operation.

38. As for the question of disarmament, our consistent position and views are known to all. The Soviet representative puts forward in this forum every year a sham disarmament proposal of one description or another to achieve a demagogic effect. It is not worth while here to comment on such old stuff in new concoctions.

39. The Chinese Government and people are determined to carry on the cause left behind by Chairman Mao, to adhere to the basic line of our Party and to keep to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and policies in foreign affairs. This has been solemnly declared in the message to the whole party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China, the Council of State of the People's Republic of China and the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and in the memorial speech by Comrade Hua Kuo-feng, First Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Premier of the Council of State, at the mass memorial meeting to mourn our great leader and teacher, Chairman Mao Tsetung. The revolutionary line and policies in foreign affairs laid down for us by Chairman Mao personally are a beacon that has illuminated and will forever illuminate the successful advance of our external work. The Chinese Government will continue unswervingly to implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and policies in foreign affairs, keep the people in mind, place hopes in them, uphold proletarian internationalism, and never seek hegemony or to be a super-Power. We will strengthen our unity with the international proletariat and the oppressed nations and oppressed peoples the world over, our unity with the people of the third-world countries and our unity with all the countries subjected to aggression, subversion, interference, control or bullying by imperialism or social-imperialism so as to form the broadest possible united front against imperialism, and particularly against the hegemonism of the two super-Powers, the Soviet Union and the United States. We consistently maintain that all countries, big and small, should be equal. The affairs of any country should be managed by its own people; world affairs should be managed by all countries in the world. As in the past, we will establish or develop relations with all countries on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence.

40. Chairman Mao Tsetung taught us that "In our international relations, we Chinese people should get rid of great-Power chauvinism resolutely, thoroughly, wholly and completely."<sup>6</sup> We will follow this instruction of Chairman Mao in handling all our foreign relations. China is still a developing socialist country. However great our future achievements in national construction, we will keep firmly in mind Chairman Mao's teaching always to be modest and never become arrogant, not even after a hundred years, and never become cocky, not even after the twenty-first century.

41. China is a vast and richly endowed country with a population of 800 million. Chairman Mao Tsetung taught

<sup>4</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-sixth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 98, document A/8492 and Add.1.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, *Thirtieth Session, Annexes*, agenda items 31, 34-48, 120, 122 and 126, document A/10445, para. 7.

<sup>6</sup> See *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung* (Peking, Foreign Languages Press, 1960), p. 180.

us: "China ought to make a greater contribution to humanity."<sup>6</sup> At present, under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the Chinese people are taking class struggle as the key-link, keeping to the Party's basic line and policies for the entire historical period of socialism, persevering in the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, consolidating the great unity of the people of all nationalities under the leadership of the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance, deepening the struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-ping and repulse the rightist deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts, consolidating and developing the victories of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, combating and preventing revisionism, consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, working hard independently and self-reliantly, to build China into a powerful socialist country, and striving to make a greater contribution to humanity. Following the consistent teachings of Chairman Mao, we are determined to strengthen our preparedness against war, heighten our vigilance and be ready at all times to wipe out any enemy that dares to invade China. We are determined to liberate Taiwan. Under the leadership of the Communist Party of China, we Chinese people are fully confident that we will triumph over domestic and foreign enemies, overcome all difficulties and achieve our objectives.

42. Surveying the whole world, we see that there is great disorder under heaven and that the situation is excellent. The way ahead is tortuous, but the future of mankind is bright. The people of China are ready to join hands with the people of all other countries in our common endeavour.

43. Mr. ROSLAND (United Kingdom): The thirty-first session of the General Assembly is an auspicious occasion for the Commonwealth. It is particularly gratifying to the United Kingdom that the President of this session should be not only a distinguished and long-standing servant of the United Nations but also an outstanding representative of a Commonwealth country. I extend to you, Mr. President, the warm congratulations of my Government on your election. At the same time, I should like to pay my country's tribute to the Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, for his unremitting efforts over the last five years to promote peace and international understanding.

44. I also take pleasure in welcoming here for the first time the Republic of Seychelles, a country whose membership in the United Nations was sponsored by the United Kingdom and by fellow members of the Commonwealth [A/31/L.1 and Add.1 and 2]. I take this opportunity to convey my Government's thanks for the kind words of the President of Seychelles in his address to the Assembly last week [1st meeting].

45. It is self-evident that the British Government's foreign policy should reflect the values of the British people themselves. We in Britain are trying to create a society based on the ideals of morality, equality and justice. The United Kingdom is no less committed to these ideals in its foreign policy.

46. This is a fundamental fact which shapes my Government's attitude to the great challenges facing the international community today: the search for peace; the

establishment of a proper economic balance between developed and developing countries; the promotion of human rights; and the maintenance of the rule of law. It is appropriate that on my first visit to the General Assembly as British Foreign Secretary I should at the outset reaffirm unequivocally my country's commitment to support and sustain the efforts which are being made to meet these challenges.

47. This is also a pledge of support for the United Nations itself. More than ever before, the problems that confront our societies can be effectively tackled only on a regional, or even a global, basis. "Interdependence" is a fashionable word; it is on everybody's lips these days—but rightly so. There is not a nation represented here today that can confidently assure its security and prosperity in isolation. With universal membership as its ultimate goal, with international co-operation and the peaceful settlement of disputes as its ideals; and with its ability to offer the world's nations a forum in which they can discuss their problems freely and openly, the United Nations is uniquely placed to meet the challenges of an interdependent world. That is why today, as over the last 31 years, support for the United Nations is an axiom of British foreign policy.

48. It would be invidious to arrange these challenges according to some neat order of priorities. We need to meet them all if we are to create the better world we seek. The deprivation of human rights is just as offensive to human dignity as economic deprivation. The establishment of the rule of law is inseparable from the establishment of conditions of peace and security.

49. But, this said, the relationship between the developed and developing countries is a matter of particular concern to the international community at the present time. The gap between the rich and the poor countries is not just a matter of economics; it is a moral question which requires a firm and principled stand. The United Kingdom's position was demonstrated when, in July, at a time of severe economic pressures, we exempted one programme, and one programme alone, from the widespread cuts in public expenditure—the overseas aid programme. Within this programme, moreover, it is our policy to put increasing emphasis on the poorer countries; and not just the poorer countries, but the poorest people in those countries. For when we say that we want a fair and rational world economic system in the management of which the developing countries will have their proper share, we mean also that the poor countries of the world should obtain a new deal, which enables them to offer their peoples the prospect of lives no longer dominated by hunger and chronic insufficiency.

50. Now we should not belittle what has already been achieved in the comparatively short time since the seventh special session of the General Assembly last year. The Conference on International Economic Co-operation has now resumed its detailed work in the four critical areas of energy, raw materials, development, and finance; and I hope that this work will culminate in a successful ministerial conference at the end of the year and in a major and positive step forward in the north-south dialogue. The fourth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development in May, for all the initial difficulties

which beset it, also marked a significant stage in this dialogue. Eleven out of 13 resolutions<sup>7</sup> were adopted by consensus and an important programme of work was set in train to which the United Kingdom is determined to contribute positively. There have also been major international monetary reforms to the benefit of the poorer countries. So something, though not enough, has been achieved in the past 12 months.

51. It is especially pleasing to the United Kingdom that the European Community has taken effective action in this field. I welcome the words of the Netherlands Foreign Minister, speaking on behalf of the Community, when he addressed the Assembly last week [7th meeting]. Of particular significance was his reference to an outward-looking Europe. For Britain, an essential justification for the Community's very existence and for our membership of it is that it should play an active and constructive role in the world, so enabling its member States to contribute more effectively to the solution of international problems than if they were acting on their own. The Community has played just such a role in the dialogue between the developed and developing worlds, deploying its collective economic strength to excellent effect. In his speech, Mr. van der Stoep rightly stressed the importance of the Lomé Convention,<sup>8</sup> which grants, as representatives know, preferential access to Community markets to some 50 developing countries and offers a scheme for the stabilization of export earnings for certain raw materials. In recent years, the Community has also steadily improved its generalized scheme of preferences, a scheme which is revised every year and is now of particular benefit to the poorer countries. And, of course, at the Conference on International Economic Co-operation, the Community speaks for all its nine members.

52. The Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea has an important contribution to make to the dialogue between the industrialized and developing nations. The concept of an international authority to administer the mineral resources of the deep sea-bed for the benefit of all mankind is bold and imaginative. Her Majesty's Government has played a full part in attempting to promote general agreement on the structure of the authority, on the régime itself, and on the many other issues which are currently before the Conference. But while—and you know better than anyone, Mr. President—the Conference has made progress on other issues, we are disappointed by the lack of movement on this basic question of the deep sea-bed. At the fifth session, some States seemed to abandon their previous willingness to consider possible compromise solutions. The United Kingdom was not among these. We shall persist in our efforts to find solutions acceptable to all, and we hope that, before the next session of the Conference, other States will also consider carefully how we might achieve consensus.

53. It is a measure of the size of the problem that so much still remains to be done before a proper balance is achieved between the richer and the poorer "amongst the nations": a

balance which is an essential pre-condition of a more civilized international order. I fully understand the impatience in some quarters: it is, after all, literally a matter of life and death for many people that effective remedies be found for poverty and starvation—and found quickly. But the lesson of the past three years is that no one gains from confrontation: our economies are too closely interconnected. The dialogue must continue, because on its successful outcome depends the ability of the poorer countries to secure the real transfer of resources that they so desperately need. What we are searching for, and must seek with sympathy and imagination, is a new relationship based upon justice and a balance of mutual advantage.

54. However, the North-South dialogue is about political as well as economic partnership. This brings me to an area of the world in which we find distilled all the challenges that confront this Organization today. I refer of course, to southern Africa. There the need for international co-operation and peaceful reconciliation is overwhelming if multiracial societies are to be able to live in freedom and prosperity.

55. In Rhodesia, I believe, the acceptance of majority rule by the illegal régime—a turning point the achievement of which is largely due to the skill and energy of the Secretary of State of the United States, Mr. Kissinger—has given us at long last the basis for a peaceful settlement. That, as Mr. Callaghan, my Prime Minister, made clear earlier this year, was the essential first requirement. We must now seize this opportunity to make real progress towards an independent government that will truly represent the peoples of Zimbabwe.

56. Britain will continue to play a constructive role in this. As you will know, I have agreed, in response to the requests of all the parties concerned, to convene a conference to discuss the early formation of an interim government. I am sure you will agree that Mr. Ivor Richard has all the right qualifications to be chairman of that conference. I may add that his knowledge and experience of the United Nations was an important factor in my choice.

57. I emphasize that, while we are ready to help in whatever way is appropriate, we look to the parties concerned—the parties on the spot—to work out for themselves the best means of achieving a rapid transition to independence based firmly on majority rule.

58. All of us hope that the threat to peace and stability which Rhodesia has posed for too many years will soon be at an end. Once the interim government has been established, the justification for the various pressures which have been maintained against the illegal régime should fade away. At that stage there should no longer be any reason for the international isolation of Rhodesia. But until that time comes, it would be right for the international community to continue with the enforcement of economic sanctions. We cannot afford to let the momentum of the present initiative be lost.

59. I hope that when I next have the honour of addressing the Assembly we shall have seen great progress. We all look forward to welcoming a truly independent Zimbabwe into the international community and to giving it our full support and encouragement.

<sup>7</sup> See *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Fourth Session*, vol. I, *Report and Annexes*, (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.76.II.D.10), part one A.

<sup>8</sup> APC-EEC Convention of Lomé, signed on 28 February 1975 at Lomé.



60. In South Africa, the rioting which broke out in Soweto in June and which has since spread widely has revealed—if indeed any such revelation were needed—the strength of black African bitterness against the evils of *apartheid*. Britain has consistently condemned *apartheid*; we condemn it now. The violence and bloodshed in South Africa have shown in the most tragic way that *apartheid* is not only unjust; it will not work. There must, and indeed there will, be change. We have always hoped that such change could take place peacefully. But time is running out. We urge the South African Government to accept the need for a fundamental reappraisal of its racial policies, so that a society can be built in South Africa in which all South Africans, regardless of colour, can live and work in peace, equality and mutual respect.

61. In the past year Namibia has rightly remained the subject of extensive debate, both in the General Assembly and in the Security Council. We were pleased to vote in favour of Security Council resolution 385 (1976) of 30 January. This was a constructive attempt to press on towards the common aim of securing South Africa's withdrawal from its unlawful occupation of the Territory. The United Kingdom has been active in a number of contexts and we have repeatedly made our views clear to South Africa, both in bilateral and in multilateral approaches. We hope that Mr. Kissinger's success in producing movement over Rhodesia will be followed by similar success in producing movement on Namibia. We fully support his efforts and those of the African leaders directly concerned to help to bring Namibia to early self-determination and independence.

62. If our efforts to achieve international co-operation and peaceful reconciliation in southern Africa fail, we face the prospect of a catastrophic conflict that not only will engulf the peoples of the region but could also have serious results for world peace.

63. We hear much about the need for détente, in the aftermath of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. But recent history has given a forcible reminder to us all—and particularly to those, like the Soviet Union, who disparage the present attempts to bring peace to southern Africa—that, in the pursuit of détente, the need for a sense of responsibility is world-wide and not confined to Europe.

64. We cannot limit détente by geography or by subject. More important, if we are to achieve a genuine détente on a world-wide scale, we must all as a first step honour the undertakings which we gave when we pledged ourselves to the United Nations Charter. This requires a high degree of restraint and mutual tolerance between nations. We are a long way yet from bringing these qualities to international life. Nowhere is this need for restraint more necessary and obvious than in the field of arms control. It is crucial that the international community take urgent steps to curtail the proliferation of nuclear and conventional weapons. Lord Goronwy-Roberts, my Minister of State, will set out the British Government's views on disarmament at greater length in the First Committee.

65. The concept of the peaceful settlement of disputes is, of course, far older than that of détente. The United

Nations has from its inception seen continuous attempts to apply it in the Middle East. Yet the unresolved conflict there remains one of the great threats to the peace and prosperity of the world. I endorse everything the Foreign Minister of the Netherlands has said on this subject on behalf of the nine members of the European Community. We urgently want to see negotiations leading to a peace agreement supported and sustained by the world community. It is a tragedy that lack of mutual trust causes both sides to adopt so cautious an approach to negotiation when they both stand to gain so much. Of course no one can guarantee in advance that negotiations will lead to a lasting peace but, unless the opportunity is grasped now, the chances of success will surely diminish as time passes.

66. An enduring settlement must of course be based on compromise; but that compromise must fulfil the basic aspirations of all the parties and leave no underlying grievances to fester and yet again to threaten the peace of the area. On the one hand, the Arabs must accept that Israel is a fact and that its right to exist is not in question. No peace can survive unless the Arab States give Israel formal recognition, within secure, recognized and commonly agreed boundaries, as a permanent feature of the geography and politics of the Middle East.

67. On the other hand, if Israel is to obtain this recognition, it must, in a settlement, put an end to the territorial occupation which it has maintained since the war of 1967. The nine members of the European Community have declared that that is an essential element in a settlement. On behalf of the British Government I underline that need today. A settlement must also provide a place for the Palestinians, whose fate is at the very heart of the Middle East dispute. They regard themselves and are now generally recognized as a people distinct from their Arab neighbours, with their own strong aspirations towards nationhood. One essential element in a settlement will be a land for the Palestinians, not necessarily a sovereign State, but a place where they will be free to look after their own affairs.

68. There are things which both sides can do now to help prepare for the negotiations which must come, and I hope will come soon. Above all, both sides must show restraint: the Israelis, by not seeking to change the situation in the occupied territories; the Arabs, by validating their claims that they really want peace.

69. In the thirty-first year of its existence, the United Nations has come close to its goal of universal membership. The welcoming of new Member States, a feature of past General Assemblies, will become an increasingly rare occurrence as the age of decolonization draws to a close. Universality will not of itself bring greater mutual understanding; the more diverse the membership, the greater the challenge to consensus. The prospect of universal membership therefore obliges us more than ever to ensure that the Organization functions promptly and effectively in the interest of world peace and harmony.

70. There are surely a number of ways in which we can increase the effectiveness of the Organization. I have already mentioned the Conference on the Law of the Sea; a successful conclusion of that Conference would bring a vast



new area of human activity under international regulation and add immeasurably to the Organization's standing. Again, the activities of the United Nations should be more closely harnessed to the promotion of the international rule of law. There are also specific measures that the United Nations could take to tackle international violence. For example, the Foreign Minister of the Federal Republic of Germany has put forward a proposal for a United Nations convention against the taking of hostages [A/31/242]. I strongly support that proposal and hope that other members will do so too.

71. But I want to sound a warning. Sometimes the work of our specialized conferences and agencies is made more difficult by the introduction of divisive political issues into their proceedings. I believe that the huge majority of professionals and experts attending those meetings are becoming more and more concerned at what they regard as unnecessary obstruction of their work. The British Government shares that concern. We want to make the specialist and technical work of the United Nations as effective as we can. In many areas of our shared concern, we cannot afford the luxury of prolonged political debate when the harsh realities of, for example, water shortages, starvation and waste of resources cry out for immediate joint action. Of course the political issues of the day are crucial to us, and must be debated; free debate is the life-blood of this Organization. But at the United Nations we have plenty of opportunities for the political disputes and issues of the day. We have this Assembly and its Committees and we have the Security Council. But we cannot afford to allow those disputes to reduce the effectiveness of specialist international co-operation. If this trend persists, there will be a growing pressure to achieve results outside the United Nations system. And so I appeal to all Members of this Organization to maintain the effectiveness of our work together in the many fields where joint action is in the interest of us all.

72. I also believe that we should identify those areas where our aspirations and standards of conduct are not negotiable and should enjoy the full support of the membership of the United Nations. I refer in particular to the question of human rights. The normative work of the United Nations in drafting instruments has, I think, in general been well done. We already have the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which has been the inspiration of many constitutions and conventions, including the European Convention<sup>9</sup> to which the United Kingdom has long been a party. The year 1976 has now seen the entry into force of the two International Covenants on Human Rights [resolution 2200 A (XXX)]. These give legal force to the rights set out in the Universal Declaration. The United Kingdom's ratification of the Covenants last May reflects the seriousness of its approach. We hope that other States will join us in ratifying and giving full support to the Human Rights Committee, whose task it will be to supervise the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights with vigour and impartiality. But vital though it is, legislation alone cannot of course guarantee human rights. We must all approach this question with frankness, with honesty and, where necessary, with self-criticism. Our task

is to arrest and reverse the present erosion of human rights in the world. We shall not accomplish this if we allow human rights to become, as is too frequently the case today, a playground for political propaganda, hypocrisy and cynicism.

73. Our task is to create a world in which all men can live in peace, prosperity and freedom, guaranteed by the rule of law. This is an ambitious goal and some may despair of ever reaching it. But I believe that if we approach the problems that beset us in a spirit of peaceful reconciliation, co-operation and restraint—and if, above all, we display these qualities in our dealings with one another in this Organization—the task will not appear so daunting and the goal will not prove impossible of achievement.

74. Mr. SIPRASEUTH (Lao People's Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from French*):<sup>10</sup> It is a matter of some honour and satisfaction for me to represent for the first time the Government and the people of the Lao People's Democratic Republic at this thirty-first session of the General Assembly, whose mission is to maintain peace, freedom and justice throughout the world. This United Nations General Assembly is the focal point of the eyes and hopes of the peoples of the world.

75. Above all, on behalf of the Government and people of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, I should like to convey my respectful and sincere greetings to the new President of the General Assembly, Hamilton Shirley Amerasinghe, who has just been unanimously elected—a tribute to his quality as representative of Sri Lanka, which has won world-wide repute by its hosting of the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries. Our delegation is convinced that, with his skill and intelligence and the co-operation of all Member countries, the thirty-first session of the General Assembly will be crowned with considerable success.

76. I should like to extend my warm congratulations to Mr. Gaston Thorn, the outgoing President, who fruitfully discharged his functions during the thirtieth session. I should also like to greet and congratulate Mr. Kurt Waldheim, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, who has unflinchingly accomplished his mission and has ceaselessly lavished his efforts so as to find satisfactory solutions to certain world problems during the past year.

77. I should also like to convey my greetings and to express my affectionate solidarity to all the representatives of all the Member States participating in this Assembly, in particular those of Seychelles, which has just been admitted as a fully fledged Member of the United Nations.

78. At the same time, I am surprised and extremely disappointed at not seeing seated among us at this thirty-first session of the General Assembly the representative of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. In point of fact, the candidacy of that country meets all the conditions set down for States to become Members of the United Nations, for Viet Nam has struggled not only for its own interests but also for those of mankind as a whole.

<sup>9</sup> Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, signed at Rome on 4 November 1950.

<sup>10</sup> Mr. Sipraseuth spoke in Lao. The French version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

79. But, because of the unreasonable obstruction of the representative of the Government of the United States in the Security Council, the delegation of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, which is a true and faithful friend of the movement which struggles for peace, independence, freedom and social progress—and it is for this reason that this country was formally accepted at the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, where its representatives received a triumphant and solemn welcome—has been prevented from being seated among us here. At all events, I am convinced that, with the joint efforts of us all and with the solidarity of the non-aligned countries and of countries which love justice, peace and progress throughout the world, the right of this country to be represented here will undoubtedly be restored. Any manoeuvre designed to oppose its admission as a Member of the United Nations is tantamount to a gross flouting of the dignity and the honour of our great international Organization and damages the goodwill of the representatives of the various countries belonging to the great family of the peoples of the world.

80. On the other hand, certain countries which are waging aggressive war and undermining peace and independence, and which are therefore by no means eligible to participate in this General Assembly of the United Nations, have nevertheless been seated here. Whatever happens, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam will withstand the test and gain even more sympathy and support from countries throughout the world.

81. My delegation would also like to denounce another equally regrettable fact which is due to the United States, namely, that the Security Council did not recommend to the General Assembly the admission to the United Nations of the People's Republic of Angola, which also meets all the conditions laid down.

82. What I just said leads my delegation to request the General Assembly of the United Nations promptly to re-establish the right of Viet Nam and Angola to be admitted to this world Organization.

83. This thirty-first session is opening at a time when the situation in the world has undergone an objective transformation extremely favourable to the movements which are struggling for peace, independence, freedom, democracy and social progress.

84. The world socialist system has more and more become a mainstay for the movements struggling for peace and the revolution of the peoples of the world. That is why the movements of the nations and the countries of the world against imperialism, colonialism—both old and new—exploitation, *apartheid* and injustice in Asia, Africa and Latin America have been continually growing in scope and scoring ever increasing victories. In particular, the movement of the non-aligned countries has become a new force of solidarity and mutual assistance for the countries which have fallen victims to aggression and exploitation of the colonialists and neo-colonialists and constitutes an important factor determining the direction of new relations in the economic, political and cultural fields in today's world. On the basis of their specific interests and encouraged by the movements to which I have referred, the struggle being

waged by the workers and other segments of the population in the capitalist and imperialist countries has also developed and been strengthened. These revolutionary waves have engendered a colossal force which is relentlessly attacking imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and the forces of reaction throughout the world, thus forcing them gradually to fall back and creating conditions favourable to the safeguard of peace, independence, democracy and social progress in the world.

85. On the other hand, imperialism is day by day sinking into the generalized crisis which is going on from one stage to the next without having time to recover. The conflicting interests among countries are becoming daily more acute. Its global strategy has also undergone irrevocable change. In particular, the impressive victories won almost simultaneously by the people of Indo-China—the Lao, Vietnamese and Kampuchean peoples—have convincingly confirmed the development and the invincibility of these revolutionary trends. They have also demonstrated the swift degeneration of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and the forces of reaction, the instruments of imperialism. Thus, we can confirm that the present world is one in which imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism will inevitably crumble, in which the national liberation movements and the peoples which are masters of their fate will undoubtedly be victorious. It is also a time when all nations are engaged in re-establishing and consolidating lasting peace, independence and freedom and a time when imperialism, which used to lay down the law, has come to an end and when no force will be able to reverse the course of history.

86. As everyone knows, Laos for a century was a foreign colony. In particular, in the last 30 years our Lao nation has had to face day by day a fierce and extremely destructive war of aggression on the part of the imperialists and has suffered losses never before known in its history. However, when the war of aggression was imposed upon it, the Lao people, like any other people which loves peace, independence and liberty in the world, was in duty bound to pursue the struggle to preserve its national existence. The 3-million-strong Lao population rose as one under the capable leadership of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party and valiantly undertook a just struggle against the war of imperialist aggression. Despite the vicissitudes of this 30-year struggle, which involved tremendous sacrifices, the Lao people finally scored striking victories.

87. The Vientiane agreement of 21 February 1973<sup>11</sup> put an end to the destructive war of aggression of the American imperialists and returned peace to our country. The Lao people was at last reunited in a single national community and indescribably happy at seeing its beloved homeland rid itself of war and the colonial yoke and become independent and autonomous. Giving expression to the ardent aspirations of our multinational people, the National Congress of the representatives of the people was unanimous in abolishing once and for all the obsolete monarchic régime and establishing the Lao People's Democratic Republic on 2 December 1975, a date which was henceforth to become the glorious national day of our people and make our

<sup>11</sup> Agreement on Restoring Peace and Achieving National Concord in Laos.

country a truly independent, unified and democratic State and our people the true master of our country.

88. This immense victory was scored because of the solidarity of the resolute struggle of our people, because of the proper line of the struggle for national well-being carried out by the Lao People's Revolutionary Party, because of the aid and support of the socialist countries, the peace- and justice-loving peoples of the world, with their progressive organizations, and particularly because of the militant and close solidarity between the Lao, Vietnamese and Kampuchean peoples. In a word, these are the victories of the truth of the times—that is, that, however small and backward a nation may be, if it is able to become united and is determined to struggle under the single and true direction of an authentically revolutionary party and if it receives international assistance and support, it will overcome all enemies, surmount all the greatest difficulties and embark on the path towards a glorious future.

89. We consider that these victories won by our people are not to our credit alone; they are the common victories of the three peoples—the Lao, Vietnamese and Kampuchean peoples—and the victories of the movements struggling to safeguard peace, independence, democracy and social progress throughout the world.

90. On this occasion I should like, on behalf of the Government of the Lao People's Democratic Republic and the Lao people, to express my sincere thanks and gratitude for the close co-operation and disinterested assistance of the fraternal Government and people of Viet Nam and the fraternal Government and people of Kampuchea. My sincere thanks and gratitude go also to the socialist countries, to the peace- and justice-loving countries and peoples, to international organizations and to friends throughout the world represented here, for their valuable moral and material assistance.

91. The creation of the Lao People's Democratic Republic constitutes a major victory of the present age. It marks the downfall of the neo-colonialist policy of the imperialists. Hence, from its very first appearance in the world the new régime has been exposed to many forms of sabotage on the part of imperialism. In less than one year, the imperialists have used Thai reactionaries to maintain a certain number of Lao reactionaries expelled by the Lao people and give them clandestine assistance to infiltrate various parts of the country for the purpose of sowing disorder. What is worse, they have encouraged acts of provocation on the Lao-Thai frontier which are designed to serve as a pretext to bring about the unilateral closing of the frontier in order to create economic and financial difficulties for our land-locked country. However treacherous their manoeuvres have been, they have been constantly and ignominiously thwarted by the Lao people, armed as they are with patriotism and the lofty feeling of being masters of their own destiny. At the present time, the multinational Lao people are, on the one hand, defending their country and, on the other, mobilizing all their physical and moral strength to promote production, improve both material and spiritual living conditions, and heal the deep wounds of war left by the imperialists and the reactionaries; they are mobilizing all their strength to eliminate the vestiges of the former rotten neo-colonialist régime—that is, to eliminate

shortages, unemployment and inflation and to change the old wasteful way of life, based only on foreign aid, into a way of life that is self-sufficient and relies on their own strength.

92. However, we are perfectly aware that we have many difficulties still to face in the future. The under-development bequeathed to us by the former régime is still of great concern to us, but thanks to the correct political line, to the tradition of patriotism which has been brought to the highest level during 30 years of struggle, and to the support and assistance of the peoples of Viet Nam and Kampuchea, of the socialist countries, of the other friendly countries of the world and of the organizations in the United Nations system, all these difficulties will undoubtedly be overcome so that our country can be constantly defended and developed.

93. We are convinced that, however treacherous they may be, the imperialists and the reactionaries will in the final analysis be incapable of turning back the clock of Lao history.

94. In the international sphere, the Lao People's Democratic Republic is in favour of a foreign policy of independence, peace, friendship and non-alignment and would like to maintain and develop good relations and relations of sincere co-operation with all countries, without any discrimination as to their social and political systems, on the basis of respect for independence and sovereignty and non-interference in the internal affairs of any of the parties, and on the basis of equality and mutual interest. We are endeavouring to contribute to the activities of the United Nations and the other international organizations that are striving to strengthen peace and international security. Furthermore, we are co-operating with the non-aligned countries and all the forces pitted against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and struggling for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress.

95. We reaffirm our faith in the principles of the United Nations Charter: namely, to build a new world of peace, national independence, justice, equality, democracy and prosperity for mankind. We denounce and protest firmly against any policy of interference and immoral aggression on the part of imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and *apartheid*.

96. This thirty-first session of the General Assembly has opened at a time when the international situation has been undergoing a positive and correct change, after the glorious victory of the Fifth Conference of non-aligned countries, held in Colombo, which once again demonstrated the growth and increased strength of the non-aligned movement in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, and neo-colonialism, thereby giving a strong impetus to the movements struggling for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress.

97. The glorious, resounding victories won by the Lao, Vietnamese and Kampuchean peoples, by the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau and other peoples in Africa against the Portuguese colonial régime, together with all the victories won by the peoples of Asia and Latin

America, mark the final downfall of colonialism. At the same time, we are still wedded to our resolute support for the struggle for independence and justice waged by the peoples of southern Africa, and particularly those of Namibia and Zimbabwe, against racial discrimination, a struggle that will be crowned by brilliant victories that will be harbingers of freedom, independence and true sovereignty for these peoples and will spell the end of *apartheid*.

98. In the international sphere, Indo-China is the most prominent region of the world because the victories of its peoples have proved to the world that a people that is determined to struggle for national independence and freedom and that has a proper political line and enjoys the assistance and support of friendly countries throughout the world is capable of vanquishing the imperialist aggressors, even the most powerful ones. This struggle of the Lao people has tellingly proved that truth.

99. Our people expresses its warmest greetings to the heroic people of Viet Nam for its striking, historic victory in its struggle against the imperialist aggressors and for its complete liberation of its country, thus successfully completing the reunification of Viet Nam and establishing the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. We give our full and firm support to the admission of that country to the United Nations.

100. We warmly acclaim the striking victory of the people of Kampuchea in its struggle against the imperialist aggressors and sincerely congratulate that people on the creation of the State of Democratic Kampuchea.

101. Those victories won by Viet Nam and Kampuchea all serve as considerable encouragements and good examples for the peoples struggling for freedom and national independence.

102. We energetically denounce all the acts of provocation and savage repression which have been perpetrated by the American imperialists and the puppets of Park Chung Hee against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and against the people of South Korea. We support the peaceful and independent reunification of Korea; that is why we call for the implementation of the General Assembly resolution on the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

103. We denounce the dictatorship in Chile and demand that Pinochet put an immediate end to acts of repression against Chilean patriots, and that political prisoners, particularly Mr. Luis Corvalán, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Chile, be freed. We also demand that the United States reinstate the right of ownership of the people of Panama over the Canal, and make freedom and democracy a practical reality within the Organization of American States.

104. We demand that expansionist Israel abide by United Nations resolutions by withdrawing from the Arab territories occupied in 1967 and ensure the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination, independence and sovereignty.

105. We condemn the *apartheid* régime in South Africa, which is now savagely persecuting the African people, and we protest against the imperialists, who, in collusion with the *apartheid* South African régime, are seeking to delay the granting of autonomy to the peoples of South Africa.

106. We also strongly protest against the installation of the Diego García base in the Indian Ocean by the United States imperialists, because we wish to transform that region into a zone of genuine peace and security.

107. My country's policy towards the countries of South-East Asia is one of establishing good neighbourly relations based on mutual respect for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, equality and mutual interests of those countries. As far as Thailand is concerned, we are endeavouring to maintain relations of good neighbourliness, and we support the struggle of the Thai people to turn the Kingdom of Thailand into a peaceful, independent and neutral country. However, we are against the American imperialists, who, in collusion with Thai reactionaries, are maintaining their military bases in a new guise, thus threatening peace in that part of the world.

108. We are convinced that the victory of the peoples of Laos, Viet Nam and Kampuchea over the aggression by the imperialists, and the joint victories won by revolutionary movements throughout the world have wrought a change in the world situation, a change that will be of great benefit to the struggle for peace, independence, democracy and social progress. We believe that this movement has weakened and, in fact, paralysed the capacity of the imperialist and reactionary forces to wage a war of aggression as they did in the past against other countries. That is why the struggle for peace and détente throughout the world is daily becoming more and more solidly founded and is creating favourable conditions for disarmament.

109. We note that a new international economic order which is both just and mutually advantageous to all countries is an objective necessity, one which would aid the various countries in the world to safeguard their independence and their right to be masters of their own destiny, both in the political and economic fields. This need is, at the same time, a prerequisite for good international co-operation.

110. Finally, on behalf of the Government of the Lao People's Democratic Republic and the Lao people, I wish to convey my sincere thanks to the countries and international organizations that have given us constant support and assistance. I hope that they will continue to give us the same support and assistance in order to make it possible for us to heal the wounds which we suffered from the war in our country and to construct the base for our national economy.

111. My delegation wishes the thirty-first session of the General Assembly every success.

*The meeting rose at 12.35 p.m.*