

United Nations
**GENERAL
ASSEMBLY**

ELEVENTH SPECIAL SESSION

Official Records



**1st
PLENARY MEETING**

(Opening meeting)

Monday, 25 August 1980,
at 11 a.m.

NEW YORK

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

AGENDA ITEM 1

**Opening of the session by the Chairman of the
delegation of the United Republic of Tanzania**

1. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: I declare open the eleventh special session of the General Assembly.

AGENDA ITEM 2

Minute of silent prayer or meditation

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

The representatives, standing, observed a minute's silence.

AGENDA ITEM 3

Credentials of representatives to the eleventh special session of the General Assembly:

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

3. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: The Committee of the Whole Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174—which was entrusted with the preparations for this special session—has made a number of recommendations in annex III to its report, [A/S-11/1 (part IV) and Corr.1].

4. I invite members to turn their attention to the recommendation concerning the appointment of the Credentials Committee contained in paragraph 15 of annex III to the report.

5. Taking into account the practice followed at previous special sessions, the Committee recommends that the Credentials Committee for the eleventh special session, appointed in accordance with rule 28 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly, should have the same composition as the Credentials Committee for the thirty-fourth session, namely, Belgium, China, Congo, Ecuador, Pakistan, Panama, Senegal, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and United States of America.

6. If there is no objection, I shall consider the Credentials Committee constituted accordingly.

It was so decided [decision S-11/11].

7. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: In this connexion, may I invite the attention of the members of the Assembly to a note verbale from the Secretary-General, dated 1 August 1980, in which it was stated that credentials should be issued for all representatives to the special session in accordance with rule 27 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly except with regard

to those permanent representatives who are already authorized to represent their Governments at all sessions of the Assembly.

**Scale of assessments for the apportionment
of the expenses of the United Nations**

8. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: Before turning to the next item on our agenda, and in keeping with past practice, I wish to invite the attention of the General Assembly to document A/S-11/21, which contains a letter addressed to me by the Secretary-General informing the Assembly that three Member States are in arrears in the payment of their United Nations contributions under the terms of Article 19 of the Charter.

AGENDA ITEM 4

Election of the President of the General Assembly

9. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT: I now invite the Assembly to proceed to the election of the President of the General Assembly.

10. The Committee of the Whole recommends in paragraph 17 of annex III to its report [*ibid.*] that Mr. Salim A. Salim, President of the General Assembly at its thirty-fourth session, should serve in the same capacity at the eleventh special session. May I take it that that recommendation is adopted by the Assembly?

It was so decided [decision S-11/12].

Statement by the President

11. The PRESIDENT: Distinguished representatives, in the light of the decision just taken, I wish at the very outset to take this opportunity to express to you my deep gratitude for the honour which you have again conferred upon me to preside over this special session of the General Assembly. Your continued confidence is profoundly appreciated.

12. This special session is taking place in a chilling and sombre atmosphere, a time of disjunction and uncertainty in the world economy and polity. We enter the decade of the 1980s in a state of crisis. The international community is experiencing the most serious economic crisis since the great depression of the 1930s. There are varying perceptions as to the causes, directions and resolutions of the crisis, but there is a universal realization that this crisis is both severe and global and that it will not go away by itself or be resolved by one particular group of countries.

13. The developed market economy countries that were assumed to provide the engine of growth for the developing countries are in a steep recession. Unemployment of men and women and idleness of machines continue unabated and no improvement is in sight. Six per cent of the labour force in the countries of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development—some 18 million people—are today unemployed.

This persistent stagnation has been combined with relatively high rates of inflation. And, associated with stagnation and inflation—"stagflation"—in the major industrial economies there has been a high degree of instability in exchange rates and major structural imbalances in external payments. Those factors have in turn led many developed countries to strengthen their existing protectionist measures, or introduce new ones, against imports of low-cost resources.

14. Many of the developing countries have experienced a sharp deterioration in their terms of trade and a deceleration of the growth of the 1970s. Owing to the dependent structures and consequent external vulnerability of their economies, they have had to bear a disproportionate share of the global burden of adjustment to the economic crisis.

15. The deficit in external payments of the developing countries—excluding the major oil exporters—which amounted to between \$9 and \$12 billion yearly in the early 1970s, reached \$46 billion in 1979. Current projections indicate that the payment gaps may rise from this already high level to over \$65 billion in 1980, and to some \$73 billion in 1981. Meanwhile, the developing countries' total outstanding external debts disbursed, which had amounted to some \$50 billion in 1970, rose to over \$300 billion in 1979, with an increasing number of countries having to meet debt service payments which exceed 25 per cent of their export earnings. There are other constraints on the development process of the developing countries, the foremost of which is the fact that the world economy has entered a period of considerable instability in which uncertainty is a major factor.

16. In the economic relations among the developed market economy countries, there is a crisis stemming from the dispersion among them of economic power and a breakdown of the monetary and trading arrangements by which they attempted to harmonize their competing interests. Between the developed and the developing countries there are serious tensions which originate from the imposed unequal development of the developing countries and the consequent instability in the world political process arising from this asymmetry between the world's regions given the shift in their relative economic and political power.

17. The complexity of our world economy today is further compounded by the intensified militarization which not only exacerbates the danger to international peace and security but represents also a serious impediment to the development process. The trend towards militarization, which afflicts the very fabric of development, has accelerated massively, particularly during the past decade, to the extent that the aggregate annual military expenditures of the world today exceed \$450 billion. It should be borne in mind that while those expenditures are marking a phenomenal increase, the total financial assistance offered to the developing countries is at the level of \$20 billion and is declining.

18. But compounding all those crises is the conflict over resources and lifestyles. Many studies, including that initiated by the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, held at Stockholm from 5 to 16 June 1972, have confirmed that current mechanisms of development are not only impairing the harmony between man and nature but are also undermining the productive process itself. It has been said that the four major biological systems sustaining human life—oceanic fisheries, forests, grasslands and croplands—are all under severe stress. Desertification threatens one tenth of South America, one third of Asia and Africa, and one quarter of Australia. Devastation and pollution

are pervasive. There are, indeed, tendencies which are eroding the balance between man, nature and technology, thus foreclosing the efforts to sustain the process of development.

19. The gravity of the unfolding crisis cannot therefore be underestimated, even though there is a tendency—regrettably—to underestimate the human costs. But however grave the crisis, there is no reason to despair if we are prepared to meet the challenge before it is too late. That is why this special session is so crucial and so timely. The dangers are extreme, but exceptional too are the opportunities. The very fact, which has now been documented by various reports of United Nations bodies, organs and agencies, as well as by the valuable work of such groups as the Independent Commission on International Development Issues, known as the Brandt Commission, Intergovernmental Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), the Third System project of the International Foundation For Development Alternatives (IFDA), the Arusha initiative and numerous reports of nongovernmental organizations and academics, that our present course is likely to end in global disaster should imbue us with the resolve to change it and chart a sane course forward.

20. Yet, as the report of the Director-General for Development and International Economic Co-operation, prepared pursuant to General Assembly resolution 33/198, informs us, negotiations to attain the objectives of the New International Economic Order have, in the past six years, yielded results that "fall considerably short of their initial targets or they have shifted focus from bold changes to attempts at partial adaptation". [See *A/S-11/5, annex, para. 368.*] This has been attributed to several stumbling-blocks: the failure to integrate efforts aimed at managing the world economy with those efforts designed to restructure the world economy, the failure to recognize sufficiently the organic link between the current economic difficulties of the industrialized countries and the underlying structural disequilibrium in the existing international division of labour and in the international financial and trading systems, the failure by the developing countries effectively to exert their political leverage, and the lack of systematic co-operation regarding the supply and use of energy. In short, there has been a failure to take cognizance of our mutual interdependence in a changing world.

21. I am convinced that members of the Assembly will agree that it is unacceptable that our generation, which has had the good fortune of living in this advanced stage of human evolution and which possesses such unprecedented access to information, knowledge and means, should not also have the vision and commitment required for improving human conditions now and in the future. For I also believe that the future of mankind is by no means predetermined; but it is also not a random occurrence, nor does it essentially obey factors outside our control.

22. The future of humanity will be a result of human design—for better or for worse. And the future of humanity will be one—one for the world as a whole. A closely knit network of environmental, technological, economic, socio-political and security interrelationships binds all mankind organically together, despite our heterogeneity and our pluralism, differences in régimes and uneven levels of development. None of us—not even those who at present are the strongest and richest—can disengage ourselves from the others and choose

goals or take options independent of the key imperatives of mankind.

23. This special session is a follow-up of the sixth special session, but its agenda has been enriched by the decision of the General Assembly [*resolution 34/207*] to adopt a new international development strategy and to launch, following the initiative of the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, a round of global negotiations on international economic co-operation for development.

24. Since 1961, when the concept of a development decade was initiated, the United Nations has prepared two global and decennial development strategies. The strategy which we shall consider for adoption at this session is supposed to be "new". It is new in the sense that it draws inspiration from the long-term goal of the international community to establish a new international economic order which entails very far-reaching changes in world economic relations. It is based on the recognition, now broadly shared, that the present international economic system is not efficient, that it does not distribute burdens and benefits evenly, nor does it foster the full use of the world's productive potential.

25. The new strategy therefore cannot afford to omit, as did previous ones, specifications for concrete measures with respect to structural changes and the management of the world economy. Nor can it take the trajectory of the developed world for granted, as the perspectives for the future are heavily shrouded in uncertainty and as the development of the developing countries will have a significant influence on the future course of the developed countries. And traditional options for action are foreclosed by the failures of the past.

26. It is imperative to finalize the text of the new international development strategy in the light of all those considerations. Agreement on growth and financial targets or on relevant policies that are crucial in implementing the strategy is essentially a normative and hence a political undertaking. It is no less than a judgement of the extent to which Governments, developed and developing, are prepared to make efforts and sacrifices to advance development beyond what is otherwise possible.

27. It is my confident hope that Member States will express here their sincere willingness, in sovereignty, to undertake obligations and to make commitments in order to adopt a strategy that will be both new and effective. We should all bear in mind that nothing in the way of fundamental change by and for the people of all countries can be expected without sustained efforts, setting bold targets and pursuing them within a stipulated time-frame.

28. The new international development strategy is concerned with providing mechanisms for the acceleration of the economic development of the developing countries. These mechanisms require the establishment of a restructured and properly functioning world economy that would provide the necessary environment for the sustained growth of both the developed and the developing countries. This is the focus of the global negotiations. The challenge of these negotiations is to end the drift and the uncertainties now enveloping the world economy.

29. The global round of negotiations can be meaningful only if the various groups of countries confront, with their commitment and undertaking, the imperative of an evolving international economic co-operation which recognizes the interdependence of problems in the

fields of raw materials, energy, trade, development, and money and finance, as stipulated in General Assembly resolution 34/138.

30. I do not believe that there is any viable alternative to global negotiations. A number of initiatives are currently under active consideration by Governments. They are aimed at changing and shaping a climate that can enlarge the prospects for global agreement. But those initiatives can bear fruit only if this special session succeeds in infusing a dynamic of hope by launching the global negotiations.

31. The momentous questions underlying this special session touch the interests of everyone and the issues we will discuss confront each one of us with historic responsibilities. What kind of world do we want to build? What kind of future are we preparing for the coming generations? These issues are of particular significance to the poor, who constitute almost half of mankind. It would be unwise for us not to listen to the voices of the poor, the excluded and the oppressed, who have paid the highest price for the passing, albeit lingering, order and who can no longer be kept in convenient silence.

32. The tasks before us are immense, but with political will and determination we can make this session proceed on a path of significant movement forward in our common endeavours. Our objective must be to move from the present impasse and advance to genuine international co-operation in the true spirit of interdependence. Towards achieving this goal all must be involved. No one should be excluded. The developed countries—both the market economies and the centrally planned economies—as well as the developing countries have a vital responsibility to ensure the success of this session. Above all, we must approach this session not as adversaries, but as partners in the cause of common concerns and mutual interests.

33. I appeal to you all to confound the pessimists and to give hope to a humanity that is no longer assured of its survival by adopting a new international development strategy and launching the global round of negotiations.

34. The Secretary-General of the United Nations wishes to address the General Assembly at this time, and I now call on him.

Statement by the Secretary-General

35. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: The General Assembly is gathered today in special session to respond to serious concerns over the present trends in the international economy and the process of development of the developing countries. These concerns have been accumulating in recent years from all sides. Last month, while addressing the Economic and Social Council in Geneva,¹ I had occasion to point out the rigorous impact that current trends have on the weakest and the most vulnerable. Progress in international negotiations has not been commensurate with the challenges facing all nations. A growing frustration and anxiety is the result. The preparatory work for this session has itself been disappointing. We are meeting today with many unresolved questions regarding the main items on our agenda.

36. This Assembly is therefore faced with a central task. It must demonstrate the collective ability to overcome the prevailing crisis in the world economy. It must

¹See *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, 1980, Plenary Meetings, 24th meeting, paras. 7-30.*

bridge the growing chasm between declarations and intentions on the one hand, and the realities of hardship and suffering on the other. Rarely has it been so important to match words with policies and actions. Exceptional efforts are required from all parties involved. There has to be a meeting of minds for concrete progress to be achieved.

37. These efforts can have great political significance in the present context of international relations. The interaction of economic and political factors being evident, it is clear that progress in international economic co-operation can and should contribute to the relaxation of the serious tensions which mark the present political scene. Nor should these tensions be allowed to distract the imperative international effort to create more favourable conditions for development. What is at stake in our discussions is peace as much as prosperity and a decent standard of living for all humanity.

38. We cannot afford to let this session end in failure or disarray or wither in half-hearted consensus on ritualistic texts. Unless we really initiate a process of restructuring the world economy and international economic relations, we will not have risen to the demands of the present situation. Indeed, we will have failed in our duty to the coming generations.

39. The years that have passed since the sixth and seventh special sessions have been both difficult and eventful for the world economy. They have registered only limited progress in the implementation of the Declaration and the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [*resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)*], which had been called for and confirmed by the General Assembly at those sessions.

40. The report before you, prepared by the Director-General for Development and International Economic Co-operation [*see A/S-11/5*] in conformity with the relevant resolutions of the thirty-third and thirty-fourth sessions of the General Assembly, describes the modest steps that have been undertaken with respect to some of the objectives of the Declaration. It underlines the fact that in many cases negotiations to attain these objectives have yielded results which fall considerably short of their initial targets. Specific advances have been achieved in areas like commodities, manufactures, money, finance, technology, transport and insurance. They have consisted mainly in the creation of new institutions, such as the Common Fund for commodities, to deal with problems of particular concern to developing countries and in partial adjustments in the workings of existing institutions. However, these advances have not provided the international community with instruments for coherent and constructive action to overcome difficulties in areas like energy, food, industry, money and transfers of resources. Indeed, the lack of these instruments has served to aggravate these difficulties. I think it is fair to say that if, because of growing interdependence, all economies have paid a price for this lack of preparation, the weaker economies have had to bear a particularly heavy brunt. Lost opportunities might be lost for ever, but certain lessons have been brought home by this hesitation and reluctance to bring about changes. Let me briefly suggest some of the conclusions we can draw from this experience.

41. First, delays in initiating measures towards a more rational and effective management of the world economy have worsened the current problems of inflation and inhibited growth in developing countries.

42. Secondly, mechanisms regulating the international economy in the trade, financial and monetary sectors should be made more effective and responsive to the realities and needs of the developing countries.

43. Thirdly, the problem of energy is fundamental for all participants in the world economy. It requires for its solution massive domestic efforts from all countries, most urgently from the major consumers. It also demands a high degree of international co-operation in order to avoid unstable supplies and prices that have adverse effects on the world economy as a whole and to mobilize the required investments, in particular in developing countries.

44. Fourthly, economic co-operation among developing countries should be considerably strengthened through mutual assistance. In that context, I am glad to note the initiatives that have been taken regarding energy co-operation among developing countries.

45. Fifthly, long-term action, aimed at changing structures, should be complemented and supported by short-term measures concentrating on immediate issues. The two should be regarded as complementing each other and not as alternatives.

46. Sixthly, it has become increasingly clear that no country, or group of countries, is in a position to bring about these measures unilaterally. Considering the close interrelation of major economic issues, the search for action needs to be collective and to enlist the active involvement and participation of all parties concerned. All countries would benefit from serious attempts to tackle the major problems of the world economy. Brighter prospects would open up for every segment of the international community if the uncertainties that result from the lack of common perspectives were diminished. The accelerated development of developing countries would be a stimulus for developed ones as well. By the same token, all countries have to make a contribution irrespective of their level of development or of their economic systems.

47. The acknowledgement of these facts has been slow in coming. Consideration of immediate costs has been allowed to obscure longer-term benefits. However, I hope that some progress can be achieved in the near future. Political vision is necessary to accept the changes that are required; political will—and I stress this—is indispensable to implement them at the domestic as well as the international level.

48. I much regret that this vision and this will have not been forthcoming in sufficient degree so far. I do not underestimate the difficulties faced by Governments that see restricted possibilities for action in the short run. But the demands of the present and prospective situations are such that both the will and the vision need to be summoned and deployed in the fullest measure. The developed countries have a special responsibility in this regard in view of their favoured position in the international systems. The North-South dialogue—which, with a few exceptions, has been slow and difficult—needs to be given a new impetus by this session.

49. Further to the preparatory work accomplished so far, the following interconnected areas of negotiation call for consideration at this session: (a) a new international development strategy which will provide a framework for long-term action; (b) global negotiations that could constitute a key tool for this action; and (c) further actions to promote the development of developing countries.

50. I should like to emphasize that to regard these objectives as complementary is a matter not of form but of substantive and political necessity.

51. A strong and dynamic strategy providing a general framework for international action in support of the development of developing countries during the coming decade would be a major contribution of this session. The objectives of such a strategy for the growth of the developing countries may appear to be ambitious but they do not exceed the needs of promoting the new international economic order and the social and human development of fast-growing populations.

52. While calling for massive efforts in domestic sectors of developing countries, as well as for changes in the structures of the developed economies themselves, the strategy should stress the crucial importance of changes in the international systems to achieve these goals and objectives. I should also underline the contributions that the organizations of the United Nations system could make through their support for global policy formulation and through their operational activities for development which call for a growing flow of contributions.

53. The problems which are unresolved regarding the formulation of the strategy stem, to a large extent, from the difficulties that arose in the preparation of the global negotiations. Since global negotiations are expected to be an essential tool for implementing the goals and objectives laid down by the strategy, the formulations adopted in the strategy on such important matters as money, development, finance and energy are bound to have an impact on the substance of these negotiations.

54. The lack of any agreement on these questions in global negotiations explains why it has proved difficult to evolve a compromise on them in the strategy. This is not a surprising situation. But the importance of the strategy is such that it provides an additional incentive to solve these problems and to reach an agreement on the agenda of the global negotiations. As I have already mentioned, no agreement has been reached so far on this point or on questions of procedure. Needless to say, I regret this situation.

55. However, the process of preparation of global negotiations did manage to yield some positive results. There was a general consensus that a simultaneous and action-oriented round of global and sustained negotiations would contribute to the solution of international problems. It would do so within the framework of the restructuring of international economic relations. This round would support steady global economic development, in particular the development of developing countries. There was also a consensus that such negotiations should cover both structural and current issues.

56. If this is the case, it seems to me difficult to comprehend why this session should fail to resolve questions of agenda and procedure—at least to do that. Five major areas for negotiations were defined by the General Assembly at its last session: raw materials, energy, trade, development, and money and finance. In negotiations relevant to these five areas there are questions of crucial importance to the world economy that will require particular attention.

57. In the first place, greater stability is needed in the international monetary system, which has to be made more supportive of the development of developing countries. Given the mounting, massive and durable payment imbalances, the process of adjustment should be helped and spread over time by recycling more evenly the large surpluses that are going to be accumulated.

Measures to protect the value and the security of the financial assets of oil-exporting countries would offer them an incentive to maintain their production at a level that is adequate to the needs of the international community and the international economy. Instruments have to be devised to ensure sustained, adequate and predictable flows of transfers of resources in support of the process of development.

58. Secondly, the question of energy availability for all is a basic one, and there is no need to stress this fact. The transition from a period in which oil was the main source of cheap, abundant energy to one in which energy sources will be more diversified and expensive should be facilitated and better organized. As I said earlier, this could be done through conservation in all countries, especially the large consumers. It could be done through intensified technical co-operation and through an increase of investment in the energy field, particularly in developing countries. More predictable adjustments in real energy prices would also help this transition and provide an incentive for investment.

59. Thirdly, the resumption and acceleration of growth in poor countries depends to a large extent on the development of agriculture and of the related infrastructure in rural areas. This makes them all the more dependent on the availability of larger flows of development assistance on a sustained basis, as well as of a more efficient framework for food security.

60. The agenda of the negotiations will of course have to cover a much broader field. But I believe that the success of the negotiations will be judged on their capacity to bring forth an appropriate response to these problems.

61. Regarding the question of procedures, I cannot conceive that such major issues would not be discussed in depth by a central forum under the authority of the General Assembly with universal participation. These issues are interconnected and call for balanced solutions in consolidated negotiations. If agreements reflecting political understandings were to be reached, the Governments involved would be expected to promote them in their domestic policies and through their action in the appropriate specialized agencies of which they are all members. These forums would have the responsibility to conduct the necessary further discussions and negotiations in conformity with these understandings so as to ensure the required follow-up action in their areas of competence. On some problems, the whole negotiating process could, of course, be entrusted to the specialized forums, with the central forum exercising general guidance. In the course of these negotiations, an appropriate balance would have to be worked out in each set of agreed measures that would open the way for progress in other areas.

62. In conformity with the relevant resolutions of the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly, a report is submitted to this session on the situation of low-income countries most seriously affected by the current economic crisis. The report concludes that an increase in official development assistance to these countries should be on terms compatible with their situation. Moreover, a number of developing countries are going to be faced with serious problems in the financing of their current account deficits in the coming months—and I am happy that President Salim has referred to this matter. At the last session of the Economic and Social Council, I made some suggestions² on how interna-

²*Ibid.*

tional institutions could provide support to those countries. I also pointed out the urgency of accelerating investments in all sources of energy in developing countries.

63. The least-developed countries may be expected to benefit from such support. In addition, there is urgent need to give effect to the immediate action programme which was outlined in Manila. Actions taken or initiated by this session to answer these problems in the course of the next few months would be a recognition of an emergency situation—and there can be no doubt but that we are dealing in this regard with an emergency situation. Such actions should neither detract from the forthcoming global round nor be a substitute for the long-term structural changes which the world economic system needs.

64. This session is in a position to initiate processes that can have an immense potential. They can touch the lives of hundreds of millions of people around the world. The efforts of the Assembly will be judged by their results and not on the basis of rhetoric. The present situation is a difficult one and it calls for a degree of pragmatism if practical measures are to be adopted and dependable agreements reached. I appeal to all participants to recapture the political vision which is required to translate into reality the principles that we agreed upon five years ago.

65. I wish the Assembly every success in its important deliberations.

AGENDA ITEM 5

Adoption of the agenda

66. The PRESIDENT: The draft agenda of the eleventh special session of the General Assembly appears in document A/S-11/15. It consists of the seven items of the provisional agenda recommended by the Committee of the Whole. It also includes a supplementary item, entitled "Admission of new Members to the United Nations", requested by the Security Council.

67. In order to expedite its work, the Assembly may wish to adopt the agenda at this plenary meeting, without referring it to the General Committee. May I take it that the Assembly agrees to that procedure?

It was so decided.

68. The PRESIDENT: If there is no objection, I shall take it that the Assembly adopts the draft agenda as it appears in document A/S-11/15.

The agenda was adopted [decision S-11/21].

69. The PRESIDENT: We turn now to the allocation of the items on the agenda.

70. Bearing in mind the practice of the General Assembly, I take it that it is the wish to consider items 1 to 6 and item 8 directly in plenary meeting.

It was so decided [idem].

71. The PRESIDENT: Regarding the allocation of item 7, the Committee of the Whole recommends in paragraph 21 of annex III to its report [A/S-11/1 (Part IV)] that that item should be allocated to the *ad hoc* committee to be established at this special session, except that the debate on the item should take place in the plenary meeting. May I take it that the General Assembly approves that recommendation?

It was so decided [idem].

AGENDA ITEM 6

Organization of the session

72. The PRESIDENT: I refer members first to the recommendations of the Committee of the Whole Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174 regarding the General Committee, which are contained in paragraph 19 (a) and (b) of annex III to document A/S-11/1 (Part IV) and Corr.1.

73. Taking into account the practice followed at previous special sessions, the Committee of the Whole recommends that the Chairmen of the Main Committees of the thirty-fourth session should serve in the same capacity at the eleventh special session, on the understanding that appropriate arrangements will be made for the replacement by a member of the same delegation or by a member of a delegation from the same region of those Chairmen who are unable to serve. In addition, the Vice-Presidents should be the same as at the thirty-fourth session. That would ensure the representative character of the General Committee.

74. If there is no objection, I shall take it that the General Assembly approves those recommendations.

It was so decided [decisions S-11/13 and S-11/14].

75. The PRESIDENT: The Chairmen of the Main Committees of the thirty-fourth session who are present and who therefore will serve in the same capacity at this special session are: Mr. Davidson L. Hepburn of the Bahamas, for the First Committee; Mr. Costin Murgescu of Romania, for the Second Committee; Mr. Samir I. Sobhy of Egypt, for the Third Committee; Mr. Thomas S. Boya of Benin, for the Fourth Committee; Mr. André Xavier Pirson of Belgium, for the Fifth Committee; and Mr. Pracha Guna-Kasem of Thailand, for the Sixth Committee.

76. Regarding the Chairman of the Special Political Committee, I should be grateful if the Secretariat could be informed as soon as possible of the name of the representative who will be replacing last year's Chairman of that Committee.

77. The Member States which held the Vice-Presidencies of the thirty-fourth session and which will serve in the same capacity at the eleventh special session are the following: Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, China, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Ethiopia, France, Guyana, Iceland, Lesotho, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Singapore, Somalia, Togo, Turkey, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon, United States of America and Yemen.

78. In paragraphs 9, 10 and 19 (c) of annex III to its report, the Committee of the Whole recommends that:

(a) In addition to the plenary, the General Assembly should establish an *Ad Hoc* Committee of the Eleventh Special Session;

(b) The *Ad Hoc* Committee should have a Chairman, three Vice-Chairmen and a Rapporteur, elected on the basis of equitable geographical distribution, experience and personal competence;

(c) The Chairman of the *Ad Hoc* Committee should be accorded, for the duration of the eleventh special session only, full rights of membership in the General Committee, including the right to vote;

(d) Plenary meetings should be held twice daily throughout the duration of the special session;

(e) Provision should be made for the *Ad Hoc* Committee to hold meetings twice daily during the session; and

(f) Provision should also be made for additional plenary meetings and meetings of the *Ad Hoc* Committee or other bodies that the General Assembly might wish to establish during the special session.

79. May I take it that the General Assembly adopts those recommendations?

It was so decided [decision S-11/22].

80. The PRESIDENT: I now invite the Assembly to turn to the recommendations of the Committee of the Whole concerning meeting records (paragraph 22), languages (paragraph 24), participation by specialized agencies and other organizations of the United Nations system (paragraph 25), the invitation to the Latin American Economic System to participate in the eleventh special session as an observer (paragraph 27), and arrangements regarding facilities for non-governmental organizations (paragraphs 28 and 29). May I take it that the General Assembly approves those recommendations also?

It was so decided [idem].

81. The PRESIDENT: I feel confident that members will agree with me that, to expedite the work of the session, it would be desirable for heads of specialized agencies to report on the progress made within their respective areas of competence towards the establishment of the new international economic order as early in the session as feasible and, as a matter of courtesy, as near the beginning of the meeting as possible.

82. With regard to paragraph 26 of the Committee's report, it should be noted that in his address to the Assembly this morning the Secretary-General was speaking on behalf of the various organs and programmes established under Article 22 of the Charter of the United Nations.

83. I now draw the Assembly's attention to a number of requests that the General Assembly hear in a plenary meeting a message which His Holiness Pope John Paul II has graciously addressed to the Assembly, to be delivered by a special envoy of His Holiness, His Eminence Bernardin Cardinal Gantin. I take it that the General Assembly agrees to those requests.

It was so decided.

84. The PRESIDENT: There is also a request, contained in document A/S-11/18, that the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity be given an opportunity to address the Assembly in the course of the debate on agenda item 7.

85. May I consider that, taking into account resolution 2011 (XX) of 11 October 1965, by which the General Assembly granted observer status to the Organization of African Unity, the Assembly accedes to that request?

It was so decided.

86. The PRESIDENT: The President of the World Food Council has requested to be allowed to address the General Assembly on behalf of the Council. May I take it that the General Assembly accedes to that request?

It was so decided.

87. The PRESIDENT: We have thus concluded our consideration of the organization of the eleventh special session.

AGENDA ITEM 8

Admission of new Members to the United Nations

88. The PRESIDENT: With the permission of the General Assembly, I should like to proceed to consideration of agenda item 8, in order to give the new Member the opportunity to participate from the outset in the work of the special session.

89. The Security Council has in document A/S-11/10 recommended the admission of the Republic of Zimbabwe to membership in the United Nations. In this connexion, a draft resolution has been submitted in document A/S-11/L.1. In addition to the countries listed in that document, the following countries have become sponsors of the draft resolution: Guyana, Haiti, India, Jamaica, Maldives, Malta, Mauritius, Nicaragua, Papua New Guinea, Qatar, Thailand and United Republic of Cameroon.

90. 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 S-11/I]

91. The PRESIDENT: I declare the Republic of Zimbabwe admitted to membership in the United Nations.

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

92. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly I wish warmly to welcome Zimbabwe to membership in the United Nations. I do so with deep emotion and personal satisfaction, for this is a momentous occasion not only for every Zimbabwean and every African but indeed for the international community as a whole. The entry of a new Member to our Organization is always a cause for rejoicing. Yet I believe Zimbabwe's admission to the United Nations is a very special occasion for our Organization. Zimbabwe and its people have travelled an arduous and turbulent path in gaining their liberation and have, with their unshakable determination, made this historic development possible. Their struggle for freedom has been long and painful. Their sacrifices have been enormous. In the course of the struggle many Zimbabweans have lost their lives and many more have been injured, some permanently maimed. Material losses have also been immense.

93. In reflecting on this bitter history of the country whose membership in the United Nations we are proclaiming today—and I make this reflection with a deep sense of sympathy for the people of Zimbabwe, on the one hand, and with great respect and admiration for their indomitable courage, on the other—I wish merely to underscore the great challenges and responsibilities that face the new nation of Zimbabwe as it proceeds on the road to national reconstruction and reconciliation and carries out the task of healing the wounds of war.

94. The United Nations, which faithful to its principles has consistently supported the struggle of the people of Zimbabwe for self-determination and independence, now has an even greater responsibility to assist the new Zimbabwe as it confronts the new challenges before it. To that end I wish to launch a solemn appeal to the international community to pay particular and urgent attention to the problems and needs of this new State, for, more than ever before, Zimbabwe now needs international understanding, co-operation and all-round assistance.

95. I know I am expressing the views of the entire membership when I extend a hearty welcome to the delegation of Zimbabwe. We are particularly happy to have

in our midst as head of the delegation, the Prime Minister of Zimbabwe, Mr. Robert Mugabe. Through him we salute the Government and people of Zimbabwe. To him I wish to convey our admiration of his wisdom and the exemplary leadership which he has provided and which he will continue to provide to the new Zimbabwe in the process of the consolidation of its independence. His outstanding statesmanship and stewardship have been universally acknowledged.

96. Since Zimbabwe's accession to independence more than four months ago, the Government and people of Zimbabwe, under Prime Minister Mugabe's leadership, have abundantly demonstrated that, notwithstanding the divisions and colossal problems of the past, they are determined to build a new and dynamic nation in the spirit of national unity and reconciliation. In the process Zimbabwe has confounded not only its own enemies and detractors but also those of Africa. But, above all, Zimbabwe has become an invaluable pillar of strength in our collective quest for freedom and human dignity for the whole of southern Africa.

97. It is particularly gratifying to welcome Zimbabwe at a time when the United Nations is about to commemorate the twentieth anniversary of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. No occasion could have been a more fitting tribute to the significance of that Declaration. And no development could have provided greater inspiration or be a better reminder of the need to intensify our collective efforts to eliminate colonialism in all its forms and manifestations.

98. I wish to take this opportunity to reiterate what I have already stated elsewhere: that is, that Zimbabwe's independence, brought about after a long-fought struggle, coupled with serious and successful efforts at securing a negotiated solution to the conflict, serves as an eloquent testimony to the fact that, given the goodwill of all concerned, it is indeed possible to solve even the most intractable of problems. While we recognize that the victory of the people of Zimbabwe was brought about primarily by their own struggle—a struggle which entailed supreme sacrifices on the part of the people of Zimbabwe and was actively supported by free Africa and the overwhelming majority of the world community—credit must also be given to the position adopted by the former administering Power in assuming its responsibilities positively as the administering Power at a critical juncture of that country's decolonization process.

99. I do not wish to be personal or sentimental. Yet the Assembly will, I am confident, forgive me if I voice my personal feelings of joy on this auspicious occasion. For more than a decade, as Chairman of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration of the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and in other capacities as representative of my own country, it has been my honour to follow closely the developments of the Zimbabwean liberation struggle, both within the context of the Organization of African Unity and in the United Nations. Over the years, it has been my privilege to have been associated very closely with the Zimbabwean liberation movement and with its esteemed leaders. I therefore fully share with them this moment of glory for their nation, for Africa and for the United Nations.

100. I have no doubt that the admission of Zimbabwe as the 153rd Member of the United Nations is an invaluable addition to our Organization. The combination of the rich history of resistance in that country, its great

civilization, its human and other resources and its fidelity and dedication to the purposes and principles of our Organization will no doubt enhance the effectiveness of this great institution in its efforts towards the maintenance of world peace and security and the promotion of international co-operation.

101. Mr. CLARK (Nigeria): Sir, permit me to say, on behalf of the group of African States, how extremely happy we are to see you once again presiding over the affairs of this Assembly with so much competence and dignity. I take the liberty to observe that you must be full of joy and satisfaction, as are the rest of us in the African group, that the resolution we have just adopted by a rousing acclamation on the admission of Zimbabwe to membership in the United Nations is a crowning achievement of the United Nations in the field of decolonization and human rights. That you, a son of Africa from the front-line State of Tanzania, should be the President of the General Assembly on this historic occasion is for Africans an additional reason for self-congratulation.

102. I also wish to take this opportunity to pay homage to His Excellency General Carlos Rómulo, Foreign Minister of the Philippines and a founding father of the United Nations, under whose able presidency the Security Council unanimously adopted resolution 477 (1980) on Zimbabwe's application for membership in the United Nations. I presume that when the Prime Minister of Zimbabwe, His Excellency Mr. Robert Mugabe, in his telegram dated 17 July 1980, submitted the application of his country for membership in this world Organization, he could hardly know that a legendary figure in the history of the United Nations, whom we all love and admire for his role in the drafting of Article I of the Charter of the United Nations, would be the one to pilot the application through that awesome Council. Nor did he realize that we would be creating a well-deserved precedent today by acceding to his application during a special session of the General Assembly and on the very eve of the twentieth anniversary of the adoption of resolution 1514 (XV) on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples.

103. The independence of Zimbabwe did not come a day too soon. Long before the celebrations on 18 April 1980 proclaiming that independence, the nationalist forces of the Patriotic Front had already won it in the battlefield for the people of Zimbabwe. For independence is an affair of the spirit: once people refuse to be slaves and take up arms to defend that decision, no power on earth can deny them their freedom.

104. The then Prime Minister of Great Britain, Sir Harold Wilson, described the unilateral declaration of independence by the racist white settlers of Southern Rhodesia, under the satanic leadership of Ian Smith, on 11 November 1965, as a crime against the concept of the rule of law and of human freedom. What the British Prime Minister failed to say was that Ian Smith was a traitor—a rebel against the British Crown—and that once the Security Council had declared that that rebellion was a threat to international peace and security, Her Majesty's Government was under obligation to support every measure, including the use of force, to terminate it. In spite of the constant call by the Security Council on the United Kingdom, as the administering Power, to quell the rebellion, it was left for the oppressed people of Zimbabwe themselves, under the leadership of the Patriotic Front, to destroy the authority of the racist usurpers and to terminate the rebel minority régime in Southern Rhodesia. For the people of

Zimbabwe, a people that had never lost the passion and the plan to fight for their independence and freedom since Cecil Rhodes and Alfred Beit, architects of so many heinous crimes and so much misery in our continent, had in their greed for diamonds seized and colonized the lands of their forefathers, the commitment to defeat the Ian Smith régime and the rebellion meant more sacrifices. But it was a task that had to be done. And the people of Zimbabwe did it valiantly and victoriously, not counting the cost.

105. We strongly believe that this world Organization, the administering Power, the Commonwealth and the non-aligned group of nations also share our special satisfaction in welcoming Zimbabwe to membership in the United Nations. The resolutions of the General Assembly, the Security Council and of all the organizations I have just mentioned were frequently unanimous in calling on all States to refrain from any action which would assist and encourage the illegal régime. Consequently not one single country accorded that rebel régime recognition. In spite of lack of support from South Africa, in spite of their perfidious violation as revealed by the Bingham Commission, the economic and diplomatic sanctions imposed on Rhodesia by this Organization never lacked in efficacy.

106. Those who argue to the contrary are wrong—dead wrong. Those who doubted that sanctions would be instrumental in achieving the desired result had no faith in the purposes and principles of our Charter. Those who put their interests above peace by advocating the lifting of the sanctions so that they could import chromium and so on from Rhodesia bear a heavy responsibility for their crimes against Africa. Unfortunately, these people have not yet learnt their lesson. It is these same people, right-wing racists, who continue to support the racist *apartheid* régime in South Africa so that the white racists in that benighted country may be left free to practise *apartheid* and to oppress the African majority at will and so that they may thereby continue to earn vulgar dividends from their shameful investments in South Africa. The nationalist liberation movement of South Africa will again prove them wrong.

107. The United Nations stood by Zimbabwe. The victory of Zimbabwe is therefore the victory of the United Nations. History has too many ifs and buts for it to be a true chronicle of lost opportunities. I do not therefore want to argue that the United Nations could have done more to help Zimbabwe. Nor do I want to dwell on how often this body was misled by the wrong assumptions of the administering Power, thereby prolonging the agony of Zimbabwe. Nor do I want to elaborate on all the lessons we have learnt for the future, particularly with regard to the liberation struggle in Namibia and South Africa.

108. We have a saying in Nigeria that it is easier to lament calamities than to rejoice at good fortune. We are here to celebrate, so we shall let bygones be bygones. We Africans are a magnanimous people; we are a compassionate people. Hence Prime Minister Mugabe, without bitterness and with high statesmanship, faithfully implemented the terms and conditions of the Lancaster House agreement. Hence he did not need the gratuitous efforts at blackmail by vested interests before he forgave the erstwhile white oppressors. In a monumental gesture of amnesty and reconciliation, Prime Minister Mugabe has welcomed his former white oppressors with open arms as comrades and compatriots. Hence he has plunged himself into the task of binding up his nation's wounds without raking up the past to blight the future of his country. True to our African traditions, Prime

Minister Mugabe has shown that the African liberation movement is not concerned with vengeance: it is a struggle, a relentless struggle, for justice and liberty, for freedom and human dignity.

109. Mr. President, on behalf of the African group, I wish to support the appeal you have just launched to the international community to assist Prime Minister Mugabe to realize his dreams for his country as a country where all races live united, equal and free under a system of government based on the will of the people. We recall in this connexion that during September 1976 certain Western Powers wanted to establish an internationally financed one-billion-dollar fund to be used to insure the holdings of white Rhodesians. Naturally, we opposed the racist purpose of that fund. We felt at the time that the idea of the fund should have been conceived with the interests of all the people of Zimbabwe in mind. That fund should be launched now to assist the young State of Zimbabwe in its tremendous task of reconciliation and rehabilitation.

110. It is painfully sad and difficult for an African, even on such a momentous and glorious occasion as this, not to remember that our continent is not yet entirely free from racism and colonialism. Namibia and South Africa are still subjected to brutal, racist and oppressive humiliation. Prime Minister Mugabe and his compatriots of Zimbabwe have proved through their heroic struggle that independence is never freely granted, but is won. We are all powerfully affected by their courage, their victory, their achievement and their magnanimity. As we most gladly and heartily welcome Zimbabwe as the 153rd Member of the United Nations, and the fiftieth member of the African group of the United Nations, I wish to conclude with the words of Nelson Mandela, another courageous African nationalist who, for the past 17 years, has been in prison on South Africa's Robben Island for opposing *apartheid*, racial oppression and domination:

“There is no easy walk to freedom anywhere, and many of us will have to pass through the valley of the shadow of death again and again before we reach the mountaintops of our desire.”

111. Mr. MARTEN (United Kingdom): It is a very great privilege for me to be among the first to congratulate Zimbabwe on its admission to the United Nations. Today marks the attainment of a goal which has been sought, for many years, that is, Zimbabwe's entry into the international community as an independent nation.

112. For my Government, and for me personally, it has been an honour to have been associated with the process which led to independence. Britain's fulfilment of its constitutional responsibilities for Rhodesia was made possible by a remarkable exercise of international, and particularly Commonwealth, co-operation.

113. A little over a year ago, the international community's hopes seemed almost unrealizable. A historic transformation was brought about in a matter of months. The United Nations, which has on so many occasions over the years debated the problem of Rhodesia, today rejoices in Zimbabwe's independence and looks forward with confidence to its future.

114. Many factors and many influences contributed to the attainment of a peaceful solution in Rhodesia. Now is not the time to analyse them. But without doubt the greatest contribution was the determination of all the people of Zimbabwe to forget past differences and move forward to a better future. Without that determination, it would not have been possible to implement the agreements reached at the Lancaster House Con-

ference.³ But with the political will to proceed peacefully and harmoniously to independence, within a few short months war turned to peace and the ballot-box replaced the bullet.

115. After many years of war, Zimbabwe came to independence under a government freely and fairly elected. The solution of the Southern Rhodesian problem surely can offer some hope for the peaceful settlement of other conflicts in southern Africa and elsewhere.

116. Zimbabwe's independence was an international event of great importance. Zimbabwe became a member of the Commonwealth, an organization that had played a significant part in the attainment of independence. It has since joined the Organization of African Unity and other international organizations. Today's proceedings represent a final act in the sincere welcome the international community has extended to the new country.

117. But the Zimbabwean Government faces formidable tasks ahead. Zimbabwe's economic, social and political life has been severely damaged by the war and years of national division. Determined efforts have already been made by Mr. Mugabe's Government to repair that damage and pave the way for economic progress and political reconciliation.

118. Mr. Mugabe's policies have done much to consolidate the settlement and to assure all Zimbabweans that they have a contribution to make to their country's future. And now the international community must also play its full part.

119. We are all beneficiaries of the settlement, and we must all now help the Government of Zimbabwe to heal the rifts of the past and build on this year's achievements.

120. The British Government will continue to take a close and friendly interest in Zimbabwe's affairs. We have, for example, pledged £75 million of aid to Zimbabwe over the next three years. Within this we have already provided a £7 million grant for reconstruction of community facilities in rural areas and to provide equipment to prepare land for the new growing season.

121. In fulfilment of the undertaking we gave at Lancaster House, a high priority will be given to agricultural development, including land settlement, and we are discussing how we may best help with this. We shall also help with other areas of Zimbabwe's economic and social infrastructure.

122. My Government has also written off £22 million of government-to-government debts as part of the settlement, and has agreed to re-schedule the remainder of the official debts.

123. Finally, the British Government is providing substantial military assistance, and our instructors are involved in the key task of training members of Zimbabwe's new national army.

124. But Zimbabwe's short- and medium-term needs are great. It is a country that is rich in human and material resources but it needs urgent and very substantial help to repair the damage and to bring the benefits of development to all its people. Friendly Governments have already provided some assistance to Zimbabwe, and we welcome the role which United Nations agencies have played in providing initial assistance, and particularly the role of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in repatriating refugees and co-ordinating

rehabilitation. We look forward to Zimbabwe's accession to the Lomé Convention.⁴

125. But I very much hope that all that has been done so far is only a beginning, and that all friendly Governments and international agencies will respond generously and promptly to Zimbabwe's needs.

126. Zimbabwe has already begun to make its contribution to international life. As a Member of the United Nations it will be able to take up its rightful place in the international community, a place which has been denied to it by the events of the past 15 years.

127. My Government looks forward to co-operating closely with Zimbabwe in the work of the United Nations and on the international scene in general. I wish Zimbabwe well in the important role it has to play in the African context. May Zimbabwe prosper with your help in the years ahead.

128. Mr. WAKIL (Afghanistan): On behalf of the group of Asian States, I take great pleasure in welcoming the Republic of Zimbabwe, a young State, as a new Member of this Organization. There is no doubt that the Republic of Zimbabwe will become an active and influential Member of the United Nations.

129. We are especially happy to welcome here the delegation of Zimbabwe headed by His Excellency Mr. Robert Mugabe, the Prime Minister of that country and an outstanding fighter for its national liberation.

130. We are also gratified that, despite the stubborn resistance of the colonialists, and their numerous manoeuvres aimed at prolonging the existence of the racist minority régime, the people of Zimbabwe have brought about the establishment of their own free and independent State. From now on the people of Zimbabwe will be on the path of independent development. The non-aligned nations of Asia as well as of other continents have always had a firm belief in the final victory of the national liberation movement of Zimbabwe. It is therefore not accidental that the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Havana in September last year, that is, before Zimbabwe gained its independence, "warmly congratulated the Patriotic Front on its admission as a full member in the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries".⁵

131. The admission to United Nations membership of each new independent State that has recently cast off the shackles of colonialism is always a memorable and bright event. Whenever that happens, the United Nations takes a new important step, first, towards the complete and final elimination of colonialism in all parts of the world in compliance with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, adopted by the General Assembly exactly 20 years ago and, secondly, towards attaining the universality of the United Nations, which is one of the fundamental conditions for enhancing the effectiveness of this international body.

132. It was with great satisfaction that the group of Asian countries supported the recommendation of the Security Council on the admission of the Republic of Zimbabwe to United Nations membership. We believe that the application of Zimbabwe for United Nations membership is in full compliance with the requirements of the Charter of the United Nations. We express our

⁴The ACP-EEC Convention of Lomé, signed on 28 February 1975 at Lomé.

⁵See A/34/542, annex, section I, para. 60.

³Held at London between 10 September and 15 December 1979.

hope that Zimbabwe, as a new Member of the United Nations, will make its valuable contribution to United Nations activities.

133. Availing ourselves of this opportunity, we should like once more, on behalf of the group of Asian States, to congratulate sincerely the Republic of Zimbabwe and its delegation to the United Nations, headed by His Excellency Mr. Robert Mugabe, on the occasion of the declaration of the independence of Zimbabwe and to convey to the people of that country our wishes for prosperity and progress on the path of its independent life and development.

134. Mr. MALTSEV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): First of all, I should like to congratulate you, Mr. President, on your election to this responsible post and to wish you every success in performing the responsible duties that are incumbent upon you.

135. As Chairman of the group of socialist States of Eastern Europe, I should like warmly to welcome the Republic of Zimbabwe, a new Member of the United Nations. We are gratified to note the presence at this meeting of an eminent statesman, the distinguished Prime Minister of Zimbabwe, Mr. Robert Mugabe.

136. The victory of the people of Zimbabwe in their heroic struggle against colonialist and racist oppression, which they won under the leadership of the Patriotic Front, has turned a fresh page in the history of that country and has created the necessary conditions to build a genuinely independent and sovereign State. This victory has written a new and resplendent page in the history of the liberation of Africa from the fetters of colonialism and racism.

137. A decisive contribution to the struggle for their liberation was made by the people of Zimbabwe themselves. At the same time, we should not overlook the noteworthy role in that victory that was played by international support offered by progressive forces throughout the world. The socialist countries of Eastern Europe have constantly been on the side of the people of Zimbabwe and, in both word and deed, have demonstrated their solidarity with that people's many years of liberation struggle.

138. The United Nations has adopted a number of important resolutions in defence of the inalienable right of the people of Zimbabwe to self-determination, freedom and independence and in support of its legitimate struggle against a minority racist régime. There can be no doubt that those resolutions also played their own important and positive part.

139. It is symbolic that Zimbabwe should have become a Member of the United Nations just 20 years after the General Assembly adopted the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

140. The socialist countries of Eastern Europe have done a great deal to ensure that the provisions of that Declaration become reality. The problem of eliminating the last bastions of colonialism and racism in the world is one of the most important and acute problems of the present day which must be resolved forthwith. It is only right that our Organization should keep that problem under close and constant scrutiny. Only the total eradication of the vestiges of colonialism and racism can put an end to the sufferings of those millions of people who are still in the throes of colonial enslavement and create the necessary conditions for successful social, economic and cultural development for those people who are at present oppressed.

141. To complete the process of decolonization would at the same time be to respond to the interests of all mankind, since as the disgraceful, colonial and racist blots are gradually expunged from our planet there will be a reduction in the number of potential explosive hot spots which represent a threat to international security.

142. The fact that the people of Zimbabwe have won independence and that this young Republic has been admitted to membership in the United Nations is indeed an important step towards the final liberation of the African continent from colonialism, racism and *apartheid*.

143. We warmly congratulate the Government and people of Zimbabwe on their admission to the United Nations and express our willingness to co-operate closely with that country in the name of the lofty aims and principles of our Organization.

144. Mr. ORTIZ SANZ (Bolivia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): It is a privilege for me to express, on behalf of the group of Latin American States at the United Nations, the satisfaction with which we all welcome the people of Zimbabwe to the United Nations. Freed from colonial oppression by the heroism of its people, aided in its endeavours by the desire for freedom and the attainment of justice which sustains the spirit and action of the international community, that nation has come to join us.

145. In 35 years the United Nations has already welcomed in this very hall more than 70 new States which have emerged into the light from the night of colonialism and become full Members of the United Nations. We have already expressed many joyous welcomes; but this one today is a special occasion because it affords us reason for a multiple celebration.

146. First, we celebrate the final historic victory of the people of Zimbabwe, a nation which, after having ended a long struggle which spared neither lives nor sufferings, now enters the domain of freedom and begins its endeavour to establish and strengthen on the foundations of hard work and harmony those economic, social and political structures which may be most in keeping with its dignity as a nation and with the happiness of its people.

147. Secondly, we celebrate the unquestionable moral and political victory of this Organization, which, without exceptions other than those that honour us, has from the first moments stood together with the people of Zimbabwe; which promptly mobilized in its principal organs those who would debate with vigour the circumstances of the problems; which recommended action and adopted resolutions, resorting to all the means laid down in the Charter for such a case; and which assisted the people of Zimbabwe to resolve the differences which arose from the heat of battle, in order to find in unity the true path to victory.

148. Thirdly, we celebrate a lasting cultural victory, a victory for justice and truth, which states that the criminal philosophy of racism has no place in the frame of history; that those who think that some men are to dictate like lords while others obey like slaves on the basis of the colour of their skin, in addition to having fallen into disgrace, are falling into a vacuum where they have no future.

149. On the ruins of the Great Zimbabwe, in the heart of ancestral Africa, a small white minority, obeying misguided leadership, tried to become a dominant group and by their economic exploitation and monstrous political and social discrimination outraged 6 million Zimbabweans, 6 million Africans.

150. History, impelled by the force of circumstances, at times will stop short before such distortions as are produced by: transnational economic interests which traverse frontiers and which know no country; the hegemonic policies of universal domination, which skilfully undermine national character; the arrogance of the powerful; the indifference of prosperous peoples to the plight of emerging nations; and the sales of arms in the guise of peaceful undertakings. Those are some of the retrogressive forces that at times seem to halt the course of history.

151. But history is persistent and inexorable. It sweeps aside, one after the other, all debasing distortions. It has already swept away slavery and fanaticism. It is doing away, day after day, with the dividing lines imposed by social injustice and flagrant imbalances which separate men and nations. It has already done away with the notion of the weak and the strong, in order to proclaim the sovereign equality of States. And, as we see today in the resplendent example of Zimbabwe, it is ending the last vestiges of racism and colonialism which are entrenching themselves behind the bulwarks of moral blindness and political suicide.

152. The inexorable course of history, in redressing inequity in Southern Rhodesia by bringing justice to the people of Zimbabwe, enables us to recall some fundamental teachings: that the desire for freedom is part of the incorruptible nature of men and peoples and that no Power large or small can stifle it; that the international community, which finds its expression in the Charter and the actions of the United Nations, can contribute to channelling the forces of history victoriously towards justice and peace; and that colonialism and racism—its monstrous offspring—are falling into a vacuum in which they have no future.

153. But let us not be deceived. Despite the obvious remedies brought about by history, important struggles still lie ahead. The Latin American nations, for example, subjected to disgraceful colonialism throughout the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, although they attained their political independence by force of arms a century and a half ago, are today faced with the challenge of new types of colonialism.

154. We have to avoid an indiscriminate exploitation of our natural resources by alien entrepreneurs. We have to combat the negative results of foreign economic decisions arrived at in remote centres which determine price structures and the opening and closing of international markets to our export products. We have to finance our overall development through the agonizing search for funds and the transfer of technology that will not entail serving hegemonic systems.

155. The Latin American nations rejoice at the political victories of the anti-colonial struggle, as in the case of Zimbabwe today; but we are disposed not to relent in the economic aspect of that struggle, because the hard facts of 150 years of republican existence have taught us that political freedom, if not coupled with economic independence, is without value or significance.

156. We have co-operated, as was our duty, together with the international community, especially with the community of emerging nations, in the political struggle of Zimbabwe for its freedom. We welcome Zimbabwe today to our ranks as one more brother, as one more ally, to pursue the struggle for the economic freedom of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, who are the owners of immense natural wealth, but whose lives are lived on the brink of hunger and frustration.

157. Mr. GAUCI (Malta): The long awaited admission of the Republic of Zimbabwe as the 153rd State Member of the United Nations is taking place in auspicious circumstances. Our collective rejoicing on this occasion goes beyond a justified gratification at the birth of a new nation and at another significant step towards the universality of our Organization.

158. As other speakers have already pointed out, there are many special features about the independence of Zimbabwe. On this, the twentieth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, it is fitting that the representative of a liberated front-line African country should be presiding over our deliberations. The United Republic of Tanzania has been in the forefront among the countries of Africa in the struggle against colonialism. That Zimbabwe should be admitted during the tenure of your presidency, Mr. President, is a vindication of your personal role and that of your country.

159. The admission of Zimbabwe signals the victory of reason and collective effort over what otherwise would have been a preposterous anachronism leading to widespread national and regional conflict. That a small minority of inhabitants should have presumed to perpetuate an unnatural dominance over the indigenous majority in Zimbabwe ran completely against the tide of contemporary philosophy. We therefore derive satisfaction from the fact that, against apparently unsurmountable odds, the dawn of enlightenment has penetrated the darkest hour and wiser counsel has prevailed, thanks to the persistent efforts of many.

160. The popular will has now been unmistakably exercised. A new chapter is about to unfold in the future of the southern African continent.

161. Both as the representative of a small island country, an ex-British colony itself, and as the spokesman for the group of Western European and other States on whose behalf I am privileged to speak today, I wish to extend a warm welcome to the Government and people of Zimbabwe on this day when their aspirations become official reality. Not only does the group of Western European and other States welcome the admission of Zimbabwe; we also recognize that, in the initial difficult problems inherent on the attainment of independence, our expertise and resources may be instrumental in helping to resolve the teething problems of Zimbabwe until political independence is matched by economic viability and social progress.

162. The people of Zimbabwe themselves, under their Prime Minister, Mr. Mugabe, have good reason to be proud today that their long and arduous struggle for independence has at last been resolved. The odds against them seemed insurmountable, but time and righteousness were not on the side of Ian Smith and his illegal white minority régime. The details of the struggle of the Patriotic Front, the help given and the sacrifices endured by the front-line States, the moral and political support given by the Organization of African Unity and other individual countries and groups of countries are now things of the past and have ended in a significant victory for the self-determination of peoples.

163. It is to be hoped that the positive example of Zimbabwe will serve as an inspiration and a spur to accelerated progress on Namibia. All nations should be able to join in a collective effort to satisfy by peaceful change the yearning of the Namibian people for self-determination.

164. The entire United Nations system, under the leadership of our indefatigable Secretary-General, has a

right to rejoice over its past contribution which is culminating in this happy occasion. In particular, the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, under the chairmanship of the representative of Trinidad and Tobago, and the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, under the chairmanship of the representative of Nigeria—who, like you, Mr. President, spoke with so much feeling and insight today—have played their full part, year after year, in today's major step forward in the decolonization process, and their work will continue.

165. The British Government as the administering Power, the countries of the Commonwealth and the Commonwealth Secretariat have collaborated wholeheartedly in their concerted efforts towards difficult negotiations, which culminated in the Lancaster House agreement.

166. I am glad to say that my own country has also played its modest role. In the difficult stages of negotiating an agreement between the Patriotic Front and the British and United States Governments under the supervision of the United Nations, in February 1978 at a time when prospects for progress seemed dim, Malta acted as the host country to a series of talks on the Anglo-American proposals. In our belief, which is borne out by subsequent events, the Malta talks proved to be a significant turning-point in the negotiations. From February 1978 onwards the Patriotic Front succeeded in gaining solid consolidation of its support, which culminated in Mr. Mugabe's landslide democratic electoral victory in March this year.

167. As we rejoice today, we must also anticipate the future. In today's interdependent world, unless a country moves forward with other nations it is virtually moving backwards. More concentrated effort is therefore required for the solution of its problems. Zimbabwe, which is still nursing the wounds of colonialism, bearing the scars of its liberation struggle and suffering the cumulative effect of the years lost in not utilizing its full economic potential, will need assistance and understanding from the international community to enable it to move ahead economically as well as politically. We are glad to note that some significant contributions have already been publicly announced.

168. We are confident that the international community will respond positively to the special needs of Zimbabwe, which has already demonstrated to the world the resolute political will of its leaders for genuine independence while its people are eager to face the task of nation-building with gallant determination.

169. I should like only to reiterate, on behalf both of the members of the group of Western European and other States and of my own Government, that we wholeheartedly welcome the admission of Zimbabwe to the United Nations. We also look forward to collaborating with its delegation at the United Nations in the political, economic, social and other fields, and we promise our full co-operation, each within the constraints of our respective constitutional provisions.

170. We for our part are convinced that the delegation of Zimbabwe will make its own contribution towards the goal which we all share—justice in an era of peace, freedom and racial harmony.

171. Mr. ABDALLA (Sudan) (*interpretation from Arabic*): It is with great pleasure that the delegation of the Sudan, on behalf of the group of Arab States, speaks in this Assembly at a time when the United

Nations is welcoming in its midst the Republic of Zimbabwe as the 153rd Member State. Our Organization is thus taking a step forward towards achieving our goal, namely, universality. The Sudan, which represents the melting-pot in which the two elements and the two civilizations, African and Arab, have met and fused, is gratified, on behalf of the group of Arab States and on its own behalf, to bid welcome to Zimbabwe.

172. The Africans and the Arabs are linked by a common destiny and a common struggle against colonialism and discriminatory and racist régimes and against the policies based on ambition and expansionism that are practised by the Zionist régime in occupied Palestine and the *apartheid* régime in South Africa. This common destiny and struggle is contributing in a very positive way to the achievement of our peoples' desire for close co-operation in various fields likely to be of benefit to everyone.

173. The revolt of the heroic people of Zimbabwe against imperialism and their gallant struggle against the Ian Smith régime are recognized by all militants in Africa and throughout the world. The independence of the people of Zimbabwe and their victory over brute force testify to the failure of attempts aimed at installing racist régimes based on notions of white racial superiority. We have reason to be proud because what has been achieved in Zimbabwe is a consecration of the principles set forth by the United Nations and the international community. Those principles deal mainly with fundamental human rights and the right of peoples to self-determination and independence without discrimination as to race, colour or creed. The freedom and independence now enjoyed by the people of Zimbabwe are the fruits of a long and arduous struggle during which the sons and daughters of Zimbabwe made sacrifices in defence of their honour and their dignity and refused to live like aliens in their own land and allow themselves to be led by a handful of white colonialists. The history of the resistance of the Zimbabwean people against acts of oppression and torture during their struggle for self-determination shows that the will of peoples is irresistible and that force, however brutal, remains unavailing against all those who choose independence and freedom as their goal and their destiny.

174. At a time when the Arab delegations are welcoming Mr. Mugabe and his colleagues to this Assembly, we wish to express our confidence in Mr. Mugabe, in his experience and in that of his people, which was acquired in the course of their long struggle. Mr. Mugabe's experience will undoubtedly help to enhance the work of the General Assembly and to install a new world economic order based on justice and equity. We wish to pay a tribute to Mr. Mugabe for the role he has been playing since the beginning of the revolution that led to Zimbabwe's independence. We also wish to pay him a tribute for his efforts to unite the Patriotic Front, for we know that the strength of a people depends on its remaining united. We hope that the efforts of the Zimbabwean people, under the leadership of the Patriotic Front, will strengthen those of other peoples seeking independence and freedom.

175. This is a propitious occasion to draw the attention of the international community to the arbitrary actions taken against our brothers in Namibia, South Africa and the territories still under the yoke of colonialism and racial discrimination. We appeal to the international community to increase its assistance to the liberation movements in those territories in order to support their just struggle and to allow the peoples of

those territories to exercise their legitimate rights to self-determination, independence, freedom and peace.

176. In conclusion, with regard to Zimbabwe, we cannot fail to express our admiration to the African group and the Organization of African Unity for all they have done in different international forums to support the liberation cause of Zimbabwe and to establish a black majority régime. We also wish to convey our thanks to all the delegations whose countries have supported the people of Zimbabwe and their legitimate representative, the Patriotic Front, at the different sessions of the General Assembly, particularly the thirty-fourth session, when this question was discussed. We appeal to all the countries and organizations that supported the cause of Zimbabwe to increase their efforts so that Namibia, South Africa, occupied Palestine and all occupied Arab territories can achieve independence and freedom, and free themselves from brute force.

177. Mr. ABDULAH (Trinidad and Tobago), 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: 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, I have a particular sense of satisfaction in extending today a most cordial welcome to the new independent State of Zimbabwe and to its Prime Minister, His Excellency Mr. Robert Mugabe, who can look with pride at this meeting of the General Assembly as the justly deserved investiture of the victory won through the toil and struggle which he and his people have endured over the past 15 years.

178. The achievement of the objectives of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples by the people of Zimbabwe is a source of immense satisfaction and delight to the entire world community, and to none more than to the members of the Special Committee, who, over the years, followed closely the often frustrating and at times even discouraging developments taking place in that region.

179. Zimbabwe's independence clearly demonstrates to the world that a colonial people fighting for its freedom cannot be silenced and that, against all odds, courage and determination will triumph. The final victory of the people of Zimbabwe is a tribute to the wisdom, realism, foresight and statesmanship of the leaders of the Patriotic Front, at the negotiating table as much as on the battlefield. It proves once again the power of the democratic process to enforce justice and to resolve conflicts among the most bitterly opposed interests.

180. That lesson should not be lost. With the liberation of Zimbabwe, the situation in southern Africa, for so long in a stalemate, has been altered irrevocably. I am confident that a free, prosperous and united Zimbabwe will contribute in no small measure to the strengthening of peace, co-operation and progress in that region, as it reaffirms the positive role of the United Nations in support of self-determination, freedom and national independence for all oppressed people. Indeed, the cause of freedom for the Namibians has already been greatly enhanced by the attainment of independence by Zimbabwe.

181. When I had the honour of representing the Special Committee at the official independence celebration ceremonies which took place in Harare last April, I had

the opportunity of conveying to the Government and, through it, to the people of Zimbabwe the warmest congratulations and best wishes of the Special Committee for peace, happiness and prosperity in the years to come. But Zimbabwe needs more than the good wishes of all nations. A tremendous effort of national reconstruction will engage all the energies of the entire population, and I need not stress the grave responsibility of the international community, of the United Nations and its family of organizations, to extend their help most generously and to give this new nation all the assistance it needs to rebuild its economy, resettle its refugees, take care of its wounds and put aside the bitterness of the past.

182. Over the years, as more and more colonial territories on its agenda have become independent, the Special Committee has taken great pride in contributing to the enlargement of the membership of the United Nations. Today, as Zimbabwe takes its rightful place in our Organization, the Special Committee rejoices to see that the United Nations is coming closer to one of its fundamental objectives: universality.

183. In conclusion, I wish to assure His Excellency Prime Minister Mugabe that I and my colleagues on the Special Committee look forward to working closely in the future with the representatives of Zimbabwe in our common endeavours to further the aims and principles of the United Nations.

184. Mr. McHENRY (United States of America): As Permanent Representative of the host country, I welcome a new Member to the United Nations: the nation of Zimbabwe.

185. Zimbabwe's admission to the United Nations is a cause for celebration. It represents the triumph of principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations: that all persons, regardless of race, colour or creed, have a right to participate in shaping their political destinies; and that people of goodwill can find peaceful solutions for even the most vexing problems that confront them.

186. I know that all Members of the United Nations welcome the determined efforts of Prime Minister Mugabe and his Government to create in Zimbabwe a nation where the ideals of democracy and racial equality are translated into reality.

187. Zimbabwe's admission represents also a triumph for many of the Members of the United Nations, particularly the United Kingdom and the front-line States of southern Africa, whose untiring efforts in the cause of peace facilitated the signing of the Lancaster House accords and the election of a representative Government in Zimbabwe.

188. When Zimbabwe applied to the Security Council for membership in the United Nations, I said that as "the Members of the United Nations seek solutions to the pressing political and economic problems that confront the nations of the world, we should see Zimbabwe as a beacon light".⁶ We might keep that in mind as we embark on this special session, during which we shall deal with perhaps the most pressing of all international problems: the question of economic development. As we grapple with the difficult issues that will arise in our

⁶See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fifth Year*, 2244th meeting.

debates we will need the same qualities of patience and political will that were employed to such good effect by all the parties in the Lancaster House negotiations. We are pleased that the delegation of Zimbabwe has elected to join us for this important session. We are confident

that because of its unique heritage Zimbabwe will bring to our deliberations the very qualities needed to ensure success.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.