

United Nations
**GENERAL
 ASSEMBLY**

TWENTY-EIGHTH SESSION

Official Records



**2117th
 PLENARY MEETING**
 (Opening Meeting)

Tuesday, 18 September 1973
 at 3 p.m.

NEW YORK

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Temporary President:
Mr. Stanisław TREPCZYŃSKI (Poland).

President: **Mr. Leopoldo BENITES (Ecuador).**

AGENDA ITEM 1

Opening of the session by the Vice-Chairman of the delegation of Poland

1. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I declare open the twenty-eighth regular session of the General Assembly.

AGENDA ITEM 2

Minute of silent prayer or meditation

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

The representatives stood in silence.

Address by Mr. Stanisław Trepczyński, Temporary President, Vice-Chairman of the delegation of Poland and Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of Poland

3. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): Another year has passed since our Assembly opened its last session. As far as developments in the world are concerned, it has been a year out of the ordinary, bringing forth and paving the way for changes which mark an historic epoch.

4. Never before have hopes of abiding peace and security in the world been so real, the prospects so close, or the chances so great. It behoves the United Nations to do everything in its power to see to it that these hopes are not disappointed, that the prospects do not recede and that the chances are not wasted.

5. Our Organization can only prove equal to these great challenges if it makes a contribution worthy of it to the great current of healthy change, if it harnesses its proceedings and the concerted efforts of its Members towards making this process a permanent and irreversible one.

6. Today, with many momentous international meetings and the conclusion of fateful agreements behind us, we can now speak of a new juncture in the world situation. The policy of peaceful coexistence is becoming more and more generally the rule governing relations between States with different social systems. We have arrived at the threshold of a new historic era for the community of nations. Let me express my whole-hearted belief that no people which is truly concerned with its own happiness and that of other nations, and which sincerely aspires to lasting peace, that no country, big or small, can be the loser from a policy of peaceful coexistence, the principles of which lie at the very foundation of the Charter of our Organization. On the contrary, everyone stands to gain and ought to gain from the fruits of such a policy.

7. War has always brought in its wake the devastation of the material and cultural achievements of whole generations, while peace has been the *sine qua non* of economic development and progress. In our times, advances in science and technology have multiplied both the destructive power of war and the creative force of peace as a dynamo in the

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development of all areas of life. It is only in a context of détente and peace that there can arise an equitable and purposively shaped international division of labour, based on equal rights, that is advantageous to all peoples.

8. In the past year, we have also seen changes which have furthered the universalization of our Organization along the lines that many Member States have for a long time urged from the rostrum of this Assembly. At the last session of the General Assembly, 27 years after the end of the Second World War, observers from both the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany for the first time took their seats together in this hall. Both these States, whose eminent representatives we are happy to welcome in our midst, are this day to become full-fledged Members of the United Nations. We are equally pleased to be able to greet the first observer from the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. We are glad that the membership of this Organization will be increased by the new State of the Bahamas. Also before us is the topical question of the admission of Bangladesh to the United Nations.

9. Despite the difficulties, the world is marching forward, fired by the determination and will to action on the part of nations. Although it is an uphill path, not without setbacks, and the pace is often a strain on our patience progress is nevertheless being seen to be made, and increasingly so, on almost every continent.

10. In Asia, the prospects of a lasting peace are looming larger. The hotbeds of conflict and war are gradually dying out. The world is not losing hope that the termination of the war in Viet-Nam will bring peace to all the nations of Indo-China. Encouraging reports of the normalization of relations are coming in from the Indian subcontinent. There is more and more talk in Asia of the need to devise a regional system of security and co-operation.

11. In Africa, the tenth anniversary of the Organization of African Unity was a symbol of the changes which are taking place and the aspirations of the many States on that continent. Undaunted by obstacles and difficulties, Africa is steering a valiant course of renewal and doggedly casting off the relics of the colonial past. In this struggle for freedom, Amílcar Cabral, who was among us at the twenty-seventh session, has sacrificed his life.

12. In Latin America, a continent on which—thanks to the cordial hospitality of a number of Governments—I was able to make an extremely useful political tour last spring, progressive transformations are accelerating development, despite the difficult struggle against retrograde forces. We were deeply shocked by the news of the sudden and tragic death—during the recent dramatic events experienced by the Chilean people—of President Salvador Allende, who was the guest of our Assembly less than a year ago.

13. In Europe, the realities arising out of the results of the Second World War have been irrevocably recognized. The Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, whose second phase begins in Geneva today, has in effect spelled the end of the post-war period on this continent and the opening of a new era in which a repetition of the tragedy of war should never again be possible. We are supported in this conviction by the fact that the Conference on Security and

Co-operation, also attended by the United States and Canada, is the first meeting of equal and sovereign partners in the history of Europe which has gathered not for the purpose of carving up the continent or deciding the fate of others, but to organize its own structure of peace, security and co-operation.

14. We look forward to the imminent success of the Conference not only because we feel that it serves the real interests of Europe, but also because we look at it in the perspective of the indivisibility of world peace and the influence that the possibility of organizing a system of collective security in Europe can have on similar arrangements in other parts of the world.

15. The efforts at disarmament pursued at various levels give rise to new hopes, especially with regard to the convening of the World Disarmament Conference.

16. The Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Algiers earlier this month, was a new manifestation of the prominent role which these countries play in the struggle for the achievement of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. We all hope that the decisions of the Conference will also contribute to the successful work of our session.

17. The voice of public opinion will soon make itself clearly heard at the World Congress of Peace Forces, due to meet in Moscow in a few weeks. We are pleased to note that public opinion and the great social movements in many countries are, with increasing vigour, aligning themselves in concert with world joint action in favour of peace, détente and co-operation.

18. Though aware that there still survive relics and throw-backs to the old days and that many sources of tension and conflict continue to fester in various quarters of the globe, we are stressing the positive side of the balance sheet since the pressure of these achievements, the climate of spreading détente and mounting international co-operation will make it easier to eradicate the anachronistic legacy of the past. Just as we have managed to stamp out many of the ills of this world, so we are bound sooner or later to be rid of the remnants of colonialism, of the spectre of hunger which still haunts millions of people, of social injustices and racial discrimination. We must grapple with discriminatory practices in international trade and in the field of economic co-operation and with the danger of forfeiting the distinctive values of nations and individuals.

19. Above all, we must extinguish the embers of conflict and war in the Middle East, which are now the greatest peril. Not only is the situation there incompatible with the decisions of our Organization; it also runs counter to the logic of developments in the world and for that reason cannot continue.

20. Public opinion cannot tolerate the poisoning of the international atmosphere by the all too numerous vestiges of power politics at a time when it has foundered on all its main fronts. Like peace, détente too must be indivisible so that all can enjoy its blessings.

21. The responsibility for tackling these numerous problems falls on our Organization, which will the better

acquit itself of its tasks the greater the degree of normalization that enters the over-all world situation. Moreover, there is no doubt that growing mutual understanding in this hall and in the Assembly's Committees, and constructive decisions by this body and their consistent implementation, will contribute to the improvement of the international atmosphere. The important thing is to ensure that international efforts and contacts, whether bilateral or multilateral, dovetail into successful solutions of the issues that are still outstanding. That purpose is also being served by the assiduous endeavours, which we hold in high regard, of the Secretary-General of our Organization, Mr. Kurt Waldheim.

22. The plenitude of contemporary life means that the United Nations is continually coming up against new problems. This broad range of matters falling within the purview of our Organization is evidence of its vitality and significance, of its opportunities and great responsibilities.

23. Before closing I should like, on behalf of the members of the Assembly to express our heartfelt condolences to the Swedish delegation on the death of King Gustav VI Adolf.

24. May I be permitted once again to express my profound gratitude to all delegations and to the members of the Secretariat for their invaluable co-operation during the twenty-seventh session.

25. Let us hope that the present session, under the enlightened leadership of the new President whom we are about to elect, will prove a session of expectations fulfilled.

AGENDA ITEM 3

Credentials of representatives to the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly:

(a) Appointment of the Credentials Committee

26. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): Rule 28 of the rules of procedure provides that the General Assembly at the beginning of each session shall appoint, on the proposal of the President, a Credentials Committee consisting of nine members. Accordingly, I propose that, for the twenty-eighth session, the Credentials Committee should consist of the following Member States: C. 1, Greece, Japan, Nicaragua, Senegal, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Republic of Tanzania, the United States of America and Uruguay.

27. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the countries I have mentioned are hereby appointed members of the Credentials Committee.

It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEM 84

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

28. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I should like to draw the attention of the

General Assembly to a letter which was sent to me by the Secretary-General in which he informs the Assembly that four Member States are in arrears in the payment of their contributions to the regular budget of the United Nations within the terms of Article 19 of the Charter.

29. This letter will be found in document A/9157. The document will also contain communications from the Permanent Representatives of the Member States concerned, informing the Secretary-General that the amounts due have been sent to the United Nations and requesting that their countries should be permitted to vote. It will mention the circumstances which have caused the delay in the payment of these contributions.

30. In this regard, I should like to draw the attention of the Members of the General Assembly to the second sentence of Article 19 of the Charter, which reads:

“The General Assembly may, nevertheless, permit such a Member to vote if it is satisfied that the failure to pay is due to conditions beyond the control of the Member.”

31. In the light of the communications annexed to document A/9157, which indicate that the arrears in the payment of contributions are due to circumstances beyond the control of the Member States concerned, the Assembly might perhaps permit these Members to vote, in accordance with the sentence of Article 19 of the Charter which I quoted during the brief period which is to elapse until their contributions actually reach the Secretary-General. The Secretary-General will report to the General Assembly as soon as these contributions have been received, and I think that he might be invited to report in any case in this regard on 26 September at the latest.

32. If I hear no comment or objection to this proposal, it will be so decided.

It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEM 4

Election of the President

33. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I now invite the members of the General Assembly to proceed to the election of the President of the twenty-eighth regular session of the General Assembly. In accordance with rule 4 of the rules of procedure, the election will be held by secret ballot.

At the invitation of the Temporary President, Mr. Gabre-Sellassie (Ethiopia) and Mr. Šmíd (Czechoslovakia) acted as tellers.

A vote was taken by secret ballot.

<i>Number of ballot papers:</i>	130
<i>Invalid ballots:</i>	0
<i>Number of valid ballots:</i>	130
<i>Abstentions:</i>	0
<i>Number of members voting:</i>	130
<i>Required majority:</i>	66

Number of votes obtained:

Mr. Benites (Ecuador)	129
Mr. Amerasinghe (Sri Lanka)	1

Having obtained the required majority, Mr. Leopoldo Benites (Ecuador) was elected President of the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly.

34. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I extend my sincere congratulations to Mr. Benites and invite him to assume the presidency of the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly.

Mr. Benites (Ecuador) took the Chair.

Address by Mr. Leopoldo Benites, President of the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly

35. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I trust that you will allow me, first of all, to pay a very well deserved tribute to the President of the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly, Mr. Stanisław Trepczyński, whose wise direction of the proceedings and keen sagacity made him one of the best Presidents of the General Assembly that I have known.

36. It is also my desire and my duty to recall with emotion the memory of the distinguished Guatemalan jurist and diplomat Mr. Emilio Arenales Catalán, the last Latin American President of the General Assembly, a man who was taken from us by the chill hand of death at the very height of his creative powers.

37. Allow me next to state that, contemplating the magnitude of the tasks which I assume today, I rely confidently on the timely advice and wise co-operation of the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, whom, over the many years that I have had the honour of knowing him, I have learned to admire as a diplomat and to appreciate as a friend.

38. Also, I should like in advance to express my confidence in all the members of the Secretariat, especially those who will be working most closely under the direction of the Under-Secretary-General for Political and General Assembly Affairs, Mr. Bradford Morse, in whom intelligence goes hand in hand with kindness, and agility of thought with promptness of action.

39. I feel that I must also express my feelings over the deaths of two Heads of State that have taken place in the last few days.

40. The first was that of the constitutional President of Chile, Mr. Salvador Allende. It does not behove me from this rostrum to pass a political judgement on his ideas or his political actions, but I must state that I have the deeply rooted personal conviction that he was a man who loved his people and defended his ideals with his blood and his life.

41. May I also be allowed to express to the Government and people of Sweden my sincere condolences on the death of His Majesty King Gustav VI Adolf. During his noble existence and long years of reign he possessed the love of

his people and the wisdom to lead them to a high level of social well-being and progress based on justice.

42. I address you with great emotion and I thank you for the honour you have done me in electing me to preside over this session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, the supreme organ of the international community and the highest expression of world public opinion.

43. As a man I speak with the humility that flows from the awareness of my own limitations and the magnitude of the responsibilities I assume. The only merit that I acknowledge in my work and the 18 years during which I have come to Assembly sessions and of the 13 years during which almost constantly I have served as Permanent Representative of Ecuador is my loyalty to and my faith in the Organization. However, this merit is not mine alone; it speaks for and is the reflection of the unchangeable approach and resolute attitude of my country, Ecuador, which despite internal difficulties and changes of Government maintained and still maintains today a uniform and consistent international policy, based on respect for the Charter of the United Nations.

44. The political stance of Ecuador is in turn based on the ethical and legal principles which form the common cultural heritage of Latin America derived from a thousand years of history.

45. At a time when Europe had not as yet emerged from the age of epic verse steeped in blood and the feudal castle hedged in with cupidity, our own aboriginal forbears in Latin America had already written their spiritual history in the wondrous Mayan-Aztec pyramids; the Incas had created the wide structure of their communal social system; they had built royal roads that today still cause amazement and, in the stone mystery of Machu Picchu, they had raised a hymn to their greatness; the Aymarás Indians had erected the gates of glory of their cities of the sun; and that enigmatic culture of Easter Island had bequeathed to all the ages its questions in stone.

46. Our aboriginal races—which largely remain intact as a potential for the future—merged themselves into the most humane, humanistic and universal culture of the Europe of the colonizers; Iberia, and especially Spain, discoverer of worlds and mother of races, that explored from the present states of Alabama, Texas, Tennessee, Oklahoma, Kansas, Arizona, Nebraska, Colorado, New Mexico, California and Florida—where it founded the first European city of the United States, St. Augustine—down to Santiago del Nuevo Extremo in the Chilean territories and Santa María del Buen Aire on the banks of the River Plate.

47. Spain, which denied itself the right to conquer and enslave indigenous peoples, assuming only the right of tutelage in accordance with the legal philosophy of Francisco de Vitoria and with the Laws of the Indies, formed in Latin America a culture of mixed origins—Indo-Afro-Hispanic. Spain from the sixteenth century onwards founded universities and craft schools free of any discrimination which, in all the Iberian overseas dominions, resulted in the creation of an extraordinary art, a unique literature and a keen sense of the law. It is that Latin America, now made wider and more universal as it combines with our

brethren in the Caribbean, that honoured me with the nomination making possible this election for which I am expressing my thanks.

48. Not long ago—reviving the old dream of Bolívar that the peoples of the world converged on the Isthmus of Panama to discuss problems of peace and war—the Security Council did hold meetings in Panama City. May I point out that, without any prior agreement, the speakers from Latin America more or less agreed, one after the other, on five essential points.

49. The first point, which constitutes the very cornerstone of the Charter of the United Nations, is respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States, and this principle is linked to that prohibiting the threat or the use of force in international relations. A logical corollary of this principle is the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territories by force and of the establishment of any type of domination, enclave or unlawful occupation impairing or jeopardizing the territorial sovereignty of States.

50. The second is the principle of non-intervention, an indispensable safeguard of freedom and of the right of peoples to adopt whatever political, social or economic system they see fit, and by their own decision.

51. The third is that all peoples subject to foreign rule have the right to obtain full self-government; in other words, this calls for the total abolition of colonialism and neo-colonialism and the condemnation of racism, which underlies colonialism, especially in the opprobrious form of *apartheid*.

52. The fourth is the recognition of the right of States to full sovereignty over the natural resources of the soil and the subsoil of their territory and the living and mineral resources of the adjacent sea over which they have established sovereignty and jurisdiction, including its surface, soil, subsoil and intermediate water column.

53. And the last and fifth point is the effective recognition of the link between international development and security, bearing in mind the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security in resolution 2734 (XXV).

54. The entire structure of the Charter is based on the need to maintain international peace and security, and the five points that I have mentioned are contained in it implicitly or explicitly.

55. The first commitment we assumed in the first paragraph of the Preamble to the Charter—which forms with the Charter an indivisible whole—was “to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind”.

56. The two wars mentioned in the Preamble involved the mobilization of 170 million men, of whom 36 million died before attaining the age of 40, 4 million were reported missing, in addition to which the civilian population suffered more than 25 million casualties, including children and women.

57. The “untold sorrow” to which the Charter refers was the chlorine gas which hung over the lines at Ypres in April

1915 and, together with mustard gas, brought death or lifelong suffering to 1.3 million human beings.

58. In the Second World War the “untold sorrow” was the fire-bombing with napalm, which sticks to the skin like the poisoned tunic of Nessus, or white phosphorus, which penetrates into the body and continues to burn, and the massive aerial bombardment of open cities with bombs that started at 3,000 pounds of TNT (dynamite), then increased to 10,000 and finally reached the equivalent of 20,000 tons in each of the uranium-235 and plutonium bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in the tragic August of 1945.

59. The “untold sorrow” was also, in the Second World War, the destruction of more than 60 per cent of the industrial capacity, which led to hunger and disease and to the problem of displaced persons and refugees.

60. Nevertheless, according to the 1969 Yearbook of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institution (SIPRI), since the establishment of the United Nations and the entry into force of the Charter there have been 101 armed conflicts, including civil wars with or without outside support, interventions, border clashes and outright wars.¹ I am convinced that in all those conflicts one or more of the principles I referred to previously were violated.

61. Despite so-called “limited wars”, in some of which the most cruel weapons of mass destruction, in particular chemical weapons, including defoliants, were perfected or tested, it is true that a third world war has been avoided.

62. It would be folly to boast that this has been the result of enforcement action by the United Nations. Of the basic agreements on collateral measures of disarmament, hardly any originated with the Organization, and the Disarmament Committee, which was established by resolution 1722 (XVI) of 20 December 1961 as a body for negotiation between the two super-Powers, has remained simply that, despite the conscientious and intelligent way in which its members have worked and the fact that it has been enlarged without any change in its terms of reference.

63. The growth of nuclear power in the 28 years of existence of the United Nations is awesome. The unit of explosive power in 1945 was the kiloton, the equivalent of 1,000 tons of TNT, produced by a chain reaction of neutrons when a critical mass of fissionable isotopes such as uranium-235 or plutonium is brought together. Today the unit of explosive power is the megaton, or the equivalent of 1 million tons, ever since the explosion in 1952 of the first thermonuclear bomb based on the fusion of light hydrogen atoms triggered by the thermal power of a fission bomb. The 20-kiloton bomb dropped on Hiroshima caused approximately 250,000 instant deaths and injured 92,000 people, of whom 38 died of radiation effects as recently as the first six months of this year, according to a report in *The New York Times* of 5 August 1973. In the early 1960s the megaton explosions were terrifying, and the outcry of world public opinion—which this Assembly represents—had

¹ See *SIPRI Yearbook of World Armaments and Disarmament, 1968/69* (New York, Humanities Press, 1970), pp. 366-371.

some moral impact in bringing about the 1963 Moscow Treaty.²

64. Nevertheless, nuclear tests are continuing, not only in the atmosphere, where the danger of contamination affects many States which have rightly protested, but also underground, where, in addition to the risk of unsettling geological faults, there is the danger of the increasing power of nuclear weapons and their means of delivery; for underground tests not only have been used to perfect missiles with multiple nuclear warheads and with the ability to strike at several targets simultaneously but have made it possible to increase world megatonnage to the point where the share of terror for each inhabitant of the earth is usually calculated as being between 3 and 15 tons of TNT.

65. The General Assembly has called and continues to call for the abolition of all weapons of mass destruction, nuclear or chemical, without any positive results. However, there are two important facts which may give grounds for a measure of optimism: the first is the agreement between the two super-Powers on partial and temporary nuclear limitation measures, particularly in respect of delivery systems, both quantitative and qualitative, and the second is the agreement reached in this Assembly, after initial difficulties were overcome, concerning a future world disarmament conference, the mandate, agenda and procedures of which are to be carefully studied.

66. In the face of these realities of today, there is no lack of prophets of doom who proclaim the failure of the Organization because it has in its ranks, with the right to vote, a majority of peoples they regard as immature. Their idea of weighted voting could spell the final overthrow of the Organization as it was created by the peoples of the United Nations in 1945. There is also an imperial arrogance which has barefacedly argued the urgent need for *gendarmes nécessaires* to impose peace through fear, which was an anachronistic dream of Taine later taken up by the leaders of fascism. And there is no lack of proposals for the creation of spheres of influence which would mean the spread of despotism. Those who advocate these or similar proposals completely ignore the United Nations, and especially the General Assembly.

67. Considering such solutions, I would reaffirm what I have maintained for many years: that the United Nations is a dynamic entity, capable of adapting to changing circumstances, and this is what makes it exist and will make it subsist.

68. It should be remembered that the term "United Nations" had, at the outset, a meaning different from the one it has now; it meant the nations which, united, won the Second World War. Originally they wanted to be exclusively the Organization of the self-styled democratic world. The definition of "enemy States" given in Article 53 of the Charter, a term appearing also in Articles 77 and 107, is clear proof of this original limitation which was intended to be given to the Organization, and it is to be hoped that a change generated by this Assembly would delete those references forever.

69. Being an instrument drafted by the victorious States, the Charter could not but reflect the power politics which underlay the two wars. The States which had borne the brunt of the last war could not, however, resist the temptation to exercise broader power in the organ on which, within the framework of the purposes and principles of the Charter, the Members, which are the same that constitute the General Assembly, confer primary, but not exclusive, responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security in Article 24 of the Charter. It is not my intention to voice negative criticism, but rather to state the facts which show that very often the use—or more correctly the abuse—of those powers, not only quantitatively but also qualitatively, has obstructed the performance of essential duties or vitiated consensuses that had been negotiated.

70. Power politics—the legacy of a past which we hope is now behind us—were also reflected in the absence of a clear definition of universality. The word "universality" and the concept it expresses are not to be found in the Charter.

71. Yet despite these limitations inherent in the Charter—which I mention in a non-controversial spirit and with all humility—the Organization has had to evolve, adapting itself to the imperative exigencies of life and continually creating new formulae for coexistence.

72. I noted earlier that the nations, which, united, won the Second World War took upon themselves the defence of democracy, the interpretation of which ran the gamut from the classical conception of the Manchester school to direct democracy. Accordingly, one of the essential commitments in the Preamble to the Charter is "to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours".

73. Tolerance—a passive and almost negative virtue—evolved out of the progressive evolution which is life, and has come to mean not just peaceful coexistence, but active co-operation, and today basic agreements between Powers with different ideologies are possible, greatly enhancing the prospects for peace.

74. In addition, after a long and hard struggle, the principle of universality has been incorporated into the life of the Organization. It is difficult to ignore the fact that the Charter of the United Nations is, on the one hand, a multilateral treaty which imposes upon the States parties binding obligations, many of them voluntary limitations of their domestic jurisdiction and, on the other, it is the constitution of the international community—"We the peoples of the United Nations", as the Charter puts it.

75. The concept of an international community could be said to be a reality; it is a fact independent of the will of its members and that is what differentiates it from international society, which is dependent upon the desire for partnership. That is why the international community demands universality.

76. Universality embraces the need for all existing States to be able to become Members, if they so wish and fulfil the essential conditions of Article 4, as well as the need for all peoples who are under foreign rule to achieve full

² Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and under Water, signed in Moscow on 5 August 1963.

self-government and total independence, thus becoming States which can join the United Nations. As a citizen of a State an inhabitant of a region which achieved independence by force of arms, I could not condemn the armed liberation movements which are struggling to attain independence for their peoples, heroically suffering dreadful reprisals and inhuman atrocities. I believe that, in order to achieve full universality, the United Nations must make every effort and apply all necessary measures to assist colonial countries and peoples.

77. The advance towards universality and full integration of the international community becomes obvious if we compare the 51 founding Members and the present 132 Members. I have no doubt that this Assembly will, in a few minutes, accept the brother State of the Bahamas, where the discovery that gave the earth its universal shape began, the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany—thus ending, in my opinion, the restrictive stage of the Organization and beginning the stage of true universality.

78. The trend towards integration of the world community is an irreversible historic process. As a result of the mastery of electronics, an event in any place on earth has immediate repercussions on the other side of the globe. In the coming years, when commercial aircraft will exceed Mach 2, it will be possible to reach the other side of the earth in a few hours. The interdependence brought about by technological development has produced a phenomenon hitherto unknown to history: an international public opinion as powerful as national public opinion which, for some writers of treatises on constitutional law, has an indirect but real governing influence.

79. I am far from believing that the United Nations is a super-State or a world government. However, in view of the trend to subject the world to dominant spheres of influence and to underrate the powers of the General Assembly, I should like to reaffirm my personal belief that, in order to deal with urgent problems in future, it is necessary to strengthen the action of the General Assembly as an organ of international public opinion, which is an incipient and as yet indefinite form of world government, as well as to strengthen the Economic and Social Council as the coordinator of international economic co-operation.

80. There is a tendency to maintain that the only binding resolutions are those of the Security Council. Those resolutions obviously are binding and Article 25 of the Charter, reaffirms this binding character, which a few States disregard with arrogant insolence. But I believe that the legal basis for the binding force of resolutions and declarations of the General Assembly lies in the fact that, since a multilateral treaty is binding upon the parties to it, the resolutions and declarations have the binding force conferred on them by the provisions of the Charter on which they are based.

81. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights [*resolution 217 A (III)*], the Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention in the Domestic Affairs of States and the Protection of their Independence and Sovereignty [*resolution 2131 (XX)*], the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [*resolu-*

tion 1514 (XV)], the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [*resolution 2734 (XXV)*], *inter alia*, would be useless dialectic exercises if they were deemed to be merely recommendations with no binding force, and the Assembly would be no more than a sounding-board for the interests of the great Powers.

82. There are some facts which lead one to believe that world public opinion, of which the General Assembly is an outstanding organ, is urging that dynamic development. Only three African and seven Arab and Asian States were among the founding Members. The administering Powers opposed every endeavour by those of us who strove for the independence of colonial peoples. The decade of the 1950s witnessed the struggle which enabled former colonial Territories to join the Organization as sovereign States. On 20 September 1960—a glorious date for decolonization—17 African States were admitted as Members, together with Cyprus, and they thus were able, on 14 December of that same year, to vote on resolution 1514 (XV).

83. The growing evolution towards universality has given rise to a new phenomenon which also indicates the progress made by the Organization as a result of the action of international public opinion as embodied in the Assembly. Once the former balance of power, based on victory, was destroyed, the United Nations became the instrument for a political struggle in favour of the developing countries. But halfway through the 1960s, the inexorable force of economic events highlighted the difference between the industrialized north and the impoverished south, a difference defined by latitude which was clearly foreseen by that devoted and far-sighted servant of peace, U Thant, from his position as Secretary-General of the United Nations.

84. With few exceptions, the industrialized countries amassed their wealth as true colonial or neo-colonial Powers. In one way or another, they relied upon exploiting the natural resources of the less developed countries—whether or not they were politically independent—since they provided cheap raw materials in return for costly manufactured goods.

85. In the Assembly and other United Nations organs, we are witnessing the great battle of public opinion to achieve such essential objectives as fair terms of trade, recognition of the right of States to exercise full sovereignty over their natural resources, formulas for the transfer of technology which do not constitute a disguise for imperialist penetration and a share for all developing countries in the benefits of super-development, among many other targets.

86. There can be no peace without justice nor international security with hungry people. Internal political freedom without economic security is the most irritating and hypocritical mockery of the so-called democracies. To internationalize this would be to extend that shocking mockery to the three quarters of mankind which suffers from malnutrition, illiteracy, and disease. Nor is it morally admissible that, under the pretext of a paradoxical freedom, powerful States support private companies in their pillaging of the wealth of developing countries. These developing countries have the right to adopt internal measures in exercise of their sovereignty in their own territory and the adjacent sea over which they have established sovereignty and jurisdiction.

87. A short while ago, in an interview with the Venezuelan press, Arnold J. Toynbee pointed out that by the year 2000 a world government would be needed to deal with three problems: over-population, imbalance between production and consumption, and environmental deterioration.

88. Let me remind you that in 1914, at the beginning of the First World War, the population of the world was roughly 1,800 million. In June of last year it was calculated at 3,782 million, and it is expected that by the year 2000, at the current birth and mortality rates, it will be approximately 7,500 million. Such an increase in population obviously poses the problem of an expanding rate of consumption and a production rate that lags behind; and this has already caused a deficit in production which is likely to increase in the future.

89. The industrial development that is indispensable if the new needs are to be satisfied also creates a dangerous amount of environmental contamination. The large-scale exploitation of forests and the destruction of phytoplankton are diminishing oxygen in vast quantities. The biosphere is seriously threatened by the growing pollution of the atmosphere, soil and water.

90. These and other problems must be met, but they cannot be solved without strengthening the organs of co-ordination and co-operation on a world scale. Although the idea of a world government is not practicable for the moment, it is necessary to strengthen the United Nations—and I do not mean only the Security Council, which has to be given all means to enable it effectively to maintain international peace and security, but more particularly the General Assembly as the organ of the world community, and the Economic and Social Council as the agent and co-ordinator of the economic development and social welfare of that community.

91. I apologize for having taken up so much of your time. I have, however, confined myself to presenting in broad outline the general problems which you in your wisdom will be specifically called upon to solve. I have avoided dealing with specific items of the agenda of the Assembly which are exclusively within your competence. Because, both morally and legally, the President of the General Assembly is not entitled, directly or indirectly, to intervene in the debates, and even less in the decisions on matters that fall within the purview of the Assembly. However, while the President cannot deal with specific problems, I do not think that there is anything to prevent him, before he takes up his duties, from expressing his views on the major problems of humanity, all of which in one way or another are under the examination of the General Assembly as the organ of the world community.

92. In the final analysis, as these problems are of concern to man, this fragile, thinking reed, as Pascal believed, or this most extraordinary wonder of the universe, as Sophocles defined him in *Antigone*: man as a social being or as an individual whose hopes and fears make up the thread of history.

93. A modern philosopher has said that there are some periods in history when man feels in this world as if he were in a solid mansion, while there are other stormy periods

when he can find no haven in which to pitch his tent. I think that those tumultuous periods generally correspond to the transition between historical periods. Such was the case when the barbarians struck at the gates of Rome with their spears and when feudal autarchy and the medieval system of guilds clashed with the monetary economy of the East and the classical philosophy that reached them from Byzantium.

94. But ours is an era of transition. It is a world of birth and death, of meetings and farewells. With full awareness of the change that was lacking at other moments of transition, we are witnessing the end of a historical era that began with the industrial revolution, which was characterized economically by the creation of empires and internally by the concept of sovereignty as power. Today we are witnessing the economic integration and convergence of free peoples in an international community, the increasing advancement of man as a social being and the change of the concept of sovereignty as power to that of sovereignty as a function.

95. Certainly we are still living a peace with fear arising from the balance between the nuclear Powers. We are indeed aware that the most inhuman weapons have been tested right up to recent times. It is a fact that the criminal mentality of the makers of weapons of mass destruction forebodes for the next century lethal developments such as the use of lasers, meteorological warfare, the poisoning of plankton, total destruction by means of short-half-life isotopes of lethal effect which can be used as tactical weapons. One might even stretch the imagination and think of the use of anti-gravitational forces. But in the face of that world of fear there also rises up our world of hope, to which our outgoing President, Mr. Trepczyński, referred in his superb statement this afternoon.

96. The historical period which we are now starting is one of complete technical and practical mastery of nature and control over the major forces of the universe, bent to the use and benefit of mankind. Control of nuclear fission has already led to the production of electric energy in modest amounts which it is hoped to increase to more than 80 per cent by the beginning of the next century; it has also made possible the desalination of sea-water, pest control, and increase in the yield and quality of crops, the destruction of malignant tissues and the conservation and preservation of food-stuffs. Optimistic scientists believe that in the first decade of the next century the most powerful force in the universe—that of the fusion of light atoms—may well be used for peaceful purposes instead of for its current sole purpose of mass destruction. It is possible that by that time amazing discoveries will have been made in the chemical industry, especially petro-chemicals, so that petroleum, which is now used to drive machines and stimulate consciences, may well be made a source of food, of clothing and even of building components to house the growing masses of mankind. The riches of the sea-bed and the ocean floor, including the enormous food potential of algae, are already being explored, if not exploited, on a massive scale. It is no fantasy or pipe dream to speculate that technology might well transform the world and make it in fact a noble mansion for a worthy humankind. The fear is that the enormous potential of technology might fall and be placed at the service exclusively of selfish interests. The hope is that it may serve to benefit mankind, humanity organized

in an international community, increasingly more universal, which the United Nations represents.

97. Looking at that future of fears and hopes, one cannot eternally remain in the hesitating posture of Hamlet, vacillating between "to be" and "not to be". The future of justice and peace must be conquered by work, by patience, by vigorous enthusiasm, by constant energy, but over and above all by strengthening the moral fibre and force of mankind which this Assembly embodies.

98. Ladies and gentlemen, I invite you now to begin our work.

AGENDA ITEM 27

Admission of new Members to the United Nations

99. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): In accordance with the procedure followed in the past, I should now like to invite the General Assembly to consider, under item 27 of the provisional agenda, the positive recommendations by the Security Council in documents A/9080 and A/9097 for the admission to membership in the United Nations of the German Democratic Republic, the Federal Republic of Germany and the Commonwealth of the Bahamas. This special procedure has been applied previously in order to give States recently recommended by the Security Council for membership in our Organization the opportunity, if the General Assembly acts favourably on their requests, to participate from the outset in the work of the session. If there is no objection, we shall proceed in this manner.

It was so decided.

100. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Security Council has recommended the admission of the German Democratic Republic, the Federal Republic of Germany and the Bahamas to the United Nations in documents A/9080 and A/9097.

101. We shall first of all take up the draft resolution which appears in document A/L.698/Rev.1. This refers to the admission to membership in the United Nations of the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany.

102. In connexion with this draft resolution, the representative of Israel has asked to speak on a procedural matter, and I call on him.

103. Mr. TEKOAH (Israel): Mr. President, at the appropriate time the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Israel will offer you the congratulations of my Government on your election to the presidency of this Assembly. In the meantime I should like to convey to you my warm personal felicitations and best wishes.

104. I have asked to be allowed to speak under the rules of procedure of the General Assembly to state that in accordance with those rules my delegation has requested a separate vote on operative paragraph I of the draft resolution in document A/L.698/Rev.1. The reasons for this request are as follows.

105. The consideration of the admission to the United Nations of the Federal Republic of Germany and of the German Democratic Republic 28 years after the Second World War brought about by Nazi aggression is an event of profound historical significance. The United Nations was born out of the international struggle in that war against nazism and the threat is posed to all mankind. For the Jewish people, subjected by the Nazi régime of the German Reich to a holocaust of slaughter and destruction, and for the State of Israel which has been the home of the surviving remnant of that tragedy, the question before the General Assembly is overcast by dark shadows. The grim memories are indelible. It was only three decades ago that 6 million human beings were systematically annihilated merely because they were Jews. Two million Jewish children were mercilessly put to death in gas chambers and crematoria. One third of the entire Jewish people was massacred. The military and civilian losses of the allies fighting against Nazi Germany were numbered in many millions. However, the Jewish people as a whole, men, women and children, became the objective of a barbaric campaign of total physical liquidation. When the war ended the nations counted their dead. The Jewish people counted its survivors. Never has a crime of such dimensions, of such cruelty and horror, taken place. To the Jewish people it demonstrated once more how real are the dangers to its existence, even in our times. It proved anew that Jewish survival depends in the final test on the Jewish people's capacity to defend itself. It was a reminder that truth and right are not wedded to the side of those who are more numerous and that the Jewish people's struggle to preserve its life and to safeguard its heritage, its faith and its moral values is a just cause however many, and powerful its foes.

106. The wounds have not yet all healed. Man's inhumanity which has inflicted them and the lessons to be drawn from it cannot be ignored or forgotten. The Jewish people will not forget. The United Nations must not forget. By history, by law and by morality Germany as a whole bears responsibility for the holocaust. The Federal Republic of Germany has consistently recognized this heavy responsibility. During his recent visit to Israel, the Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany declared:

"As a German, and on behalf of the great majority of my countrymen, I can say this: . . . The three decades that separate us from the days of horror made us forget nothing of what must not be forgotten.

"I have already pointed out that nobody, however young, can be relieved of the liability of history . . . History, however bitter it may be, is reality which is daily carried over into the present and into the future. This reality, too, has to be accepted.

"We cannot undo what has been done. The sum of the suffering and of the horror cannot be removed from the consciousness of our peoples. Co-operation between our two countries remains characterized by the historical and moral background of our experiences. . . ."

107. Throughout the years the Federal Republic of Germany has tried to steer a course towards a new epoch in its international conduct and in its relations with the Jewish people. It has exerted and is exerting efforts to make

amends, if at all possible, for the terrible atrocities perpetrated against the Jewish people by the Nazi régime in the name of the German nation.

108. At the same time, however, Israel notes with regret and repugnance that the other German State has ignored and continues to ignore Germany's historical responsibility for the holocaust and the moral obligations arising from it. It has compounded the gravity of that attitude by giving support and practical assistance to the campaign of violence and murder waged against Israel and the Jewish people by Arab terror organizations. Thus, the world stands today before the spectacle of one of the German States being once again associated with the denial to the Jewish people of its fundamental rights.

109. The Government of Israel has always favoured the principle of universality of the United Nations. It has always welcomed and attached great importance to international détente, especially in the relations between the great Powers and between East and West in general. It cannot, however, pass in silence over the policy of the German Democratic Republic, which for more than 20 years has been aiming to relegate to oblivion the holocaust wrought upon the Jewish people by Nazi Germany and, in contravention of the United Nations Charter and in particular of its Article 4, has been fanning the flames of hostility and belligerency against Israel, the Jewish State which is inseparable from the Jewish people in its struggle to repel anti-Jewish hatred, to prevent the shedding of innocent Jewish blood and to preserve the right of the Jewish nation to live in freedom, peace and security.

110. Accordingly, Israel supports the admission of the Federal Republic of Germany to the United Nations but desires to place on record its opposition to the admission of the German Democratic Republic. The Israel delegation regrets that, due to objections of the sponsors of draft resolution A/L.698/Rev.1, a separate vote on the admission of the German Democratic Republic has become impossible. In the circumstances, my delegation is not pressing for such a vote. Had it taken place, Israel would have voted against the admission of the German Democratic Republic.

111. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I call on the representative of Guinea, who also wishes to speak on a procedural matter.

112. Mrs. Jeanne Martin Cisse (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, since I have the privilege of being among the first speakers at this twenty-eighth session, permit me, before the arrival of my Foreign Minister, to extend to you my personal congratulations on your election to the Presidency of this twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly.

113. The statement which my delegation feels prompted to make is made not for the sake of being original or intriguing: it is the confirmation of a consistent attitude faithful to the important interests of a sovereign people.

114. On 21 June last, at the 42nd meeting of the Committee on the Admission of New Members, which had the task of considering the applications of the two Germanys for admission to membership in the United

Nations, the delegation of the Republic of Guinea, in the initial stage, defined unambiguously its attitude within the terms of the mandate of that Committee. Subsequently, at the meeting of the Security Council held for the purpose of taking a decision on the conclusions of the Committee on the Admission of New Members, we had occasion to present the fundamental reasons for our line of conduct and we developed the details to a considerable extent at that time.³

115. Faithful to our ideals and to ourselves, we reaffirm our full support for the German Democratic Republic, a peaceful State which has struggled ceaselessly for peace and co-operation. In its foreign policy that country, moved by the ideals of social justice, has given a tangible and striking example of respect for the sovereignty of other States and for international morality.

116. On all battlefronts, against the calamities of nature, against hunger, illiteracy, imperialism and neo-colonialism, we have found that country side by side with us. In the many offensives against under-development, in a disinterested fashion, the German Democratic Republic has given its support and effective co-operation to the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

117. My delegation remains convinced that the admission of the German Democratic Republic to membership in our Organization will strengthen the international community in its noble task of restoring justice where it has been violated, of ensuring peace where it remains threatened, of safeguarding the foundations of liberty where they have been challenged, of rescuing humanity from the fall-out of hysterical acts of man from 1940 to 1945.

118. While we give our unreserved support to the German Democratic Republic, we are obliged to stress our firm reservation with regard to the admission of the Federal Republic of Germany. Since the sponsors of the draft resolution were unwilling to have a separate vote, my delegation is obliged to mention for the record the reservation of the Republic of Guinea with regard to the admission of the Federal Republic of Germany.

119. We shall not dwell on the allegations which would have us believe that, as by a miracle, the wolves have become lambs, that German pilots who ceaselessly assist in the bombing of the peaceful citizens of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde, who have been cynically firing on our brothers and our sisters in Mozambique, at the side of the Lisbon torturers, have suddenly become our friends and brothers.

120. Very soon Portugal, deprived of its support, will be beaten by the valiant freedom fighters of Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde, Mozambique and Angola. We should like to express the hope, on behalf of peace and for the love of peace, that our friends the sponsors of this draft resolution will not be duped by Bonn, that they will understand the cost of their generosity—yes, generosity, I call it; this is the word which, out of respect, we concede from this rostrum.

121. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I call now on the representative of Egypt, who also wishes to raise a procedural question.

³ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-eighth Year, 1730th meeting.*

122. Mr. ABDEL MEGUID (Egypt) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, first of all, I wish to congratulate you on your election to the presidency of the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly.

123. I should like to make it clear that I am speaking at this time as representative of a Member of this Organization and as a sponsor of draft resolution A/L.698/Rev.1.

124. The representative of Israel has raised a procedural point and I feel constrained to speak at a moment when the United Nations family is about to increase its membership, thus taking a further step towards its ultimate goal of universality.

125. I feel constrained to speak, after hearing with consternation the words of the representative of Israel in raising this procedural point in order to object to the admission of the German Democratic Republic.

126. This time, Israel contends that its attitude is dictated by the fact that it is entitled to damages and indemnity for the Nazi crimes committed against the Jews during the last world war.

127. But I wish to emphasize that we all deplore the atrocities of the last world war. The guilty parties were judged by international tribunals and they paid the penalties. But I wonder on whose behalf Israel, in raising this procedural question, is speaking. In the name of victims, citizens of a third country at a time when Israel itself did not exist? And of what right to compensation does Israel speak? A right that is without legal foundation but which Israel constantly and wrongly invokes with the sole aim of evoking false feelings of guilt?

128. What is strange in Israel's attitude is not only what it claims in raising its procedural motion today; it is also, and above all, the unsurpassed audacity revealed in its claims. Israel contends that a State has no right to join this Organization because of alleged obligations owed to Israel, while at the same time Israel itself, a Member of this Organization, holds the record for violated obligations.

129. How many times has Israel rejected United Nations resolutions? How many times has Israel violated the Charter and the various conventions on humanitarian law? But the last straw is that, while Israel speaks of compensation, Israel itself is the only State that, ever since 1948, has constantly defied world public opinion, which, in numerous resolutions of the United Nations, has charged Israel with the duty of indemnifying the Arab people of Palestine for their usurped homeland and the violation of their fundamental rights.

130. What a contradiction on the part of Israel, what cruelty, what cynicism! And it is for this reason that, if the representative of Israel had insisted on putting his motion to a vote, we should have opposed it.

131. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The representative of Saudi Arabia wishes to speak on a procedural matter, and I now call upon him.

132. Mr. BAROODY (Saudi Arabia): Mr. President, I think we should congratulate ourselves on having elected

you as the President of the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly, for it is my privilege to have known you for many years as a man dedicated to the United Nations and one who is an honour to Ecuador as well as to this Organization.

133. As one who witnessed the founding of the United Nations, I feel constrained not to keep silent with regard to the balance of power and the spheres of influence that were established even before our Organization came to function. They were a travesty of the principle of self-determination, which later, between 1949 and 1957, was elaborated into a full-fledged right of all peoples and nations. But since 1945, what have we witnessed but partition? Even before 1945, before the United Nations was founded, special arrangements were made among super-Powers to establish spheres of influence to serve their special national interests. Much as my delegation welcomes universality of membership of this Organization, we protest, in the name of self-determination, the fact that the German people, the Viet-Namese people, the Palestinian people and the Korean people should have been partitioned. Do the German people, whether living in what is called the German Democratic Republic or in the Federal Republic of Germany, differ from one another? They were divided on ideological grounds, not on ethnological grounds. And we here, do we want to be false witnesses to such arrangements as were made by the super-powers when emotions ran high, when, admittedly, they had lost millions of people, and when decisions were taken not in calmness but while vengeance still ruled in the hearts of men—perhaps excusably, because they had suffered?

134. Twenty-eight or 30 years, three decades, have not passed and we find ourselves here witnesses to divided peoples, peoples divided in order to serve the interests of those who want to divide this world. I think this is shameful, inasmuch as it should be a cause for celebration among us that no people should be excluded from membership in this Organization.

135. Having said this, I would feel remiss if I did not allude to what Mr. Tekoah said from this podium. The partition of Palestine was in contravention of the principle of self-determination that was enshrined in the Charter in 1945. If you want to assert that this was the only way to resolve a problem, then why should we have principles? The people of Palestine, in 1914, were 94 per cent Arab. Arabs constituted 94 per cent of the population and the Jews only 6 per cent. As of 1939, the Jewish population, which had swollen because of immigration, amounted to less than one third of the population of Palestine.

136. And Mr. Tekoah has the temerity to speak of Arab terrorists. Why did he not mention the Palestinians, who have been robbed of their patrimony and their homeland and who are scattered not only throughout the Arab world but all over the world as refugees? He sees the mote in his brother's eye but does not see the beam in his own eye. I am quoting the New Testament; I do not know whether he believes in it.

137. The world will not have peace so long as there is that foreign element, not only in the Middle East but elsewhere. Sometimes it is visible to the eye, as when there is an influx

of immigrants into an area; and sometimes it is invisible, as when subversion prevails in order to divide the world into spheres of influence. Anything that is established on a foundation of injustice is ultimately bound to totter and fall down, no matter how skilful the diplomats may be, no matter how welcome the détente between the Powers may be to us if we wish to survive as a human species.

138. But let me say that, much as my Government welcomes the admission of the so-called two Germanys, we still believe it was wrong to divide the German people on ideological grounds. By the principle of self-determination, they should have decided as one people what they would be.

139. And now, talking about the holocaust by Hitler, which we all deplore—whether Hitler killed Jew or gentile it was deplorable—let us not forget that the Second World War cost the lives of over 60 million people. The Russians alone lost 20 million; the Germans themselves may have lost several million; and the Jews lost several million—I do not know the exact number, but it is always a round figure: 6 million; never 6 million and a few thousand or less than 6 million; it has become a *cliché*. But what about Dresden, which was wiped out? I believe it was in East Germany. By whom were all these civilians in Dresden wiped out? I will not say by the Jews, but by the Allies. But that is war. What about Hiroshima and Nagasaki, which were wiped out? What about the dignity and worth, not to speak of the preciousness, of each human individual? These are not mentioned. If we were to highlight the loss of only one person belonging to one religion or another we would be discriminating. I am neither German nor Japanese. But we should mention those who were sacrificed, those civilians running into the millions. And no one dared say anything because the great Mr. Churchill gave the world the phrase “blood, toil, tears and sweat”.

140. Let us be mindful—since Mr. Tekoah spoke of history—that in 1917 the Allies, by which I mean the United Kingdom, France and their allies, were losing the war even before the advent of the Revolution in Russia. Who railroaded the United States—the host country—into the First World War but the Zionists? Had it not been for the Zionists the European countries would have settled their affairs amongst one another. Russia was out of the conflict following the Brest-Litovsk Treaty, and it was the Zionists which railroaded the United States into the war. Otherwise the Allies would have lost the war.

141. Of course the Kaiser was a tyrant, Hitler was a tyrant, anyone who was against the Western Powers was a tyrant. So why should not the Germans call their opponents tyrants? Let us set the record straight once and for all, for our conscience dictates that we should not obfuscate the facts.

142. Terrorism was referred to by Mr. Tekoah. Who bombed the King David Hotel in Jerusalem? Who destroyed Deir Yasin, killing not only the human beings there but the animals as well, and cut down the trees—Joshua-style I believe? Who killed Lord Moyne? Who killed Count Bernadotte? Who hanged Tommies from the branches of trees in Palestine?

143. The poor Palestinians, expelled as they had been from their country, thought, perhaps, the Zionists had succeeded in establishing themselves there because they had resorted to terrorism. But this is not the whole story. The Palestinians were wrong in not taking into account that major Powers, particularly the Western Powers, were behind the Zionists in contravention of the principle of self-determination.

144. Those are the facts and they should be brought to light time and again whenever any one of us engages in platitudes in order to propagandize from this podium. Let Mr. Tekoah and anyone who supports him be aware that my delegation and others are always ready to set the record straight and adduce the historical facts dispassionately and objectively, and to refute falsehoods which have been repeated in the General Assembly, the Security Council and other organs of this Organization.

145. We welcome the admission of the two Germanys, but we hope that it will not be long before ideologies will be relegated to the background, and a neutral German State that will not resort to arms will be unified, that a single State will emerge from the two Germanys, so that it may be to the honour of the United Nations that it did not forget the principle and the right of self-determination.

146. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The procedural situation is as follows. No one has asked officially for a separate vote under rule 91. The remarks and reservations made by the representatives of Israel, Guinea, Egypt and Saudi Arabia have been duly recorded. Since no request for a separate vote has been presented, may I take it that the General Assembly accepts the recommendation of the Security Council and adopts draft resolution A/L.698/Rev.1?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 3050 (XXVIII)).

147. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I declare the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany admitted to membership in the United Nations.

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

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

148. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): We turn now to draft resolution A/L.699 and Add.1 on the admission to membership in the United Nations of the Commonwealth of the Bahamas. May I take it that the General Assembly accepts the recommendation of the Security Council and adopts the draft resolution unanimously?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 3051 (XXVIII)).

149. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I declare the Commonwealth of the Bahamas admitted to membership in the United Nations.

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

150. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I believe that I am interpreting the feelings and thoughts of the General Assembly when I speak on its behalf as well as personally and greet the States that have just been admitted to membership in the United Nations.

151. A few moments ago I expressed my belief that the admission of the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany to the United Nations opens the gate to true universality, since it erases anachronistic vestiges of power politics. May I now add that their admission reaffirms the evolution of coexistence towards co-operation and constitutes a noble example of the fact that over and above ideological differences is the joint interest of all in solving the major human problems? The great German people, which has enriched human history in all fields of creative effort—art, philosophy, science—will, I am sure, make helpful contributions towards achieving the goal of this Organization: international peace and security in a world without injustice and without want.

152. It is with special emotion that I welcome also the admission of the Commonwealth of the Bahamas to membership. It is there that we find the baptismal font of the modern world. The arrival of the three Spanish caravels at the island of Guanahani was not by chance. It led to the great feats that transformed the world when an entire new continent was added to the known world. It is therefore particularly pleasant to me to welcome a State emerging from colonial status and to wish it great success in its endeavours.

153. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translation from Russian*): Mr. President, the head of the delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics will in his forthcoming statement welcome you to the post of President of the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly on behalf of the Soviet delegation. Permit me to confine myself to expressing my satisfaction at your election to this high post.

154. The delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to this session of the General Assembly was very happy to support the application of the German Democratic Republic for admission to membership in the United Nations [A/9069-S/10945], and also the application of the Federal Republic of Germany for admission to membership in the United Nations [A/9070-S/10949]. We feel we must draw attention to the unanimity with which the General Assembly took the decision to admit these two German States into the United Nations.

155. This event can be boldly described as a truly historic landmark in the development of post-war international relations in Europe, in the world and in the history of the United Nations itself, which was born in the fire and suffering of the Second World War in the grim years of the struggle against aggression and fascism, as the hope of all mankind and a guarantee that peace could be achieved and made strong, that the horrors of world wars would never be repeated, that the policy of force and its application in

international relations would be done away with for ever and that peace would triumph everywhere in the world.

156. The fact that the General Assembly has today supported the applications for membership in the United Nations of the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany, two sovereign States that have recognized the Charter of the United Nations and have undertaken to carry out all the obligations of membership in the United Nations, genuinely reflects the vast and irreversible changes that have taken place in the modern world as a result of the tireless efforts of all peace-loving and progressive forces, primarily of the countries in the socialist community, throughout the whole post-war period. This is a direct result of the relaxation of international tension which has been achieved particularly in recent years.

157. On 15 September we, together with representatives of other countries, welcomed at the airport in New York the official delegation of the German Democratic Republic, headed by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the German Democratic Republic, Comrade Otto Winzer, which had come to attend a session of the General Assembly for the first time in the existence of the United Nations. For over 20 years here in the United Nations we have been struggling for the restoration of justice to the German Democratic Republic, for an end to discrimination against this sovereign State within the United Nations system. Today justice has triumphed.

158. The admission of the German Democratic Republic to membership in the United Nations can only be seen as further direct and especially important evidence of the acknowledgement of the growing international role and authority of the German Democratic Republic, the first socialist State of workers and peasants on German soil, which has consistently championed peace, international security and social progress. The peace-loving foreign policy of the German Democratic Republic is important for the cause of peace and the easing of tension in Europe, and for the establishment of European co-operation. The role of the German Democratic Republic as a factor for peace and security in European and world affairs is constantly growing. Today the German Democratic Republic has diplomatic relations with 95 States in all continents of the world. This international recognition of the German Democratic Republic is clear proof of the changes for the better which have occurred in Europe, of the social and political changes of historic significance, and of the completely unfounded nature of the policy which was intended to lead to diplomatic isolation in international relations and political discrimination within the United Nations system against this socialist German State.

159. The Soviet Union has long been linked by firm bonds of very close and sincere friendship with the German Democratic Republic, which has been an active participant in the community of socialist countries. We were always among those who gave whole-hearted support to this country in its application for membership in the United Nations. Today we can say, with a feeling of pride, profound satisfaction and a feeling of duty done, that the efforts of those who consistently and tirelessly supported just and equal treatment for all States, and who defended

and upheld the principle of the universality of the United Nations, were not in vain. These efforts have been crowned with success. The admission of the German Democratic Republic to membership in the United Nations will without any doubt serve the cause of the strengthening of general peace and international security. This important step, which is of great historic significance, is in the interest of all peace-loving States, the United Nations itself, and the peoples of Europe and the whole world.

160. The German Democratic Republic, with its highly developed economy, advanced scientific and technical experience and rich cultural traditions, is making a valuable contribution to the development of international co-operation and economic, trade, scientific and technical and cultural relations, and is ranked among the most developed States of Europe and the whole world. No one can doubt that, in its capacity as a full Member of the United Nations, the German Democratic Republic will make full use of its resources, its progressive political experience and its economic potential for the implementation of the noble purposes of the United Nations and for the cause of international co-operation.

161. We also welcome the admission of the Federal Republic of Germany to membership in the United Nations. As a full Member of the United Nations, the Federal Republic of Germany, which is one of the economically most highly developed countries in Europe and the world, will have extensive opportunities to make its contribution to international co-operation between all States. We are convinced that there are excellent prospects for relations of good-neighbourliness, mutual understanding and co-operation between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany in the interest of peace and comprehensive and lasting economic, technical and cultural ties between the two States, which were further developed as a result of the visit to the Federal Republic of Germany in May 1973 by Mr. Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and as a result of his fruitful negotiations with Chancellor Brandt. The visit and the talks demonstrated most convincingly that both States have reached a new stage in an earnest endeavour to establish peaceful and mutually advantageous co-operation, which will be beneficial not only to the peoples of the USSR and the Federal Republic of Germany but also to Europe and the whole world, in the broadest sense of the word.

162. We must express our satisfaction and conviction that the trend toward the relaxation of international tension and the strengthening of the policy of peaceful coexistence will prevail over the negative tendencies of the dark times of the "cold war" in world politics. In this connexion the admission of the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany into the United Nations is one of the most eloquent proofs of the positive and irreversible process which has made the peoples of the world confident that the cause of peace and international co-operation to which Members of the United Nations aspire, as they are bound to do in accordance with the purposes and the Charter of the United Nations, will inevitably prevail.

163. In welcoming the admission of the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany to

membership in the United Nations, I am convinced that their contribution to the activities of this international organization will strengthen the forces of the partisans of the cause of stable and lasting peace on earth.

164. Permit me to welcome yet another new Member to the United Nations, the young independent State of the Commonwealth of the Bahamas. We wish this country and its people every success and progress along the path toward independent development. The Soviet delegation takes this opportunity to stress that the Soviet Union and all its peoples support and will continue to support the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America who are still in the grip of colonialism in their just and heroic struggle for freedom, independence, democracy and social progress. The General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Mr. Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, speaking on the occasion on which he was awarded the Lenin international prize for strengthening peace among peoples said:

"We have always considered and we continue to consider it today our bounden duty, because of our Communist convictions and our socialist morality, to give the broadest possible support to peoples struggling for the just cause of freedom. This has always been the case, and it will continue to be so in the future."

165. I am convinced that the Commonwealth of the Bahamas will, along with the two German States which have been admitted to membership in the United Nations today, take its rightful place among the delegations of all the other States Members of the United Nations and will make a worthy contribution to its work. In deciding today to admit three new Members into the United Nations the General Assembly has taken one more important step forward along the path towards the universality of this Organization. We hope that during this session of the General Assembly we will also be able to welcome the young Asian State of the People's Republic of Bangladesh as a Member of the United Nations.

166. Mr. MOJSOV (Yugoslavia): Mr. President, at the outset I wish to state very briefly how pleased my delegation is at having this first opportunity to welcome you and congratulate you upon being elected President of the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly. We are all well acquainted with your exceptional abilities and your long experience in the work of the United Nations and we are confident that, under your guidance, we shall fulfil successfully the tasks facing us at this important twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. The head of my delegation, the Vice-President and Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Minić, will of course note this happy event more fully in his main speech before the Assembly.

167. I should like also to express my delegation's appreciation and admiration for the dedicated and capable work of Mr. Trepczyński in discharging the responsibilities of his high office as President of the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly.

168. Let me now turn to what is a truly important page in the progress and life of the United Nations, a further long

step towards the ever more complete universality of the world Organization. Today's decision of the General Assembly—upon the unanimous recommendation of the Security Council—to admit the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany to membership in the United Nations constitutes a historic event in the life of our Organization.

169. It is with particular pleasure that Yugoslavia welcomes and congratulates the two German States as new Members because of the friendly, important and now firmly established relations that we have with both of them. We are looking forward very much to co-operation with them in our joint and shared responsibilities in contributing to the implementation of the worthy tasks of our Organization. Indeed the entry of the two German States, with their talented people and great resources in many fields, cannot but infuse new, added strength into the United Nations. As we had occasion to stress before, our world Organization is growing stronger as its universality becomes more complete. Everybody wants to enter our Organization and no one leaves it: this is telling proof of its underlying strength and constantly growing potential.

170. As a European country that suffered so much in the Second World War against the Nazi aggressors, as a country that waged a heroic struggle, liberated itself and then defended its hard-won independence, as one of the founding Members of the United Nations, and as a non-aligned and socialist country always active in the great efforts to overcome the cold war and all divisions, whether in Europe or elsewhere, my country attaches special significance to the positive trends in Europe culminating in our decision today. I would recall at this point that Yugoslavia, very soon after the war, exerted very special efforts aimed at normalizing relations in Europe and in overcoming its divisions by recognizing the realities on its soil. We recognized and established diplomatic relations with the Federal Republic of Germany in 1952; and we established diplomatic relations with the German Democratic Republic in 1957. Some of these early efforts and contributions, however, did not always meet with instant understanding and recognition and with immediate acceptance at the time. Yugoslavia was subjected to various pressures and reprisals instead. However, we are glad to note that, ever since, Europe has been moving towards widening co-operation. It was actually at the Belgrade Conference in 1961⁴ that an urgent appeal was issued to stop the dangerous and sterile confrontation dividing Europe and the world and to turn to negotiations and coexistence.

171. It was actually our view from the beginning that the recognition of realities in post-war Europe and Germany was the only way to overcome those divisions. And here we hope that the complex process known as the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe will prove a major advance along that road, as equal relations between all States—relations founded on independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-interference in internal affairs and free of the threat or use of force, irrespective of differences or similarities in their social systems—provide

the only possible basis for stable co-operation, peace and security in Europe and the world as a whole.

172. At the same time, we should like to emphasize here, with all the force we can, that positive trends on our continent must not result in a selfish, closed-in Europe. We repeat that in today's world no one can fare well because someone else fares badly. Europe, too, must know that détente has to be universal, if all are to be safe, and that peace and security for Europe cannot be long maintained with dangerous crises and so-called local wars aflame in regions next to it.

173. In its declaration attached to its application [A/9069-S/10945], the German Democratic Republic stated its willingness to accept and conscientiously carry out the obligations contained in the Charter of the United Nations. The Federal Republic of Germany, for its part, equally stated [A/9070-S/10949] that it accepts the obligations contained in the Charter of the United Nations and solemnly undertakes to carry them out.

174. Consequently, we can now expect that their pursuance of the objectives and obligations of the Charter and the implementation of all the relevant decisions of the major organs of the United Nations—such as those directed towards the liberation of the world from the anachronistic and intolerable evils of colonialism and racism, so much and so repugnantly persisting in the southern part of Africa, in Namibia, Zimbabwe, South Africa, Mozambique, Angola, Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde and elsewhere—will remain or become complete and unequivocal.

175. Finally, we very much hope that the admission of the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany to the United Nations will enhance their capabilities in investing their full share in promoting the peace, security and economic development of all the members of the international community everywhere.

176. And now I should like to turn to another happy event, to another important decision taken by the General Assembly today—namely, the admission of the Commonwealth of the Bahamas to the United Nations.

177. Thirteen years after the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)], remnants of colonialism, this most anachronistic phenomenon of our time, still persist in various parts of the world. A close look at the map of the Caribbean also reveals a multitude of colonial and neo-colonial situations. However, the struggle for emancipation and independence has never ceased in that part of the world. One of its most recent and significant gains was the proclamation of the independence of the Commonwealth of the Bahamas. In this connexion, I am particularly glad to be able to welcome, on behalf of the peoples and Government of Yugoslavia, the admission of the Bahamas to the United Nations as an event of profound significance for its people, for the Latin American continent and for the international community as a whole. The admission of the Commonwealth of the Bahamas to the world Organization amounts to a further strengthening of the role of the Caribbean and Latin American countries in international relations.

⁴ (First) Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Belgrade from 1 to 6 September 1961.

178. The fight of the peoples of the Caribbean, together with the other peoples of Latin America, against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and hegemony of any sort, and for independence, freedom, political and economic emancipation and progress, is an important component of the struggle for progress and a happier future in general, and this is the reason why it commands the support of all progressive democratic forces. The non-aligned countries have always given special support to this struggle as part of their own over-all endeavour. This support also found expression at the recently-held Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Algiers from 5 to 9 September 1973.

179. Yugoslavia, which achieved its freedom through arduous struggle, fully supports the fight of the peoples of Latin America, considering the proclamation of the independence of the Bahamas and its admission to the United Nations as one of the significant victories won as a result of this struggle.

180. In conclusion, may I congratulate once again the people of the Commonwealth of the Bahamas and express my confidence that other Caribbean countries, too, will soon follow the road taken by the Bahamas, namely, the road leading to the achievement of full independence and integration into the family of the United Nations. Along this road they will always enjoy, as has been the case in the past, the full support of the peoples and Government of Yugoslavia.

181. Mr. SCALI (United States of America): Mr. President, may I offer my warm congratulations and those of the United States as you, the representative of a respected neighbour, assume the presidency of this twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly.

182. It is a special honour for me to speak as representative of the host country at this moment in history. Three new Members have taken their places today in the supreme parliament of mankind. One of them is a small country, particularly meaningful to us because it is a neighbour and a good neighbour.

183. The entry of the two German States is the culmination of a generation of diplomacy, both inside and outside the United Nations, a process in which all parties have come to recognize the realities of today's world. It has been a process in which step by step the world has recognized that neither ideological conflicts, bitter memories nor war-bred jealousies can be allowed to obstruct the building of a better future.

184. By welcoming new Members, we have moved only part way on the road to enduring peace. But accompanied as it is by other moves toward international harmony, it is a move that should cause mankind to take heart and satisfaction.

185. We welcome the independent Bahamas to the United Nations with particular affection: This newest American Republic is a close neighbour with which we have much history in common. Like us, the Bahamas has a freely elected and representative Government, the head of which,

in the person of Prime Minister Pindling, is here among us today. We have been friends for many years. The American Government has been represented in Nassau since 1821. We look forward to continuing these close ties with the Bahamas bilaterally and within this Organization.

186. The entry of the two German States into the United Nations is a great symbolic act. The United Nations has grown over the years from its original 51 Members to 135. But it was not until today that it could be said even to approach its goal of universality. The entry of the two German States moves the United Nations much nearer to this goal, enhancing its ability to function in the real world, where real decisions are made and executed.

187. The United States is proud of the role which it has played in making this event a reality. Beginning in 1969, President Nixon laid out a new blueprint for peace designed to replace conflict and confrontation by negotiation. His programme was far more than atmospheric. He has since 1969 amply demonstrated his resolution to deal vigorously and forthrightly with the most difficult issues of our time, and to lessen the threat of nuclear arms in a historic agreement with the Soviet Union.

188. In Europe the search for peace has meant seeking improvements in the Berlin situation, altering the nature of relations between East and West, reducing the military confrontation of opposing coalitions, and lowering the barriers to travel, cultural and intellectual intercourse. It has also meant moving with careful steps towards normalizing diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China and other nations.

189. But progress through careful negotiation is not and cannot be the work of one country or even a small group of countries. We are working with the Soviet Union, in full concert with our allies, to settle the differences of decades and reduce tensions in Central Europe. A corner-stone of these efforts has been the Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin of 3 September 1971, a document which shows what can be accomplished when there is readiness to reject the outworn ideological positions and search for ways to solve stubborn problems. The Agreement on Berlin demonstrates anew that even the most rigid deadlock can be resolved through patient negotiations and mutual accommodation. This Agreement in turn was followed by the quadripartite Declaration of 9 November 1972,⁵ in which all four Powers agreed to support United Nations membership for the two German States. Today we have witnessed one of the fruits of those agreements.

190. Throughout this process the Federal Republic of Germany has played a major and constructive role. Its policies have helped lay the groundwork for today's events. It has taken and is continuing to take imaginative and forward-looking steps to place its relationship with the Soviet Union, other Eastern European countries, and the German Democratic Republic on a sound and stable basis. The Federal Republic is, moreover, taking these steps in full consonance with its responsibilities for the maintenance of peace, stability and security in the European continent.

⁵ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-eighth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1973*, documents S/10952-10955.

191. The Federal Republic of Germany is no stranger to the United Nations. It has played a substantial, indeed often leading, role in the specialized agencies of this body. Its contributions have already brought great benefits to mankind. Now, with its full participation, the entire world community stands to benefit.

192. We have also noted with appreciation the declaration of the German Democratic Republic of its intention to abide by the principles of the United Nations Charter and to make its full contribution towards alleviating the world's economic, social and humanitarian ills. In this connexion, it is the particular hope of the United States that the German Democratic Republic, which occupies part of the territory of the former German Reich will also recognize the just claims of those who suffered as a result of the actions of the Nazi Government. The Federal Republic of Germany, for its part, took exemplary and commendable measures in this regard many years ago.

193. The economic, technical, scientific, cultural and spiritual contributions of the German people have justly attracted wide admiration and greatly enriched the world. Today we look forward to their full and active participation in the immense international economic and social tasks facing the United Nations.

194. The effort to improve the condition of man is not a task for only a few: it is a burden all nations must bear. Disease, hunger, human misery, pollution and natural catastrophe oppress us all. The earth, air and sea are a common heritage and a common concern. The tools of

science, technology and education, which the German people are so eminently qualified to provide, will be used to benefit every nation. With the help of the two German States, this world body will be better able to meet mankind's pressing problems.

195. This is a day of great pride for the peoples of the world. The generation which fought the Second World War is reassured by the entry of the two German States into the United Nations.

196. Those who have lived through the strife of the post-war years can take heart. We learn from the past, for only with such a perspective can we grasp the full meaning of this solemn moment. But I would suggest that the larger meaning is found, not by looking behind, but by looking ahead. The most serious differences among nations can and must be resolved diplomatically. There is no other way, short of catastrophe. Ideological differences remain and are immense, but here in the United Nations the principles of universality and co-operation are and must be demonstrated once more for all to see. Is it too much to hope that today will also mark the beginning of a new realism for this body as it goes about its noble task on behalf of the peoples of all the world?

197. As I welcome the two German States on behalf of the United States, I express this fervent hope: may peace, may justice, be with us all.

The meeting rose at 6.35 p.m.