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President: Mr. Abdelaziz BOUTEFLIKA
 (Algeria).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. CHATTI (Tunisia) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Mr. President, the Tunisian delegation is happy to associate itself with all the speakers who have already congratulated you on your election as President of this session of the General Assembly, succeeding Mr. Benites, whom the Organization will always remember as a man of great competence and ability. Tunisia has more than one reason to take pleasure in this demonstration of confidence in you and, through you, in the Government of Algeria, its President, the Algerian people, the great Arab Maghreb, and the African continent as a whole.

2. We are all the more pleased to see a statesman of your stature presiding over this session of the Assembly because the agenda before us indicates that this will be a very important session, in view of the acuteness and gravity of the problems facing it, particularly those affecting international peace and security. What could be more normal than for these problems to be submitted to the international community, and particularly to the General Assembly, which in our view is the principal instrument for the search for appropriate solutions, however grave the problems may be and whatever ramifications they may have. The United Nations represents the international conscience—indeed, it should represent the only sincere conscience that exists—thus becoming a source of hope for nations and peoples through the way it deals with all the problems that may confront the world, whether they be conflicts and crises or questions concerning progress towards peace and development.

3. We do not, however, think that the United Nations must completely upset the order established in international relations since the Second World War. Indeed, we are too much attached to the Organization to wish it to engage in such a course; we are sufficiently mature also not to wish it to do so. Nevertheless, we think that the present circumstances are

perceptibly different from those existing when the United Nations was created. That obliges us to study ways of developing the methods used by the Organization so that it may remain in harmony with the changes occurring in the world and fully meet the requirements flowing from those changes. Indeed, realism and sense of responsibility oblige us to consider things in a balanced and rational way and to seek effectiveness when we choose our methods of action.

4. It is true that the great Powers have special responsibilities in the maintenance of international peace and security, and the situation is not likely to change soon. But the development process that I have just mentioned and our concern to avoid a situation in which the Organization will be overtaken by events make it necessary to search for such means as can reconcile the requirements of the present order with those of that development process. Hence, we believe it indispensable to associate the United Nations with the great Powers in dealing with all problems affecting the fate of mankind.

5. In that respect I wish to pay tribute to the tireless efforts that the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, has been successfully exerting to strengthen the chances for peace throughout the world and to give the Organization its proper place and the supreme responsibilities for which it was created.

6. Mr. President, permit me to express my great satisfaction at addressing the Assembly in the Arabic language, which now has the legal status that is due to it, and to consider this change as illustrating the capacity of the Organization to adapt itself to one of the requirements of the evolution which I have mentioned.

7. Today, we have to deal with many questions on our agenda, each of which has its importance and its gravity. But the most serious thing perhaps is the fact that those problems are not new ones and are not confronting us for the first time. They have been submitted to us today in fact in far more acute terms than hitherto and there is real urgency surrounding some of them.

8. Thus, the past year was marked by the consequences of the war of October 1973 in the Middle East and despite the progress resulting from the troop disengagements, the problem is still there in its entirety. We very much hoped that the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East would lead to the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the territories occupied in 1967, thus opening up the way to an examination of the fundamental problem, which is the Palestinian question.

9. But this hope has disappeared. The difficulties raised by the Israelis have prevented peace efforts from succeeding. It would seem that the leaders in Tel Aviv have learned no lesson from the October war and that, in spite of changes in their Government,

they persist in believing that security can be built on the conquest of the territories of others. In other words, they continue to believe in the supremacy of might over right.

10. The Arab countries, which agreed to sign the disengagement agreements, have seen Israel once again profiting from their desire for peace by freezing a situation that both suits it and permits it to strengthen its grip on the occupied territories. It is the duty of the great Powers, which have agreed to assume a special responsibility for the safeguarding of world peace, to bring Israel to reason, with a view to serious negotiations. For, if the Geneva negotiations or negotiations elsewhere do not within a reasonable period of time lead to the implementation of the Security Council's decisions there is a risk that the crisis will deteriorate dangerously and even degenerate into a new conflict with very serious consequences not only for the region but for the whole world.

11. The Assembly is duty-bound to draw the attention of the Security Council to the dangers involved in prolonging such a situation, the perpetuation of which would be tantamount, against all logic, to the recognition of the legitimacy of the occupation of the territory of others and the supremacy of injustice over right.

12. While the evacuation of the territories occupied in 1967 is indispensable, it is far from being sufficient to get to the root of the problem because, as everyone realizes, including Israel, the essential problem is still the fate of the people of Palestine. This is not just a question of housing refugees or of international charity, but of the right of a whole people to its homeland, its dignity, its national character, its identity, and its freedom to decide what shall become of it. That is the fundamental reality, and no one will ever understand the Middle East crisis if he has not grasped the truth of the Palestinian tragedy in all its ramifications. Therefore, we can only take pleasure at seeing the question of Palestine included as a separate item on the Assembly's agenda [item 108] in accordance with the analysis of it made by President Bourguiba for more than 10 years now. It is time for the world to realize the will and determination of the Palestinian people to impose its right to life with its homeland and its security restored to it.

13. It is time to realize that without the Palestinian problem, there would never have been a Middle East problem, nor the spectre of war that from day to day threatens the whole world from this region.

14. The struggle of the Palestinian people is a natural phenomenon because it expresses the will of a people to affirm its right to existence. This struggle indeed does credit to all men, as it does credit to all those who, in spite of their misfortunes and the vicissitudes of history, have remained faithful in their conviction of their rights, without ever despairing of human justice. It will be simply doing them justice to permit them to come and make their voices heard in this hall before the representatives of world public opinion.

15. Yes, indeed, it is high time for the United Nations, which assumed great responsibilities with regard to Palestine, when in 1947 it decided on its partition [resolution 181 (II)], to examine this problem in the

light of new developments that have occurred in the area.

16. We are all aware how things have developed. The decision to partition in 1947 was one of the most flagrant injustices in the history of mankind. In spite of that injustice, and since the decision of the world Organization conferred legitimacy on the partition plan, President Bourguiba tried to have it accepted both by the Arab States and by the Palestinians, and in 1965 appealed to have it conceded. That solution, which was not accepted at that time, now seems in the eyes of many the only way out of the crisis because it guarantees the existence of Israel within legal frontiers, as the great Powers required, at the same time as it permits the existence of the Palestinian State on a legal basis recognized by the United Nations.

17. But while the existence of Israel has become a fact, that State persists not only in refusing to evacuate the territories occupied in 1947, or those it has occupied ever since its aggression of 1967, but what is more, it categorically denies the very existence of the Palestinian people, an existence provided for in the document upon which its own existence is founded. For 20 years Israel has succeeded in arguing its extremist claims; but today, after the rebirth of the Palestine resistance movement, centred in the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), whose leaders are the authentic and incontestable representatives of the Palestinian people as a whole, after the war of October 1973, it is no longer reasonable to continue to claim that Israel can still prolong its supremacy over the Arab Middle East. The myth of the invincibility of Israel has been destroyed, and that country, together with those who support it, must accept the new state of affairs. The chief element in that state of affairs is the determination of the Arab countries, whatever their differences with regard to other questions, to bring about a just and lasting solution based upon the right of peoples to self-determination and on the recognition that that right belongs to the Palestinian people in particular. And do we need to remind the Assembly that the Arab countries have demonstrated their capacity to use for that purpose all the resources available to them?

18. There is another question, which does not date from yesterday and which, because a satisfactory solution has not been found for it, is dangerously rearing its head once more in the form of a crisis that is likely to upset the balance of powers in an important strategic region in the Mediterranean basin.

19. The question of Cyprus is among those which have always been of concern to the United Nations. The United Nations troops have effectively helped to prevent a confrontation between the two communities on the island. But the calm brought to the island by those forces has not been used profitably in order to achieve a final solution to the fundamental problem that would guarantee the coexistence of the two communities.

20. Some people thought they could settle for a *de facto* situation which is in contravention of the Tripartite Agreements of Zürich and which is flagrantly prejudicial to the rights of a minority. It is not surprising that the minority should have felt that its rights were being dangerously threatened. When the already precarious balance that prevailed was destroyed by a

coup d'état endangering the independence of the country, the inevitable happened, and a conflict, grave in its consequences, came close to pitting two neighbouring Mediterranean nations against each other, two nations which had every reason to be reconciled.

21. Now that the worst has been avoided, the problem of Cyprus must be resolved once and for all in a way permitting the coexistence of the two communities, with full respect for the character of each of them, within the framework of a single State, with the constitutional rights of each so guaranteed that neither of them can challenge the rights of the other, while at the same time the complete independence of the island is preserved under an international guarantee.

22. Although the situation in the Middle East and in Cyprus is a cause of profound concern, the developments in the southern part of the African continent give grounds for hope, even though that region still continues to suffer the nightmare of colonialism and *apartheid*.

23. We have no doubt that sooner or later the bastions of colonialism will yield to the struggle of the peoples of those territories, supported by the fraternal solidarity of all the African nations and all anti-colonialist countries. But we must in all frankness admit that we did not expect the decolonization of those territories to come about in such favourable circumstances. As a result, the Portuguese nation, which has so admirably changed its attitude towards Africa, is today restored to its proper place in our hearts. The Government of Tunisia was among the first to welcome the efforts of the Portuguese Government, and to resume its natural relations with that country; for it was the colonial policy of the old régime alone that divided us from Portugal, which throughout the course of history has had numerous ties with our Arab Maghreb. For that reason we take the greatest satisfaction in seeing this reconciliation between our Portuguese friends, on the one hand, and our brothers in Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique, on the other.

24. It is with great emotion that I welcome here today the delegation of Guinea-Bissau, which thus assumes its governmental responsibilities on an equal footing with all countries of the world, while at the same time, of course, I pay homage to the martyrs, both African and Portuguese, who fell victim to the blindness of the preceding Portuguese régime, and its persistent refusal to heed the appeals of reason and conscience. We are also happy to welcome the admission of Bangladesh and Grenada to our Organization, and to address to the peoples of those two friendly countries our best wishes for progress and prosperity. We hope that Angola will not be long in joining the ranks of the independent African States, and will overcome the present temporary difficulties that can in no way block the path to freedom, the goal for which the Angolan people were the first, in that area, to make the greatest of sacrifices.

25. Thus, decisive blows have been dealt to colonial and racist rule in southern Africa, and we are convinced that the combined struggle of the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa will soon win a victory for the cause of freedom and justice over tyranny and colonialism. But, unfortunately, there are still some other colonial enclaves in Africa. In our

own region, the so-called Spanish Sahara has not yet freed itself from colonial rule. We believe that the time has come to resolve this problem that has been poisoning relations between Morocco, Mauritania and Spain. We thus welcome with great satisfaction the agreement reached during this session, and announced from this very rostrum, between Morocco [2249th meeting, para. 204] and Mauritania [2251st meeting, para. 162] to refer this question to the International Court of Justice. Without prejudging the verdict of the Court, I should like to recall three principles that, in our view, constitute three fundamental imperatives.

26. First is the need for final, immediate and practical decolonization of those territories, for there can be no question of allowing the colonial Power to continue to exercise any power, openly or covertly, after the emancipation of those territories.

27. Second is the search for a negotiated solution between Spain, Morocco and Mauritania, for the purpose of safeguarding the atmosphere of friendship and co-operation prevailing in that region.

28. And third is, if it should prove impossible to arrive at a negotiated solution, an appeal to the Government of Madrid to subscribe to the agreement between Morocco and Mauritania and agree to refer this matter to the Court.

29. I hope that the Spanish Government will agree to this proposal, and thus spare our Assembly the need to discuss and vote on this matter. In any case, if the Spanish Government should not consider it appropriate to agree to this proposal, I consider that the General Assembly should take full note of the gravity of this problem, and endorse the procedure suggested by Morocco and Mauritania, so that the Court may hand down an opinion in the light of which the United Nations can take a stand.

30. Many other subjects no less grave and important likewise demand the attention of the Assembly during this session. In a world where *détente* is supposed to prevail, a number of tensions and frictions persist in many fields in various areas.

31. In Cyprus, as in the Middle East, *détente* has not prevented a deterioration of the situation, and in both places the course of events has come close indeed to catastrophe. It may appear paradoxical that *détente* can thus go hand in hand with so many conflicts between smaller countries, but in practice we realize that it has its limitations. To be sure, it can be credited with some successes, such as the agreements on troop disengagement in the Middle East, and the continuation of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. *Détente* has also made it possible to avoid confrontation between the Turkish and Greek forces in Cyprus. We can even give *détente* the credit for having played some part in the favourable developments in Portugal and in its former African colonies.

32. However, the reduction in tension between the two super-Powers remains a limited phenomenon that does not take in all the problems that beset the international community. What we hope for is a global *détente* that can and should be brought about within the framework of the United Nations and with its Members, a *détente* that must apply to all problems of the world, even though they may not seem to be

direct and immediate threats to international peace and security as the great Powers conceive these to be, whether those problems concern disarmament, decolonization, or, above all, development.

33. If *détente* could lead us from the rather passive concept of peaceful coexistence to the more positive view of it as active international co-operation, in a world where the independence of all peoples, the sovereign equality of all States, and, more especially, balanced and stable—and thus more equitable—international economic relations prevailed, it could then command the enthusiastic support of all peoples, and mankind itself would be taking a considerable step forward towards happiness and prosperity. For ever since the war of October 1973, we have been living in an era in which we are finding how much, in the economic sphere, the interests of all nations, great and small, are bound together and interdependent.

34. Thus in today's world of crisis, there has been a change in the nature of tensions and in the antagonists involved. The developing countries are determined flatly to reject the state of affairs that prevailed until recently, which was both the legacy of the long period of colonialism, and a corollary of the principle that a minority of the human race could dominate the great majority of mankind.

35. The establishment of a new international economic order has become more than a necessary measure; it is an urgent one. We hope that the work of this session will contribute appreciably to the practical implementation of the Programme of Action [*resolution 3202 (S-VI)*] designed to ensure the application of the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [*resolution 3201 (S-VI)*] and the initiation of co-operation between industrialized countries and developing countries which will make it possible to confront the problem of inflation which threatens us all and which stems not solely, as some people would have it, from the rise in the prices of petroleum and raw materials but essentially from the policy of economic expansion pursued by the industrialized countries and also from other causes which it would take too long to enumerate here.

36. In the meantime, good work can and must be done at the regional level, and, in this regard, the dialogue between Europe and the Arab countries has made a promising beginning. Geographical, economic and technological complementarity between Europe and the Arab world has made a promising beginning and it must become a reality as part of an ambitious design which would go much further than mere trading in energy products. On both sides, there is a full realization of the interdependence of our two regions and the need to co-operate in all areas, whether they be political or economic, in order to overcome our respective difficulties.

37. Within the same context, we can consider that the work of the sixth special session on raw materials and development, held in New York, the World Population Conference held at Bucharest, and the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea held at Caracas, comprises positive contributions by the United Nations to the solution of the fundamental problems of the hour. Here, too, the gaps that separate the members of the international community

separate the affluent from the developing countries. Here, again, a spirit of co-operation is necessary if we are to find realistic solutions that are both practical and just. We have great hopes of seeing this session yield more concrete results.

38. There is an impressive list of problems before the Assembly. And this is really the proper place to consider them, because if there is anything all these problems have in common, it is their universality. Whether it be the Mediterranean crisis or decolonization in Africa, or peace, disarmament, energy or the law of the sea, population growth, development or, *a fortiori*, *détente*, all countries of the world are affected. And whatever may be said, it is this Organization that must debate those subjects. In a shrinking world, where problems are becoming every day more interdependent, we can only achieve international peace with the support of all nations, we can only make progress towards a solution of the gigantic problems which confront humanity and threaten our common security if we act in common and through negotiations.

39. Mr. BENITES (Ecuador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, the honour conferred on Ecuador when I was elected President of the twenty-eighth session of this Assembly had the disadvantage of preventing me, for almost one year, from exercising the exclusive representation of my people; nor, during that time, when I served my country at a high international level, was I able to serve it in other forums.

40. On returning to ground level—with a clear conscience from having done my duty—and resuming the full and exclusive representation of Ecuador, it is a great pleasure for me that my first duty is to congratulate you, on behalf of the people and Government of Ecuador, on your accession to the Presidency of the General Assembly. These grave moments of conflict in international life demand the clairvoyance of the statesman and the tough energy of the fighter, two qualities that are combined in your personality, which was formed in the fight for independence for your country and then in your continuous efforts undertaken in your exalted capacity as Minister for Foreign Affairs of Algeria to liberate the peoples of the world and to create a new order.

41. It also gives me great pleasure that one of my first duties is to greet, on behalf of the people and Government of Ecuador, the three new Members of the Organization, each from a different continent: Grenada, our sister by geography but above all by history, which since the history of the Iberian-Indian-African peoples of Latin America began in the Caribbean, has been a melting-pot of peoples and a matrix of nations; Bangladesh, set at the heart of a millenary culture; and Guinea-Bissau, which won its independence in an unflagging battle, to whose heroes and martyrs I wish to pay tribute in the noble and austere person of Amílcar Cabral.

42. Having fulfilled those pleasant duties, I must now refer to an event that has plunged my people into mourning: the tragedy of Honduras. Hurricane winds, torrential rains and high tides transformed the beautiful tropical country of Honduras into an enormous devastated area under whose mud 10,000 human beings are buried. Those who survived were attacked by maddened vipers, and, in the midst of the desola-

tion, the spectre of famine, disease and misery was raised.

43. I do not wish to make of my statement to the General Assembly a kind of broadened agenda or an advance sample of the agenda items which we shall have an opportunity to deal with in the respective Main Committees or in plenary meetings when items are assigned to them. I shall now refer only to those matters which, although they do not yet appear specifically on our agenda, are implicit in many of the questions we are to debate.

44. It may seem to be a time-worn *cliché* if I say what I have been repeating in my latest statements and reaffirm today—namely, that we are in an era of transition which we can face only if we have a clear and accurate awareness of the change. Twenty-nine years ago, an historic event occurred: the organization of the international community for the noble purposes of living together in peace as good neighbours, prohibiting the use and even the mere threat of force, advocating respect for the dignity of free man without discrimination and enshrining the right of peoples to decide on their own forms of government.

45. We know that since the United Nations came into being there have been flagrant violations of its principles and purposes—for example, war as a means of expanding frontiers; the occupation of territories by force; the refusal to grant peoples their right to self-determination; the monstrous injustice of *apartheid* in South Africa and Rhodesia; the artificial division of peoples having ancient homogeneous cultures; the mass devastation of lands by barbarous methods of chemical warfare; and the use of hunger as a weapon. All that is true. But it is also true that the organization of the international community which the United Nations represents has created an international public opinion the obvious pressure of which has prevented the outbreak of a world war and the hegemony of a dominant Power and has made possible the liberation of colonial peoples which are today full-fledged States. The clearest expression of that to be found at this time is Portugal's break with an obsolete idea of domination, a break it has begun with the applause and sympathy of all the peoples of the world. Our civilization, which has successively been Mediterranean and Atlantic and has extended to every ocean, has come to be the civilization of the globe, of man, of all men, of all the peoples of a planet which, small and inadequate though it has become, is the only one we have to live for.

46. I would not wish to evoke poetic images of facile rhetoric. Instead, I shall refer to the image used by an economist with a cool and clear mind, Mr. Robert McNamara, who, at the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, held at Stockholm in 1972, said we are passengers on a spaceship on which one fourth of the people travels comfortably while three fourths travel in conditions of hunger, disease and destitution.

47. After the successive failures of the efforts of the first United Nations Development Decade, the crisis in raw materials compelled us to hold the sixth special session of the General Assembly on the noble and, I would venture to say, bold initiative of President Boumediène of Algeria. The special session drew attention to the vital fact that the international com-

munity requires measures other than partial steps; it requires a new international economic order. In my opinion, this is the beginning of the second great era of the United Nations since it was established as the expression of the world community.

48. I must with alarm confess that, instead of an atmosphere of co-operation, interrelationship and confidence which the establishment of a new international economic order requires, this session of the General Assembly has begun in an atmosphere of suspicion and threat. That is terribly negative because threats and recriminations usually rebound against those who launch them, like a boomerang thrown by an inexperienced hand.

49. In the first place, it is not true—and I would say it is hardly loyal to say that it is—that the economic deterioration and paralysis in development of those countries described as most seriously affected is due exclusively to the rise in petroleum prices. Before oil prices were raised, there was an increase of up to 400 per cent in the cost of food-stuffs such as wheat and sugar, building materials such as steel and cement, agricultural machinery, and products derived from hydrocarbons, such as acrylics and fertilizers. But in those cases the victims were not the industrialized countries which process raw materials; the victims were the weak peoples of the developing world, which in silence suffered the effects upon their balances of payments.

50. Nor can runaway inflation be attributed solely to the so-called energy crisis. Inflation arises when more money is minted than is justified by the production of goods and therefore the vast increase in military expenditure and wars of political hegemony have generated inflation that has inevitably been exported to the economically weaker countries. Furthermore, the system established at Bretton Woods has led to an unequal development which has further enriched the rich and impoverished the poor.

51. Finally, the rise in prices of oil and its derivatives has not affected developed countries that lack those products or have a deficit in their production—such as the European countries and Japan—in the same way as it has affected the United States, which depends on foreign oil imports for only about 12 per cent of its needs and whose oil companies, in the midst of the crisis, made profits of up to 800 per cent.

52. Lastly, I should like to point out that the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries [OPEC] is not a political organization, since its members comprise countries with different systems of government and differing social goals; nor is it an ethnic organization, since in it are represented Arabs, Africans, Iranians, Asians and Latin Americans; nor is it an organization of petroleum producers, since it represents only 85 per cent of the producers; nor is it a mutual aid society, because I know of no decision which commits the wealthier among its members to render assistance to the poorer. It is simply an organization of exporters whose essential purpose is to defend prices that for many years bore no relation to the rising prices of other products while companies amassed wealth by exploiting a non-renewable resource.

53. In his message addressed to President Ford of the United States on the occasion of his statement at the beginning of the present session of the Assembly, as published in *The New York Times* on 25 September 1974, that great statesman who governs the destinies of Venezuela, Mr. Carlos Andrés Pérez, said:

“Venturing to interpret the policy of OPEC, I would assure you that it is the hope of our petroleum-producing countries that an agreement between the countries producing raw materials and the industrialized countries which will be equitable and bring international justice can be reached, through a world body such as the United Nations, with a view to striking a proper and acceptable balance between the prices paid to us for the labour of the men and women of our poverty-stricken countries and those paid by our economies for the imports we require.”

54. Within OPEC there are different degrees of development, ranging from that of countries which can produce 8 million barrels daily, to that of countries, such as Ecuador, with a maximum output of 230,000 barrels daily; and from that of countries which process their hydrocarbons to countries, such as Ecuador, which have a very weak processing industry, and are therefore exporters of crude and importers of the derivatives of the refined product for which they are paying prices higher than their profits, with serious damage resulting to their balance of payments.

55. In this respect I should like to reaffirm the statement made not long ago by my Government in a communication addressed to the Secretary-General to the effect that Ecuador, with a low average production of crude, without a petrochemical industry and with a very small processing industry, is not in a position to be a capital donor merely because it is a member of OPEC. Ecuador, on the contrary, is a developing country which requires economic assistance in the form of soft loans and substantial assistance with regard to the transfer of technology.

56. Yet, there is one obvious fact that nobody can honestly deny, and that is that the rise in oil prices has had a serious impact on the world economy, not merely on small producers that export all their crude and purchase the derivatives at high prices and on countries that have strong processing industries but lack oil, but on all the countries of the world, and particularly on those which have no oil, whose balances of payments have been shattered, whose production has been cut because of a lack of fuel and fertilizers and whose inflation has been accelerated. Those are the countries that have been described as the ones most seriously affected. On the other hand, the investment of the profits obtained, as a result of the rise in the price of oil, in shares—including bank shares—in multinational companies and real estate in the developed countries has added to an inflation already seriously accelerated by the arms race and the acquisition of arms by countries which previously did not have the means to acquire them. The total figure for investment in military expenditure in the world has risen to \$207,405 million, at a time when mankind faces an imminent and so far inevitable threat of tragic world-wide famine.

57. To deal with this threatening problem—the approach of famine—two international conferences

have been held, under the auspices of the United Nations yet in complete autonomy, and another will be held shortly, also under United Nations auspices. I shall refer to them briefly.

58. People are forgetting that the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, the first stage of which was held at Caracas this summer, had as its origin the need for the sea-bed and the ocean floor beyond the limits of national jurisdiction and the subsoil thereof to be used for peaceful purposes and to be exploited for the benefit of mankind, so as to promote the development of the weakest countries and avert the dangers of economic imbalances arising out of the illicit, one-sided enrichment of those nations that are technically and financially most powerful. This implies that the sea-bed under national jurisdiction is for the use and benefit of the coastal State and that the work of the Conference had chiefly to concentrate on the establishment of a legal régime and an administrative mechanism applicable to the exploitation of the vast wealth of the high seas for the benefit of mankind.

59. Yet so far interest has centred mainly on determining the extent of national jurisdiction rather than on the kinds of rights which the coastal State should exercise over its adjacent sea and the rights of mankind on the high seas. This is due to the unyielding action of countries with large fishing fleets, which desire to engage freely in their predatory activities.

60. In Caracas three positions emerged in regard to the extent of jurisdiction. The most restrictive accepts a maximum of 12 miles of territorial sea. The second position, which emerged in 1972, accepts as a compromise a territorial sea of 12 miles over which full sovereignty would be exercised and an adjacent zone of up to 200 miles—that is, 188 miles more—without any agreement so far as to the kinds of rights which would be exercised over the adjacent zone. The only agreement is that these would not be sovereign rights, which could be exercised over the territorial sea alone. The last position—which my country maintains and which I defended on its behalf from 1955 to 1972—is based on the right of the coastal State to extend its complete sovereignty over the adjacent sea, in accordance with the geographical, geological and ecological characteristics of the coast and the economic needs of its population for up to 200 miles from the base line.

61. The expression “200-mile sea” lacks meaning so long as it is not known what kinds of rights can be exercised over that zone, and to prevent such confusion, Ecuador has maintained and incorporated in its laws that its territorial sea extends for 200 miles and that over that zone it exercises full sovereignty, from which it should be understood that we cannot admit of a 200-mile sea without full sovereignty, as would be the case with the exclusive economic zone or the patrimonial sea.

62. The head of State of Ecuador, General Guillermo Rodríguez Lara, in a statement of which an extract was published in the Quito newspaper *El Comercio* on 26 July of this year, emphasized the importance of the 200-mile territorial sea—embodied in the territorial laws of Ecuador—and affirmed that the sovereign entity of Ecuador “is prepared to stop piracy

by the powerful and fully implement our laws in regard to maritime jurisdiction."

63. The second United Nations conference held this year was the World Population Conference held at Bucharest. In our opinion, its special importance lies in the fact that it has drawn attention to the problem of the population explosion, but has left each State free to seek its own solutions. Quite obviously, a major population explosion occurring simultaneously with a reduction in food production and an increase in the cost of building materials represents a dramatic threat. The key to the problem, therefore, must be to meet the overall needs of development.

64. The sixth special session of the General Assembly, in putting forward the need for a new international economic order, set immediate and long-term targets with which the present session of the General Assembly must deal. The immediate objectives were entrusted to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, who was asked to organize, as the first measure of the Special Programme established by resolution 3202 (S-VI), an emergency operation to assist the most seriously affected countries. The long-term goals were entrusted to the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Special Programme, which has to submit to the Economic and Social Council recommendations on the machinery and scope of the Special Fund, also established by the same resolution, which would meet the urgent needs of the most seriously affected countries but whose ultimate purpose would be to meet the overall needs of development.

65. Wherever we turn, the problem of development confronts us. Its challenge is imperative and urgent, and given this challenge we cannot play with words as children play with coloured balloons. "Co-existence", "co-operation", "interdependence" are not mere words: they are calls to action. The simple rite of shifting our blame to a scapegoat and getting rid of it is a subterfuge: it does not really free our conscience.

66. The inexorable fact we must face is that the sixth special session charged us irrevocably with creating a new international economic order: not any order, but a just, co-ordinated and interdependent order. We know that the developed and highly industrialized countries are going through a crisis. We understand that countries which have made enormous profits from raising oil prices are entitled to do this because they were formerly exploited and impoverished. But we know that if both could agree on prudent and well-planned investments, particularly in infrastructure, in the less fortunate or less developed countries, they might dispel the threat of hunger which looms over an anxious mankind and could thus give a successful start to the new international economic order.

67. To say that the new order must be based on interdependence is to state the obvious, but it is also an evident truth. Interdependence means that the powerful industrial countries must learn to depend on those which they formerly exploited and that those which were formerly dependent wish to replace dependence by interdependence. The new economic order must basically be a new order in reciprocal economic dependence.

68. Since the Industrial Revolution, the economic order has been based on the idea of empire and therefore on the colonial relationship of the extraction of cheap raw materials and the creation of expensive manufactured goods—that is, a situation of dependence. The new order must be based as far as possible on giving the previously exploited peoples the means to process their own raw materials and progressively to alter their feudal or colonial structures by increased development and better use of the riches of their soil and subsoil and of their adjacent sea.

69. Because of what I have said previously, I believe that the role of the present Assembly is of vital importance. Instead of wasting itself in sterile rhetoric or fruitless struggles, this Assembly should devote every effort of reason, imagination and, I venture to say, intuition to creating a new international economic order which will make it possible for a threatened mankind to enjoy a dignified and secure existence.

70. In concluding, may I be permitted to inject a personal note and to express my gratitude to all who have spoken so generously of my work as President of the twenty-eighth session and the sixth special session of the General Assembly.

71. On the decision of my Government this will be the last time that I shall speak in a general debate of the General Assembly as the representative of Ecuador. I shall, of course, continue to exercise my functions until the end of the present session. During 18 previous sessions I have shared unforgettable days in the struggle for decolonization, against racism, for the strengthening of international security, against aggression, and in favour of non-intervention. From the Assembly I have received for my country and for myself honours which had never before been conferred on citizens of my country, such as the successive chairmanship of the Special Political Committee and of the First Committee, apart from the high honour of being the first citizen of Ecuador to have been President of the General Assembly. So that I am not speaking "with a pained voice and looking at my shadow", as Don Francisco de Quevedo, the Spanish poet, said. I am speaking with a feeling in which humility is mixed with pride but a feeling above all of gratitude to all of you as well as hope for your future action. I believe and have often said that every man has within himself a spark of life and hope which, like a torch that has been lit, must be handed on. I place my torch here with a living flame at a time when I feel that all my vital forces are undiminished. I do so with the clear faith that I have had and still have in the destiny of an international community organized to achieve the lofty purposes which the United Nations represents.

72. Mr. POTOLOT (Central African Republic) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, after so many voices which have been heard from this rostrum expressing to you in different terms and in different languages congratulations on your unanimous election to the presidency of the General Assembly it would seem gratuitous at this stage of our work to reflect another sentiment which has already been expressed. However, in associating myself humbly with the compliments that have been paid you I am convinced that I am not simply discharging a traditional duty or making a gesture of international courtesy, but am,

in fact, lauding with pride the exceptional merits of my brother, Abdelaziz Bouteflika, to whom I am bound by so many positive ties, which I would not like to go into now if only to avoid offending his legendary modesty and exposing myself to disapproval.

73. You are a worthy and valiant son of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria, which maintained special relations of fraternal co-operation with my own country, the Central African Republic. The Algerian Republic is undeniably in the forefront of the nations which truly deserve to be called revolutionary. It is precisely this well-thought-out, practical, effective and proud revolution, that in their acts my own head of State, Jean-Bedel Bokassa, President for Life, Marshal of the Central African Republic, and his Government, have been carrying out since 1966, following the example of Algeria, for the benefit of the hard-working people of the Central African Republic.

74. Your election is a three-fold victory: a victory for the policy of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, to which our two countries are both happy and proud to belong and which reached its apogee at the historic Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Algiers in September 1973; a victory of the oppressed peoples, particularly of the African peoples, over colonialism, imperialism and racial discrimination, and also of the struggle for freedom and independence; and a personal victory because of your great statesmanlike qualities and your vast experience of international problems. This in my view constitutes a sure guarantee of the success of our work. In the discharge of your heavy responsibilities, I should like to assure you, Mr. President, of the unreserved support and the effective co-operation of the Central African delegation.

75. I should also like to pay tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Benites of Ecuador, for the devotion and competence with which he discharged the delicate task of conducting so successfully the proceedings of the twenty-eighth session and the sixth special session of the General Assembly.

76. The praiseworthy efforts so ceaselessly deployed with courage and determination by the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, ever since he took up the office, both for the sake of the total liberation of the territories still under foreign domination and for the maintenance and restoration of peace throughout the world, compel our admiration. May he find here an expression of our deep gratitude and our most sincere wishes for success in the performance of his noble task.

77. My delegation was very much distressed to hear of the catastrophe which has plunged Honduras into mourning and we would request the delegation of that friendly country to be good enough to accept and convey to its Government and people our deepest condolences.

78. The opening of this session has been marked by the admission of three new States Members to the Organization. We are happy to welcome to this hall the representatives of Bangladesh, Grenada and our sister Republic of Guinea-Bissau, to which we would convey our warm and fraternal congratula-

tions, accompanied by our best wishes for happiness and prosperity for their peoples.

79. The twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations is taking place against a background of important international events and changes. Indeed, in spite of tireless efforts to bring about *détente*, the number of conflicts involving a resort to force has not been reduced. We are witnessing helplessly an unbridled arms race, constantly accompanied by assurances of *détente* and false promises of disarmament.

80. The already disastrous economic situation in parts of the world, particularly in developing countries, continues to worsen at a dizzying rate under the pernicious influence of galloping inflation, provoked by monetary disorder.

81. The distance between the proclamation of human rights and the actual implementation of those rights continues to increase in a way that is intolerable for southern Africa.

82. In accordance with its peace-loving policy, its attachment to the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations, the Central African Republic attaches primary importance to problems relating to decolonization in Africa. In this regard, my delegation takes pleasure in the current developments in the colonies under Portuguese domination. We should like to take this opportunity warmly to congratulate the liberation movements of Guinea-Bissau, the Cape Verde Islands, Angola and Mozambique on their recent victories, which have crowned their heroic struggles for self-determination and independence. The overturn of the Fascist régime of Caetano was the decisive event in the dynamic struggle being waged by African nationalists. This struggle first made possible the liberation of Portugal itself from dictatorship and thus opened up the prospects and new horizons for the self-determination and independence of the colonies.

83. My delegation is convinced that the political acumen which the representatives of the new Lisbon Government have so far displayed will be consistently maintained and that the application of the principles of independence will be extended soon to Mozambique, Angola, the Cape Verde Islands and other Territories still under Portuguese domination. In this regard, we have followed most attentively the profession of faith made here, from this very rostrum, on 23 September 1974 [2239th meeting] by Mr. Soares, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the "new" Portugal, and also the programme of action of the new Portuguese Government.

84. Convinced that these promises will be honoured, and aware of the efforts which have been undertaken since last April to put this programme into effect, the Central African Government is ready to establish diplomatic relations with the new Portugal.

85. With regard to the decolonization of the so-called Spanish Sahara, which is of concern primarily to the African continent, as is indeed the case of the other Territories still under foreign domination, the question arises of the attitude of the Spanish Government and the future of those Territories. The Spanish Government has refused and still refuses to apply strictly and scrupulously the principles of decoloniza-

tion. In spite of the numerous relevant resolutions of our distinguished General Assembly, calling upon Spain to accelerate the process of decolonization, particularly by withdrawing the occupation troops and allowing the refugees to return to their homes, by permitting the visit of an inspection mission from the United Nations and the opening of negotiations on the problem of the sovereignty of the Territories in question, Spain persists in doing everything in its power to perpetuate its colonial domination in this region.

86. The future of those Territories has always posed the problem of sovereignty, and our august Assembly has always wished to provide for consultations between the two countries concerned: Morocco and Mauritania. My delegation is gratified by the fact that those two fraternal countries, relying on the wisdom and authority of the higher instances of our Organization, should have decided, in the conflict between them and Spain, to submit the problem to the International Court of Justice.

87. The Central African Government unreservedly supports this prudent position adopted by Morocco and Mauritania, countries with which my country enjoys fraternal relations, and hopes that the General Assembly will do everything in its power to bring about the implementation of this procedure so as to give the principles of the Charter a true interpretation.

88. We have also noted with genuine satisfaction the statement made a few days ago from this rostrum by the Foreign Minister of the French Republic, Mr. Sauvagnargues [2238th meeting], expressing the willingness of his Government to grant independence to the Comoro Archipelago. This action, which is no surprise to us, is in perfect conformity with the political policy of France ever since the time of General de Gaulle, and we can only share our pleasure with the people of the Comoros.

89. The example of the recent developments in Portugal should serve as a lesson to the minority and racist régimes in South Africa and Rhodesia, where the dignity of the coloured man is still constantly trampled underfoot. The Central African Republic would like to reaffirm here its complete disapproval of the outrageous policy of *apartheid*, and considers that the obstinate refusals of the Pretoria and Salisbury régimes to heed the international appeals that have been made are a challenge to the international community.

90. It is clear that the wind of liberty which is blowing through Africa will not spare southern Africa. We are firmly convinced that it is imperative that effective measures should be taken to enable the United Nations to play a more active role in the elimination of racial discrimination in southern Africa. That is why we are gratified at the decision taken by an overwhelming majority by the General Assembly on 30 September 1974 [resolution 3207 (XXIX)] calling upon the Security Council to review the relationship between the United Nations and South Africa in the light of the constant violation by South Africa of the principles of the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

91. On the subject of the environment, Mr. Maurice Strong said in Addis Ababa on 23 August 1971, when

he was Secretary-General of the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment:

"The United Nations can be only as successful as its Members permit it to be; it can be effective only to the extent that its Members wish it to be; it can be strong only if the political will of Governments grant it strength. I am convinced that in facing the challenge of the environment the United Nations will also be sowing the seeds of its future greatness and that those seeds will take root and flower in soil which must be saved for the good of the human family."

92. Indeed, the Government of the Central African Republic, aware that from a global standpoint there is a definite interdependence between the environment and development, aware also that any approach to the environment problem must necessarily embrace all the aspects of human life, nourishes the hope that the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, proclaimed in resolution 3223 (XXIX), will rid southern Africa for ever of the substances primarily responsible for polluting human dignity—that is, *apartheid* or racial discrimination, Vorster or Ian Smith.

93. For more than a quarter of a century the Middle East conflict has constantly been on the General Assembly's agenda. In the Central African Republic we take some satisfaction to see the disengagement agreements signed concerning Sinai and the Golan Heights. We should like to take this opportunity to congratulate the leaders of the countries directly concerned on their wisdom and their spirit of conciliation. In our opinion, those agreements are only a first step towards a withdrawal from the occupied Arab territories and a recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. In that respect we are gratified that the Palestine question has been included in the agenda of the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly. We place great hopes in the results of the discussions to be held on that question.

94. Hardly had the first steps been taken towards a solution of the Middle East problem than the Cyprus conflict broke out, once again making the eastern Mediterranean a theatre of strife. The tragedy we are witnessing in Cyprus is that of two communities which are obliged to live together but cannot manage to agree on the way to do that in peace and harmony. Once again, the most serious danger in that conflict lies in the intervention of foreign Powers in the internal affairs of the island. Indeed, these events endanger the independence and territorial integrity of that country and hence pose a great threat to international peace and security. We hope that all the parties concerned in this conflict will soon reach a negotiated settlement, thereby ensuring the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus.

95. Two years have passed since the Paris agreements on Viet Nam were signed, but peace has not been restored to Indo-China. The delegation of the Central African Republic notes with bitterness the lack of will on the part of the countries concerned in that conflict to put into effect the provisions of the Paris agreements for a peaceful settlement. We remain convinced that peace in Viet Nam can result only from respect for and strict implementation of the Paris agreements.

96. With regard to Cambodia, the Central African Republic continues to support the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia, headed by Prince Norodom Sihanouk. We continue also to support the efforts to restore that Government's legitimate rights in the United Nations.

97. We note with concern that no progress has been made in the talks between North and South Korea. We still believe that the most realistic way to solve the Korean problem peacefully is and remains a continuation of the talks and a widening of the exchanges and co-operation between the two Koreas, with the aim of accelerating the independent and peaceful unification of the country, in accordance with the consensus unanimously adopted at the General Assembly's twenty-eighth session.¹

98. International co-operation between the industrialized countries and those of the third world is far from satisfactory. As we stated from this very rostrum three years ago:

"For us, in a low income country, the most important objective is and remains the economic and social progress of our people. That is the top priority."²

That is why Mr. Jean-Bedel Bokassa, President of the Central African Republic, said on 1 January 1966, when he became head of State: "People can't eat politics".

99. Since then the Central African Republic—sometimes called "African Switzerland"—has been constantly cultivating peace, in the first place with its immediate neighbours and then with the entire world. We believe that His Holiness Pope Paul VI was quite right when he conferred on the head of State of the Central African Republic the title of "Pilgrim of Peace" during an audience granted to our head of State by the Pope at his summer residence in Castelgondolfo in August 1970. All the nations of the world, large, middle-sized or small, need that peace to develop harmoniously and to ensure the welfare and prosperity of their peoples.

100. That is why all intelligent and objective observers agree that our foreign and domestic policy is based essentially on economic movement and the Bokassa Operation, a truly original strategy for the economic, social and cultural development of our country, resulting from the new breath of life and the new mentality in the Central African Republic and its people, determined to set to work to defend the idea of each nation's sovereignty over its own natural resources, of its right to retrieve them and use them freely.

101. But the efforts which we constantly exert within the framework of the Bokassa Operation, whose good effects have already spread beyond our frontiers, are unfortunately being counteracted by natural phenomena resulting from the fact that we are a land-locked country, more than 1,500 kilometres away from the Atlantic Ocean on the one hand and the Red Sea on the other. That is why, in his message to the nation on 1 January 1974, the head of State of the Central African Republic proclaimed 1974 as the year in which the Central African Republic would come out of its enclave. All our efforts are directed towards the achievement of that objective, and we are sure they

will succeed, thanks to the help of countries friendly to the Central African Republic.

102. To those major difficulties resulting from our geographical position we must unfortunately add the malicious though skilful attempts to stifle our country, the Central African Republic, despite the relevant resolutions of the Organization, and particularly General Assembly resolution 3169 (XXVIII) on special measures related to the particular needs of the land-locked developing countries.

103. In that connexion, we are entitled to ask: Did we choose to be situated where we are, to be a land-locked country? What has happened to this duty of solidarity which we constantly clamour for in all the bodies of international and regional organizations?

104. We in the Central African Republic believe that the United Nations must use all its influence in the specialized agencies dealing with loans and development to encourage greater assistance to the less endowed countries, particularly those that are land-locked—and, as I have said, that includes the Central African Republic.

105. It is along this line of thinking that we attach great importance to the rapid completion of the Trans-African road, which will service the Central African Republic and will constitute one of the essential elements in strengthening African unity. But completion of the railroad to link Bangui, the capital of the Central African Republic, to the Trans-Cameroonian line is and remains a vital element for our national economy.

106. We are happy because after much hesitation, vacillation and manoeuvring, the only reasons for which are the schemes and bad faith of those responsible, certain international financial organizations and certain friendly countries have accepted the justice of our view and have become interested in building this railroad.

107. Indeed, how can one fail to be interested in the development of a country such as the Central African Republic, which not only abounds with natural resources of all kinds, but opens wide its doors to all investors, public or private, from wherever they may come.

108. Finally, we wish to denounce once again a regrettable tendency of certain countries, which claim to be friendly, and which often in bad faith cannot or will not meet their obligation of international solidarity, to resort to empty excuses, saying that they cannot grant assistance to our country without obtaining the prior agreement of a certain great Power which, moreover, is our friend, and which has excellent relations with us in every field. By such action we consider that those countries show contempt for us, and ignore the fact that the Central African Republic is a sovereign, free and independent country with sole responsibility for its own destiny.

109. May I explain our profound disappointment with regard to certain brother and friendly countries which, far from understanding the gesture of solidarity which they demanded of us at a difficult time in their history, have done nothing in return, although they could give us a simple acknowledgement of their appreciation, even by a symbolic gesture, which

we really need, instead of flooding European and American banks with unproductive capital.

110. On 3 October 1972, we made the following statement from this rostrum:

“Today the ideas of peace and security, of development and wide-scale multilateral co-operation are supported and appreciated by an ever-growing number of countries. Real conditions exist, such as trade and international economic relations that, we are sure, can become important factors in the maintenance and strengthening of peace and economic and social progress.”³

111. We also expressed the fervent hope that the United Nations would be able to bring together the developed and the developing countries into a network of co-operation in the economic, commercial, technical and other fields. In so doing, it would greatly contribute to the transformation of the human condition in an ever-changing world full of inequalities. For one of those inequalities—and this is no secret to anyone—is the constant deterioration in the terms of trade for under-developed countries which have vast resources and which are conducting a determined fight for the well-being of their peoples.

112. The Assembly will understand our pleasure in reiterating our satisfaction at the welcome initiative taken by Mr. Houari Boumediène, President of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria, in convening the historic sixth special session devoted for the first time solely to consideration of the problems concerning raw materials and development. As we all know, the special session of the General Assembly was an event of great impact, crowned by the adoption of two documents whose importance is recognized by all: the Declaration and Program of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order.

113. The special session laid the foundations, in the interests of the whole international community, for free economic co-operation among independent and sovereign nations. In so doing, it helped to put an end to the deplorable post-war economic situation, characterized by a deterioration in the terms of trade and the broadening and deepening of the existing gap between the rich and poor countries, a gap which in the long run threatens the security and the survival of our economy.

114. Although major results were obtained during the sixth special session, today our world must wonder about the viability of the economic system on which it has always relied. Is it likely to promote social justice and progress for all, and at the same time prevent major upheavals in the political balance of the world?

115. The continuing misgivings of public opinion are due to the inability of the international community to meet the most elementary needs of the peoples on our planet.

116. The Special Programme of emergency assistance, adopted by the sixth special session of the General Assembly, and the multilateral and bilateral initiatives, are encouraging evidence of international solidarity. Let us all hope that those programmes will develop fully and will be supported so that an acceptable rate of development can be maintained everywhere in the forthcoming years.

117. It is absurd that certain large countries, instead of wanting to or trying to control inflation—the ill-effects of which never cease to plague the poor countries—and rapidly to rebuild an international monetary system with the assistance of all the Members of our Organization, now claim that the price of the oil is the fundamental cause of the crisis looming over us.

118. But we sincerely believe that this crisis cannot be dealt with or overcome without a world economic plan. Such a plan is of concern to the whole international community, particularly the third world, already poor, which is the most severely affected by the present economic situation.

119. In closing this chapter, I would say that what is being challenged is a political economy rather than an economic policy. The legitimate hope of a new order is spreading among all the nations of our planet. The old world is breaking up and disappearing; the new world that we desire with all our hearts is struggling to emerge.

120. But for that change to take place, the United Nations must be more effective. Our Organization is not functioning as we would have wished. Hence the need to revise the Charter, which is even more justified today because of a current democratization now prevailing in international relations. The sole fact that many States which in 1945 were colonies have been able to accede to the Charter since their attainment of independence militates in favour of the revision of the Charter.

121. In an international community such as ours, made up of such diverse States, with legal systems and political institutions that reflect their economic and social conditions, one cannot impose an international order which no longer represents mankind as a whole.

122. The Central African delegation does not consider that the Charter is a sacrosanct document which cannot be changed. The course of events since the entry into force of the Charter requires its revision. Thus the delegation of the Central African Republic is pleased to see that item on the agenda of this session [item 95], and we are prepared to study it carefully and give constructive consideration to proposals to revise the Charter.

123. I have drawn the attention of this Assembly to the serious problems of the hour which concern us all and which threaten world peace. Their solution depends on the devotion of each of us to strict compliance with the principles of the Charter in a spirit of understanding and mutual respect. Although I cannot hope to see those problems solved at this session, may I at least hope that a new spirit will emerge, a gleam of hope for a better world, and say, with the poet Vercors, “Tomorrow will be a beautiful day”.

The meeting rose at 12.45 p.m.

NOTES

¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-eighth Session, Supplement No. 30 (A/28/30)*, p. 24, item 41.

² *Ibid.*, *Twenty-sixth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 1958th meeting, para. 223.

³ *Ibid.*, *Twenty-seventh Session, Plenary Meetings*, 2051st meeting, para. 198.