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President: Mr. Lazar MOJSOV (Yugoslavia).

AGENDA ITEM 25

**Admission of new Members to the United Nations
(concluded)**

1. The PRESIDENT: This afternoon we shall continue to hear statements of welcome to the two new States Members of the United Nations—the Republic of Djibouti and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam.

2. Mr. BEKELE (Ethiopia): Mr. President, pending the formal felicitations to you of the leader of the Ethiopian delegation, I take this opportunity to extend to you our warm and sincere congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the thirty-second session of the General Assembly.

3. We should also like to take this opportunity to commend your predecessor, the representative of Sri Lanka, Ambassador Amerasinghe, for presiding successfully over the thirty-first session.

4. The admission of new Members to the United Nations is always a happy occasion, but today the Ethiopian delegation is especially gratified to welcome the Republic of Djibouti and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to this ever expanding community of nations.

5. Djibouti's admission to the United Nations today is the climax of a long struggle waged by its people to which, it may be recalled, Ethiopia contributed its modest share. The role played by the Organization of African Unity [OAU], the United Nations and the non-aligned movement in the decolonization process of Djibouti is particularly noteworthy.

6. Ethiopia's support for the Republic of Djibouti springs from its firm commitment to the cardinal principles enshrined in the respective charters of the United Nations and OAU.

7. The Ethiopian delegation is equally pleased to note that the long-awaited admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to the United Nations marks a great step towards fulfilment of the principle of universality of the United Nations.

8. On this happy occasion, therefore, the Ethiopian delegation extends its warmest congratulations to the delegations of both the Republic of Djibouti and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and assures them of its brotherly and close co-operation in the United Nations.

9. Mr. AZZOUT (Algeria) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, the head of the Algerian delegation to the thirty-second session of the General Assembly will have an opportunity to present to you in due course his congratulations on your election to the presidency of this session. Nevertheless I should like right now to tell you how happy the Algerian delegation is to see the representative of a non-aligned and friendly country occupying your responsible office.

10. The thirty-second session could not, indeed, take place under better auspices. Our work is commencing with the admission to membership in the United Nations of the Republic of Djibouti and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. May I, on behalf of the Algerian delegation, convey our brotherly congratulations to these two countries and our wishes for the prosperity, well-being and happiness of their peoples.

11. With the admission of these two countries the United Nations has taken a decisive step towards universality. Our Organization is entitled to take every credit for the future progress achieved in the process of decolonization marked by the accession of Djibouti to independence and its presence among us today. By its determined and persevering actions the United Nations has, through laudable efforts and despite the numerous obstacles of which we are all aware, succeeded in enabling those peoples under colonial domination fully to enjoy their right to self-determination. Nevertheless the process of decolonization remains incomplete because there are still peoples struggling heroically to exercise their right to self-determination and national independence, particularly on the African continent and in the Middle East. I should therefore like here and now to tell the representatives of the Republic of Djibouti that they can rely on the co-operation of the Algerian delegation within this Organization.

12. To the delegation of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam I take great pleasure in once again saying how pleased we are that it is at long last occupying its rightful seat in this Organization. Even before it took its place among us the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam had already been recognized by the non-aligned countries as one of their number, and thus it has already participated as a fully fledged member in a number of conferences held by the non-aligned countries. Its admission today to the United Nations provides us with an additional reason for expressing our satisfaction and our pride, particularly since we should

like to regard this as the end of an era marked by the tragic sufferings undergone by the heroic people of Viet Nam. This people, which has reforged its national unity, has now agreed to turn a grievous page in its history and has with courage and determination embarked upon the task of rebuilding its country. In this task it is entitled to expect effective assistance from the international community. Algeria, which never stinted its support for the Vietnamese people in its struggle against colonialism and imperialism, has not failed to show its solidarity with that people, which is now bending its efforts resolutely to the immense task of rebuilding its country devastated by so many years of war.

13. I should like finally to assure the Vietnamese delegation that it will receive from the Algerian delegation to the United Nations collaboration equal to that which characterizes the relations among the countries within the non-aligned movement.

14. Thus Algeria is particularly happy that the Republic of Djibouti and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam have finally found their rightful place among the nations represented here. Djibouti, which is an African and Arab country, and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, which is an Asian country, both being non-aligned countries, will make a generous contribution in our Organization to the ideals of justice, peace and brotherhood.

15. Mr. ALARCON (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Although later the chairman of our delegation will no doubt congratulate you, Sir, on your election as President of this session of the General Assembly, I should like to avail myself of this opportunity of saying to you how pleased the delegation of Cuba is to see you presiding here. This is because of the brotherly feelings which unite our two peoples and Governments and also because the fraternal relations established with you personally throughout the years have convinced us that under your guidance the General Assembly will be able to achieve important results this year.

16. Similarly, I should like to express the appreciation of our delegation to Mr. Amerasinghe, the Permanent Representative of Sri Lanka, who presided over the work of our Assembly last year and at the resumed session this year with so much dignity and efficiency.

17. I have come to this rostrum to join other delegations which have welcomed the new States which entered the Organization yesterday—the Republic of Djibouti and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. We believe that this is no mere repetition of an important but ritual event of admitting to our midst new sovereign States. We think rather that the presence of those two States has a significance which should not be overlooked.

18. The admission of the Republic of Djibouti marks the climax of an important struggle against colonialism. Another independent State has entered our Organization from a continent where foreign oppression imposed its yoke for centuries and subjected the African peoples to the most abject forms of exploitation. The admission of Djibouti to the international community confirms the irreversible nature of the process of decolonization throughout the world and, so far as Africa is concerned, must lead

to the total emancipation of the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa.

19. Yesterday, in admitting the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam as a Member of the Organization, the General Assembly adopted a decision which will be a milestone in the history of the United Nations.

20. In so doing, the Assembly corrected an unjust situation which was the result of the aggressive and arbitrary policy imposed by the Government of the United States of America. Those who promoted against the people of Viet Nam the cruellest of wars, those who used against them every resource of their powerful arsenals of war, those who razed their cities and villages and rained upon them death, destruction and desolation, those who compelled the people of Viet Nam to pay the highest price for freedom, those who in Indo-China traversed all the roads of crime and infamy, after being defeated militarily tried obdurately to perpetuate their hostility to the Vietnamese people in the diplomatic field. The former United States Administration, in defiance of the opinion of the vast majority of the Members of the Organization, deaf to the clamour of the peoples of the world, ignoring the principles and rules of the Charter, used its power of veto irresponsibly to block the entry of Viet Nam, trying to impose within the United Nations the policy of aggression, harassment, and hostility which North American imperialism had applied against the Vietnamese people for more than two decades.

21. It is a positive fact that finally the Assembly has been able to put an end to the unjustified and intolerable exclusion of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. The decision taken yesterday contributes to strengthening the prestige and authority of the United Nations and therefore deserves unanimous and enthusiastic recognition.

22. But we should commit a grave error were we to confine ourselves to admitting Viet Nam to our Organization and content ourselves with giving a fraternal welcome to its representatives. All of us, every member of the international community—all peace-loving States, all men and women of this planet—owe a great debt to the heroic people of Viet Nam. None in our times is more entitled to be accredited “peace-loving” in the meaning of Article 4 of the Charter. None has, like the Vietnamese, won the right to become a symbol of the struggle of the peoples for independence and freedom. None has done so much for all mankind in such a brief period of history, in so limited a geographical area and at the cost of so many sacrifices as has the Vietnamese people by its unparalleled resistance to imperialist aggression.

23. Over there, on the soil of Viet Nam, on its rubble calcinated by machine guns, in the trenches erected with heroism, we have the noblest monument to the dignity of man. We owe them and must lend them a helping hand, in an impulse of solidarity, in repairing the damages suffered in a brutal war which was waged for all of us.

24. The people of Viet Nam, having won peace, has now embarked upon the building of a Viet Nam 100 times more beautiful than President Ho Chi Minh promised. To its effort of reconstruction the United Nations must contribute, and it must do so fully, effectively and speedily.

My delegation trusts that the General Assembly will soon adopt effective decisions to that end. These must include a demand that the Government of the United States of America comply with its obligations in conformity with the Paris agreements of 1973 and contribute to healing the wounds of war. The United States is bound to do that for legal, political and moral reasons which no rhetorical exercise can make us forget.

25. During its long independence struggle, the Vietnamese people could always rely on the solidarity and sympathy of all peoples of the world. That was an important factor contributing to the defeat of the aggressors. Now, as the reconstruction phase begins, we must maintain international solidarity to accelerate the coming into being of a prosperous socialist Viet Nam. Today the United Nations is more just, more worthy, and more representative of contemporary reality and is in a better position to discharge its mission to maintain international peace and security. We owe our gratitude for this, above all, to those who, by their sacrifices and their deeds, struggled with indomitable determination until final victory.

26. In paying a tribute to their worthy representatives in this Assembly, we wish to reassure them that, in the future as in the past during the war, our peoples will be together in the common struggle for socialism, independence and freedom.

27. Mr. RABETAFIKA (Madagascar) (*interpretation from French*): Sir, the Chairman of the delegation of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar will have occasion to congratulate you on behalf of my Government on your unanimous election as President of the thirty-second session of the General Assembly. But may I, by your leave, because of our long friendship and the relations of co-operation I have been privileged to have with you in this Organization and in the group of non-aligned countries, personally express the great satisfaction, and indeed pride, which we all feel at seeing one of our group back among us presiding over our work. I can assure you at once that our pledge to extend you our diligent co-operation is not merely a routine statement dictated by diplomacy and courtesy, but will be translated into action by our genuine commitment to work with you in the attainment of our common goals.

28. Since we share with our Vietnamese comrades the same ideology and the same concept of the advancement of man through socialist revolution, we naturally became a sponsor of the draft resolution on the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to the United Nations [A/32/L.2 and Add.1].

29. Yet it would be insufficient to say that we discharged that duty by a "simple reflex of solidarity among progressive socialist and non-aligned countries". We have done so because, beyond international recognition of the political identity of a reunified Viet Nam, we see, perhaps more clearly than others, what such an act could add to the prestige and vitality of our Organization.

30. In the course of the various phases of consideration of the candidacy of Viet Nam, in which the delegation of Madagascar participated, advocates and adversaries at least agreed on two points: on the one hand, on the constant

aspiration for the universality of the United Nations and, on the other, on the need to promote ideological pluralism within our Organization. Today, with the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, we have made further progress towards the attainment of these objectives. We should not forget that such progress would not have been possible, however, without abandoning unilateral interpretations and falsifications of the Charter, as well as certain politico-legal quibbles of the sort to which we have unfortunately become accustomed.

31. The fact that our Organization, which is justly proud of its Charter and of its solemn declarations on relations among States, international security and the liberation of peoples, should today unanimously recognize the victory of the Vietnamese people over colonialism, imperialism and foreign occupation and domination fulfils our expectations. The inability of our Organization for a time to exercise its influence and to raise the voice of justice and reason against the arbitrariness of a single State should not make us forget that it is able to survive divergent interests among Member States and to be reconciled to its own principles.

32. For the disciples of President Ho Chi Minh, who were determined to regain their freedom and national independence, the present victory marks a rebirth based on their regaining control over their own destiny, and on the end of exploitation, oppression and humiliation.

33. Beyond the borders of Viet Nam, this victory will have a no less significant impact. Indeed, just as the perseverance in struggle of the Vietnamese nationalists was, is and always will be an example for freedom fighters in Africa, Palestine and elsewhere, the victory won over the American imperialist super-Power constitutes, and will continue to constitute, a source of inspiration for them. The victorious awakening of the Vietnamese gives reason for hope to those who are committed to fight on our behalf and on behalf of the United Nations for the true protection of the principles of universal justice laid down in our Charter.

34. We should therefore enhance the solemnity of this historic meeting by paying unreserved public homage to the invaluable contributions already made by the people of Viet Nam to the defence and promotion of the principles dear to us. It is also fitting to voice the hope that the participation of this new Member in the life of our Organization will be reflected in further advances towards the establishment of a world of freedom, justice and social progress based mainly on the sovereign equality of States.

35. In subscribing to the commitments contained in Article 4 of the Charter and in proclaiming from the outset its will to establish relations of confidence with all peoples without exception the Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam has given sufficient guarantees of its goodwill. We venture to hope that, in return, it will receive the co-operation and unreserved assistance of all Members, unhampered by ulterior motives, particularly of those countries whose obligations cannot be lightly shrugged off precisely because of their responsibility for the trials suffered over three decades by that valiant, courageous people.

36. May I conclude by hailing the presence among us of Nguyen Duy Trinh, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for

Foreign Affairs, who is heading the delegation of Viet Nam. To him and to all the members of his delegation I wish once more to express the fraternal solidarity of the Socialist Revolution of Madagascar.

37. May I also avail myself of this opportunity to reassure the sister delegation of the Republic of Djibouti, which is under the leadership of Mr. Hassan Gouled, the President of the Republic of Djibouti, of my delegation's desire to continue that co-operation which has already proved to be useful within OAU and which will I am sure attain a new dimension in the service of peace and harmony in our region of eastern Africa and the Indian Ocean.

38. The accession of Djibouti to independence and its admission to the United Nations are reasons for satisfaction for all of us. But our satisfaction should not allow us to forget how urgent it is for the international community as a whole zealously to see to it that resolution 1514 (XV) is strictly applied in colonial situations and in their consequences in Namibia, in Zimbabwe, in South Africa, in the Comorian island of Mayotte and on the African continent in general. Such vigilance is only conceivable within the United Nations which, as you yourself have said, remains the most suitable framework for such efforts, despite the multiplicity of initiatives of necessarily limited scope and doubtful sincerity.

39. The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Madagascar for the kind words he addressed to me.

40. Mr. SHEVEL (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): Comrade President, first allow me, on behalf of my delegation, to welcome you, the representative of socialist Yugoslavia, on your election to the lofty post of President of the thirty-second session of the General Assembly of the United Nations and to wish you every success in that responsible task.

41. We are overjoyed that the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam has been admitted to the United Nations. We are deeply satisfied that Socialist Viet Nam has at last managed to exercise its right to occupy its lawful place in the United Nations with the support of practically the entire membership of the United Nations.

42. The Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, whose people has waged an unprecedented and heroic struggle against foreign intruders and their henchmen for their national independence and the unity and the territorial integrity of their country, has won great international authority and the deep respect of peace-loving peoples throughout the world.

43. The steps which have been taken in the international arena since their victory by the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam have clearly shown its desire to base its relations with other countries on the requirements of the United Nations Charter. In fact, the foreign policy of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam has been aimed at consolidating peace and international security, at enhancing international co-operation and at developing relations with all countries on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence, while at the same time renouncing the use of force and strictly respecting the territorial integrity and independence of all States and the principle of non-intervention in their internal

affairs, on the basis of genuine equality and fruitful co-operation among peoples. That policy naturally is fully and completely in accordance with the requirements of the United Nations Charter.

44. The Vietnamese State, with its population numbering 50 million, is playing an ever more prominent part in the international arena. To date, the overwhelming majority of States have embarked on the course of developing normal international relations and practical co-operation with Socialist Viet Nam, which already has diplomatic relations with more than 100 States. With many of them Viet Nam has already arranged for co-operation in the economic, cultural, scientific and technological fields.

45. Viet Nam's consistent policy of reaffirming the principles underlying peaceful coexistence among States with differing social systems has received virtually universal recognition. The Socialist Republic of Viet Nam is an active participant in the non-aligned movement. Its authority and its contribution to the war against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism were recognized in the election of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to membership in the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries.

46. In the days of peace, just as when war raged on its soil, Viet Nam, among the serried ranks of the socialist States and all progressive forces throughout the planet, has been struggling for the triumph of the ideals of peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. It has actively supported the struggle of peoples against imperialist and colonialist repression. In their turn, peoples are being inspired by the example set by Viet Nam in their struggle against all forms of imperialist intervention in their affairs and in favour of the abolition of foreign bases and the withdrawal of foreign troops from their territories.

47. The Soviet Ukraine, its people and all Soviet people, have always stood shoulder to shoulder with the brotherly people of Viet Nam in their heroic struggle and have made their own contribution in giving Viet Nam the necessary assistance in their unique struggle for freedom. Now the country of the Soviets and the countries of socialism are giving the people of Viet Nam comprehensive assistance in overcoming the consequences of aggression and developing their country.

48. There can be no doubt that, in the task of reconstructing its war-torn economy, Viet Nam is entitled to rely on many sources of assistance, but a particular responsibility in this connexion lies with the United States of America. As has frequently been pointed out by the Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, foreign intervention in Viet Nam cost many lives, caused tremendous material loss, destroyed many of the natural resources of the country and damaged the social development of its southern regions. According to the Paris agreements of 1973, the United States undertook to contribute to healing the wounds of war and to assist the post-war reconstruction of Viet Nam. Undoubtedly, that is a commitment which has to be fulfilled.

49. The delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic would like to express its deep satisfaction at the decision to admit Viet Nam to the United Nations and

would like to convey its brotherly congratulations to the delegation of Socialist Viet Nam, which is present at this session.

50. We should also like to avail ourselves of this opportunity to welcome to membership in the United Nations one other sovereign independent State of Africa, the Republic of Djibouti, and sincerely to wish the people of this young State both peace and success in their national development.

51. The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic for the kind words he addressed to me.

52. Mr. HUSSEN (Somalia): Mr. President, while my Minister for Foreign Affairs will, at the appropriate time, discharge the pleasant duty of congratulating you, on my Government's behalf, on your election to the high office of President of the General Assembly, as well as welcoming the new Members in our midst, may I at this stage express my sincere personal congratulations on your well-deserved election to this onerous but honourable responsibility. It is fitting that an eminent representative from the country of Yugoslavia, with which my country entertains close relations, should guide our deliberations during the course of the thirty-second session of this august body. By the same token, I should also like to take this opportunity to express my delegation's appreciation and admiration to the outgoing President, Mr. Amerasinghe of Sri Lanka, a country which now chairs the non-aligned movement, on the outstanding competence and unusual skill with which he conducted the work of the thirty-first session of the General Assembly.

53. It gives me great pleasure also to extend a sincere and warm welcome to the Republic of Djibouti and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam as new Members of our Organization.

54. The admission to membership of the Republic of Djibouti, which has just emerged from a century-old colonial status, constitutes a further step in the irreversible process towards total decolonization and strengthens the faith of all peoples in the principle of the universality of the United Nations through the exercise of the sacred right of peoples to self-determination and independence. The accession to independence of the Republic of Djibouti and its admission to the community of nations is of particular significance to the Government and people of Somalia. My Government extends its full support and co-operation to the fraternal Government and people of the Republic of Djibouti, whose independence and well-being have always been our cherished goals.

55. The arrival in New York of the President of the Republic of Djibouti, Mr. Hassan Gouled Aptidon, for the purpose of addressing this august Assembly on the occasion of his country's admission to our Organization is a clear indication of the faith which his people have in this highest international body. It also indicates their high hopes and expectations from it.

56. It is a great pleasure for me to welcome the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to the Organization. The admission

of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to membership in this Organization is not only well-deserved, but overdue.

57. We congratulate the Vietnamese people on their courage and determination in the long and bitter struggle for their legitimate right to national independence and reunification. My Government has always supported the legitimate struggle of the Vietnamese people, and it pledges full co-operation with them. We are certain that the new Member States will make positive contributions to the work of our Organization.

58. In conclusion, may I express our best wishes to the Governments and peoples of the Republic of Djibouti and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam for a prosperous future.

59. Mr. JAROSZEK (Poland): Mr. President, in due course the Chairman of my delegation will offer you the official congratulations of the Polish Government on your elevation to the most important post in our Organization. At this juncture, I should merely like to join your many well-wishers and friends in saying how happy we are that an eminent representative of friendly socialist Yugoslavia is presiding over the work of the thirty-second session of the General Assembly, and to wish you every success in carrying out your very responsible tasks as President of this Assembly.

60. This year, under the item "Admission of new Members to the United Nations" the General Assembly has performed an act of historical justice. It has effected a long-expected and overdue triumph of political reality, reason and logic. Indeed, the meaning and symbolism of the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to the United Nations far transcends the significance of many political events of recent years. It represents a natural consequence of the historic victory of the Vietnamese people and the unification of Viet Nam.

61. Poland welcomes and greets in our midst the delegation of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam under the chairmanship of Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs, Comrade Nguyen Duy Trinh.

62. The admission of Viet Nam to the United Nations is also a happy event in the history of our Organization. It signifies the victory of the principles for which this Organization stands, especially the principle of universality. A nation has joined us which throughout the years not only endured bravely the hardships of colonialism, neo-colonialism and foreign intervention, but also, in an armed struggle for freedom and justice, revealed a determination to survive and revealed moral values of infinite magnitude. Few are able to appreciate it better than the people of Poland.

63. Like the overwhelming majority of the Members of the United Nations, Poland has resolutely and consistently from the outset supported Viet Nam's application for membership in the United Nations. We never doubted that the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam had always met all the requirements laid down in the Charter for becoming a fully fledged Member of our Organization. Hence, our unreserved sponsorship of all General Assembly resolutions concerning this vital issue, and hence the inclusion of Poland's name

among the sponsors of the draft resolution that, adopted, has finally sanctioned a fact which for far too long had been left awaiting full recognition.

64. Viet Nam's admission to the United Nations comes at a time when the country is engaged in implementing important social and political transformations after the historic victory of the people over foreign intervention and internal forces of reaction.

65. The people and the Government of Poland are following the present efforts of friendly Viet Nam with the same sympathy, and are providing the same material, moral and political support as they, along with other States of the socialist community, did during the years of war and the country's relentless struggle for freedom and independence. With our long-standing role in the supervisory and control commissions for Viet Nam, we also tried to contribute our share to the speeding up of a peaceful and just settlement in accordance with the legitimate interests of the brave people of that country.

66. The present post-war reconstruction of Viet Nam is eloquent testimony to the unfailing vitality of its people and to its desire to live in peace and to co-operate with other nations. Now, when justice has been done to the cause of Viet Nam's membership, another side of that country's plea for justice still remains to be settled. That is why we hope that the entire international community will actively join the assistance programme for the reconstruction and development of Viet Nam. It would also be fair to expect that especially those once involved in Viet Nam's destruction and in the sufferings of the Vietnamese people will live up to their own responsibility for extending adequate assistance to the reconstruction of the war-torn economy of Viet Nam.

67. On this solemn occasion we can only reiterate what we said a year ago: Viet Nam needs the United Nations as much as this Organization needs Viet Nam. To us the growth of a united, peaceful and socialist Viet Nam is also an important factor of stability conducive to a propitious international climate in the whole of South-East Asia.

68. In conveying our sincere congratulations to the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam on its admission to the United Nations, I am confident that in this Organization, too, its presence will have its equally rewarding consequences in many spheres.

69. I should also like to take this opportunity heartily to welcome in this hall the sovereign and independent Republic of Djibouti. The people of Poland followed closely the long and successful struggle of the people of Djibouti for freedom and independence. We wish that people all success in building up their young State and we are ready to continue to expand our friendly relations with Djibouti both bilaterally and multilaterally.

70. Mr. BALETA (Albania) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, I should like first of all to congratulate you on your election as President of the General Assembly. The delegation of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania warmly greets the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to the United Nations. During previous sessions the delegation of Albania on several occasions expressed the

firm conviction that the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam would take its rightful place in the United Nations despite the perfidious and obstructionist manoeuvres of the American imperialists.

71. The Socialist Republic of Viet Nam has earned the right to be represented in our Organization because of the victories won by the valiant Vietnamese people in its heroic armed struggle against the imperialist American aggressors. The successful culmination of those victories was at the same time a heavy defeat inflicted on the intrigues of the Soviet socio-imperialists. In whole-heartedly congratulating the delegation of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam the Albanian delegation should like to avail itself of this opportunity to wish our brothers the people of Viet Nam success in their attempt to protect their victories and for the development and prosperity of the fatherland.

72. The delegation of Albania also welcomes the admission to the United Nations of the Republic of Djibouti. On this occasion we warmly congratulate the representatives of that new Member State. We should also like to avail ourselves of this opportunity to wish the people of the Republic of Djibouti success in its struggle to strengthen and consolidate its national independence and to progress towards the free and independent development of the State.

73. Mr. SOURINHO (Lao People's Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, the warmest congratulations of the Lao delegation will be extended to you by our Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs when he addresses the thirty-second session of the General Assembly in a few days' time on behalf of the Lao People's Democratic Republic. However, since I have the happy privilege of coming to the rostrum today following upon the historic event, which has just taken place, of the admission by acclamation of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, a brother country and an immediate neighbour of my own country, as a fully fledged Member of our Organization, I should like to take the opportunity which has thus been provided to address to you, Mr. President, my sincerest congratulations on your unanimous election to the presidency of the thirty-second session of the General Assembly.

74. Having been witness to your eminent qualities as a statesman and a seasoned diplomat when you represented your country, Yugoslavia, in this Organization in a most distinguished and worthy manner—a country with which my country has excellent relations of friendship and close co-operation—I am certain that the deliberations of the present session of the General Assembly to be held under your enlightened presidency will be crowned with brilliant success.

75. I should like to extend my warmest and most cordial greetings and congratulations to the sister delegation of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam which, under the leadership of Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs, Comrade Nguyen Duy Trinh, has since yesterday taken in this hall its rightful place in the United Nations.

76. I should also like sincerely to welcome and congratulate the delegation of Djibouti, whose country was also admitted to membership in the United Nations.

77. Yesterday we witnessed a historic event. Indeed, the thirty-second session of the General Assembly in its wisdom has carried out an act of justice towards the heroic Vietnamese people by giving it its rightful place in our Organization.

78. This decision without any doubt is for the Vietnamese people the inevitable and truly glorious culmination of its long struggle for national independence, freedom and non-interference. Bearing in mind what occurred within this Organization in the past two years, that is, since Viet Nam first applied for admission to the United Nations, it also constitutes a veritable triumph of justice and law, two elements which have always characterized the victorious struggle of the Vietnamese people, in which the entire world can rightly rejoice.

79. My delegation, like all delegations present here, commends and welcomes this decision which, furthermore, is in accord with the profound aspirations of the overwhelming majority of the members of this Assembly, which were so eloquently embodied in the results of the vote on Assembly resolution 31/21. It will be recalled in that connexion that 124 delegations gave vigorous support to the corresponding draft resolution, which recommended that the Security Council in strict conformity with Article 4 of the Charter of the United Nations should reconsider favourably the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to membership in this Organization.

80. It must also unfortunately be stressed that, despite this strong recommendation on the part of the General Assembly made right at the beginning of the thirty-first session, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, to the disappointment of one and all, was unjustly excluded from the work of that session. That regrettable situation, as we know, was due to the hostile attitude of the Government of the United States, which enjoys the right of veto in the Security Council. And it was only after a great deal of haggling and particularly after changes had occurred in American foreign policy towards Viet Nam that the obstacle to the entry of that country to the United Nations was removed. Thus, the Security Council which met last July to consider once again the request of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam for admission to the United Nations, was able to make the recommendation we have just endorsed.

81. This brief summary of the background facts has not been made in order to revive the disappointments and recriminations which marked the debates during the last two years both in the Security Council and in the General Assembly with regard to the question of the admission of Viet Nam to the United Nations. It was simply intended to demonstrate that the policy of delay, force and *diktat*, which is the essence of the colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism of which the United States is a past master, is not only bound to meet with abject failure but is also a very serious obstacle to the search for positive solutions to the various differences among States.

82. But all this bitterness is part of the past. My delegation is at present inclined to feel somewhat encouraged as a result of the change which has occurred in international relations, particularly as a result of the changes which have

occurred in the South-East Asian region. With the entry of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam into the United Nations a new chapter has been opened in the history of the peoples of that part of the world, peoples who for some time now have suffered from instability and insecurity. Undoubtedly it will provide those peoples with new opportunities for broader understanding and perhaps for closer co-operation based on the principles of respect for independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, equality, non-interference and mutual advantage.

83. Helped on by these changes and on the basis of the principles which I have just mentioned, my country, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, which has never ceased to work since its very creation for peace and stability in South-East Asia and throughout the world, is disposed, as it always has been, to seek with its neighbours near and far in the same region to bring about new forms of co-operation which will contribute to the development and progress of our societies.

84. In thus admitting the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to the United Nations, our General Assembly, as has been stressed, has rendered to the valiant people of Viet Nam a measure of the justice which was due to it. But however sublime this initial decision may be, it cannot contribute to a complete elimination of the deep scars caused by 30 years of devastating war. The atrocious consequences of that long war of imperialist aggression on the life and the economy of the Vietnamese people are immense and inefaceable. The Vietnamese people has paid more dearly than any other people. It has paid a heavy tithe in order to safeguard its liberty, independence and freedom from non-interference—in other words, in order to safeguard those very principles which are so dear to the United Nations and to the international community as a whole.

85. Now more than ever before this people is joining the international community in its efforts to safeguard peace and stability throughout the world. It is, therefore, just that this community should give urgently its substantial assistance in order to enable it to get down to this vast task of national reconstruction which it is now making energetic efforts to undertake. My delegation will give its firm support to any decision taken by the General Assembly or other body of the United Nations to serve these excellent goals.

86. In the same context, my delegation can never sufficiently stress the particular responsibility borne by the United States of America which has caused untold suffering to the Vietnamese people and to the other peoples of Indo-China, and which, according to article 21 of the Paris Agreement¹ has committed itself to giving substantial assistance to Viet Nam to heal the wounds of war. The United States for reasons "of honour, of conscience and of responsibility"—as was very properly emphasized by the Ambassador of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, Comrade Dinh Ba Thi, in a statement which he made on 20 July 1977 before the Security Council²—should not seek to

¹ Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet Nam, signed at Paris on 27 January 1973.

² See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-second Year, 2025th meeting*.

procrastinate or use any pretext to shirk its responsibilities. My delegation would encourage the new Administration of the United States, which, since its installation in power, has made the question of human rights one of the corner-stones of its foreign policy, to make reparations without delay for the violation which previous American Administrations have inflicted on the people of Viet Nam and on the other peoples of Indo-China. Otherwise we run the risk of meeting with the same disappointments as we did before.

87. Finally, I should not like to conclude this statement without congratulating once again very warmly the sister delegation of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and, through it, the brother people of Viet Nam as a whole for the victory which they have won in their struggle on the international scene. We whole-heartedly wish them even more striking victories in their tremendous work of national reconstruction.

88. Mr. GURINOVICH (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): Comrade President, permit me to congratulate you, the representative of Socialist Yugoslavia, on being elected to the post of President of the thirty-second session of the General Assembly of the United Nations and to wish you every success in your work in this very honourable and responsible post.

89. The delegation of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic is very gratified to see that the first decision to be taken at the thirty-second session of the General Assembly shows the growth of the authority of the Organization and the triumph of the principles of justice. The admission of new Members to the United Nations represents an important event both for the new Members and for the Organization, since concrete political expression has been given to the victory of the national liberation struggles of peoples and the ranks of those who advocate détente in international affairs and the strengthening of security and international co-operation are being swelled.

90. Yesterday the United Nations was enlarged by two new Members. The United Nations by acclamation admitted the Republic of Djibouti and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. We warmly welcome and we should like whole-heartedly to congratulate the delegations of those countries.

91. The Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic has constantly favoured the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to the United Nations. Together with other socialist countries, we sought this in the Security Council, and indeed we were sponsors of the General Assembly resolution which condemned the contrived pretexts which prevented the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to United Nations membership and which demanded that a just approach be taken to a decision on this question. The delegation of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic was very pleased to become one of 106 sponsors of the draft resolution which was adopted and in accordance with which the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam became a Member of the United Nations.

92. The admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to United Nations membership is another important milestone in the victorious course of the Vietnamese revolution,

which has brought about the liberation of Viet Nam from the oppression of colonizers, which has led to the expulsion of the imperialist aggressors from the country, which has helped to bring about genuine national independence, state reconstruction, the proclamation of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and also the tremendous success scored by the Vietnamese people in laying the foundations of socialism.

93. Slightly more than two years have passed since war reigned on Vietnamese soil. As the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union wrote in a letter of greeting to the Fourth Congress of the Vietnamese Communist Party:

“The achievements of the Communists and of all Vietnamese patriots will go down in the annals of mankind’s struggle for liberation as one of its brightest pages. It has become an important contribution to strengthening the positions of the forces of peace, democracy, national independence and socialism.”

As a candidate for membership in the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Byelorussia, Mr. P. M. Masherov, said, when talking with the delegation of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, headed by Comrade Chong Tinh, the Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Viet Nam, which was in the Byelorussian SSR in August of this year:

“... the Soviet people regard the victory of the Vietnamese people as an event of historic moment and as a bright page in the struggle for socialism, as well as an illustration of the high value placed upon fraternal solidarity, friendship, mutual understanding and co-operation among the Communist parties of our countries and between both States and peoples.”

94. Now the people of Viet Nam are engaged in peaceful and constructive labour and solving the difficult tasks of reconstructing and developing the economy that has been destroyed by war. We wish the brotherly Vietnamese people the successful accomplishment of those tasks which have been set out at the Fourth Congress of the Vietnamese Communist Party to turn Viet Nam into a flourishing socialist State.

95. The Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, in full accord with the United Nations Charter, is an active protagonist of peace, national independence, democracy and social progress. It is basing its relations with other countries on the principles of peaceful coexistence, equality and mutual advantage. It is demonstrating goodwill and a readiness to solve multilateral and bilateral international problems through sincere negotiations. Viet Nam is entitled to demand that other countries should base their relations with it on the same principles and fulfil their obligations, including the giving of assistance to heal the wounds of war. This, above all, relates to the fulfilment of the Paris Agreement of 1973.

96. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR is firmly convinced that the admission of the Socialist Republic of

Viet Nam to the United Nations is not only yet another illustration of the triumph of the principle of universality but also a considerable contribution to enhancing the effectiveness of the activities and the authority of the United Nations. The Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, a member of the Socialist Commonwealth of States, will make its own worthy contribution towards achieving the noble aims of the United Nations Charter, fighting for a lasting peace and ensuring respect for the right of all peoples to independence, the ideals of freedom, democracy, and economic and social progress.

97. May I assure the delegation of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam that the delegation of the Byelorussian SSR, which has unflaggingly supported the just cause of the Vietnamese people, is prepared to undertake the broadest and most fruitful co-operation possible in our joint activities in the United Nations and in other international organizations.

98. In accordance with our fundamental position of struggling to remove the vestiges of the vicious system of colonialism and to ensure full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the Byelorussian SSR supported the proposal to admit the Republic of Djibouti to the United Nations. I should like to express the hope that the Republic of Djibouti will make its own worthy contribution to United Nations activities in implementation of the goals and principles of its Charter.

99. In welcoming the admission of those new Members, the Byelorussian SSR would also like to express its conviction that the increased United Nations membership will make it possible for the Organization to enhance its role in helping to tackle the most urgent international problems on the basis of a fuller utilization of the means provided it by the Charter.

100. Mr. THUNBORG (Sweden): The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Sweden will, in the course of the general debate, convey to you, Sir, my Government's official congratulations on your election to the presidency of the thirty-second session of the General Assembly. On this occasion, I should like now to congratulate you most warmly on your assumption of this high office and to wish you every success.

101. I should also like to take this opportunity to thank the past President, Mr. Hamilton Shirley Amerasinghe, for his successful work in presiding over the thirty-first session of the General Assembly.

102. On behalf of the Nordic delegations of Denmark, Finland, Iceland and Norway, as well as on behalf of my own delegation, Sweden, I have the pleasure of expressing a heartfelt welcome to the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the Republic of Djibouti as they now enter the United Nations, and we are looking forward to having those two countries as valued Members of our world Organization.

103. With the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the Republic of Djibouti to membership in the United Nations our Organization has taken another important step towards the goal of universality. The entry of the

Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the Republic of Djibouti will strengthen the authority of the world Organization. We are convinced that those two new Members will have important roles to play within the United Nations and for the goals set out in the Charter.

104. The Nordic countries were happy to join in sponsoring draft resolution A/32/L.2 and Add.1 on the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to membership in the United Nations. The people of Viet Nam has captured the admiration of the peoples in the Nordic countries because of its adherence to the ideals of independence and national sovereignty. Its admission to membership in the United Nations signifies the successful conclusion of the struggle for national independence and also serves as definite confirmation of full international recognition of that independence.

105. After many years of suffering and misery, the Vietnamese people can now devote their major efforts to the reconstruction and peaceful development of their society. In that complex undertaking they must also rely upon the support and solidarity of the entire international community and benefit from the fruits of international co-operation and in the international Organization.

106. The Nordic countries have long enjoyed excellent relations with Viet Nam—first, with the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and now with a united Viet Nam, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. Through their delegations to the United Nations we are looking forward to cordial, stimulating and constructive co-operation within the family of the United Nations.

107. Mr. JAIPAL (India): Mr. President, on behalf of my delegation, I wish to convey to you our heartfelt congratulations on your election to the high office of President of the thirty-second General Assembly of the United Nations. Your election, Sir, is indeed a worthy tribute to your great and gallant country, and to its illustrious contributions to the strengthening of the United Nations and of non-alignment. Your own personal qualifications and experience make you eminently suitable for presiding over the deliberations of what promises to be an interesting General Assembly. We feel sure that your diplomatic skill and temperament will guide this Assembly through its many controversies in a manner that avoids polarization or confrontation. For our part, we would assure you of our fullest co-operation in the discharge of your many burdensome responsibilities.

108. May I take this opportunity to place on record my delegation's tribute to the distinguished work of your predecessor, Ambassador Amerasinghe, who has established a memorable example of competence and efficiency, and has also done so much to enhance the prestige of his country at the United Nations. Indeed, both the Asian group of States and the non-aligned group are proud of his contributions and achievements.

109. The delegation of India is happy to join others in welcoming our two new Members, Djibouti and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. It is always a matter of great joy to witness the culmination of the liberation of a people and their entry into the United Nations as a

sovereign Member. This is, as it were, a vindication of the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations and, furthermore, it brings us closer to the ultimate goal of universality of this world Organization.

110. The journey of Djibouti to independence has not been easy, and the people and leaders of Djibouti deserve our congratulations for their statesmanship in bringing their liberation struggle to a peaceful and happy end.

111. The role that the United Nations played in the process of self-determination is noteworthy. Djibouti is close enough to India, geographically and otherwise, to justify our desire to establish and develop fruitful and co-operative relations with it. We look forward indeed to close relations with Djibouti in the United Nations also.

112. The Socialist Republic of Viet Nam belongs to our region in more ways than one. It is not the first time that we have spoken at this forum about the admission of Viet Nam to the United Nations. However, one cannot help recalling the special nature of the Vietnamese people's struggle for national liberation. No other struggle was fought so hard and for so long. Although it was part of the wider global struggle against colonialism, it was something much more. It became identified with deeper issues that went far beyond the national horizons of Viet Nam. All that is, fortunately, behind us now.

113. But the United Nations still has another obligation to fulfil. It has taken upon itself the duty of healing the physical wounds of war and the damage and destruction to Viet Nam's economy. International assistance for the rebuilding of Viet Nam has become a matter of urgent priority. We feel sure that, for its part, Viet Nam will play its rightful role in world affairs as befitting a people on whom the mantle of heroism has fallen more than once. We trust that the admission of Viet Nam to the United Nations will open for its long-suffering people the door to a happier and peaceful future.

114. Mr. N'DONG (Gabon) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, it is a source of great pleasure to me to address to you warm congratulations on your election to the presidency of the General Assembly. Your election is indeed a great tribute paid to your country, which has such excellent relations with my own, and also a tribute to your personal qualities and to your long experience in United Nations affairs. May I assure you, Sir, that in due course, that is, during the general debate, a more authoritative voice than mine will address to you the official congratulations of the delegation of Gabon. My delegation is already gratified at the prospect of working under your enlightened guidance and can already assure you of our full co-operation.

115. I should like also to reiterate my thanks to the outgoing president, Mr. Amerasinghe, who discharged the responsible functions of President of the thirty-first session of the General Assembly with his customary wisdom, competence and tact.

116. As representative of the current President of OAU, His Excellency Omar Bongo, President of the Republic of Gabon, and on behalf of the people of Gabon as a whole, I am pleased to welcome to the United Nations the sister

Republic of Djibouti and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. I should like to take this opportunity to pay a well-deserved tribute to the far-sightedness and wisdom of the leaders of these two countries, who were able to surmount or abolish the many obstacles which barred their way to independence. Undoubtedly, this shows the political maturity of the leaders of those two countries and gives some indication of the sort of contribution which these young Republics will make to the efforts of our Organization in its constant quest for peace.

117. In the case of Djibouti, I should like to address to France my sincere congratulations on their decolonization policy, and also on the noteworthy way in which they were able to guide the Republic of Djibouti in its first steps on the road to independence. We should like to state, on behalf of OAU, how much we appreciate this action.

118. Finally, I am pleased to see that, as the years go by, our Organization draws closer and closer to its goal of universality.

119. I should like to state to the sister delegation of Djibouti that all Member States, great or small, have an important and positive part to play in our Organization. In so doing, the Republic of Djibouti can rely freely on all the African members of our Organization, and on their brotherly and active co-operation.

120. Once again, I should like sincerely to congratulate the delegations of Djibouti and that of Viet Nam on the admission of their respective countries to the United Nations, and to wish them every success in their new responsibilities as Members of the United Nations.

121. The PRESIDENT: It is now my pleasure to invite the President and Head of State of the Republic of Djibouti, His Excellency Mr. Hassan Gouled, to address the General Assembly.

122. Mr. GOULED (President of the Republic of Djibouti) (*interpretation from French*): I give thanks to God the Almighty, merciful and compassionate, for having allowed our people to take its place here among you.

123. I give thanks to the Almighty for having decreed that the liberation of Djibouti should not be won at the cost of hatred, bloodshed and violence.

124. I praise the one and only Eternal Being because our independence was achieved through the unity of its children and not through the dismemberment of our brothers.

125. Now at last Djibouti, long voiceless, is speaking before you to all nations.

126. The weight of this honour would be too heavy for me to bear if I did not know that throughout the world, and above all in our beloved Africa, too many human beings are suffering and enduring oppression, torture, war and racism, still condemned to silence, though yearning to voice their anger, tears and lamentations.

127. In thanking the Assembly for welcoming me, and thereby the people of Djibouti, I should like each word

uttered for my nation also to be spoken for those peoples deprived of a voice whose absence here makes my arrival here incomplete and this Assembly imperfect.

128. Fate has willed that the admission of the Republic of Djibouti to the United Nations take place on the eve of the thirtieth anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which is to be celebrated next year.

129. What better way is there to speak of Djibouti, and to introduce your new associate in the quest for peace and justice, than to speak of those whose absence is in itself an insult to justice and a threat to peace?

130. When Djibouti wished through its first constitutional laws to create its image, it chose for a motto "Unity, equality, peace". Our Republic stated at the outset its will to fight for the advancement of human rights and affirmed that the institutions of the Republic should have as their aim the effective attainment of the principle of government of the people, by the people and for the people; a political order in which the individual and collective freedoms and rights set forth in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights would be fully and completely effective; and of the economic and social development of the national community.

131. Because we have from the very first days of our national life faithfully adhered to our motto and to the achievement of those aims, Djibouti has been able fearlessly to exercise its sovereignty and its independence.

132. Thanks be to God, it was because our people was prepared by a long, silent but painful struggle, and was able to master the conflicting forces within that it was able without recourse to violence to accomplish its magnificent destiny through its own resources.

133. It was because of this people, exemplary in its deprivation and its diversity, that, overcoming all obstacles, Djibouti was able to forge unity and equality among its citizens and make of diversity the wealth of its peace.

134. All of this is happening at the very time when bloody confrontations inflict horrifying and unjust wounds on our brothers to the north and to the south, when refugees are streaming into our country in such numbers that they represent one fifth of our population, a population the vast majority of which is already lacking in basic needs, yet always ready to share what it has.

135. And all of this is happening at a time when these same events deprive our country of most of its resources because a major part of our rail and port traffic has been suspended.

136. But our people has decided to remain its true self: proud, independent, sovereign, generous and peaceful within its own frontiers.

137. What is more, it has faced these difficulties with courage and dignity. In the very first weeks of our independence, our people was able, by a considerable effort, to rid itself of the drug khat which held it in thrall

and the spread of which had become a real social scourge in the last decades of colonialism.

138. A people has risen on the shores of the Red Sea at the mouth of the Indian Ocean; a people has set out on a march for its own liberation in sovereignty and peace.

139. And that is what "Unity, equality, peace" means to us, stated and meditated upon in the light of the universal law of human rights.

140. Unity! What people has had to struggle more than ours against the demons of division?

141. All the prophets of doom, all the ill omens, agreed in promising us the dismemberment of our tribalism, maintained, deformed and kindled by an economic development which was not our own.

142. On 27 June 1977, the day of our independence, our people was able to prove that all those predictions were false. It was able to prove that the peoples of Africa and of the world could, like it and against all expectations, continue to march towards unity in peace and with respect for their equality. The people of Djibouti knew that it was possible to make our diversities a source of wealth without thereby falling into parochialism; that it was possible to work towards what is universal without abolishing the differences, which are a source of discovery and exchange.

143. Our people knows well the road to that unity. It was able to march towards that unity because it was able to recognize the strict law of respect for the rights and freedoms of man as a law superior to its own customs. That is true, but it was also because our people knew that political unity as proclaimed would not be able to resist for a single day the burning wind of the desert—namely, the violence of injustice.

144. That is why we believe that unity cannot be an imposed or arbitrary system; it is, on the contrary, like human rights, a pedagogy of difference. This difference, this wealth of diversity, this sense of community, can only be achieved, and unity can only last, when political unity is ceaselessly nourished and watered by recognizing the right of the poor, by taking into account the needs of the young and by respecting foreigners.

145. To take recognition of the right of the poor first, for us it is not surprising that the first oath, and therefore the first duty, of the President of our Republic commits him to struggle both for the advancement of human rights and against the humiliation of the poor. How could it be otherwise? How can one claim to speak for human rights when millions of men are condemned to poverty, disease and unemployment? How can we speak of human rights in our capital, created in a place where none of our ancestors would have camped for more than a day, a city among those many African cities which engender poverty and leave thousands of poor without a future because they are without work? How can we speak of human rights in cities where men struggle to survive in a sector of residual activities abandoned by a structured economy to those who flee the hunger and thirst of the desert like those whom war drives before it?

146. The poor say to us: you defenders of human rights, your definitions reject us and to preserve your beautiful balance all our balances are destroyed. They say to us: on behalf of your liberty we are the prisoners of our poverty and it is in the name of your rights that our hope is dead. Because of their needs the poor bang on the door of us who have what we need and deny the perfection of our systems.

147. There can be no advancement of human rights unless the humiliation of the poor is ended. The first right is the right to the satisfaction of man's primary needs and to the struggle against dependence and the precarious food supply of our peoples.

148. It is the pedagogy of difference because human rights are the pedagogy of sharing goods so as to prevent division among men, and therefore we build the unity of our people.

149. But our unity must also welcome the young. We, the elders, joyfully witness the rise of the young people of the world. But we know that our legal systems and our customs are the fruit of the long experience of a society with an abundance of old people but few children. The world of today has reversed its structures and very soon everywhere children will be the most numerous. And the young have not the cult of their ancestors or the experience of the laws they have transmitted. Innumerable and impatient, they desire neither constraints nor eponyms; they ask for guides and prophets. We, a people of shepherds, know that the thirst of one day announces that of the morrow and we know the cost of walking towards a spring whose location is unknown. The young teach us that our civilizations are not eternal, just as the poor tell us that they are not perfect.

150. It is the pedagogy of difference because human rights must also be the pedagogy of impatience. We believe that the mobilization of economic means so as to create suitable employment is the only method at present known of putting the young usefully in touch with reality and removing the veil which separates the appearance of things from the hopes of the heart.

151. Like that of our people, the unity of mankind can only be achieved if the elders give a joyful response to the questions of the young.

152. With the poor and the young, foreigners are recognizing the solidity and the future of our unity. Thus they enable us to increase our awareness of the superiority of human rights. We must welcome them not only as persons but as cultures, as civilizations.

153. How could we preserve our unity if we were to maintain among us the demons of racism and hatred of foreigners? How can we fail to see that tribalism would be nourished by these demons and these hatreds? Where would be our victory, which a friend described as giving birth to a people having four languages and four customs, but united and serene, on the threshold of the gateway to the seas called Bab el Mandeb or "the gate of lamentations"?

154. It is the pedagogy of difference because human rights become the pedagogy of confrontation.

155. As far as unity and equality are concerned, without human equality, unity is a mirage, because it is nothing but the subjection of man by man. We peoples of the desert, at the height of the day, when the noon-time sun shines in all its justice, know well, under the thorns, that equality is no mirage. To us, a man, whatever his colour or his wealth, is a man; he is of woman born, and after nine months he starts counting the days that will lead to death. And that is why we believe that the primary human right is, above all, that of every man to be recognized as such, irrespective of his race, religion, language or sex. That is why we believe also that mankind must evolve in the image of our tribes, not only as a gathering, but, above all, as a community of equals.

156. In the northern part of the globe, white peoples have understood and proclaimed that; but whether they be in the east or in the west, they constantly debate the definition of democracy to determine the merits of equality and the extent to which it should prevail. We know that there is but life and death; all else is selfishness and disguise.

157. That is why, no doubt, our traditions, shaken by laws which were not ours, exclude the right to impose the death sentence; they also ensure justice to the smallest of our tribes. That is also why justice and democracy in our country are so interrelated that we need make no long speeches to define a democratic person. A genuine democrat is one who refuses the corruption of gold and of power, and who defends the rights of the poor; because for him democracy is not a word but a struggle and a fight for equality.

158. That struggle against corruption and against the humiliation of the poor is therefore not a futile egalitarian speech.

159. That is why we prefer to speak of the struggle for the advancement of human rights as a dynamic need, rather than to speak of human rights as a dead, static law to be achieved solely by the magic of words or the decrees of men.

160. Hence this conception of human rights has several consequences, both within and outside a country. In this respect I shall mention only two.

161. Domestically, what would be the meaning of freedom of the press in a country doomed to illiteracy? Would not that freedom then be a privilege of the few, and would it not then become actual power—and soon thereafter a means of oppression? Must not the State—that is to say, the defender and the servant of the community—devote all its efforts to making this freedom be to the benefit of the greatest number? Would not the solution be the priority mobilization of our means and resources for the benefit of the culture and education of the greatest number? Would not the best way really to defend freedom of the press be genuinely to extend its field of action?

162. But where shall we, the disinherited peoples, then find the means genuinely to defend freedom of the press if the international community continues to live as it now does? It is therefore not enough to say, as some do, that all freedoms are in solidarity. We must say that the freedom of

a nation and the advancement of the human rights exercised in it are not unaffected by the international economic order prevailing in the world.

163. Outside action must therefore be taken—that is to say, at the international level. By making man subject to international law, your Universal Declaration—specifically, article 28 thereof—has conferred on them the right to say that, unless the international order is revised, the rights and freedoms enunciated therein will always be in danger. The universal conscience made definite progress when it thus affirmed the solidarity of the advancement of the rights and freedoms of the individual, not only within the internal social order, but also within the international order.

164. If international bodies want to take seriously the declarations to which they have subscribed, they must stop talking and start implementing them. Otherwise, their meetings will be little more than words and whinings on the consequences of wars and revolts.

165. We the disinherited know well that rights cannot survive an excess of poverty and economic injustice. So it is that our peoples say to you that it is not enough to recognize their right to ownership of their own resources; that it is not enough to stabilize the prices of raw materials as long as the terms of trade continue to deteriorate in goods and values, and as long as world inflation continually casts them into dark despair. It is just like proposing selective mutilation by the surgeon's scalpel as the sole solution to the population problem.

166. We say that the true solution of the problem lies not only in a concerted organization of the market but above all in a fair distribution of industrial production. Only with such a new distribution, based on a real and sound agricultural development, will it be possible for peoples to live their lives as free peoples and to maintain among themselves relations based on equality and respect for their own destiny.

167. Time presses on and we must reflect on it. It is even more urgent to act and, in matters of tariffs and the transfer of technology and financial resources, to take steps for a just solution.

168. If the international community and, in particular, the wealthy peoples refuse to act, they may continue their talks, but the young and the poor will not wait for them to finish. While for the latter violence is often the result of despair, for the wealthy violence is the product of selfishness and ignorance. What is certain is that it is futile to speak of human rights and freedom while the international order ceaselessly sows the seeds of violence and encourages and maintains them. All violence is a radical negation of the right of one who is or who will be because, while the violence of the oppressed seeks to abolish the established order which oppresses, the violence of the oppressor seeks to stifle the demand of the oppressed for their rights.

169. Social and economic inequality among men and nations brings about conflicts and destruction. Peace and harmony in relations among peoples and States are impossible unless all find the same benefit therein. International

contracts must be entered into by equal parties, equal in their rights and free as to their will. Those principles of equality alone are respectable and will be respected by the poor of the world. Were those principles not to triumph, peace will be threatened and in the end hatred and chaos will win the day.

170. Yet we want peace. But how can we speak of peace here and now without once again recalling the sufferings of our Africa, involved in wars with no end, with no name? How can we fail to recall the heaviest responsibility of European imperialism which established the bases of those wars and which today serves as an alibi for interventions which ill conceal a new struggle for a new division of our continent? Each, within its sphere of influence, wants to continue or take over trade in goods, men and arms. Each, in its sphere of influence, wishes to substitute looting and pillage for the hope of trade. Each, in its sphere of influence, wishes to possess power through the intermediary of a group or a tribe, with no regard for the entire community of the people.

171. You will understand why our Republic chose a policy of peace, neutrality and non-alignment, at a time when conflicts abound on our frontiers. Neither fear nor tranquillity nor skill guide us: it is rather the will to affirm that peace in Africa will not be possible if Africans deliver up their freedom and hopes to foreign interests. In this respect, our young Republic wants to prove that such a policy has nothing in common with lofty or poverty-stricken isolation. We are well aware of the need for international solidarity and we do not foolishly deny the fruitful principle of co-operation among peoples. But we firmly state that this co-operation begins with respect for the inalienable right of the peoples of Africa to obtain just compensation for the damage caused; and still being caused, by economic and political imperialism. This right to compensation derives first and foremost from the mistake of the peoples of the North, who divided Africa between them, cutting into the living flesh of our people, separating those who were united by language, culture and economy, scorning the right of communities wishing and seeking to live together, haphazardly tracing and retracing maps on the basis of their external wars, distributing and redistributing men and peoples like cattle on market day. Where was, then, in all this the principle of the right to self-determination of peoples, peoples which were bought and sold? Where in all this was the affirmation of the right to development and progress of entire groups left mutilated, maimed, overwhelmed by suffering, hatred and tears?

172. This is our complaint which we raise to you, honourable representatives of the international community, on behalf of peoples subjected to the violence of war and oppression. We pray to God that this will not come to your ears like the sound of futile weeping but that it will be heard as a call for justice. Are we children to weep before you? No, but let us be vigilant. First, cease causing evil, cease intervening by arming us against each other. So long as force is confused with right because of you, no lasting, real and political solution can be found to the conflicts which oppose us.

173. For this solution to appear, the truth of peoples must go beyond the frontiers of the States where they are

prisoners. Further, our peoples must rid themselves of the idea of the nation-State, which has nothing to do with our reality and our hope. Behind the palavers and the parades, I see the spectre of servility.

174. Then we shall realize what it is that we want, all united. This is what we want: that the boundaries left by colonialism be no longer the boundaries of camps for the oppression of the freedom of peoples but, on the contrary, become the privileged place for their meetings and their exchanges, of their mutual recognition of their diversity and solidarity.

175. To this end, each State must recognize the right of the peoples who constitute it to live, to organize themselves and to express themselves as a nation. That is the essential principle of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which we have embodied in our very first constitutional texts. It is the principle of article 28, which states:

“Everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration can be fully realised.”

176. Once that right has been recognized, the peoples and their representatives will then see that there is no humiliation to be feared, that there will be neither victor nor vanquished, when the offensive and defensive weapons of justice replace violence. All will stand to gain in dignity, that is to say, in rights and freedoms, since there is no right without justice; there is no liberty without liberation; thus for the oppressor there is no dignity.

177. Then will our truth appear—the truth of the pastoral peoples. You have too long ignored them—the people of wheat and of vineyards. Your ideas are not ours: the square field of your ideas constitutes for us a scene which ill accords with the wanderings of our herds. In their hunger and thirst the heirs of Abel cannot understand the importance of your boundaries.

178. But we do know one thing, that Almighty God has formed us into peoples and tribes not for war, but for peace; not for misfortune, but for hope. This is the truth, which will not lead our Africa into sterile and deadly Balkanization, but into regional agreements based on mutual recognition of the rights and obligations of coexistence, in the search for the ways prepared before us that lead towards springs and pastures.

179. Faithful to its determination to be itself in this tormented Horn of Africa, bordering on the straits of Bab el Mandeb; the Republic of Djibouti, because it is aware of its duties towards world peace, says to all its neighbours that it is prepared to welcome them on the basis of these principles. The Republic of Djibouti is prepared, with them, to seek at what price and on what basis regional agreements can replace present confrontations, the authors of which are not to be found among us. In any case, Djibouti will always be prepared to favour a political and negotiated settlement, and it has already demonstrated its ability to make its national territory not an apple of discord but the keystone of regional peace.

180. At the end of our struggle, as we arrive here and take our seat among you, to accept and defend your laws, this is

what our people wished to say to you, the message they send as a token of peace and friendship.

181. Now we must come to a close. On behalf of our people, this is what we propose that you should reflect on. The first is that no text, however noble, is ever perfect, eternal, or universal. Thus the first function of a law being to instruct, its role is no longer to conserve, repress or mystify; but to prepare, accompany and ensure the progress of peoples. That is why ultimately those who bear responsibility for the future of human rights are those who bear responsibility for the transformations of the world.

182. The second is the following. It will avail us nothing to set up ourselves as judges of human rights by invoking rules. First we must look at the effort made by each people to advance towards the achievement of human rights. Peoples with an oral tradition have a longer memory than those with a written tradition, and they fail to see by what right nations which have established their power on the basis of genocide or slavery can today claim to lecture us on human rights.

183. The third is the following. While the Universal Declaration of Human Rights constitutes a kind of deontology for relations among States and individuals, and if this deontology is to be left to the assessment of each people for its application, it is no less true and important to say that the common heritage enshrined in this Declaration is the clear and final recognition that every man is a human being and is the subject of law.

184. That is why we affirm that racism and torture can never be made acceptable whatever the justification of any nation.

185. Our people, when taking as its motto the affirmation of unity, equality and peace, believed that it deserved to be recognized as a nation among nations.

186. Despite its lack of wealth, it would have wished to make an even better contribution to the real advancement of human rights and freedoms throughout the world and, in particular, in Africa.

187. That is why, on the thirtieth anniversary of the Declaration, to which we wish to subscribe, we shall take the initiative of a major campaign for the advancement of human rights, if our proposal meets with real public encouragement.

188. In this debate, should our Africa not speak freely and emerge from the night? For Africa has not yet come out of its night. As long as on our continent a single people still exists under the oppression of racism and violence, Africa will not have come out of its night.

189. But, beware, our night achieves and conserves that which the hope of day has not given us. And that is how our will to resist has always been kept alive.

190. And it is a certainty, which gains strength among us, that after the heat of a day of labour, we tire not as we see our sons and daughters, our brothers and our sisters dance and sing their joy in the shadows of the night.

191. And it is right that, borrowing the words of a Breton poet, we should say: A people which knows how to rejoice during its own nights has the right to live its own days according to its own heart.

192. I pray to God that this be so.

193. The PRESIDENT: I thank the President and Head of State of the Republic of Djibouti for his moving, elaborate and lucid address.

194. I now have the pleasure of inviting the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, Mr. Nguyen Duy Trinh, to address the General Assembly.

195. Mr. NGUYEN DUY TRINH (Viet Nam):³ I should like sincerely to thank the General Assembly for having accepted the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam as a Member of the United Nations. I also wish to thank the President and the representatives of many countries for their kind and warm words about Viet Nam and the Vietnamese people.

196. I should like warmly to congratulate Mr. Lazar Mojsov on his election as President of the thirty-second session of the General Assembly of the United Nations and to assure him of our full co-operation.

197. I wish to thank the Secretary-General for the constant efforts he has made to promote international assistance for the reconstruction of Viet-Nam.

198. I warmly hail the admission of the Republic of Djibouti, with which we hope to enjoy relations of friendship and co-operation.

199. From this important rostrum, I should like to convey to all the delegations and to all peoples throughout the world the friendship and warm greetings of the 50 million people of Viet Nam, a nation which has gone through a long and extremely fierce struggle and suffered immense sacrifices and hardships to achieve its most earnest and loftiest aspirations in order to secure what is most precious and most sacred for all nations and all human beings, namely, independence and freedom for the nation and peace and happiness for man.

200. The Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, with over 4,000 years of glorious nation¹ history behind it, came into being in the same year as the United Nations and was born of the common struggle against fascism. Viet Nam should have had its legitimate seat at the United Nations as early as 1945, but imperialist aggressors continuously brought us the calamity of war. What is particularly serious, they imposed on us the bloodiest neo-colonialist war of aggression in history.

201. In our land, national and human rights were crudely trampled underfoot. Several generations of Vietnamese had to live under bombs and shells. Every Vietnamese family and every individual Vietnamese suffered mourning and

losses from the war, in which millions of people were killed or disabled, thousands of villages and towns were razed to the ground and industrial and agricultural production suffered serious destruction. What is even more disastrous is the fact that, in consequence of neo-colonialism, a large part of the population of southern Viet Nam was reduced to unemployment, illiteracy and deprivation, their minds poisoned, their human dignity trampled upon.

202. Overcoming all obstacles, our nation rose up and fought with tenacity and courage. Holding aloft the banner of national independence and that of socialism, combining the strength of the nation and the upsurge of the progressive forces of our era, the Vietnamese people won a great, historic victory, and today the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam is present here among the world community, enjoying complete independence and freedom and with its whole territory reunified.

203. The victory of Viet Nam is also a victory of the common struggle of the world's peoples against imperialism, for independence and for freedom.

204. The victory of Viet Nam demonstrates this shining truth of our times: that a nation, however small, provided it is closely united and determined to fight according to a correct line and provided that it enjoys the sympathy and the support of progressive mankind, is wholly capable of defeating all aggressors. No reactionary force, however powerful, can prevent the peoples from securing independence, freedom, peace and happiness. Such is the *raison d'être* of all peoples and the goal of our international community.

205. This objective will undoubtedly be achieved everywhere in conformity with the irresistible historical trend that began with the great October revolution. Over the past 60 years, particularly since the end of the Second World War, the over-all picture of the world has undergone deep changes. The system of the socialist countries has increasingly developed, and has opened the correct way for the peoples of the world to struggle for national liberation and social emancipation. The national liberation movement has launched strong attacks on imperialism and colonialism and won victory after victory. It has caused old-style colonialism to collapse and is driving neo-colonialism to total defeat, thereby making a major contribution to the defence of world peace. About one hundred newly independent countries are stepping up their struggle to consolidate their national sovereignty, and are winning an ever more important position in international political life. The struggle of the labouring people in different countries for their economic interests and democratic rights, against Fascist repression, has developed extensively and overthrown many dictatorial régimes.

206. Faced with the powerful development of the aforementioned three revolutionary currents, imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and other reactionary forces are making every effort to hamper the advance of mankind. They engage in military build-up, make war preparations, carry out encircling, subversive and divisive manoeuvres against the revolutionary forces. They try to deceive the peoples of the world and keep the developing countries in their orbit. But never before have the peoples of the world

³ Mr. Nguyen Duy Trinh spoke in Vietnamese. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

faced such brilliant prospects as today. The balance of forces has radically changed in favour of peace and revolution, creating the real possibility of preventing a new world war, and bringing about extremely favourable conditions for the nations to forge ahead and to achieve the lofty objectives of our times, namely, peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

207. Over the past two years, a new era has begun in our country, the era of peace, independence, national unity and socialism for the whole country. After so many years of fierce and hard struggle, the foremost task of the Vietnamese people now is to exert every effort to rebuild their country, rapidly to heal the wounds of war, to restore and develop their economy and culture, and to do away with poverty and backwardness, the sombre legacy of over a century of foreign domination, and 30 years of an extremely fierce war. To fulfil these pressing tasks, the Vietnamese people have no greater desire than to build their new life in peace, and are resolved not to allow any reactionary force to encroach on their independence and freedom.

208. In keeping with their national traditions of unity and humanity, and for the sake of the long-term and vital interests of their country, the Vietnamese people have applied a policy of leniency without precedent in the history of wars: to educate those who were instruments of the aggressors against the fatherland and to give back civic rights to the overwhelming majority of them.

209. In the field of foreign relations, Viet Nam pursues a basic policy of peace, friendship and international co-operation. Carrying out an independent foreign policy, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam makes every effort to strengthen solidarity and fraternal co-operation with the Soviet Union, China and the other socialist countries, to preserve and develop the closest fraternal relationships with our neighbours, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and Democratic Kampuchea, to promote solidarity and friendly co-operation with the non-aligned countries, the Asian, African and Latin American countries and the national independence movements, and to expand normal relations and many-sided co-operation with other countries, irrespective of their political systems and on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence. With regard to the countries of South-East Asia, we develop relations of friendship and co-operation in conformity with our four-point policy, which has been welcomed by those countries and by broad segments of public opinion. With the United States, we are prepared to continue negotiations for a satisfactory solution to the problems still outstanding with a view to normalizing relations between the two countries.

210. The Vietnamese people are determined to struggle for true human rights, which are fundamentally the right to independence of all nations and the economic and social rights of all men. The bloody war in Viet Nam, the Zionist aggressions against the Arab people, the exactions of the racist régimes in southern Africa, and the colonial occupation of other places prove that peace is inseparable from respect for those fundamental rights. Our international community will never be deceived by those who loudly profess to be the defenders of human rights but who actually kindle wars of aggression and brutally trample

underfoot the most sacred rights of nations and human beings.

211. The Socialist Republic of Viet Nam once again reaffirms its resolute support for the struggle of the Arab and Palestinian peoples to recover the occupied Arab territories, to regain the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to establish a democratic Palestinian State in their fatherland. We resolutely support the struggle of the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa to do away with the barbarous colonialist and racist régimes in southern Africa. We resolutely support the struggle for independence and sovereignty being waged by the peoples of Cyprus, Puerto Rico, the islands under "trusteeship" and Territories which are still not independent—East Timor, Western Sahara and others. We resolutely support the struggle of the Korean people for the peaceful and independent reunification of their country and for the total and immediate withdrawal of foreign troops and military equipment from South Korea. We unreservedly support the liberation of Taiwan by the People's Republic of China. We demand the removal of United States military bases from Guantánamo, Diego García and other places. We energetically condemn the Fascist repression in Chile.

212. The Socialist Republic of Viet Nam pledges itself to contribute to the struggle for a new international economic order, in accordance with the trends set at the Fourth and Fifth Conferences of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries in Algiers in 1973 and in Colombo in 1976.

213. In the construction of their country, the Vietnamese people, having abundant manpower and rich natural resources and enjoying broad international support and co-operation, are sure to overcome the present state of devastation and poverty, and will make still worthier contributions to the revolutionary cause of the peoples of the world. Availing myself of this opportunity and acting upon the earnest wish of President Ho Chi Minh, as expressed in his testament, I express the sincere gratitude of the Government and people of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to the fraternal socialist countries, the non-aligned countries, all peace-loving and justice-loving Governments, mass organizations and persons for their unfailing support to our people, both formerly in the long years of the fierce trials of war and in our present endeavour to heal the wounds of war and to rebuild our country. We also thank those Governments, organizations and persons inside and outside the United Nations who have raised their voices to demand that the United States Government contribute to that undertaking. On this occasion of my coming to the United States, I wish to extend warm and friendly greetings to the American people and heartfelt thanks to those American friends who, for the sake of justice, have given and continue to give their support to the Vietnamese people.

214. More than 30 years ago, just as they emerged from the terrible destructions of the Second World War and the bloody crimes of fascism, the peoples of the world pinned great hopes on the United Nations. We highly value the great and persistent efforts of the forces of peace and justice inside and outside the United Nations. However, due

to obstruction by the obdurate forces of imperialism and colonialism, the results so far obtained by the United Nations in its activities have not yet adequately met those expectations.

215. Today many great changes have altered the map of the world. They prove that even the most powerful imperialists cannot prevent peoples from resolutely struggling for their right to live in independence, freedom, happiness and peace.

216. In the past few decades, though not yet a Member of the United Nations, Viet Nam made, through sacrifices in blood, a worthy contribution to the common struggle of the peoples of the world for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress in conformity with the objectives of the United Nations. Now, as a Member of the

United Nations, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam will closely co-operate with the other Members in striving tirelessly to turn these lofty goals into realities.

217. In our time mankind is making enormous progress in its endeavour to transform nature and society. It is up to us to do our utmost so that the words and the acts of our Organizations may make positive contributions to the progress of history, thus meeting the expectations of the peoples of the world.

218. The PRESIDENT: I thank the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam for his address.

The meeting rose at 6.20 p.m.