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**President: Mr. Salim Ahmed SALIM**  
(United Republic of Tanzania)

**AGENDA ITEM 1**

**Opening of the session by the  
Chairman of the delegation of Colombia**

1. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I declare open the thirty-fourth regular session of the General Assembly.

**AGENDA ITEM 2**

**Minute of silent prayer or meditation**

2. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I invite representatives to stand and observe one minute of silent prayer or meditation.

*The representatives stood in silence.*

**Address by Mr. Indalecio Liévano, Temporary President,  
Chairman of the delegation of Colombia**

3. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): In keeping with time-honoured tradi-

tion, it is my duty to make a brief statement to the General Assembly in my capacity as President of the thirty-third regular session. This traditional practice provides the opportunity for the person selected by the Member States to share with the Assembly the impressions he has gathered, from the singular vantage-point afforded by the presidency of the Assembly, on the issues which are of greatest concern to the world's peoples and which could have an effect on international peace.

4. The prestige of the United Nations as the natural forum for discussing the problems of mankind is greater than ever before. The Organization has acquired a universal character with the entry as Members of numerous States representing various forms of political and economic organization, and this has given the United Nations the pluralistic complexion which its founders intended it to have. This diverse assembly of juridically equal States, each with its own voice which no one can silence, is what makes the United Nations the appropriate setting for identifying conflicts, instead of ignoring them, and for finding peaceful solutions to the disputes, great or small, which arise from conflicting interests. Experience has shown that it is difficult to negotiate outside the United Nations, even when it is believed, in good faith, that problems brought here because they affect world peace can become merely bilateral disputes. In reality, today there is hardly a dispute in the world that is bilateral. The conflicts that in our day threaten peace are not mere border incidents but problems which affect everyone, either because they occur in strategic regions or because they involve philosophical and legal principles which arouse the emotions of the world's peoples. It is not unusual for specific negotiations between nations to take as their point of reference documents emanating from the General Assembly or the Security Council, documents which, after much talking around the matter, must be taken into account in order to achieve a satisfactory settlement. Over the years, and perhaps imperceptibly, the General Assembly, the Secretariat and the other principal organs of the United Nations have acquired skill in negotiation, a sense of proportion in the exchange of ideas and precision in the use of methods for promoting compromises and avoiding confrontation. This maturing of the international system is beginning to bear lasting fruit in terms of the preservation of international peace and security.

5. In a world in which the storms of history have swept away institutions and ideas which for centuries governed the life of societies, thereby increasing conflicts and geographical shifts in power, only an organization such as the United Nations can create the necessary conditions for averting the catastrophes that can befall mankind in an era in which science and

technology—the highest products of human intelligence—have placed in the hands of States weapons of such destructive power that they could, if used in a moment of madness, jeopardize the very survival of the species.

6. World peace and security are therefore the great cause of the United Nations. This is our feeling today, 40 years after the Second World War was launched with the aggression against a heroic and defenceless nation, Poland, a war which came to represent mankind's cruellest experience, with the snuffing out of millions of lives and the creation of an atmosphere of hatred which shook all the cultures and civilizations established up to that time.

7. The negotiations which have been carried on here in the quest for legal instruments to safeguard peace give us some cause for optimism. The same can be said of the atmosphere in which the discussions on disarmament are being conducted, and especially of the widespread recognition of the need to reach agreements to limit the production of, and traffic in, nuclear and conventional weapons. There is, still, however, valid concern over the ever-growing economic dependence of a number of industrialized countries on arms production and sales. There is also unanimous criticism of the arms race, which compels States poor in economic resources to devote to the insatiable acquisition of the implements of war substantial portions of their budgets, which should be used to improve the social conditions of their peoples.

8. The international community is concerned also over the appearance of ominous signs concerning the economy. Oil, a raw material which was thought to be in limitless supply and which, as a result, some hedonistic societies have wasted and continue to waste improvidently, is beginning to run out. Naturally, the price of oil is rising in every market. We are discovering that this fossil fuel is the very basis of a style of civilization whose days now seem to be numbered, and there is no doubt that we should prepare ourselves for a future whose shape is yet uncertain. The developing countries, in particular, owing to the form of their economic systems and their scanty international currency holdings, will not be able to meet the heavy cost of fuel. This new and unexpected circumstance will accentuate the inequalities suffered by the developing countries.

9. Parallel with this situation, we should note that little progress has been made by UNCTAD and in the negotiations in the so-called North-South dialogue. This stagnation is discouraging, for the developing countries have seen their plans to improve the conditions of their peoples undermined by deterioration of the terms of trade, the neo-protectionism practised by wealthy countries, the miserly transfer of technology and the cold selfishness of some powerful States. I trust that at the 1980 special session of the General Assembly devoted to the establishment of a new international economic order it will be possible to bridge the gap between opposing positions and reach an agreement by consensus, which will constitute a major advance towards greater equity in international economic relations.

10. The last regular session was marked by the participation in the general debate of more States than ever

before in the history of the Organization. It was also characterized by the special attention it devoted to problems which have long been on the agenda, but are no less important for all that—the changing situation in the Middle East, the defence of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, the liberation of Namibia, the struggle against *apartheid*, and stabilization in the Far East. The session was also marked by an encouraging return in a number of regions to political forms whose reaffirmation signifies respect for the human person and the inherent rights of every human being. In order to give impetus to that process, the Latin American countries, I have been informed, will submit for the consideration of the General Assembly a plan for assistance to Nicaragua, the heroic Central American nation which has made sacrifices in human lives and material losses for its unshakeable determination to attain political freedom.

11. As we begin this new session we have before us a provisional agenda which includes 124 items covering the major problems of concern to States. Some of these items are of major importance for the preservation of international peace and security; others, for the achievement of a more equitable distribution of the world's wealth; still others, for assuring the enjoyment by peoples of independence and the exercise of self-determination, or for creating conditions which will enable human beings to live in an atmosphere of dignity commensurate with their high spiritual level. On the basis of the experience acquired in my year of serving as President of the General Assembly, I have no doubt that the delegations attending this session will work with their usual zeal, wisdom and dedication to promote the welfare of the peoples of the world.

12. Before concluding, I wish to associate the General Assembly with the grief felt by all of us at the death of Mr. Agostinho Neto, the President of the People's Republic of Angola. Poet, warrior, statesman and leader of his people, he unquestionably represents the generation of African leaders who in recent years have led their nations to independence and the realization of their full political destiny.

13. Lastly, it remains for me only to express gratitude once again, on behalf of my country Colombia and on my own behalf, for the honour done me by my election to the presidency of the thirty-third session of the United Nations General Assembly in 1978. This office is an honour to anyone, whatever his merits and achievements may be, and I shall keep happy memories of the deference and cordial understanding always shown me by the delegations of each and every Member State.

#### AGENDA ITEM 103

##### Scale of assessments for the apportionment of the expenses of the United Nations: report of the Committee on Contributions

14. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Before we proceed to the next item on the agenda, and in accordance with past practice, I wish to draw the attention of the General Assembly to document A/34/474, which contains a letter addressed to me by the Secretary-General informing the Assembly that three States Members are in arrears in the payment of

their United Nations contributions under the terms of Article 19 of the Charter.

### AGENDA ITEM 3

#### Credentials of representatives to the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly:

##### (a) Appointment of the members of the Credentials Committee

15. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Rule 28 of the rules of procedure provides that the General Assembly at the beginning of each session shall appoint, on the proposal of the President, a Credentials Committee consisting of nine members. Accordingly, it is proposed that, for the thirty-fourth session, the Credentials Committee should consist of the following Member States: Belgium, China, Congo, Ecuador, Pakistan, Panama, Senegal, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United States of America. May I take it that the countries I have mentioned are hereby appointed members of the Credentials Committee?

*It was so decided (decision 34/301).*

### AGENDA ITEM 4

#### Election of the President of the General Assembly

16. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I now invite the Members of the General Assembly to proceed to the election of the President of the Assembly at its thirty-fourth session.

17. Under rule 92 of the rules of procedure, all elections shall be held by secret ballot and there shall be no nominations.

18. However, after consultations with the regional groups, I should like to propose that, without setting a precedent, the Assembly agree to waive rule 92 in this particular election and that, on the basis of the endorsement of his candidacy by all regional groups, we proceed to elect the President of the thirty-fourth session by acclamation. May I consider that the General Assembly adopts this proposal?

*It was so decided.*

19. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I therefore declare Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim of the United Republic of Tanzania elected President of the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly.

*Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim (United Republic of Tanzania) was elected by acclamation President of the General Assembly (decision 34/302).*

20. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I extend my sincere congratulations to Mr. Salim and I invite him to assume the presidency.

*Mr. Salim took the Chair.*

21. The PRESIDENT: I am deeply moved by the confidence you have demonstrated in electing me President of the thirty-fourth session of the United Nations General Assembly. I consider this unanimous decision to be a tribute to, and an honour for, my country, the United Republic of Tanzania, whose Government and people have steadfastly and consistently supported the United Nations and actively worked for the implementation of the principles and purposes for which our Organization stands. It is also a recognition of my continent and of the Organization of African Unity which, through their trust in me, made this election possible.

22. The presidency of the General Assembly is a heavy responsibility, but in the discharge of this responsibility I am following a tradition and a line of very distinguished personalities whose qualities of excellence I can only attempt to emulate and from whose achievements and accumulated wisdom I intend to learn and profit.

23. I also know that I can count on the advice and co-operation of my immediate predecessor, Mr. Liévano of Colombia, who presided over the thirty-third session with such distinction, dedication and skill. In recognizing his contribution, I pay a tribute to a distinguished diplomat and an outstanding spokesman for justice and international amity.

24. For more than nine years now, I have had the honour and privilege of representing my country in this Organization. This period has not only given me the opportunity to learn more about the United Nations—its successes and short-comings—at close quarters, but has also afforded me the opportunity to make acquaintances and develop friendship and co-operation with many outstanding personalities, including a great many who are here in this Assembly. Among the relationships that I will always cherish has been my close association with our Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim. I have been particularly privileged to work closely with Mr. Waldheim on many issues of common concern to the Organization in my capacity as Chairman of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and during the period when I was honoured to represent Tanzania in the Security Council. His total dedication to our Organization, his commitment to the cause of freedom, justice and peace, as well as his over-all appreciation and management of delicate situations, are rightly admired. I therefore feel very much encouraged that I can look forward to his continued co-operation and assistance, as well as the co-operation of all the members of the Secretariat, in the fulfilment of my responsibilities.

25. With deep sorrow and grief, we learned of the most untimely passing away last week of Mr. Agostinho Neto, the President of the People's Republic of Angola. The untimely death of President Neto has robbed Angola of its founding father and illustrious leader; Africa of a distinguished freedom fighter and valiant revolutionary; and the world of an outstanding statesman. I have had the unique honour of personally knowing President Neto both in the course of the liberation struggle in Angola and after the liberation of that country. He was undoubtedly one of Africa's towering figures. His modesty and simplicity were remarkable. Angola, Africa and the international community are

certainly poorer today with his passing away. I wish therefore to take this opportunity to associate myself fully with the remarks made by the outgoing President of the General Assembly and to convey my deeply felt condolences to the family of President Neto, to the MPLA<sup>1</sup> Worker's Party, and to the Government and people of Angola, as we mourn this irreparable loss.

26. The current international situation imposes on the United Nations a heavy and urgent responsibility for action in many areas if we are to dispel the gloom that is now overshadowing the world and if we are to rekindle mankind's hope in the efficaciousness of international mechanisms to solve urgent problems and bring peace and justice to humanity.

27. Today is not the darkest hour of mankind, nor is it a sunny day. For it is still one of the unpleasant facts that millions of the world population continue to live in economic misery and other deprivation. Many others, especially in Africa, the Middle East and Asia, are suffering from the humiliation of being a subject people under colonialism, racism and other forms of domination and indignity.

28. In another area, disarmament talks continue to take place against the background of the philosophy of security through a balance of terror. It is no wonder, therefore, that the arms race—and the danger it poses to international security and the waste of resources it brings with it—continues unabated. Above all, the conditions which have created and perpetuated the great divide between the North and the South have now been accentuated under global recession and inflation, and this has resulted in the further condemnation of millions of the world's people to absolute poverty in perpetuity, without hope of reprieve.

29. Yet the irony is that, year in and year out, the nations represented in this Assembly pledge themselves to work for a humane and more just order. But it is precisely because the situation continues to be wanting, and in some cases has even worsened, that we find ourselves again with the same tasks unaccomplished, with problems unmitigated and with some problems even solution-resistant.

30. How is it that, despite our commitment to work towards a new international economic order, meaningful action continues to elude the community of nations, resulting in the deterioration of international economic relations? Why is it that, despite our collective abhorrence of racism and condemnation of colonialism, this twin evil still prevails in southern Africa? These and many other pertinent questions cry out for genuine answers.

31. These are questions that touch on the daily lives of the people we represent, as, indeed, they affect the very peace and security of our world. At any given time these questions are pertinent and timely. But I would suggest that they are even more relevant today, considering that our session is taking place on the threshold of a new decade, as another decade is fading away. For it must be our collective objective and endeavour to prepare the ground for a better and more just order as we enter the 1980s. I think this should be the beacon to guide the United Nations during this session, so that the

coming decade can be recorded in the annals of history as the decade that turned dialogue into action and promise into fulfilment.

32. The United Nations came into being after a war that had caused vast destruction of human life, institutions and property. The nations that gathered in San Francisco for the signing of the Charter were guided by their apprehension of the inherent vulnerability of a fragmented world. They were also guided by the desire of their peoples that this world should be made a more secure place in which to live through the reduction of conflict—hence the vigorous promotion of the ideals of liberation, human rights, equality, dignity and justice as elements conducive to a stable and peaceful order.

33. Today, over three decades later, the community of independent nations represented here has increased threefold. This, in itself, is eloquent testimony to the relevance of the United Nations. It represents a realization that, only in circumstances of unity and collective effort, will it be possible to make the world more peaceful. This Organization has not only survived more than 30 years since its formation, but remains the only effective and meaningful institution for international dialogue and co-operation. The truth is that, all our political, social and economic differences notwithstanding, we have continued to have faith in the United Nations and have turned to it for solutions in times of difficulty.

34. But this Organization will fail to achieve the lofty ideals enunciated in its Charter if we as individual nations choose to use it only periodically as an instrument of convenience. It will meet our expectations only if we proceed deliberately to build it and use it as the permanent instrument for the reconciliation of our differences since the option of unilateral action predicated on the use of force is becoming less and less attractive because of its futility.

35. In the final analysis, therefore, the existence and the conduct of this Organization rest on the will of nations. Its making or unmaking is the responsibility of the Member States. Thus the failure of the international community to resolve some of its major problems and conflicts is a failure of its constituent Member States, both individually and collectively. Much remains to be done by nations to translate their faith in the United Nations into concrete action. Nations still need to demonstrate greater political will, which is essential for the establishment of a more secure world in which nations big and small can contribute to the implementation of the goals and objectives of the United Nations Charter.

36. To date the world is entangled in conflicts, and nobody can claim that peace, freedom, human equality, dignity and justice have triumphed. The General Assembly has a duty to address itself to the root-causes of these conflicts in order to formulate and implement measures aimed at resolving them. For unless we go into the root-causes of problems real peace will continue to elude us.

37. Of all the needs of our time the greatest is peace—peace for the individual, so that he can live out this existence without fear for his life; peace for each nation to live with its neighbours without fear for its national life; peace for the world derived from an arrangement within which the nations of the world could interact without fear for their survival. Peace such as this pro-

<sup>1</sup> Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola.

vides for freedom and justice for every individual and every nation. Peace such as this provides for human rights for everyone within all nations and for equal rights for each nation within the international community.

38. All nations have underlined their commitment to the promotion of human rights. This commitment has found specific expression in the numerous covenants, declarations and resolutions adopted by States Members of this Organization. Régimes which have consistently denied their peoples such rights have been condemned. It is none the less regrettable that violations of human rights in various forms still continue to exist.

39. And nowhere have such violations taken such a massive and grotesque form than in southern Africa, where institutionalized racism is entrenched and where a human being is judged, not by his contribution to society, not by his humanity, but by the pigmentation of his skin and the origin of his race.

40. But whether in Africa or elsewhere on the globe, the people who have been denied their fundamental rights have not failed to resist such oppression, humiliation and exploitation. This resistance has taken different forms, including, as a last resort, armed struggle. Those millions of oppressed people who suffer the ordeal of colonialism and racist domination, and millions more elsewhere who languish under foreign occupation, have known no peace and no reprieve from the burdens of living. Such situations are a negation of peace; indeed, they constitute a threat to it in that they affect the security of the world as a whole.

41. It is therefore only logical that States Members of this Organization have not been found lacking in their support for the struggle waged by liberation movements against the systems and régimes practising the obnoxious policies of colonialism, foreign occupation and *apartheid*.

42. The conflict in southern Africa concerns the choice between domination and freedom, *apartheid* and non-racism, inhumanity and human dignity. It concerns the right of all human beings to freedom and equality, regardless of race or colour. It is a struggle that must be of concern to all of us, for the negation of humanity anywhere is a negation of humanity everywhere. To the people of that part of the world, it has meant a perpetual nightmare of constant resistance to oppression by the racist white minority régimes.

43. This constant oppression of the people of southern Africa is equally an arrogant repudiation of international norms and a defiance of civilization. It becomes a challenge, therefore, to the civilized world to put an end to this tragic absurdity.

44. The pernicious system of *apartheid* and its brutal instruments of repression and oppression of the African people continue to reign supreme. The continued illegal occupation of Namibia by the South African régime, in defiance of international law and the will of the international community and in a spirit of total obstruction of the United Nations plan for the independence of that Territory, and the deteriorating and uncertain situation in Zimbabwe are clear manifestations of the inadequacy of our Organization in our collective search for freedom and human dignity.

45. Yet, as we lament our failures, we must also recognize the achievements that our Organization has made in the field of decolonization. Indeed, there is no doubt that the process of decolonization has been one of the glorious chapters of the United Nations. The very growth of our membership to its present level testifies to this process.

46. Next year, we shall be commemorating the twentieth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [*resolution 1514 (XV)*]. That occasion will be significant in that it will provide an opportunity for nations to reaffirm their unflinching support for decolonization. The world community will also be able to review strategies in conformity with the contemporary realities, with a view to liquidating the last remaining vestiges of colonialism and racism.

47. In the Middle East, the situation remains fluid and complex. Recent developments have given rise to new realities and also to new problems, which have to be reckoned with as the international community endeavours to find a just and lasting solution to the conflict. It must, however, be stressed that peace in the Middle East will continue to elude that area if the root-cause of the conflict is not taken fully into account. The core of the Middle East problem is the continued denial of the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, including the right to establish an independent state.

48. The realization of that right, the refusal to give legitimacy to the fruits of conquest, the respect of the right of all States in the area to an independent existence, are conditions necessary for the attainment of a genuine, viable and permanent peace in the region. Furthermore, it is evident that in the search for such a just solution the role of the Palestine Liberation Organization, the representative of the Palestinian people, is pivotal. It is the responsibility of all nations to give unlimited support and encouragement to all efforts designed to attain this objective. It is my hope that during this Assembly we shall be able to make a contribution towards that end.

49. The tragic situation in Lebanon continues to cause serious concern to the international community. The senseless bombings of civilian targets, causing considerable loss of life and destruction, further threaten the peace and security of the region. The world community must redouble its efforts to bring an end to this tragedy, so that the freedom, independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon are respected.

50. In Cyprus, the situation remains polarized. It is regrettable that, despite the efforts of the United Nations, there seems to be no end in sight to the tragedy of Cyprus. The international community must redouble its efforts in support of a solution that will ensure respect for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-alignment of Cyprus, as well as a new era of harmony between the two communities. But whatever the intentions and actions of the United Nations, these cannot be a substitute for the efforts and determination of the Cypriot people themselves.

51. I am therefore taking this opportunity of appealing to the Cypriot leaders to promote a more meaningful and effective dialogue in order to bring to an end the

tragedy which faces their country. In this respect, it is regrettable that the positive dialogue undertaken earlier this year between the President of Cyprus, Mr. Kyprianou, and the leader of the Turkish community, Mr. Denktas, at the initiative of the Secretary-General, has not been followed up by the parties concerned. It is my hope that in the interest of Cyprus and its people the spirit which permeated those talks will be revived.

52. I should now like to turn to one of the serious problems that has rightly preoccupied the attention of the international community, namely, the growth of the refugee population. When people are denied their rights, they feel insecure. But so do those who deny them these rights. As a result of the combination of fear, on the one hand, and political, cultural, economic and sometimes religious persecution or deprivation on the other, more and more people are fleeing their national territories. International and regional conflicts have increased the tempo and circumstances of flight. With over 10 million refugees—more than the world has ever seen before in a time of peace—we are confronted with dismaying testimony to man's inhumanity to man.

53. The United Nations, through its Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees, has done a great deal to alleviate the plight of refugees. But Member States can and should do more to stem the tide of refugees and to ameliorate their condition. They can respond as required by accepting their humanitarian obligation to receive and protect the people affected. They can also help by increasing their contribution to the resources of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. But above all, they can make such human flights unnecessary in two ways. First, on the national level, they can observe or enforce the various covenants and norms of human conduct and government responsibility, so that none of their citizens will be obliged, for whatever reason, to vote with their feet. Secondly, they can uphold the principles of the Charter of our Organization, resolve international disputes peacefully and build constructive relations with neighbours and within regions. In this way, they will make human migration across frontiers unnecessary.

54. The United Nations is an instrument of peace. It was established primarily to promote that objective. But the achievement of this goal continues to be frustrated by the development of new and even more sophisticated means of human destruction. That is why peace cannot be considered without reference to the instruments of war.

55. Despite détente and the spirit of rapprochement among the great Powers, the world is still living in a period of very fragile peace. For while the international atmosphere has certainly improved as a result of the reduction of tension among the major Powers, the danger of a nuclear war has not been eliminated. For some time now, the final objective of the efforts of all States has been general and complete disarmament under effective international control, while the immediate goal is to eliminate the danger of nuclear war, to halt and reverse the arms race and to clear the path towards lasting peace.

56. The relaxation of international tensions through détente and peaceful coexistence has contributed greatly towards this process and also towards the initia-

tion of other negotiations. Today, the mutual reduction of forces in Europe, the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe and the implementation of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace [*resolution 2832 (XXVI)*]; as well as the negotiations conducted within the framework of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks, are characteristic of the attempts to establish a new era of peace. While co-operation should replace confrontation, there is a need to ensure that this co-operation is universal and is not confined to a group of nations. It should ensure the establishment of a more secure world in which peace is based on a lesser dependence on armaments, and not on the outmoded theory of the balance of terror and mutual destruction. It should also ensure the participation of all nations in determining the modalities of peace, taking into consideration the sovereignty and independence of all nations—big and small.

57. The entire international community has come to realize that international peace and security are indivisible and that they must be total and global to be viable and lasting. This realization should enable nations to give priority to the economic well-being of the world's people instead of piling up armaments.

58. Disarmament, decolonization and human rights are not the only ingredients of international security. Lasting peace can only be ensured if it is also based on a foundation of economic justice and equality. It is in recognition of this principle that at the sixth special session of the General Assembly [*resolution 3201 (S-VI)*] the international community proclaimed its determination to work urgently for the establishment of a New International Economic Order based on sovereign equality, interdependence, common interest and co-operation among all States. For we cannot talk of political and civic rights in isolation from economic and social rights.

59. Today, the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations is being convened at a most critical moment in the history of the ongoing North-South dialogue and international economic negotiation processes. During this year alone, the entire question of international economic relations has been examined at several major world conferences: at the Fourth Ministerial Meeting of the Group of 77, held at Arusha, the United Republic of Tanzania, from 6 to 16 February; the fifth session of UNCTAD, held at Manila from 7 May to 1 June; the Preparatory Committee for the New International Development Strategy, which met in New York in April, June and September; the Committee of the Whole Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174, which met in New York in March and September; the Tokyo Economic Summit, which met on 28 and 29 June; the second regular session in 1979 of the Economic and Social Council, held in Geneva from 4 July to 3 August; the World Conference on Agrarian Reform and Rural Development, held in Rome from 12 to 21 July; the United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development, held at Vienna from 20 to 31 August; the Meeting of Heads of Government of Commonwealth Countries, held at Lusaka from 1 to 7 August; and the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Havana from 3 to 9 September.

60. But I think the time has come when the realm of

dialogue has to give way to the realm of action. The discussions in various forums on a new international order have been long and comprehensive. They have been able to isolate and bring into focus many practical areas of international co-operation to make interdependence a reality. These practical elements continue to be denied application through the pursuit of narrow, short-term interests. The political will to implement solutions which have obtained overwhelming advocacy continues to be lacking from those we expect to lead in shaping this world into a truly interdependent one, mutually supportive and reinforcing.

61. Many decisions and resolutions adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations have remained by and large unimplemented. Dialogue must produce concrete results or confrontation becomes inevitable. As my President, Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere, in his address at Howard University in August 1977, said:

“Confrontation is not a desired strategy of the weak; but if reason, justice and dialogue all fail to bring international changes needed to win the war against world poverty, then economic conflict is bound to follow.”

62. We are meeting at a time when the final days of this decade are closing in. This decade has been a decade of serious economic negotiations, yet the international economic situation of low growth rates, runaway inflation, unemployment and serious balance-of-payments difficulties, particularly for the developing countries, has persisted. The gap between rich and poor nations is widening and will continue to do so. But more importantly, living standards in developing countries, particularly among the poorest, are falling. Conditions that have given rise to abject poverty are worsening instead of ameliorating, because of a combination of many factors, both new and old.

63. The experience of the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade [*resolution 2626 (XXV)*], which will soon come to an end, should guide us in our deliberations for the preparation of the new strategy for the third decade. All available data demonstrate clearly that the present Strategy has failed miserably in meeting the aspirations of the developing countries. The existing Strategy was based on the notion that the development of the developing countries could be achieved through the transmission of growth, or “trickle down” method, from the developed countries. This process has not only failed to bring about meaningful changes; it has in fact served to perpetuate the dependence of the developing countries on the developed ones instead of promoting their independence.

64. The present Strategy has failed to bring about meaningful changes in international economic relations because it did not address itself to fundamental structural changes in the existing international economic system. As we move to the next decade, therefore, these fundamental structural changes should be the target of negotiations in the preparation of the new strategy. The new strategy must indeed be designed to promote the development of the developing countries, and it should be formulated within the framework, and directed to achieving the objectives, of

the New International Economic Order in all its aspects—international trade, commodities, the transfer of real resources, science and technology, industrialization, food and agriculture, and the promotion of economic and technical co-operation among developing countries.

65. It is said that knowledge of the past is essential in order to understand the present and plan for the future. I submit that this truism is equally relevant in the context of our quest for a New International Economic Order. We must properly diagnose the pitfalls and setbacks of the present decade, whether in the realm of political changes or in the domain of economic problems, so as to equip ourselves to confront and overcome the challenges of the next decade—the decade of the 1980s.

66. This decade has been one of the most eventful. The world has been through political turmoil which has perhaps changed to some extent the structures and the balance of power. Developing nations are increasingly demanding their rightful share and the opportunity to participate in international politics, as well as in international economics.

67. The non-aligned movement, in which the overwhelming majority of the third-world countries are represented, has played a role in the vanguard of the struggle for democratization of international relations and the establishment of a New International Economic Order based on equity, justice, mutual benefit and genuine interdependence. Only nine days ago, the Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned countries, at their Sixth Conference in Havana, Cuba, gave a fresh and dynamic impetus and momentum to these lofty goals. As a result of those efforts, coupled with the imaginative leadership displayed in some sections of the developed world, the need for change is no longer contested. Rather, it is the nature and pace of that change that continue to encounter varied reactions, which in some cases border on obstruction.

68. The challenge of the 1980s must, therefore, first and foremost include how to make good the necessary changes. In this context it behoves those countries which, while professing acceptance of change, continue to cling to policies geared to the maintenance of the *status quo* to desist from such policies and to join the mainstream of the world community. At the same time, it should be emphasized that for such changes to be meaningful they must be all-encompassing.

69. Both the developed and the developing countries must play their part in ensuring that the changes we seek result in the greatest moral and material benefits for our peoples. Above all, it must be stressed that certain prerequisites are basic to the very foundation of the new order to which we are all aspiring. Thus, it would not be enough to demand national rights without ensuring human rights within nations. It would likewise be of limited effect if nations demanded change and embarked on the establishment of new international norms without establishing corresponding ones at the national level. We must aim at the strengthening of national foundations of power and at the elimination of glaring inequalities between people within nations and between nations.

70. There is no better instrument, or, for that matter,

any real alternative institution, for bringing about such a change than the United Nations. The United Nations is the most representative institution, particularly when we consider that the goal of universality is almost within our reach. We must therefore endeavour to ensure that the United Nations family of organizations is equipped to face the new challenges. To make it able to accommodate such change, it is necessary to provide for broader and enhanced participation by all nations. It is equally imperative to ensure the democratization of United Nations institutions. Above all, we must work to improve the effectiveness of our Organization. This becomes all the more relevant when we take into account the fact that the United Nations today faces what has been described as a crisis of confidence.

71. We in this Assembly can make a sound beginning towards that objective by ensuring that our deliberations and the decisions we arrive at enhance the United Nations as an instrument for the promotion of peace, freedom, justice, international security and international co-operation. Perhaps the time has come when we should be more concerned with the implementation of the decisions that we arrive at than with the proliferation of the resolutions that we adopt. We should also aim, wherever possible, at adopting decisions which will mobilize the capabilities and meet the aspirations of the people we represent. Equally important, we must seek to involve the commitment of world public opinion towards the noble goals to which the United Nations is committed, that is to say, universal freedom, equality and justice—in a word, genuine peace.

72. The hope for peace burns eternally in the breast of mankind. The quest for enduring peace is an arduous but glorious crusade, bringing together all nations of different political persuasions and diverse cultures in one splendid and fulfilling march.

73. There is not, and never has been, any one cause of war. But never in the history of man and of international intercourse have there been so many causes of war as prevail today. I have referred to some of them: the monumental poverty of two-thirds of the world's people, the widespread deprivation of political and human rights, the escalating arms race and the refusal to respect the sovereignty of others, including their sovereignty over their national resources. Each and every one of these represents a stream of potential unrest, impatience and revolt. Their confluence could become the floodwaters of world instability and war, but at that point of confluence there might also be erected a gigantic dam fraught with all the potential of mankind's hope for development and peace.

74. Our United Nations was instituted to confront that second challenge. It is not beyond the will of man or nation to work for peace. I believe that our Organization is capable of strengthening this will. With your co-operation we can make this thirty-fourth regular session of the United Nations General Assembly a turning-point in man's eternal journey towards freedom, unity, equality and co-operation—the true corner-stones of peace. And I can think of no better way of crowning a year which the United Nations has dedicated as the International Year of the Child than by strengthening our commitment to these lofty objectives.

## AGENDA ITEM 103

### Scale of assessments for the apportionment of the expenses of the United Nations: report of the Committee on Contributions (*continued*)

75. The PRESIDENT: Before turning to the next item on our agenda, I should like to inform the General Assembly that Chad has made the necessary payment to reduce its arrears below the amount specified in Article 19 of the Charter.

## AGENDA ITEM 19

### Admission of new Members to the United Nations

76. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the procedure followed in the past, I should now like to invite the General Assembly to consider, under item 19 of the provisional agenda, the positive recommendation by the Security Council for the admission of Saint Lucia to membership in the United Nations. This special procedure has been applied previously in order to give States recently recommended by the Security Council for membership in our Organization the opportunity, if the General Assembly acts favourably on their requests, to participate from the outset in the work of the session. If there is no objection, we shall proceed accordingly.

*It was so decided.*

77. The PRESIDENT: The Security Council has in document A/34/464 recommended the admission of Saint Lucia to membership in the United Nations. In this connexion a draft resolution has been submitted, document A/34/L.1 and Add. 1. May I take it that the General Assembly accepts the recommendation of the Security Council and adopts the draft resolution by acclamation?

*The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 34/1).*

78. The PRESIDENT: I declare Saint Lucia admitted to membership in the United Nations.

*The delegation of Saint Lucia was escorted to its place in the General Assembly hall.*

79. The PRESIDENT: As President of the thirty-fourth regular session of the United Nations General Assembly, I wish to extend a warm welcome to the new State of Saint Lucia, whose application for membership in the United Nations has just been approved. With the admission of Saint Lucia, the membership of the United Nations has increased to 152 and our Organization has taken a further step towards the goal of universality. The United Nations has thereby been strengthened as an instrument for world peace and co-operation.

80. The admission of Saint Lucia to the United Nations gives me personally great satisfaction because it marks one more advance in the ongoing process of decolonization. Having been for a number of years Chairman of the Special Committee on decolonization, I have closely followed Saint Lucia's progress towards full independence and I share with the people and the Government of Saint Lucia their joy on this happy occasion.

81. I should like to congratulate them, and particu-



larly their Prime Minister, Mr. Allan Louisy, on the unanimous approval with which the international community has received Saint Lucia's application for admission to membership in the United Nations. This approval signifies the recognition of the will of the people of Saint Lucia to work together with all peoples in the interest of world peace and co-operation. I have no doubt that Saint Lucia will make a constructive contribution to the work of the United Nations and, on behalf of the United Nations, I welcome its delegation, led by the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. George Odium.

82. Several representatives have expressed the desire to speak at this juncture. I now call on the first speaker, the representative of Liberia, who wishes to speak on behalf of the African States.

83. Mr. TUBMAN (Liberia): On behalf of the African group of States, I wish to express the profound sense of loss and grief that we feel at the untimely death of one of the great leaders of our continent, Agostinho Neto, the President of the Republic of Angola. Our hearts go out to the bereaved family and we wish for them and for the people of Angola the fortitude and faith to endure these sad and difficult days, so that their brave country can continue to stand tall in the front ranks of the struggle for African liberation, for human dignity and for the peace of the world.

84. At the appropriate time, African personalities of the highest authority and eminence will express from this rostrum the great pride and satisfaction which Africa feels in having you, Mr. President, one of its young and brilliant sons, preside over the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly. As Chairman of the group of African States for this month, it is my honour and my almost impossible duty to express appropriate thanks to your great predecessor, Mr. Liévano of Colombia, and to try to convey to you the real sense of pleasure which all of us, your colleagues from Africa, feel at seeing you deservedly elevated to this high position. Your great country, the United Republic of Tanzania, and our common continent, Africa, can be proud that no other country or region of the world could have produced a more youthful, more experienced or more gifted diplomat having the wisdom, patience and skill to guide the work of the Assembly in these uncertain days of difficulties—as well as opportunities—for the international community.

85. Because the independent States of Africa make up one-third of the membership of this Organization, our group's co-operation and support are essential for the success of any session of the General Assembly. This year, as always in the past, fully conscious of this responsibility which the power of our numbers confers upon us, the African group will give its full support to the President of the Assembly in the discharge of his duties. But because this year the President—you, Sir—is one of us, because the joy of your elevation today is shared by all of us, and because your certain success will bring credit and benefit to our beloved Africa, please rest assured that the African group will leave no stone unturned in the most vigorous efforts to make your presidency, an African presidency, one of the most productive and memorable in the annals of the United Nations.

86. The entire United Nations community knows that this day is one of particular significance for you, Mr.

President, because it coincides with the final formal action just taken by which the State of Saint Lucia has now become the one hundred and fifty-second Member of the United Nations. This is a proud achievement for you personally and you have every reason to rejoice since this act has, in no small measure, come about as a result of the valuable and painstaking work of the Special Committee on decolonization over whose activities you have presided with statesmanship for the past seven years.

87. Last week when the Security Council voted unanimously to recommend to the General Assembly the admission of Saint Lucia to membership in the United Nations, I had the honour, on behalf of the African group, to extend congratulations to that new State and to welcome it into the United Nations family. In renewing those sentiments here in the General Assembly, where there are neither small States nor big States, it is not inappropriate to recall that this Organization is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its Members. There are no minority States in the United Nations. All the States here are equal, and that equality is not to be measured by financial contributions to the United Nations budget or by geographical size or population; on the contrary, ignoring such considerations, the unique and enduring appeal of the Charter derives from its call to all nations to practise tolerance, to live in peace with one another as good neighbours and to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples.

88. Because those principles of the Charter are still valid today, small States like my own country, Liberia, and our newest Member, Saint Lucia, can come proudly to this forum and here, free from intimidation, endeavour to make our contribution in dignity and with a sense of responsibility to the lofty objectives for which this Organization stands.

89. So long as the United Nations remains loyal to the principles of its Charter its influence, regardless of the ill wishes or contemptuous actions of some of its detractors, instead of declining, will rise and the United Nations will continue to attract and be attractive to all States until the desirable day of complete universality of its membership has been reached.

90. Let us therefore, on this day of another beginning, indulge the hope that, during this year when the African Chairman of the Special Committee on decolonization presides over the General Assembly, the stubborn vestiges of racism and colonialism still remaining in southern Africa will, by the actions taken here in the next few weeks, be hastened to the day of their destruction. On that triumphant day when colonialism will be finally buried all States Members of this great Organization will be able to march forward in unity and brotherhood discharging the sacred task of strengthening peace and employing the full force of human ingenuity and resolve to make this world a better place for all nations and all peoples.

91. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of Papua New Guinea, who will speak on behalf of the Asian group of States.

92. Mr. MATANE (Papua New Guinea): On behalf of the Asian group of States, I congratulate you, Sir, on your election to the high office of President of the thirty-

fourth session of the General Assembly. With your wide experience in international affairs, manifested especially in the deliberations of, for example, the Trusteeship Council and the Special Committee on decolonization, I am more than convinced that this session is, and will be, in very capable hands.

93. The Asian group of States would like to pay a particular tribute to the outgoing President for the skilful and firm manner in which he led the meetings of the last session. The results of that session speak for themselves.

94. It was with sadness that we learned of the untimely death of the President of Angola, Agostinho Neto.

95. The Asian group of States cordially and warmly welcomes Saint Lucia as the newest Member of this world body. Each year, more and more colonies become politically independent. This is, and should be, the normal thing to happen, because all people of the world want, and have the right, to be free from foreign domination. There is nothing better than to be free, to be our own masters, again. We call on colonies which are still under foreign domination to move forward towards political independence. We also call on colonizers to set the colonized people free. We welcome Saint Lucia to our midst.

96. If I may digress for just one moment, international communities continue to use some words or groups of words which my delegation deploras as, in some cases, derogatory and, in other cases, simply meaningless. Such words or groups of words are: "developed countries" and "developing countries", or "first", "second", "third" and "fourth" world. The way things are going, we will soon come to the "fifth" or even "sixth" world.

97. First, let us stop deluding ourselves, because, as far as my delegation is concerned, there is no country in the world that is truly developed. If there is one, then I have not heard of it. So-called developed countries are still developing. That is a fact; we all know it for certain. Why, then, should we use the term "developed countries"?

98. Secondly, as for the various worlds to which we refer, my delegation does not see why there should be differences. We all know that there is only one world—mother earth—on which we live, unless, of course, we are talking about other celestial bodies. We undoubtedly are not talking about other celestial bodies—only our world. If that is so, then why do we become so unrealistic by referring to "first" and "second" worlds, and so on? For the record, my delegation strongly objects to such meaningless words. Let us be realistic and begin to use, for example, "industrialized countries" instead of the so-called "developed" or "first-world" or "second-world" countries, and "non-industrialized countries" for the so-called "developing" or "third-world", "fourth-world", or whatever-world countries.

99. If the suggestions I have just made pose some legal complications, then it is time for us to look for correction.

100. If I may resume, speaking on behalf of the Asian group of States, I wish this session seriousness and success in all our deliberations.

101. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of Romania, who will speak on behalf of the group of Eastern European States.

102. Mr. MARINESCU (Romania) (*interpretation from French*): Sir, permit me to congratulate you most cordially on your election to the important post of President of the General Assembly. The head of the Romanian delegation, when he addresses the Assembly next week, will of course have the pleasure of congratulating you appropriately on your election and of expressing at the same time his great appreciation to your eminent predecessor, Mr. Indalecio Liévano, for his remarkable contribution to the work of the last session of the General Assembly.

103. The Romanian delegation whole-heartedly endorses the words of deep sadness which you, Mr. President, have just voiced on the occasion of the unexpected death of that great son of the Angolan people, President Agostinho Neto. In the passing of that distinguished statesman the friendly people of Angola, the people of Africa and the international community have lost a determined and indefatigable fighter for the cause of the national independence and political, economic and social emancipation of his country, as well as for the triumph of peace, freedom, justice and human dignity throughout the African continent.

104. I would request the delegation of Angola to accept our sincerest condolences and the expression of our whole-hearted solidarity. We are convinced that the people of Angola will continue to pursue the noble ideals to which President Neto devoted all his talents and energies.

105. It is my honour, as Chairman of the group of Eastern European States, to welcome Saint Lucia on its admission to the United Nations.

106. In the midst of our pleasure at the increase in the membership of this world Organization by a new Member, it is worth recalling that the aspirations of the people of Saint Lucia to freedom and national independence are quite familiar to us. Indeed, the United Nations, in the implementation of the General Assembly's historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, has played a most important role in the developments which culminated, on 22 February last, in the proclamation by the people of Saint Lucia of their national independence. The action just taken by the General Assembly through its unanimous decision lends the seal of formality to the place which this young Latin American State has just taken among the free and sovereign nations of the world.

107. The proclamation of the national independence of Saint Lucia and its admission to membership in the United Nations are an expression of the historic changes that have occurred in the world today and a further proof of the will of peoples to live as free and independent nations and to develop in accordance with their own interests.

108. As a Member of the Organization, which has just taken a further step towards universality, Saint Lucia will be in a position to contribute to the attainment of the ideals of the United Nations and to make its own unique contribution to the examination of, and the efforts designed to solve, international problems with a view to peace, justice and equitable co-operation among all nations of the world. At the same time, the people of that country will no doubt find in the United Nations an experience and spirit of solidarity which will be particularly valuable for the consolidation of their own political independence and their economic and social development.

109. Before concluding, I should like to recall that on the occasion of the proclamation of the independence of Saint Lucia the Romanian Government communicated to the Government of that State its best wishes for success in the work of free and independent development.

110. While congratulating the Government and people of Saint Lucia on the occasion of such a momentous event, we wish to express our desire to establish friendly co-operation with that country's delegation to the United Nations.

111. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of Panama, who will speak on behalf of the group of Latin American States.

112. Mr. ILLUECA (Panama) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The election of a statesman with your eminent qualities as President of the thirty-fourth session of the United Nations General Assembly is a matter for singular satisfaction for the entire international community, but particularly for the peoples of the third world, whose interests you have so loyally defended throughout your fruitful public life. On behalf of the Latin American group of States, I am pleased to congratulate you most warmly and at the same time to offer you its most resolute co-operation for the complete success of your important office as President.

113. I wish to place on record also our group's warmest appreciation to the outgoing President and distinguished Latin American statesman, Mr. Indalecio Liévano Aguirre, for his magnificent work as President of the thirty-third session of the General Assembly.

114. A mournful event has engulfed us in deep sorrow and moves us on this solemn occasion to express our feelings of solidarity with the people of Angola on the premature passing of that great African statesman, Agostinho Neto. President Neto won the affection and admiration of the peoples of the third world because of his outstanding intellectual qualities, his humanity, his talent and ability, which constantly opened up promising roads for the nation of Angola and for the peoples of southern Africa desirous of freedom and justice. On behalf of the Latin American group, I wish to transmit the most heartfelt condolences and sorrow to the family of President Neto and to the Government and people of the People's Republic of Angola.

115. In my dual capacity as the representative of Panama and Chairman of the group of Latin American

States during the month of September, I wish to state that my country is a sponsor of draft resolution A/34/L.1 and Add. 1, which concludes with the Assembly's decision to admit Saint Lucia to membership in the United Nations, having considered the fact that the Security Council unanimously approved resolution 453 (1979), in which it recommended the admission of Saint Lucia as a full Member of the United Nations.

116. The unanimous welcome given by the Security Council to the entry of Saint Lucia has created a propitious atmosphere for this Assembly to approve unanimously the draft resolution which will make Saint Lucia the one hundred and fifty-second Member of the United Nations and the twenty-ninth member of the group of Latin American States.

117. For Latin America, the entry of Saint Lucia is a cause for satisfaction because it gives effect to three basic fundamental premises deeply rooted in the conscience of Latin America, namely, the self-determination of peoples, the sovereign equality of States and the universality of the United Nations.

118. It is also a matter of profound satisfaction that Saint Lucia has achieved its independence as a result of a peaceful process which had the support both of the United Workers Party, the government party, and the Labour Party, the opposition party, as well as the forthright and firm co-operation of the United Kingdom, the administering Power, which dealt with this matter in a manner that deserves the cordial appreciation of the international community.

119. Although in the Security Council debate it was mentioned that Saint Lucia would become the eighth Commonwealth member in the Caribbean region, it is fitting to point out that in the development of harmonious and brotherly relations between the peoples of the Latin American continent a happy understanding has been reached to consider all the States in that geographical area as being equally Latin American. This was the fortunate conclusion reached in Panama, when the Convention Establishing the Latin American Economic System was adopted.<sup>2</sup> The Bolivarian idea of the unity and integration of Latin America remains alive, strong and dynamic in the Latin American human communities, without any distinction for reasons of race, language, origin, nationality, sex or ideology, and regardless of geographical location, from the Río Bravo to Patagonia, in the north, centre or south of Latin America, including the Caribbean sector. With the entry of Saint Lucia, Latin America maintains the proportion of 20 percent of the composition of the United Nations which, together with its contribution to the world economy and to peace and to friendship and co-operation among States, assures for it an increasingly important position in international relations and in the future of mankind.

120. I conclude by reiterating the satisfaction of our region at the unanimous approval by the General Assembly of the admission of Saint Lucia, whose people and Government I most cordially welcome on behalf of the Latin American group.

<sup>2</sup> Signed at Panama City on 17 October 1975.

121. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of Belgium, who will speak on behalf of the group of Western European and other States.

122. Mr. ERNEMANN (Belgium) (*interpretation from French*): As Chairman of the group of Western European and other States, I should like to welcome Saint Lucia to the United Nations as its one hundred and fifty-second Member State. We recall with pleasure that it is a country which benefited from the emancipating work of the United Kingdom. I should like to address a cordial greeting to the Deputy Prime Minister, Mr. George Odlum, who is heading the delegation of Saint Lucia.

123. I should hope that the leaders of Saint Lucia will feel at home here, as we all do. The small size or remoteness of a country has never prevented its influence being felt. We all have our roles to play. Saint Lucia will be able to determine its role and to fulfil it.

124. Our Organization is designed to reflect the universality of nations. Its rapid expansion over the last few years, of which Saint Lucia's admission marks a new stage, calls, in our view, for an ever more intensive search for consensus. The weight of votes is something that fades, while the moral authority of consensus tends to expand international law.

125. I should like to take this opportunity to congratulate you, Sir, on behalf of the group of Western European and other States, on your accession to the presidency of the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. Our States take great pleasure in your election. For many years now, we have been able to appreciate here, in these precincts, your human and professional qualities and your concern to endow our Organization with a greater measure of effectiveness and equipoise. Your long experience of international problems and your profound knowledge of our Organization are the best guarantees of your success in that task.

126. It behoves the President of the General Assembly more than anyone to demonstrate profound attachment to the principles of the Charter, to recall them and to see that they are observed. The group of Western European and other States knows that this has always been and will remain one of your prime concerns.

127. You may be assured of the full support of our group in the performance of your arduous duties.

128. I should also like to pay a tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Liévano, for the way in which he presided over the thirty-third session of the General Assembly.

129. In conclusion, we should like to associate ourselves with the tribute you paid in memory of Mr. Agostinho Neto, the President of the People's Republic of Angola. The Belgian Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Henri Simonet, was able personally to appreciate his political vision. Many States in the group of Western European and other States owe to him a tightening of their links with Angola. His loss is felt, and we hope for the sake of world peace that his example will remain alive.

130. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of Qatar, who will speak on behalf of the group of Arab States.

131. Mr. JAMAL (Qatar) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Mr. President, allow me, on behalf of the Arab group of States and on my own behalf, to congratulate you most sincerely and warmly on your election by acclamation to the presidency of the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly. Your long experience in international affairs and your great competence make you an exemplary person to guide our work in this international forum towards the success we all seek. Your country, the United Republic of Tanzania, which plays a positive role in promoting the progress and prosperity of the developing countries, represents for us the best guarantee that our session will be crowned with success.

132. On this occasion I should like, on behalf of the States of the Arab group, to transmit to the Government and people of the State of Saint Lucia our warmest congratulations and best wishes on their admission to membership in this world body. That event will undoubtedly strengthen the United Nations in its task of serving the cause of international peace and justice. We wish this young nation all success in the attainment of the objectives and fulfilment of the principles of the United Nations in order jointly to contribute to the greater well-being of mankind as a whole.

133. Finally, I must not fail to mention the praiseworthy work and major contribution of your predecessor, Mr. Liévano, which helped to ensure the success of the thirty-third session.

134. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of Guyana, who will speak on behalf of the Caribbean States.

135. Mr. SINCLAIR (Guyana): Mr. President, permit me to express to you, on behalf of the Commonwealth Caribbean States, our sincerest congratulations on your unanimous election as President of our Assembly. The leaders of our delegations will shortly be congratulating you appropriately on your election on behalf of their respective Governments. On those occasions they will also express the appreciation of their Governments for the very important contribution made to the success of the work of the last Assembly by your distinguished predecessor, Mr. Indalecio Liévano.

136. It was with a sense of profound shock and regret that we learned of the demise of the late President of Angola, Mr. Agostinho Neto. With his passing, Angola has lost a noble son and leader whose courage and sacrifice during Angola's protracted liberation war will live forever in our memories. We should like to extend our sincerest sympathy and solidarity with the family of the late President and with the Government and people of Angola in their hour of loss.

137. It is a great honour for my delegation, in the name of the delegations of the Commonwealth Caribbean Territories, to extend a welcome to Saint Lucia to our world body. With Saint Lucia, our Territories share a history of slavery, colonialism and exploitation, a history that dates back more than four centuries. Along with this common history, geographical proximity has destined us to close, cordial co-operation. In fact, our relations with Saint Lucia are a story of long, fruitful,

sisterly co-operation over the years, a co-operation that embraces numerous areas of activity in the political, economic, social and cultural spheres of the life of our Territories.

138. Perhaps our most significant co-operative effort is in our regional organization, the Caribbean Community, where we are all striving together to increase our collective strength through reciprocal co-operation and to make our region better equipped to survive in the world of today. In this regard, Saint Lucia's role and contribution have been most outstanding.

139. The Commonwealth Caribbean States therefore feel a particular pride and sense of honour in welcoming Saint Lucia into our midst today, just two weeks after we had the pleasure in Havana of welcoming Saint Lucia to observer status within the non-aligned movement. Among other things, this accession is symbolic of the irreversible march of decolonization and of the indomitable nature of the desire of the peoples of our region for freedom and for the enjoyment of their right to self-determination. We are confident of Saint Lucia's ability and determination to fulfil its obligations as a Member State of our Organization and we are likewise confident that Saint Lucia's participation in the work of the Organization will make a positive contribution to promoting the ideas of our Charter.

140. As we welcome Saint Lucia among us, it is appropriate that we also give some thought to others in our region who are still under colonial rule. We sincerely hope that those peoples will soon be enabled to exercise their right to self-determination and take their place as fully sovereign States in the international community. The States of the Commonwealth Caribbean look forward to working closely with Saint Lucia in this Organization, both here in New York and in other forums.

141. We call on all other States in the Organization to work with us, extending to Saint Lucia all necessary co-operation in that great national effort of which its independence in February of this year has marked only the beginning.

142. The PRESIDENT: I now call upon the representative of the host country, the United States of America.

143. Mr. McHENRY (United States of America): As host country, the United States is pleased to welcome Saint Lucia as the one hundred fifty-second Member of the United Nations. In the Security Council debate on Saint Lucia's admission, we already expressed our support for this new State's application and our belief in its readiness to assume the responsibilities that membership entails.

144. We expect that the principles which guided the people of Saint Lucia successfully to independence on 22 February of this year will continue to guide them as they join in our common efforts here to establish a world of peace, justice and prosperity. Saint Lucia has already assumed an active role in international affairs, and we support its efforts at regional co-operation through meetings with its Caribbean neighbours such as one recently held at St. George's, Grenada.

145. As we welcome the representatives of Saint

Lucia to the important work of the United Nations, we wish also to assure them of the full co-operation of the United States in our common endeavours. We extend to them and to the people of their nation the warm greetings and best wishes of the American people. We look forward to a close association and to an increasingly constructive relationship between the United States and Saint Lucia, as well as with other nations of the Caribbean.

146. Sir Anthony PARSONS (United Kingdom): Brevity is said to be one of the national characteristics of the British. But it does not, certainly on this occasion, denote any lack of warmth.

147. My delegation is delighted to extend a very warm welcome to Saint Lucia on its admission to the United Nations and to its Deputy Prime Minister, Mr. George Odlum and his delegation. The United Kingdom is always pleased to welcome new Members to this Organization, and it is a particular pleasure to us when the new Member is a fellow member of the Commonwealth.

148. The United Kingdom has fully supported Saint Lucia's moves towards full independence. It is therefore a matter of great personal satisfaction to me that my first appearance at this podium occurs on this day when Saint Lucia takes its place in the international community. My country's association with Saint Lucia is a long and happy one. As a result, we have great experience of the qualities of the people of Saint Lucia, qualities which I am sure will make a full contribution to the work of the United Nations.

149. The PRESIDENT: I now take great pleasure in inviting the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Saint Lucia, Mr. George Odlum, to address the General Assembly.

150. Mr. ODLUM (Saint Lucia): My delegation and I wish to express the profound sorrow of my country on the news of the death of the distinguished revolutionary leader of the Angolan people, Agostinho Neto. This marks the passing away of one of the true national sons of the third world.

151. Mr. President, I extend congratulations to you and your country on your election as President of the General Assembly.

152. My delegation wishes to extend the sincerest thanks of the people and Government of Saint Lucia to all those who were so instrumental in making it possible for Saint Lucia to take its seat within the portals of this body. We are aware of the obligations and responsibilities that are attendant on membership and are fully committed to upholding the ideals of the United Nations and are pledged to continuing to foster the spirit of good-neighbourliness and international co-operation in a peaceful world for the betterment of the peoples of the international community.

153. We are an island people. We are constricted in size, population and resources. Yet the peace of the world, perhaps poignantly for us, is something that we cannot allow to be compromised. Peace is vital to our economic existence, to our development, to our progress. Without it our people remain destitute and the independence of action, thought and existence which we have so recently achieved becomes meaningless and

unproductive to our people. Therefore my delegation and the people it represents are consciously and vitally concerned with maintaining peace in this world.

154. Recent national disasters, fundamentally of the type that has recently affected our sister island of Dominica, remind us how vulnerable an island State can become to the vicissitudes of nature. This reality heightens our conviction and realization that we must endeavour totally to utilize the twin facets of progress and development, namely co-ordination and co-operation, in our dealings with the international community.

155. Because we are constricted by the confines of our existence as an island State, we are more specifically aware of our very serious and real development problems. We are equally aware how easily our progress can be reduced, or even negated, by factors beyond our control, be they natural or otherwise. It is precisely because of our island constraints that my delegation feels that the island-State concept and what it entails must be projected and pursued, particularly in meetings of the Committees and the plenary Assembly, in order to ensure that due notice is taken and adequate consideration given to our extreme vulnerability.

156. The uniqueness of our situation is underlined by the fact of our geographical identification, which negates to a large extent the normal and accepted prerequisites for development. In short, we constitute a very special case.

157. My Government recognizes that a great deal can be achieved through regional arrangements, and that through these arrangements the larger international community can be enabled to appreciate the myriad of nuances that beset the smallest of our sovereign entities. That is why we relentlessly pursue our association: with the Caribbean Community [CARICOM], the Organization of American States [OAS] and the non-aligned groupings. We endeavour to support to the fullest extent the process of furthering regional integration in our area, and to that end we seek through our subregional arrangements to bring every detail of our own circumstances to the forefront in our group deliberations in order that they may obtain a proper hearing and be supported and transcribed within the larger framework of the OAS system. If the problems of our region are to be solved they must first be identifiable and identified at the base and then they must be seen in the perspective of raising the standards of our collective peoples in order to attain a decent and comparable standard of living.

158. That is why, even within our CARICOM confines we seek to analyse, consider and project the specific considerations that pertain to the Eastern Caribbean grouping. We seek therein an identification of the peoples and the Governments, and, in turn, the acceptance of that approach in the larger CARICOM arena.

159. On our first appearance here, it is only natural that we should give some brief indication of the principles of our policy that will enable us to play a role in the general deliberations of this Assembly.

160. The corner-stone of my Government's policy is that we hold sacred our readiness to enjoy the best

relations with all States of the international community and that we appreciate fully any measure of assistance and partnership they may wish to provide, singly or collectively, in cementing the bonds of friendship between our people and theirs. The only exception to this declaration is our general and committed position that we will not contemplate or entertain any relationship, association or connexion with any country that practices racism or *apartheid* in the broadest interpretation of these words. We particularly single out South Africa and the present Zimbabwe régime in this context. We are following the deliberations currently taking place in London on the question of Zimbabwe and the legitimate aspirations of its peoples, and we have taken note of the position of the front-line States in this regard. We sincerely hope that the conference will meet with success.

161. We will support every legitimate, regionally recognized liberation movement in realizing its quest for justice. We deprecate interference of any kind in the affairs of any State or any threat made to the inviolability and territorial sovereignty of a State. We note that there is still an impasse on the question of Belize. We observe and welcome the efforts being made by Barbados and the United Kingdom to overcome this situation. We pledge our unflinching support for Belize's immediate and uncompromised independence.

162. We also welcome the United Kingdom's resolve to grant independence to the remainder of the West Indies Associated States, and we look forward to welcoming St. Vincent to membership in the United Nations this year. We are certain that the United Kingdom is doing its utmost to enable Antigua, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla and Montserrat to realize their preferred choice of expressing their self-determination in the shortest possible time. We will continue to hold a watching brief in this regard.

163. It is necessary for me to emphasize my Government's earnest hope and wishes for the achievement of a new international economic order. We have followed intently the deliberations of UNCTAD, the North-South dialogue, and the other various forums that have sought to make some progress in that direction. These meetings are not only important but vital to us. We shall endeavour, to the extent our resources permit and in the context of our priorities, to participate fully and to lend all assistance towards a proper outcome to these deliberations.

164. In this context, we shall work toward a redefinition of, and a recommitment and rededication to, principles with a view to making a renewed effort to achieve a new international economic order. The time has come for some introspection and for a review of where we are going, at what cost, and for what reasons.

165. Every State is preoccupied with the energy question. Island States are in a particularly difficult position, since our every communication and contact with the international community relates to the high price of energy. We will follow and participate in the considerations leading to the energy conference in 1980, but we wish to state categorically today that it is our contention that every region has a responsibility and an obligation to work towards a comprehensive and generally acceptable answer to the energy problem.

166. The solution must have foundations rooted in every regional arrangement. The focus must be very much on acceptable regional solutions to the problem, solutions that can be translated into one internationally workable formula. To neglect and minimize this approach will leave us at a serious disadvantage in attempting to preserve our domestic structures. This will result in a further weakening—and perhaps in the destruction—of the international peace we have thus far contrived to maintain and develop.

167. The fact of being an island State increases our concern with the law of the sea. Our tradition entails an association with the sea for communication, for resources, and for food. The riches of the sea-bed and its exploitation particularly concern us. So does the question of the conservation of fishing grounds, of pollution,

and of indiscriminate fishing methods. We look forward to a successful conclusion of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, and at the appropriate time we will indicate our policy on specific issues.

168. The people and Government of Saint Lucia wish to convey their specific gratitude to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, to the Chairman and members of the Security Council and to all representatives of Member States for their respective roles in making this occasion possible. We pledge our total and whole-hearted support and co-operation in the United Nations quest for continuing peace in the international community.

*The meeting rose at 5.20 p.m.*