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*Temporary President: Mr. A. C. S. HAMEED
(Sri Lanka).*

President: Mr. Lazar MOJSOV (Yugoslavia).

AGENDA ITEM 1

Opening of the session by the Chairman of the delegation
of Sri Lanka

1. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: I declare open the
thirty-second regular session of the General Assembly.

AGENDA ITEM 2

Minute of silent prayer or meditation

2. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: I invite repre-
sentatives to stand and observe one minute of silent prayer
or meditation.

The representatives stood in silence.

*Address by Mr. A. C. S. Hameed, Temporary President,
Chairman of the delegation of Sri Lanka*

3. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: Eleven years have
elapsed since I made my first acquaintance with the General
Assembly of the United Nations in 1966 as a representative.
It was approximately two months ago that I assumed my
duties as Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Sri
Lanka.

4. Twenty-two years have elapsed since the Bandung
principles were declared. While these principles have all the
appearance of counsels of perfection in an extremely
imperfect world, there is not one of them that has lost a
fragment of its relevance during the 22 years that have
elapsed since they were enunciated.

5. The last 12 months have witnessed feverish diplomatic
activity in areas of intense political turbulence. There have
been many developments which raised hopes of progress
only to have those hopes dampened by equivocation or
indecision, or imperilled if not destroyed by extremism.

6. In the economic sphere the most strenuous and diligent
efforts have been exerted in the search for solutions to the
problems of development and international economic co-
operation through the implementation of the decisions
adopted by the General Assembly at its seventh special
session.

7. The thirty-first session was suspended on 22 December
1976 to enable the Paris Conference on International
Economic Co-operation to conclude its ministerial meeting
and to report its results to the General Assembly at a
resumed session, which began last week. The results of the
Paris Conference and of the resumed session can best be
assessed as having been of limited efficacy. The agreement
to establish a common fund was, however, itself a welcome
accomplishment. But the purpose, objectives and other
essential features of the fund present a vast range of
problems to be settled through UNCTAD before the fund
can come into operation. The fund itself is only one
element of the new international economic order, whose
main purpose is to ensure a more equitable and just
distribution of the world's resources, a more rational
utilization of these resources and such changes in the
structure of international trade as would progressively
improve the living conditions of the overwhelming majority
of mankind. The expectations kindled by such instruments
as the Declaration and the Programme of Action on the
Establishment of a New International Economic Order
[resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)] and the Charter
of Economic Rights and Duties of States [resolution
3281 (XXIX)] still remain only a distant vision. A more
determined and conscientious effort is required if we are to

maintain the unity of the human family and avert the strife and bitterness that must inevitably result from the present conditions of economic disorder and inequality. This session of the General Assembly will need to take a clear step in the direction pointed out by the two instruments that I have cited.

8. The arms race has become a frantic stampede. The degree of sophistication and refinement of weaponry has assumed astronomical dimensions with the possible inclusion of the cruise missile, the backfire and the neutron bomb in the arsenals of the super-Powers.

9. We would all hope that the special session on disarmament will reverse the present trend and set us firmly on the road towards the ultimate goal of general and complete disarmament, but in the meantime the first and most decisive step that could serve as a dramatic contribution to the special session would be the attainment of agreement on the conclusion of a comprehensive test-ban treaty.

10. While dealing with the economic sphere, we must take special note of the stage that has been reached in the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. At the sixth session of that Conference, which ended on 15 July this year, the Conference succeeded in merging the various negotiating texts into an informal composite negotiating text.¹ Dissatisfaction with some of the provisions of the text, especially those relating to the exploration and exploitation of the mineral resources of the international sea-bed area, and with the forms of procedure adopted, has been expressed. I am confident that statesmanship will overcome these difficulties and that the conference will before long provide the world with a new law for the oceans which will be generally acceptable and will give substance to the concept of the common heritage of mankind as well as providing a powerful impetus to the establishment of the new international economic order.

11. An organization whose paramount objective is the maintenance of international peace and security must view with profound anxiety and dismay the developments in southern Africa and the Middle East. The assaults on human dignity and on the human rights of the black peoples of southern Africa by the racist and repressive white minority régimes in that area have been growing in recent months, gradually diminishing hopes for a peaceful settlement, undermining the efforts of those countries which have been negotiating with both parties to secure a change in the policies of the white minority régimes and to create the conditions for the transition to majority rule.

12. The same evaluation could be applied with equal force to the situation in the Middle East. The State of Israel owes its existence to the United Nations. There is no other juridical basis for its establishment apart from the partition resolution adopted at the second session of the General Assembly [resolution 181 (II)]. That resolution provided for the establishment of independent Arab and Jewish States and for a special international régime for the City of Jerusalem. The legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine cannot be cloaked in any other terms. The

State of Israel has continued to consolidate its occupation of territory seized in war in violation of a fundamental principle of international law—the inadmissibility of acquisition of territory by force. The Government of Israel has also sought to consolidate its occupation by the establishment of Jewish settlements in the occupied territories and thereby shown a total disregard for the 1949 Geneva Conventions.

13. While on the one hand the State of Israel is allowed to act in defiance of international law and in a manner which reveals clearly its refusal to recognize the rights of the Palestinians, conditions are imposed on the Palestinians for their representation by the Palestine Liberation Organization—which is recognized by the overwhelming majority of the United Nations membership as the legitimate custodian of the rights of the Palestinian Arabs—at the talks aimed at the attainment of a just and honourable solution.

14. In the interest of brevity I have referred only to some of the most serious developments in the preceding 12 months which will be considered under various items of the agenda of this session. I do not want to strike a pessimistic note. However, when we look around we cannot fail to be distressed by the depressing reality of a deteriorating world situation. Problems of peace, security and the welfare of mankind are fundamental. They are still with us, calling for solution. But what is the response of the world community? Distinguished representatives, the answer rests with you. I wish every one of you success in your deliberations and in the search for solutions in the session which is about to commence under the able guidance of the new President.

AGENDA ITEM 3

Credentials of representatives to the thirty-second session of the General Assembly:

- (a) Appointment of the members of the Credentials Committee;
- (b) Report of the Credentials Committee

15. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: 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-second session, the Credentials Committee should consist of the following Members States: Canada, China, Ecuador, Fiji, Madagascar, Nepal, Nigeria, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and the United States of America. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the countries I have mentioned are hereby appointed members of the Credentials Committee.

It was so decided (decision 32/301).

AGENDA ITEM 106

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

16. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: Before we turn to the election of the President, I should like to invite the

¹ See *Official Records of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea*, vol. VIII (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.78.V.4), documents A/CONF.62/WP.10 and Add.1.

attention of the General Assembly to document A/32/224 which contains a letter addressed to me by the Secretary-General informing the Assembly that two Member States are in arrears in the payment of their financial contributions to the United Nations within the terms of Article 19 of the Charter.

17. I have been exerting my best efforts to arrive at a solution of this problem which satisfies the requirements of the Charter and yet takes account of the position of the Governments concerned.

18. Unfortunately, in the time available we have not been able to arrive at an agreement on this matter. Accordingly, in order to permit the Assembly to proceed with its business without further delay, I should like to propose that, without constituting a precedent, the Assembly agree to waive rule 92 in connexion with the election of the President and that, on the basis of the endorsement of his candidacy by all regional groups, we proceed to elect the President of the thirty-second session by acclamation.

It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEM 4

Election of the President of the General Assembly

19. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: In pursuance of the decision just adopted I take it that the Assembly agrees to elect Mr. Lazar Mojsov of Yugoslavia President of the thirty-second session by acclamation.

Mr. Lazar Mojsov (Yugoslavia) was elected by acclamation President of the thirty-second session of the General Assembly (decision 32/302).

20. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: I extend my sincere congratulations to Mr. Mojsov and I invite him to assume the presidency.

Mr. Mojsov took the Chair.

Address by Mr. Lazar Mojsov, President of the thirty-second session of the General Assembly

21. The PRESIDENT: May I first of all express my sincere gratitude for the confidence you have placed in me and the honour that you have bestowed by electing me President of the thirty-second session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. If I am imbued at this moment with a feeling of pride it is because I have the privilege of representing a country to which a great tribute has been paid by today's election.

22. I interpret my election as an expression of appreciation of socialist, non-aligned Yugoslavia and of its policy of struggle for peace and equal international co-operation, which has been the basis of its activity both within and outside this Organization ever since my country, in San Francisco in 1945, affixed its signature to the Charter. Under the leadership of President Tito, and acting within the group of non-aligned and other developing countries as well as co-operating with many other countries in the world, Yugoslavia has been working consistently and will

continue to work for the realization of the purposes and principles on which the United Nations is founded.

23. I accept the duty entrusted to me, being fully aware of the great responsibility that it entails. My responsibility is all the greater as I have been called upon to take over this high post from Ambassador Hamilton Shirley Amerasinghe, the eminent representative of Sri Lanka, the country where the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries was held in August 1976.

24. Mr. Amerasinghe's vast experience and outstanding personal qualities found full expression in the efficient manner in which he presided over the thirty-first session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

25. For my part I can only pledge myself to work to the best of my abilities so that this session of the General Assembly, too, may successfully perform the tasks that lie ahead of it. In this endeavour I will need the help and co-operation of all of you, and I know that I can count on it, for it is in our common interest that this session should make a further contribution to the resolution of the many problems of the present-day world. Particularly important will be the co-operation of all the Vice-Presidents of the General Assembly and of the Chairmen of the Main Committees, with whom I shall always be in close touch.

26. During the years that I spend in the United Nations as Permanent Representative of Yugoslavia I had the honour and pleasure to get to know, and in many difficult and dangerous situations to co-operate with, our Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim. I have come to appreciate Mr. Waldheim's vast experience and personal qualities and his dedication to the strengthening and improvement of the effectiveness of the United Nations. Now, during the current session, his assistance to me and to all of us will be invaluable, as will be the assistance of his associates in the United Nations Secretariat.

27. The tasks facing us are indeed considerable and complex, as are the numerous and grave problems of the world of today, for which solutions are being sought within the United Nations. The international community has made significant progress towards creating conditions for the preservation of peace and the settlement of outstanding issues.

28. However, the world situation remains very complex and fraught with numerous controversies and conflicts. Stagnation and wavering have followed the break-through along the road of the emancipation of peoples and countries from imperialism, colonialism, exploitation and all forms of foreign domination; the paths leading to the solution of international crises are being blocked and new hot-beds of conflict are being created.

29. In the present very complicated international situation the following pertinent questions arise: has the cold-war period been done away with once and for all, or will it continue to be stirred up and revived in new forms aimed at maintaining tensions? For how long will the definitive ending of the process of decolonization be put off, and will the decisive battle for the elimination of the practice of racial discrimination be followed by new pressures and

interventions against individual independent countries? Will definitive, just and durable solutions to the existing international crises finally be found or shall we soon be witnessing new explosions? Where are the arms race and the constant quantitative and qualitative build-up of enormous suicidal nuclear arsenals leading? Shall we embark upon the road of genuine détente encompassing all regions of the world and all spheres of international relations, or will there be new rivalries and aggravations of relations with unpredictable consequences? How much longer can we tolerate the glaring injustice of global proportions existing in the over-all structure of relations between the developed and the developing nations, between the rich and the poor, the surfeited and the starving, and how long can we delay the search for solutions aimed at harmonizing these relations without reaching the brink of global social explosion?

30. These are but a few of the most important questions of today pertaining to the basic dilemmas of peace or war, freedom and equality or oppression and exploitation, economic and social progress or retrogression of the world as a whole. On the answers to these questions depends whether mankind—in spite of the unprecedented advances of science and technology which have enabled it to enter the “space age”—will find itself on the threshold of stagnation and even destruction or will attain full efflorescence, to the benefit of all the peoples on our planet.

31. The arms race and the sophistication of nuclear weapons have absorbed enormous financial resources and have brought about the overwhelming influence of the military-industrial complex. Nuclear partnership and the “balance of terror” have affected, through a number of attendant manifestations, the totality of international relations.

32. In the absence of a system of global peace and security for all, a relatively unstable *status quo* has been established between the nuclear Powers. Notwithstanding the existence of certain institutionalized forms this *status quo* relies, owing to the general distrust, primarily on the constant replenishment of the arsenal of nuclear weapons and on continual appraisals of the “striking” and “deterrent” power of other nuclear Powers and, with regard to other States, on a system of bloc alliances and a tendency to establish “codes of conduct” whose limits must be strictly observed.

33. Such a “system” cannot bring stable peace to the world or ensure progress with regard to the solving of essential problems of our time. It is founded on the monopoly of military power and privileges inherent in it, and therefore this “system” of international relations favours the preservation of the existing state of affairs and the perpetuation of acquired monopoly, coupled with constant obstruction and delay in the settlement of pressing problems, even when the process of negotiation concerning them has formally begun. This has actually given rise to all the crises in international relations that we have witnessed in the post-war decades.

34. The process of decolonization and the internal transformation of newly-liberated countries has disrupted the entire existing pattern of international relations. This

process has encompassed peoples from those parts of the world which were not active participants in international affairs, and for this reason their emergence and assertion in the until-then exclusive sphere of international activities was bound to effect revolutionary changes which are still being resisted by the old forces of domination in an attempt to delay or postpone the inevitable changes.

35. The emergence of new forces on the international scene has also led to the identification of new problems that the international community has to face today. Poverty, hunger, brutal exploitation and discrimination, and the lagging behind in social and economic development of the majority of countries and peoples of the world can no longer be ignored and “kept in quarantine” as in the earlier epoch of colonialism.

36. Thus, in this crucial period of history it has become indispensable to establish a new international economic order, that is, to create an order that will not only rest upon more equitable foundations, ensuring the survival and progress of developing countries and bringing about a gradual improvement in the standards of living of their populations, but will also make it possible to assess the new needs of the international community as a whole and pave the way for the development of the world economy on such bases as are required by the new relationship of forces and by new technological progress, as well as by the need to improve substantially the position of developing countries in the international division of labour. Such an order is in the interest of all the countries of the world.

37. There exist periods in the history of mankind when the structure of over-all social relationships in individual States or in a broader context must be replaced by a new, more progressive and up-to-date structure so as to facilitate progress instead of stagnation or retrogression. The time in which we live is precisely such a period, and the need for changes is reflected on a global scale. The existing structure of international relations—based on the domination of the big and powerful States of the world, not only in the immediate areas of their “vital interests” but also in a broader world context, supported by instruments of military and economic supremacy—should give way to a new, more elaborate, interdependent structure founded on equitable co-operation among all the independent and sovereign States and peoples of the world, on total renunciation of the use of force and on the peaceful settlement of mutual disputes on the basis of generally acceptable principles of coexistence.

38. Only with such a structure of international relations in such a world system will it be possible to resolve not only the existing problems but also those which will unavoidably arise in the future. Attempts to delay inevitable changes, to solve problems partially, to conserve in the inherited structure of international relations all that need not be relinquished can but result in a greater accumulation of problems and stepped-up new pressures.

39. It goes without saying that the establishment of such a new system of international relations constitutes a long-term task. It is obvious that such a new system cannot be fully established through the visionary foresight or goodwill of some statesmen or Governments or as a result of isolated

actions; it can be established only through a long-term and persistent involvement of all positive factors on the world scene.

40. Since the coming into being of the United Nations, efforts have been exerted within the framework of this world Organization to bring the vision of the world order as set out in the Charter closer to reality. Certain results have been attained with regard to the consolidation of peace in the world and the elimination of the danger of a general world conflagration.

41. Significant successes have been achieved in the field of decolonization, and evident progress has also been made with regard to the creation of conditions for the development of equitable co-operation among all States. Strong impetus has been given to the codification and progressive development of international law aimed at the full assertion of the principles of peaceful coexistence and equitable co-operation among States.

42. The world Organization has made a great contribution to the solving of some international problems. If it has experienced failures in its work, and if a more just world order has remained, on the whole, still a dream, the main causes of this should not be sought in the deficiencies inherent in the United Nations system but in a lack of political will on the part of individual Member States to co-operate within the framework of the world Organization in finding solutions to world problems and implementing its decisions and recommendations.

43. In spite of this, the United Nations remains an irreplaceable instrument of international co-operation and the main forum for pursuing actions for the establishment of a new structure of international relations. The United Nations is increasingly becoming a truly universal organization. As such, the United Nations is a unique organization in the history of mankind and the sole genuine representative of the international community of today.

44. The universality of the world Organization is also reflected in the fact that all important world problems are considered in the United Nations, where appropriate solutions to them are sought directly or indirectly. Nevertheless, attempts are stubbornly being made to withdraw some of these problems from the framework of the United Nations and to examine them substantively and solve them within the narrowest circle of Powers. Such attempts undermine the very foundations of the United Nations and run counter to the principles of equality and democratic relations among States. The theory that solutions to particular problems can best be found within a narrower circle of States may appear to be useful in certain cases. However, in practice the results are not encouraging.

45. The solution of the problems of disarmament or of international economic relations has not in fact been rendered easier, as was demonstrated when they were dealt with outside the United Nations. Furthermore, no solution to any of the numerous hot-beds of crisis has been found outside the United Nations.

46. All this illustrates that genuine efforts in the sense of finding solutions to all problems must be continued first

and foremost within the framework of the United Nations since, in spite of all possible short-comings, a better forum does not exist today.

47. For the international community, and above all for the United Nations, co-operation among all independent and sovereign States without any exceptions and with due respect for the freely chosen option of every States on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence among peoples and States is indispensable.

48. The struggle for such co-operation forms the foundation of the policy of non-alignment, whose great contribution to the progressive evolution of international relations cannot be ignored. Born of opposition to attempts to divide the world into antagonistic blocs and spheres of influence, the non-aligned movement has grown into a constructive action aimed at changing the over-all system of international relations based on the so-called balance of terror and on the predominant role of the great Powers.

49. By putting forward demands and exerting efforts on the international scene, primarily within the United Nations, to safeguard the independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty of all States against any interference in their internal affairs and the right of peoples freely to choose the road of their internal development, to bring the process of decolonization to its ultimate end and to abolish all forms of discrimination, to narrow the gap between developed and developing countries and to establish the new economic order, the non-aligned countries have become an important and independent factor and a leading force in the struggle for a new, more just system of international relations.

50. The historical merit of the policy of non-alignment consists precisely in the perception of the basic development trends of the present-day world, in the formulation of its own objectives, which coincide with the trends of indispensable changes in international relations, and in the acceleration of this process by overcoming various forms of resistance and pressures brought to bear by all those forces which desire to preserve their acquired privileges and positions.

51. What causes particular concern is the fact that such resistance is manifested in the form of non-implementation of the decisions of the United Nations, even those adopted by consensus or by an overwhelming majority of votes. It is time for the General Assembly to give thought to possible ways and means of ensuring the implementation of its decisions. A useful idea might be the establishment of a mechanism to monitor the implementation of decisions of the United Nations.

52. Because of the failure to carry out relevant decisions of the United Nations, we are witnessing delays in the solution of major problems as well as the flaring up of existing hot-beds of crisis and the emergence of new ones, a fact which jeopardizes the positive results achieved so far and constitutes a threat to international peace and security.

53. Certain results have been achieved in the easing of tensions between the great Powers, but they have more recently come to a standstill. At the Conference on

Security and Co-operation in Europe—the implementation of whose decisions will be further discussed at the follow-up meeting in Belgrade—conditions have been created for overcoming bloc divisions and developing co-operation in Europe.

54. There is no doubt, however, that détente has not been reflected in all parts of the world and that the struggle for influence continues on all continents, resulting in tensions and conflicts. The arms race is expanding to new countries and regions.

55. No global and lasting détente can be realized without making headway in the area of disarmament. Precisely in this field no substantive results have been achieved in the United Nations. I am convinced that only by strengthening the role of the United Nations in the field of disarmament and by opening a process of substantive negotiations on all aspects of disarmament with the participation of all countries can this problem be moved off dead centre. Therefore we must all exert our utmost efforts in order to make the special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament a success and an important step forward in solving problems of disarmament with a view to gradually achieving general and complete disarmament under effective international control.

56. Despite the fact that in the relevant resolutions of the United Nations priority is given to the urgent decolonization of southern Africa, the present racist régimes persist in resisting the growing revolt of oppressed peoples and in ignoring condemnation by the whole international community. However, their awareness that their days are numbered drives them to new acts of terror against the civilian population. Therefore it is now more than ever before necessary for the United Nations to continue and to intensify to the maximum its efforts in the struggle against colonialism, racism and *apartheid* until Namibia has acceded to full independence, until majority rule and independence have been realized in Zimbabwe and until racism and *apartheid* have been completely eliminated from the African continent and elsewhere.

57. It is the interest of international peace and security that a lasting and just solution of the crisis in the Middle East should be found as soon as possible. Essential elements of such a solution are contained in the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, which have met with general approval, and any attempt at rejecting them is fraught with the danger of the outbreak of a new conflict, with far-reaching consequences for peace in that region and in the world at large.

58. It is solely by a durable and just solution—and it cannot be achieved by retaining or annexing occupied territories or by denying the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people, which are recognized by the United Nations and its Charter as belonging to every people and State—that the causes of the crisis can be removed and that conditions for all the peoples and States in the Middle East to live in peace and security can be created.

59. The failure to solve the Cyprus crisis perpetuates the problems and misfortunes of the people of Cyprus, as well as the difficulties created in the relations between the

States concerned. It is indispensable to find, as soon as possible a solution, on the basis of the principles formulated in the resolutions of the United Nations, through negotiations between the two Cypriot communities. Such a solution must secure the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-aligned status of the Republic of Cyprus.

60. Not wishing to belittle the importance of the considerable efforts that we have been exerting to ensure peace and security in the world, I cannot but point out that these efforts are not likely to produce any lasting results unless we decide, with all political wisdom, to concentrate our efforts on removing the anachronisms that characterize international economic relations. Regardless of all the differences of view as to the paths to be followed in this field, I think that we are all fully agreed that peace and confidence among peoples cannot be built if a system that condemns two thirds of mankind to economic stagnation and backwardness, and often even to a struggle for survival as human beings, persists.

61. We have been negotiating about these problems for three decades now, and these negotiations have been exceptionally intensified of late. However, the results of these negotiations were, more often than not, mainly general statements to the effect that "we now understand one another better", that the problems are highly complex and difficult, that it will take time to solve them, and so on. I think that the time has come to ask ourselves whether all this is correct and whether these are the real and sole causes of the difficulties. Of course, no one should harbour any illusion that this question can be answered at this session of the General Assembly; but likewise no one should entertain illusions and lull himself with the false hope that concrete solutions can be endlessly postponed without increasingly serious consequences for all aspects of international relations.

62. The serious crises and conflicts with which we are faced today are, for the most part, rooted in inequitable international economic relations and cannot be solved without resolute actions aimed at restructuring these relations. Instead of such actions, we are still faced with attempts to affirm some approaches based on certain socio-economic structures and the aspirations on which those structures were founded and from which they have evolved. Values and principles emanating from such circumstances are being insisted upon, and universal importance is being attached to them. I may perhaps sound too pessimistic, but I am not inaccurate in saying that this cannot arouse any enthusiasm, let alone lay down a basis for finding a common language of co-operation. Such principles sound incongruous in a world in which most countries are still coping with elementary economic and social hardships and millions of human beings are deprived of minimum living conditions.

63. The close interdependence of the contemporary world has often been emphasized in this prestigious forum in recent years. Many arguments have been advanced to corroborate it. Economists and statisticians have proved it very eloquently and convincingly. However, there is yet another, even more important, dimension of that interdependence today. Owing to the spectacular development

of all kinds of mass media, the whole world, with all its virtues and short-comings, has become exposed to the critical scrutiny of hundreds of millions of people.

64. A great many things that once used to be inaccessible and imperceptible and that took place behind the thick, impenetrable walls of narrow interests are now evolving before the eyes of the whole international community. The value of words is measured by deeds; principles are verified in practice almost every day. Latent tensions, conflicts and disputes that arise or develop on that basis constitute the source of greatest danger for the future of the world. Many a time the General Assembly has drawn attention to this, and numerous resolutions have been adopted on this subject, but we have done very little in practical terms to improve this state of affairs.

65. I am of the opinion that, in the United Nations, we are still dealing, on the whole, with effects and not with causes, although we have, in our political assessments, identified the causes, especially in the economic field. For example, we are exerting efforts to restrict the proliferation of certain technological achievements, while keeping our eyes closed to the widening technological gap in the world and to the rightful demand for universal use of modern technology, particularly of nuclear energy, for peaceful uses and development purposes.

66. I consider that it is the duty of the General Assembly to devote greater attention to these facts and to act accordingly. Let us take some serious, substantive steps in solving structural problems of international economic relations in order to check in practice, if nothing else, their effect not only on the consolidation and promotion of economic co-operation in the world but also on the consolidation and improvement of general political conditions in international relations.

67. Mankind is spending enormous resources on armaments under the pretext of ensuring security, but what is obtained is increased uncertainty and a decline in confidence among peoples, such confidence being a basic prerequisite of security.

68. Despite the fundamental changes that have taken place in the world and that have completely altered its former image and the needs and conditions of living together on this planet of ours, we continue to maintain old and outdated ways and methods in the area of safeguarding peace and security. Billions of dollars are being invested in order to achieve a so-called balance while, at the same time, it takes years of patient work and negotiation in order to make sure that a certain fund in the economic field should not spend a few thousand dollars unwisely.

69. For all these reasons, I think that we must indeed embark on a new course in solving international economic problems and avail ourselves of the historic chance that is still before us.

70. At the resumed thirty-first session of the General Assembly, which has just ended, great attention was devoted to problems concerning the establishment of the new international economic order. The discussions held on that occasion have shown that, at the current session, we

must give priority to these problems and make every effort to achieve progress in solving them.

71. Within the context of efforts aimed at establishing a new international economic order and achieving a better life for all, there is a growing awareness of the need to ensure and promote human rights and fundamental freedoms. The struggle for the full realization of human rights and fundamental freedoms constitutes a component part of the struggle for a better life of every many and all nations, and is inseparably linked with the struggle for peace and against the use of force and pressure, colonial and foreign domination and exploitation, as well as with the struggle for sovereign economic and social development.

72. Of paramount importance for ensuring the enjoyment and further promotion of human rights are the principles proclaimed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and further elaborated in other international instruments adopted within the United Nations system, such as the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid* and, in particular, the International Covenant on civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights which entered into force last year.

73. Universal and consistent implementation of the principles proclaimed in those instruments would significantly contribute to ensuring the enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the world. When I say "human rights", I mean all human rights—economic, social and cultural, as well as civil and political—which are interdependent and indivisible; the realization of both groups of human rights is necessary for the achievement of an integral human personality towards which we are striving.

74. Likewise, it is necessary to create conditions, on the national and international plane, that will make it possible for every man and for all nations of the world to enjoy their inalienable rights fully and without hindrance.

75. All those problems, as well as others, equally acute and important, will demand our utmost attention in the days to come. Many of the problems have been confronting us for years. However, we have failed to find solutions to them or, more often, we have adopted decisions which were not carried out. We, the States Members of this Organization, bound by solemn commitments undertaken under the Charter, on which all our decisions are based, have not always implemented our decisions.

76. Basing my judgement on past experience, which sometimes acts as a drawback, I do not, to my regret, expect this session to depart radically from present practice. Narrow interests and the determination to protect them are still too strong. The present situation in the world does not allow us to believe in miracles.

77. However, we can and must believe that persistent efforts and the desire for co-operation will gradually yield results. Thus, the current session—depending on the spirit in which we approach it and on the extent of mutual

confidence and awareness of general interest—may result in such decisions and in such an atmosphere as would bring us at least one step closer to the realization of the vision of a better world, a vision which is not a Utopia but an inevitability.

78. Whether this session will achieve this will depend on all of us, and that is why I am addressing an appeal to all representatives to work together towards that end.

79. Before we begin our work, let us ponder over our common interests resulting from our common fate. Let us stop thinking, for a while, of selfish interests; let us forget the daily work routine which will soon engulf us and blur our vision of the future; let us quell cynicism and the notion that the value of words in this Organization has depreciated, as the world is still very much shaped by force and the right of the mightier.

80. Let us reflect instead on how long we can still postpone the solution of pressing problems in the world—tensions, military conflicts, the stockpiling of weapons of self-destruction, the subjugation of peoples and the stagnation of over-all development in vast areas of the world.

81. How long does it take for such a state of affairs in the world to result in universal catastrophe—in which there can be no peaceful, secure and rich oases in comparison with the time necessary for awareness of the necessity of changes to evolve into general international action? Must the world always experience cataclysms and destruction so that an awareness of the need for co-operation to establish a new, different world order may arise, like the phoenix from the ashes?

82. Such an experience could, at the present level of development, only result in collective annihilation. The only alternative is the building of such a system of international relations as will facilitate the solving of the existing problems of mankind and will enable the world to face the problems of the future. A world of equality, peace and co-operation is the only world of tomorrow, if we wish to have a tomorrow.

83. Let us try, then, through our activity and our forthcoming decisions, in the spirit of constructive co-operation, to make a contribution to this common goal.

AGENDA ITEM 25

Admission of new Members to the United Nations

84. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the procedure followed in the past, I should now like to invite the General Assembly to consider, under item 25 of the provisional agenda entitled "Admission of new Members to the United Nations", the positive recommendation by the Security Council for the admission to membership in the United Nations of the Republic of Djibouti and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. 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.

85. The PRESIDENT: In documents A/32/136 and A/32/152 the Security Council has recommended the admission of the Republic of Djibouti and of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to membership in the United Nations.

86. We shall consider first draft resolution A/32/L.1 and Add.1 on the admission of the Republic of Djibouti to membership in the United Nations. 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 32/1).

87. The PRESIDENT: I declare the Republic of Djibouti admitted to membership in the United Nations.

The delegation of the Republic of Djibouti was escorted to its place in the General Assembly hall.

88. The PRESIDENT: We turn now to 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. 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 32/2).

89. The PRESIDENT: I declare the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam admitted to membership in the United Nations.

The delegation of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam was escorted to its place in the General Assembly hall.

90. The PRESIDENT: Allow me, on this auspicious occasion, to express the greatest satisfaction over the admission of the Republic of Djibouti and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to membership in the United Nations and to extend to their delegations a cordial welcome to the General Assembly of the United Nations. With the admission of these two countries the United Nations membership has increased to 149, and our Organization has come very close to achieving a genuine and almost total universality, which in turn has strengthened its role as an important and irreplaceable instrument in the conduct of international relations.

91. The independence of Djibouti and its admission to the United Nations represents an additional contribution to the struggle for the elimination of the remaining vestiges of colonial strongholds in Africa and for the development of equitable international relations resting upon independence, peace and co-operation. The United Nations has in the past supported and assisted Djibouti in its efforts to gain independence, and I am confident that it will continue to give its assistance to the consolidation of the acquired status and to the development of this at the moment youngest independent State on the African continent,

located within a highly important geopolitical region, as is the Republic of Djibouti. I am also confident that the Republic of Djibouti will, for its part, render a constructive contribution to the work of the United Nations.

92. I am indeed very pleased that the time has come for the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to assume its rightful and deserved place among us. Unjustly and for too long a time was this courageous and martyred country unable to join us. Now all that is past and we must turn to the future. However, it is not possible to speak about the future of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam without reference to its past—a past which can hardly be compared with anything that any country has suffered in recent decades.

93. Actually, a 30-year war was fought on its soil in an attempt to prevent the heroic people of that country from freeing themselves from colonialism and from achieving independence. During that painful period, untold human lives were lost, settlements were destroyed and industrial objects and infrastructure were devastated, leaving behind enormous problems and disruption in the social structure and economy of the country.

94. Today these wounds are waiting to be healed. I feel that the international community should now pay the greatest attention to this problem and extend, in the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations, all-round assistance for the reconstruction and further development of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam so that it may incorporate itself into the normal flow of international co-operation as soon as possible. Actually, on previous occasions a positive stand was taken by some bodies and organs of the United Nations with respect to this matter.

95. As a country which has demonstrated its dedication to the purposes and principles of the United Nations and which is pursuing a peaceful policy of equitable co-operation, mutual respect and non-interference in the internal affairs of other States, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam will, I am confident, make a very significant contribution to our common efforts. The admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam marks a further step towards consolidating peace and security in the world.

96. I wish once again to extend a most cordial welcome to the delegations of the two newly admitted Members and to wish them much success in their future activities in the United Nations.

97. I have before me a long list of speakers on this item, the admission of new Members to the United Nations, and I shall call upon representatives in the order in which their names appear on the list.

98. I call on the first speaker, the representative of Sudan, who will speak on behalf of the African States.

99. Mr. MEDANI (Sudan): Mr. President, please allow me, on behalf of the group of African States, to congratulate you on being chosen to preside over the thirty-second session of the United Nations General Assembly. Your unanimous election to this high office is a recognition of your personal qualities and stature, and is also a fitting tribute to your great country and people. We are confident

that with your wisdom and clarity of vision you will steer us to success.

100. Ambassador Amerasinghe, our dear friend and your predecessor, last year conducted our work with remarkable ability and excellence. With his intuitive mind and wide experience, he made yet another valuable contribution to this Assembly of eloquence, reason and personal accomplishments. He has earned our appreciation and commanded our respect and profound gratitude.

101. For the last few years, this Organization has witnessed the intrepid efforts and the very stimulating role of the Secretary-General, whose dedication and loyalty to the ideals and principles of the United Nations have given this international body a respectability and prestige worthy of its lofty and noble goals. The successes we have achieved during that period owe much to his devotion and brilliant portrayal of the principles of the United Nations Charter. One can hardly pay him an adequate tribute. We wish only to take this opportunity to wish him success in the coming year.

102. Viet Nam is here with us today. This lifts our spirits and is a tribute to the heroic and the determined. This is, indeed, a moment of happiness that words cannot possibly convey, for the legendary struggle of the Vietnamese people had transcended time and space and instilled a sense of pride in all of us.

103. The delay in the membership of this people in our Organization should not be a source of concern; only falsehood passes without contradiction. The presence of their representatives here today adds a substantive element of reality and a profound respectability to this Assembly. Their admission further enhances the objective of the universality of this Organization, to which we attach great importance. It is a testimony, moreover, to the importance that all of us attach to the United Nations and to its role in maintaining and strengthening international peace and security.

104. By virtue of their heritage, international reputation and wealth of experience we are positive that the Vietnamese people will contribute to the building of a better world and to an international society characterized by respect for freedom and the dignity of man.

105. It is, indeed, a great honour for me today to speak on behalf of the African delegations and, I am sure, of the African people still struggling for freedom and liberty, and in their name to extend to the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the Vietnamese people our warmest congratulations.

106. Still acting in that capacity, I wish to extend to the Government and the great people of Djibouti our heartfelt felicitations. The presence of the delegation of Djibouti under the leadership of President Hassan Gouled bears testimony to the valiant struggle for freedom and independence of the people of Djibouti. The attainment of their independence by constitutional means is a sign of maturity well befitting the leaders and people of Djibouti. Indeed, it is a triumph for the better judgement of man in a world that not infrequently falters in applying the divine prin-

ciples of human wisdom and reality. We welcome them here today to the family of sovereign nations and as a distinguished member of the African family to which we proudly belong. We are convinced that, as a member of the Organization of African Unity, the League of Arab States and the United Nations, the Republic of Djibouti will effectively contribute to strengthening the cause and objectives of international peace and world progress.

107. Today, as ever, both Viet Nam and Djibouti are a source of inspiration to all those who are fighting for freedom throughout the world. Both Djibouti and Viet Nam are demonstrating their strong commitment to the world community by their joining the Organization of African Unity and the League of Arab States, in the case of Djibouti, and the non-aligned movement, in the case of Viet Nam.

108. But we in Africa have learned not to lose sight, in the passion of achievement, of the totality of the objective. Some existing situations in Africa, in the Middle East, in Latin America—indeed, in the world at large—are quite at variance with our craving, not to speak of our moral ideals, for world peace and security. Yet, because of our firm belief in the strength of the convictions of the liberation movements and in their moral force and unity of purpose; and because of the new rapidly changing climate in world opinion we are today convinced beyond a shadow of a doubt that they will achieve final victory against the immoral manoeuvres of tyranny and deceit. This is an incontrovertible fact of history.

109. Having considered the one question of fact, we turn to the question of moral obligation. We believe that the international community has a moral obligation and, indeed, a duty to exert every genuine effort possible to help the Vietnamese people to reconstruct their country.

110. We are also confident that Africa and the Arab world, and the world at large, will maximize their assistance in every field to the Republic of Djibouti so as to enable it to achieve its goals of economic development and prosperity and to consolidate their new-born independence.

111. In conclusion, I wish to take this opportunity, with the permission of my colleagues in the African group of States, to convey the congratulations of the Sudanese people and Government to the peoples of both the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the Republic of Djibouti on this very happy occasion.

112. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of Nepal who will speak on behalf of the Asian States.

113. Mr. UPADHYAY (Nepal): Mr. President, the leader of my delegation will have the opportunity in due course to extend the warmest congratulations of the Nepalese delegation to you on your assumption of the presidency of the thirty-second session of the General Assembly. However, it also gives me a personal sense of pride to see you, a dear friend and an eminent colleague with whom I have had the opportunity to work closely during the past years, presiding over the Assembly. Let me express my great satisfaction and offer you my sincere congratulations. I am sure that under your able leadership the thirty-second session of the General Assembly will successfully conclude its work.

114. I should also like to take this opportunity to pay a tribute to the past President, Mr. Hamilton Shirley Amerasinghe, another dear friend and eminent colleague, who successfully presided over the thirty-first session of the General Assembly.

115. It is my privilege, on behalf of the Asian group of States, to extend a very warm welcome to the Republic of Djibouti and to the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam on the happy occasion of their admission to membership in this Organization, and to offer our sincere and warm congratulations. The admission of Djibouti and Viet Nam marks one step further towards the goal of universality enshrined in the Charter of this Organization. It is particularly gratifying and significant that during this session of the General Assembly we welcome in our midst two countries from the continents of Africa and Asia which together constitute nearly two thirds of the membership of this Organization.

116. We admire the courageous people of Djibouti, who decided by a large majority to shake off their colonial past, and we commend the Government of France for the manner in which it helped Djibouti emerge as a sovereign, independent State. We earnestly hope that the independence of Djibouti will pave the way to the elimination of the last vestiges of colonialism to which the peoples of southern Africa have been ruthlessly subjected. Djibouti, as a country representing Arab and African civilizations, occupies a place of economic and strategic importance. We are confident that the Republic of Djibouti will play a significant role in the peace, security, and economic development of the region to which it belongs. We look forward to the active participation of this new Member in the deliberations of the Assembly.

117. The Asian group takes special pride in welcoming among us the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, whose people have undergone tremendous suffering and have paid heavily to take their rightful place in this Organization. The long struggle involving the supreme sacrifice and untold suffering endured by the Vietnamese people for 30 years to regain their national independence has evoked universal admiration. We note with satisfaction the desire of the Government and the people of Viet Nam to pursue a foreign policy of peace, friendship, and co-operation with all peoples on the basis of mutual respect, independence, sovereignty, equality, and mutual interest.

118. The immediate problem facing Viet Nam is one of reconstruction. We are confident that Viet Nam, whose people have exhibited sterling qualities of heroism, sacrifice and indomitable determination, will be able to overcome the challenges of national rehabilitation and reconstruction. However, the immensity of the task demands that the international community should offer generous assistance to Viet Nam in its efforts to rebuild a country torn and shattered by the ravages of war. A strong and peaceful Viet Nam will contribute effectively to the maintenance of peace and stability in South-East Asia, as well as to the furtherance of regional co-operation and development. We have no doubt that Viet Nam, which is also an active member of the non-aligned States, will play a constructive role in the realization of the ideals and objectives of the United Nations Charter.

119. I take this opportunity once again, on behalf of the member countries of the Asian group, to extend our warm felicitations to the Republic of Djibouti and to the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, and to wish them success in the responsibilities that lie ahead of them at home and in the international sphere.

120. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of Bulgaria who will speak on behalf of the Eastern European States.

121. Mr. YANKOV (Bulgaria): Mr. President, since this is the first time that I address this session of the General Assembly, allow me to extend to you, on behalf of the delegations of the Eastern European States, our warmest congratulations on your election to this high office, and to wish you success in your mission.

122. As for my delegation, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Bulgaria will have an opportunity to convey to you the congratulations of the Bulgarian delegation when he addresses the General Assembly.

123. I should like at the outset, on behalf of the group of Eastern European States, to congratulate most cordially the representatives of the Republic of Djibouti on the occasion of the unanimous admission of their country to full-fledged membership in the United Nations. The addition to the United Nations family of yet another representative of the African continent is a happy event and another achievement of the world Organization aimed at implementing the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The countries of Eastern Europe, which invariably support this policy, are prepared to co-operate with the Republic of Djibouti in achieving the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

124. I should also like, on behalf of the countries of Eastern Europe, to welcome the representatives of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, led by the deputy Chairman of the Council of Minister for Foreign Affairs, Comrade Nguyen Duy Trinh, and to congratulate them on the unanimous admission of their country to membership in the United Nations.

125. The decision of the General Assembly to admit the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam as a full-fledged Member of the United Nations is an event of paramount and broad significance. Above all, it is an important step on the road to the universality of the Organization, and is an adequate reflection of the political picture of the present-day world. In addition, this decision comes to redress a flagrant injustice done to the Vietnamese people, an injustice which, due to well-known causes, was sustained without any reason for several years. The present decision brings United Nations action on this issue into full conformity with the Charter and enhances the political standing of our Organization before the world. It is also based on the lawful and indisputable right of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to be a Member of the United Nations community. This right the Vietnamese people have won in a gruelling and heroic struggle against foreign invaders in conditions of merciless and inhuman methods of warfare. The people of Viet Nam have paid for this right with the lives of thousands of their

sons and daughters and the plight, destruction and privation imposed on them by this war. The exceptional courage, determination and dignity and the fathomless dedication to the lofty ideals of liberty and national independence with which this nation reached the peak of its historic victory after 30 years of heroic struggle have made the majority of countries in the world regard the people of Viet Nam with deserved respect and admiration.

126. Today the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam maintains normal diplomatic relations with over 100 States, and it was very significant that the draft resolution was supported by over 100 States—if I am not mistaken, by 106 States. It is an active participant in a number of international organizations and plays an important role in the non-aligned movement. In the pursuit of its consistent, peaceful policy the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam has emerged as an important factor for the strengthening of peace and security on the Asian continent and for the development of international co-operation.

127. As the President of the Council of State of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, Todor Zhivkov, said recently:

"Now the guns are silent in Asia for the first time . . .

This very fact cannot but influence—as it did already—the world development along the path to peace and understanding among nations."

This is a great victory for the Vietnamese people and for peace-loving mankind.

128. When we bring to mind all this we cannot forget—nor do we have the right to forget—the heavy aftermath of the war for the Vietnamese people. In implementing the decisions of the Fourth Congress of their Communist Party the Vietnamese people have mustered all their energy and resources to reconstruct their war-ravaged economy and to rebuild their country and their peaceful life out of the ashes of the war. These efforts of the people of Viet Nam must be supported by all States. As for those in particular which bear an international responsibility for the damage and suffering inflicted upon Viet Nam, they should assume in good faith their international obligations to participate in the tending and healing of the wounds caused by the war. The United Nations can and must play a major role in co-ordinating efforts to render assistance to the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam in order to eliminate the repercussions of the war.

129. The countries of Eastern Europe will undoubtedly continue to extend, as they have extended so far, all-round assistance to the Vietnamese people in their efforts to make their country a prosperous one. The countries of Eastern Europe voice their confidence that as a Member of the world Organization the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam will make its valued contribution to the struggle of the peace-loving forces to strengthen the role of the United Nations as an instrument of peace and co-operation among States, to reduce international tension and to turn this into an irreversible trend in world development.

130. Speaking also as a Bulgarian representative I should like once again to express from this rostrum the happy

feelings of the entire Bulgarian people on Viet Nam's admission to the United Nations. In conveying the most warm congratulations to our Vietnamese friends on this occasion I should like to assure them at the same time that the Bulgarian people and Government will do everything they possibly can, just as they did in the hard days of testing for the Vietnamese people, to render them their fraternal support and assistance and to strengthen still more the Bulgarian-Vietnamese friendship in the name of the common purposes and ideals which inspire our two nations.

131. The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of the People's Republic of Bulgaria for the words he addressed to me.

132. I now call on the representative of Surinam who will speak on behalf of the Latin American States.

133. Mr. HEIDWEILLER (Surinam) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, may I first of all be permitted to extend to you warmest congratulations on behalf of the Latin American group, as well as on behalf of my own country, upon your election as President of the thirty-second session of the General Assembly. Your country has always occupied and still occupies an important place in international affairs, particularly as one of the most vigorous representatives of the third world. For this reason your country is held in the highest esteem by Latin America as a whole. We trust that, under your enlightened and wise leadership, the decisions adopted by us during this session of the General Assembly will result in an increase of hope in the world.

134. From the very beginning the countries of Latin America have at all times strongly defended the principle of universality of the United Nations and thus we should like to express our genuine and profound joy in welcoming the Republic of Djibouti and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam as Members of the United Nations.

135. The admission of the new Republic of Djibouti to the United Nations family constitutes a source of great satisfaction to us. We wish to take this opportunity also to congratulate the Government of France for the important role it played in the process of independence of the new nation. We harbour the most sincere hopes that the people of Djibouti will prosper in the economic, social and cultural areas and that the Republic will remain free from all foreign interference and will hold its destiny in its own hands.

136. The admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to membership in the United Nations has a very special meaning for the entire world.

137. The countries of Latin America have followed the long and relentless struggle of the people of Viet Nam to achieve national unity and territorial integrity with great admiration and respect because most of the nations of Latin America have had to tread the same difficult path in order to obtain their independence.

138. The hard struggle of the people of Viet Nam has finally come to an end and they have after many years been given the opportunity to repair the serious damage caused by war and bloodshed.

139. From now on the Vietnamese people will be able to fashion its own future in peace.

140. The admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam is, furthermore, in complete conformity with Article 4 of the Charter of the United Nations, in accordance with which membership in the United Nations is open to all peace-loving States which accept the obligations of the Charter.

141. We are convinced that the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam will strengthen our Organization in its task and in its efforts to establish peaceful relations not only among the States of the south-east Asian region but also among all the peace-loving nations of the world.

142. The Latin American countries, which have unanimously supported the admission of the Republic of Djibouti and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, are profoundly convinced that both Republics will play a significant and constructive role in the United Nations and we shall be very happy to co-operate with them in order to help them to achieve their objectives.

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

144. Mr. HARRY (Australia): May I take this opportunity, Mr. President, to offer you, on behalf of the group of Western European and other States, our warmest congratulations on your election to the high office of President of the thirty-second session of the United Nations General Assembly, succeeding your distinguished predecessor, our esteemed colleague Ambassador Hamilton Shirley Amerasinghe. I wish to assure you that you will have the fullest support of the members of the group of Western European and other States in the discharge of your responsibilities over the coming weeks.

145. The group of Western European and other States has asked me to express on its behalf a very warm welcome to the Republic of Djibouti and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam on their becoming Members of the United Nations.

146. Admission to the United Nations is an important landmark for both nations. For the Republic of Djibouti it marks the achievement of independence and the assumption of major international rights and responsibilities. For Viet Nam admission to the United Nations represents the final step in the full assumption of those rights and responsibilities. For the United Nations it constitutes one very significant step towards our goal of universality of membership.

147. We wish both States well in the task of nation-building and in the promotion of the welfare and rights of their peoples. We are confident that both have much to contribute to the objectives of the United Nations system.

148. With your permission, Mr. President, I should like to add a few words on behalf of my own delegation. As a country in the region of south-east Asia and the south-west Pacific, Australia is particularly glad to welcome the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to the United Nations.

Australia supported Viet Nam's application in 1975 and in 1976 and we look forward to the development, in a spirit of reconciliation, of mutual understanding and co-operation in our region.

149. Although Australia and Djibouti are separated by the breadth of an ocean, we are likewise convinced that Australia and the Republic of Djibouti will find a common interest in advancing the welfare of the peoples of Africa and the Indian Ocean region.

150. The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Australia for his statement and I call now on the representative of Qatar, who will speak on behalf of the Arab States.

151. Mr. JAMAL (Qatar) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Mr. President, in the first place, on behalf of the Arab group I have pleasure in extending to you our sincere congratulations on your election to the presidency of this important session. Your long experience and the great position taken by your country with regard to international events will undoubtedly help to ensure the success of our work during this important session. Secondly, on behalf of the Arab group I should like to congratulate the Republic of Djibouti most warmly on its admission to membership in the United Nations following the long struggle of the people of Djibouti for the attainment of their independence and freedom. Our congratulations on the admission of the Republic of Djibouti, a fraternal country, to membership in the United Nations go also to the international community for the effective and positive action taken by it alongside that people, which has suffered from colonialism and foreign domination.

152. The admission of the Republic of Djibouti to membership in this world Organization is a positive step taken by the United Nations towards establishing equality, sovereignty and independence for all peoples. This will lead to the participation of all countries in ensuring the well-being of all human beings as well as international peace and security.

153. The entry of the Republic of Djibouti being in conformity with the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter strengthens those objectives. Member States, by adhering to the precepts of the Charter of the United Nations are more forcefully achieving the objective of universality and respect for human rights, particularly the right to self-determination.

154. There are peoples and nations still suffering under the yoke of imperialism and foreign domination in Asia, Africa and many other parts of the world. There are also many peoples still exposed to the harshest methods of oppression, repression and racial discrimination. It is our duty to continue the efforts to liberate those peoples and to spare them injustice and aggression. It is also our duty as Members of the international Organization to spare no effort to expedite the admission of new Members, particularly those that have recently attained independence.

155. Once again, on behalf of the Arab group, I welcome the Republic of Djibouti, this fraternal country, and its representatives, who have attained their independence and freedom through their persevering struggle.

156. I take pleasure in seizing this opportunity to express our gratitude and appreciation to the Government of France, our friend, which, through its sincere efforts and effective role, helped Djibouti to attain its independence.

157. I would also take this opportunity, on behalf of the Arab group, to express a warm welcome to the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam on its admission to membership in the United Nations. That country has long striven to attain independence and self-determination. It triumphed at the cost of hundreds of thousands of victims. We are aware of the long years of struggle filled with self-sacrifice shown by the Vietnamese people, and we all know also that the international community will not spare any effort to offer every assistance and support for the reconstruction of Viet Nam, which was laid waste by the scourge of war.

158. In conclusion, I would welcome this opportunity to reiterate from this rostrum the expression of the feelings of solidarity and fraternity felt by the peoples and Governments of the Arab world towards the Governments and peoples of the Republic of Djibouti and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and to wish them progress and prosperity. I hope we can all co-operate with them to ensure the creation of a world, where amity, justice and peace shall prevail.

159. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of the United States, who will speak in his capacity as representative of the host country.

160. Mr. YOUNG (United States of America): Mr. President, allow me to congratulate you most heartily on your assumption of the high office of President of the United Nations General Assembly. Let me emphasize my delegation's confidence in you and our deep desire to co-operate most fully in your conduct of this Assembly's business. Furthermore, let me extend to President Amerasinghe my delegation's great admiration and profound appreciation for the dedicated, courteous and outstandingly able and effective leadership he provided to the thirty-first General Assembly. He has further distinguished a remarkable and ongoing career.

161. As representative of the host country, I welcome two new Members of the United Nations family, Djibouti and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam.

162. In doing so, I wish to express my Government's satisfaction that this Organization now moves one step closer to the ultimate goal of universality of membership. This is an objective which we hope will be achieved in the not-too-distant future.

163. The United States was among those members of the Security Council which sponsored the Security Council recommendation for the admission of Djibouti to the United Nations and joined in the consensus which approved this recommendation. We are now pleased to welcome Djibouti to full participation in the world community of nations. Djibouti stands as another example of a successful peaceful transition from colonial status to independence. With confidence in the future of this new nation, the United States extends the hand of friends' ip.

164. In our relations with Viet Nam, the United States looks to the future. We are hopeful that constructive relations will be established within the United Nations as Viet Nam joins the common effort to achieve the goals and aspirations of the Charter.

165. If I may be permitted a personal word, I would remind this Assembly that Viet Nam's struggle for independence was accompanied by a profound struggle within the nation which I represent. Ten years ago Martin Luther King and hundreds of thousands of citizens of the United States came to Dag Hammarskjöld Plaza in an attempt to end the conflict. Five years ago I was elected by the citizens of Georgia to the Ninety-third Congress of the United States which amended our military appropriations legislation to cut off funds for the purpose of waging war in Viet Nam.

166. It is quite appropriate, I think, that two of my country's representatives to this session of the Assembly are Mrs. Martin Luther King and Congressman Charles Whalen, one of the Congressmen that sponsored that amendment.

167. It is my sincere hope that Viet Nam's entry into this body is one more step in the world-wide struggle for peace, justice and prosperity, a struggle which we now carry on together peacefully in this international body and within our own countries.

168. Finally, as representative of the host country, permit me the honour of extending a most cordial and sincere welcome to all who have arrived and will be arriving to take part in the work of this great Assembly. I wish everyone most useful, rewarding and agreeable stays. Our delegation looks forward greatly to working with all of you as we seek to implement the ideals of the United Nations.

169. The PRESIDENT: Since there are still at least 19 more speakers on this item, I suggest that this meeting be adjourned until 10.30 a.m. tomorrow.

It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 7 p.m.