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AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. ORABI (Libya):¹ Mr. President, it is my pleasure to begin my statement by extending to you, on behalf of the delegation of the Kingdom of Libya, and on my own behalf, our sincere congratulations on your unanimous election as the President of the General Assembly at its present session. Such unanimity reflects the prestige, the wise experience and the high qualities of your person; it is also a further indication of the international community's appreciation of your friendly country, Guatemala. Knowing your qualities of wisdom, objectivity and discretion, we are confident, Mr. President, that you will conduct the work of this session with success.

2. At the same time, we wish to congratulate the Latin American group, with which we have close cultural and historical ties, on the election of one of its members to the Presidency of this session, and to commend the constructive role played by that group in the United Nations and its sincere co-operation with all Member States, particularly the African and Asian countries, for the benefit of all mankind.

3. It is also our pleasure to express to His Excellency Mr. Corneliu Mănescu, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Romania, a friendly country, the gratitude and appreciation of the Libyan delegation for the ability, efficiency and objectivity which characterized his Presidency of the twenty-second session.

4. Allow me to take this opportunity to express to the Secretary-General, U Thant, the high appreciation of the Libyan delegation for his sincere efforts and incessant devotion in the service of this Organization, its Charter and its principles. We wish him further success in his difficult task and we promise him the full support of Libya and its Government in his efforts towards international peace and co-operation.

¹ Mr. Orabi spoke in Arabic. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

5. It gives us great pleasure as well to welcome the independence of Swaziland and its admission to the United Nations. We have no doubt that the admission of a new African Member to this Organization will contribute to its effectiveness, bring it closer to universality and constitute a step forward towards the final elimination of colonialism, particularly in our continent of Africa.

6. We gather here at this twenty-third session at a time of difficult international circumstances when tension is growing in various parts of the world, when violence and force are repeatedly used to settle international issues, when the principles of the United Nations and of international law are increasingly challenged. This Organization, which was created, as a result of the sufferings and tragedies of mankind during two world wars, for the purpose of avoiding the recurrence of past errors and of creating a better world—this Organization now runs the risk of being reduced to a mere forum for oratory, should some countries continue to challenge it and should the Organization remain unable to impose respect for its Charter.

7. The events we have seen and are still witnessing—in which the principles and Charter of the United Nations have been violated and in which force has been used as a means to achieve domination and influence as well as territorial gains and expansion—have led the small countries to wonder about their fate and the fate of those principles which the human community has been working to achieve for the past twenty-three years.

8. The United Nations is composed of Member States, both big and small, from which its power and authority are derived, and on which the responsibility for its failure falls. However, the need of the great and stronger Powers for the United Nations is not as urgent as that of the small States, which have placed all their hopes in the Organization in the belief that it will be the effective instrument for maintaining world peace and security and for safeguarding the independence and territorial integrity of the small countries, as well as an important element in achieving fruitful international co-operation and banishing the shadow of a third world war which may destroy all the civilization and progress man has ever achieved.

9. International circumstances at the time of the signing of the San Francisco Charter differed completely from those of today. Nuclear weapons and their use in international strategy, the development of transportation, communications and contacts among peoples, in addition to popular participation in culture and knowledge, have made of mankind a single family sharing the same fate, and made countries and continents interdependent, compelling the United Nations to rise to the level of our time and to fulfil the hopes placed in it by mankind.

10. However, it is very difficult to deny the fact that this age is characterized by the domination of force over right, a feature which is inconsistent with the nature of the pedestal upon which we stand before history. We wish to give the forthcoming generation reasons to say of the twentieth century, and in particular of those people responsible for its destiny, that we were a constructive and not a destructive generation, people of peace and not war, a world of love, not hatred, and believers in the power of right, not in the right of power. We hope that you will not consider what we have said merely as imaginative hope. It is, after all, up to those responsible for the fate of this world to realize these goals if they sincerely wish to do so.

11. As we live in a time in which new horizons are open to all mankind within a world of mutual co-operation, it is regrettable to see the mentality and approaches of the nineteenth century still prevailing, and to see special political interests and the struggle for influence and power obstructing the United Nations primary role in keeping peace and security in the world and bringing about true harmony among peoples.

12. This was clearly evident in the summer of 1967, when Israel committed its armed aggression against three neighbouring Arab States, Members of the United Nations. Immediately after the aggression, the Security Council met for several days but failed to agree on the basic principle of the stopping of all hostilities and the withdrawal of aggressive forces to their original position, a principle previously applied by the Security Council in similar circumstances.

13. When the General Assembly met again for its fifth emergency session, it failed, after several weeks of debate, to adopt any resolution requesting Israel's withdrawal from the occupied territory and applying the United Nations principle which considers any territorial gains by means of military occupation inadmissible.

14. The outcome of the emergency session was the adoption, by a large majority, of two resolutions regarding Jerusalem [*resolutions 2253 (ES-V) and 2254 (ES-V)*], which Israel refused to implement, ignoring the wishes of ninety-nine Member States of the United Nations that expressed world opinion. Furthermore, Israel rejected all the subsequent resolutions adopted by the Security Council concerning the aggression. No Member of the United Nations has, in our opinion, challenged the Organization and its resolutions as did Israel.

15. Although over a year has passed since the Israeli aggression against the Arab countries, the situation in the Middle East remains a subject of great concern, and threatens international peace and security in that significant and sensitive part of the world. It has now become very clear, beyond the shadow of any doubt, that, when Israel committed its aggression in June 1967, it did not do so to defend itself or to protect its territorial integrity, as Zionist propaganda has impressed upon world opinion; its aggression was committed according to a careful and deliberate plan which aimed at expanding and at gaining new Arab territories by war and military occupation.

16. In fact, no sooner had Israel occupied Jerusalem than it revealed its intentions by announcing its determination to

annex that Arab area to its territory and to take action to achieve that end. This was done at a moment when the General Assembly, at its emergency session, was discussing the question of Jerusalem and adopting, on 4 and 14 July 1967, the two resolutions requesting Israel to undo what it had already done and to refrain from taking any further action which might change the status of the Holy City.

17. Ignoring the two General Assembly resolutions as usual, Israel proceeded with the annexation, altering and erasing the Arab character of the city, tearing down Arab houses and expropriating Arab lands, in order to settle a Jewish population in place of Arabs, who were expelled from their homes. What happened in Jerusalem was repeated in Gaza, on the West Bank of the Jordan River, and on the Golan Heights. Thus the myth of Israel's search for peace and peaceful coexistence with its neighbours proved to be a mere mask which Israel used to conceal its real expansionist and imperialistic objectives. What happened in 1967 is only the continuation of a plan carried out in steps by Zionism since 1948.

18. At the time when Dr. Jarring, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, whose patience, devotion and persistence are highly appreciated, was making continuous and assiduous efforts to bring about a peaceful and just settlement, Israel did not accept the implementation of the Security Council's resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967. It has been following a perverse course characterized by repeated aggression against the civilian Arab population within the occupied Arab territory, as well as within neighbouring Arab States, under the guise and pretext of pursuing freedom-fighters. Moreover, this was followed by the destruction and burning of Arab sectors and villages, resulting in the disruption of many economic facilities and in the death of hundreds of unarmed civilians. Such treacherous Israeli attacks against Arab territory have kept the Security Council constantly preoccupied. The Council condemned Israel on two occasions: in its resolution 248 (1968) of 24 March 1968 and in its resolution 256 (1968) of 16 August 1968. It also deplored the attacks of Israel on two occasions: in its resolution 251 (1968) of 2 May 1968 and in its resolution 252 (1968) of 21 May 1968.

19. Israel, however, was elated by its easy victory and displayed its arrogance. By the use of force, terror and aggression, it thinks it can conquer Arab resistance and do as it pleases. Such a policy reflects the real intentions of Israel, and reveals its aversion to any political settlement. It also indicates an attempt on its part to keep Arab territories under its occupation and to use them for its expansionist objectives and plans.

20. Peace cannot be established by force, terror or revenge, nor by dictation of conditions; peace, the permanent peace desired by the people of the area, can be achieved only when the causes of tension and wars are removed and only when it is based on justice and international morality.

21. With regard to the question of the Middle East, we should not forget those people who have fundamental rights in this issue. I mean the Palestinian people, half of whom are refugees while the other half are under military occupation. These people were expelled from their home-

land by force and terror, to make room for groups of people from different parts of the globe, and despite the lapse of more than twenty years since their plight began, the Palestinian people still resist occupation and oppression, and are engaged in the same noble battle fought by other peoples whose land was once occupied and who struggled for their liberation. There is no power in the world which can prevent these people from dying for their country; nor can acts of terrorism, murder and napalm bombings make them deviate from their determination. Israel should look into the lessons of modern history to learn that any people determined to have its freedom will obtain it ultimately.

22. Despite the lapse of more than ten months since the Security Council adopted its resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967, this resolution has not been implemented by Israel because of its non-commitment and bad will. The Arabs, motivated by respect for the United Nations and its resolutions, have indicated their readiness, on every occasion, within and outside the United Nations, to co-operate with the special representative of the Secretary-General to implement the said resolution. The obstinacy of Israel and its continuous refusal to abide by the Security Council's resolution is a clear indication of its bad intention and its determination to continue the occupation of the Arab territories gained by aggression. There is no doubt that such an obstinate attitude of Israel, in addition to its disregard and non-respect of the United Nations and its resolutions, will increase the present tension in the Middle East which can result in a new and terrible explosion. The extent of this explosion is difficult to foresee. The United Nations, being bound by its Charter to maintain peace in the world, should intervene with all its prestige to remedy the situation and carry out its responsibility. The United Nations is called upon to rid this serious problem of bargaining and the interests of particular policies of some States, which can rely on its influential and important role in the attainment of a just solution to the present crisis in the Middle East. These States should, in the first place, give due respect to the United Nations resolutions and justice in order to safeguard humanity in this part of the world and elsewhere from the dangers of aggressive adventures and the disregard for resolutions and for the principles of the Charter.

23. It is regrettable that events in the Middle East have reached extreme limits and failed to awaken the world conscience, as other areas in the world are also living in tension and anxiety and suffering regional wars that endanger international stability and world peace.

24. The current peace negotiations between the parties to the conflict in Viet-Nam provide us with the hope that they will reach a just and peaceful settlement of this conflict, which threatens the peace not only of the Far East but of the entire world. We hope that the necessary steps will be taken and that favourable conditions will be provided in order to reach this settlement.

25. It is distressing and regrettable to see, in this enlightened and civilized era, the continued disregard by man for his fellow men because of colour. It is the Libyan delegation's firm belief—and one that is undoubtedly shared by all Members of the Organization—that the policy of *apartheid* and colonial exploitation in South Africa, Rhodesia and the Portuguese Colonies on the African continent is

a shameful blemish on humanity. The continuous enslavement of men by their fellow men is the worst form of domination and is contrary to the provisions of the General Assembly's historic resolution 1514 (XV) on decolonization and granting of independence, freedom and self-determination to colonial countries and peoples. The struggling people of Mozambique, Angola, so-called Portuguese Guinea, Namibia, South Africa and Rhodesia will one day certainly obtain their legitimate rights and it would be better for the imperialists to give up now and spare themselves much bloodshed. Furthermore, foreign economic and other interests which constitute an obstacle to the independence of colonial peoples and countries should stop giving assistance to the racist and reactionary régimes which are subjugating the people of the southern part of the African continent.

26. While the international atmosphere remains tense, owing to the treacherous aggression of Israel against the Arab countries and the expansionist Zionist ambitions in the Middle East, owing to the bloody war in Viet-Nam and to the colonial problems in Africa, there is a gleam of hope on the international horizon, and signs of possible relief from the threat of a nuclear war. I am referring to the progress made by the international community in the field of disarmament towards the possibility of transition from a stage of peaceful co-existence to one of peaceful co-operation among the major Powers. Last June, the General Assembly, by its resolution 2373 (XXII) approved the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, which could be considered as one of the most important steps ever taken by the Organization in the field of disarmament since the conclusion in 1963 of the Moscow Treaty on the partial ban of nuclear weapon tests. At the resumed session last year, Libya announced that it considered that that Treaty was a step that should be followed by further action in the field of disarmament. Although important, that Treaty is but a new step towards the further objectives and loftier goals represented by complete and thorough conventional and nuclear disarmament under effective international control.

27. We look forward to the day when that objective will be realized and man's creative mind will be directed towards peaceful and scientific innovations for the benefit of all humanity. We are following with interest the efforts of the United Nations in this respect, and we hope that this Treaty will be followed as soon as possible by an agreement banning all nuclear tests, as a prerequisite for the fulfilment of other disarmament objectives. We also hope that the big Powers will take steps to destroy their stockpiles of nuclear weapons which have recently reached terrifying levels.

28. In this respect I cannot but share the concern of the non-nuclear States, which was evident at their recent Conference, and we hope that the conclusions of the conference will receive due consideration.

29. It is worth mentioning, in this respect, that, in recent years, the General Assembly has focused its attention on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. We should not ignore the danger of chemical and biological weapons which are, as the Secretary-General stated in the introduction to his annual report, "weapons of mass destruction regarded with universal horror. In some respects they may be even more dangerous than nuclear weapons" [A/7201/Add.1, para. 30].

30. As a developing country, Libya is working earnestly to achieve a better standard of living for its population through a fair distribution of income among the citizens, and to develop its natural resources, thus achieving social progress and justice for all on the basis of equality by promoting basic human rights and fundamental freedoms. The Kingdom of Libya has proved, since the declaration of its independence, that it has established its identity on an ideal basis in conformity with the Charter. Libya's policy, both internal and external, is derived from traditions of the Libyan people and its Arab and Islamic culture. Such traditions, which place human values at the forefront and believe in human dignity for the individual and the community, discard intolerance and discrimination on the grounds of race, religion or colour, and consider mutual respect a basic principle in international relations.

31. Libya notes with satisfaction the recent and growing interest of the United Nations in social development as related to economic development, particularly in developing countries; and we attach the utmost importance to such an approach to development. An example of this interest was evident some weeks ago at the International Conference of Ministers Responsible for Social Welfare held under the auspices of the United Nations at its Headquarters from 3 to 12 September 1968. We hope that the recommendations adopted by the Conference² will contribute to the achievement of social progress in the world and to the proposed international declaration on social development which, if approved at this session, will be added to the list of historic declarations adopted by this Organization. We are confident that the noble efforts of this international body, supported and promoted as they are by each of us, will be crowned with success and will contribute to the improvement of world social conditions and the achievement of the well-being of all mankind.

32. This year, we are celebrating the International Year for Human Rights, a field that is increasing in importance day by day, as a result of the efforts made by the United Nations. The International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination, the International Covenants on Human Rights and the historic International Conference on Human Rights held at Teheran are clear examples of efforts to promote human rights and fundamental freedoms. We in Libya, like other peoples and nations, have participated in the celebration of the International Year for Human Rights and have acceded to a number of international agreements and conventions. However, we have noted that, while this celebration is continuing, human rights are being violated in various parts of the world where the very basic right of self-determination is still not recognized.

33. The stabilization of peace in the world is a fundamental factor in securing international co-operation with a view to improving economic and social conditions throughout the world and to raising humanity's material and moral standards. However, the improvement of social and economic conditions is, in turn, an essential condition for establishing peace in the world. Indeed, the interdependence of humanity's peace and security on the one hand

and humanity's growth and development on the other is inevitable.

34. A look at today's economic conditions will illustrate the extent of the obvious disparity between the developed and the developing countries, as well as the steadily growing gap between the two groups. No doubt the continued failure to heed the calls for an adjustment of existing conditions will intensify the feeling of resentment of the developing nations and increase the causes of tension in the world.

35. The desire to avoid an increase in the danger and to safeguard the world from its consequences requires quick and effective action to implement a practical economic policy directed towards raising the standard of living of the peoples of the developing countries and developing their economies, in order to enable them to join the ranks of the advanced countries. Furthermore, a narrowing of the gap between the two is essential for peace and stability in the world.

36. Let me take this opportunity to refer to the first United Nations Development Decade. However unsatisfactory its results may be, owing to the lack of a genuine desire to implement the recommendations of the General Assembly contained in its resolutions 1522 (XV) and 1710 (XVI), there is still ground for optimism, namely, the determination of the developing countries to accelerate their development in order to achieve other objectives. In view of the experience gained from the first Development Decade, and the preparatory work now under way for the second Development Decade, we should bear in mind more realistic objectives, which would be in line with the actual conditions and which could be carried out within the limits of the available resources. In their turn, the developing countries should introduce the required changes into their economic and social structures, and should admit that the achievement of these targets is possible only with the effective participation of the citizens themselves. These countries should also mobilize and use their resources properly. Only on that basis, and in such conditions, can technical assistance and aid be used effectively to promote development through international co-operation.

37. In fact, one of the most important lessons of the first Development Decade has been the open recognition of the basic importance of the human element in planning development, and the recognition of the need for each country to develop its human resources along with its material and financial resources, in order to achieve balanced social progress. In this respect, it is encouraging to note the extent of the efforts made by the developing countries themselves and by the international organizations and specialized agencies to develop and use human resources.

38. In brief, we can say that the international community now appears more ready than ever to put forward a programme requiring concerted action with clearly defined, realistic objectives for the Second United Nations Development Decade. We should, in this regard, commend the Secretary-General and his assistants who did the necessary technical work in consultation with the Committee for Development Planning and with other United Nations organs.

² See document E/4590.

39. Another point which should be discussed here is the need for developing countries to increase their exports of manufactures and raw materials. Many developing countries have the potential, if rational steps are taken, to increase their revenues from exports. This, of course, depends to a large extent on the availability of broader opportunities in the markets of developed countries.

40. In discussing this subject, we find ourselves compelled to talk about the results of the second session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, to which the Secretary-General referred in his valuable statement made at the 1531st meeting of the Economic and Social Council, at the opening of its forty-fifth session. We share the Secretary-General's anxiety and concern regarding the limited results of the Conference. In our opinion, they are not adequate enough to achieve economic growth and to overcome the problems which the world faces today.

41. My delegation wishes to refer to another matter: the problem of the lack of protein which many developing countries are facing today. We know that the subject has been discussed at length in this Organization; unfortunately the outcome has always been only a number of reports and theoretical studies made at the sub-committee level. Therefore, it is time to have a new approach to this important question.

42. My delegation is interested and ready to co-operate in any step that would help realize this goal. In this respect and along the same lines, Libya has decided to build a centre for the production of protein from petroleum. Further efforts are under way to build a research centre for the production of protein.

43. The primary duty of the United Nations in this age, and the main objective of modern diplomatic endeavour in general, should be to tackle the problems resulting from scientific and technological progress in all fields, for this progress should be in the service of all mankind and should benefit all countries and peoples. This is, in our opinion, the only sound and proper basis on which stronger and more international and stable relations can be established.

44. I should like to refer now to a new example of the effectiveness of international co-operation, namely, the establishment of the *Ad Hoc* Committee to Study the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction, of which my country has the honour to be a member. This approach is in harmony with the new open horizons made possible by scientific and technological progress. In fact, such progress is only an extension of humanity's past success in the fields of outer space and the peaceful use of nuclear energy and the conclusion of the Antarctic agreement.

45. Ocean resources beyond the limits of national jurisdiction should be used to fight poverty and need in every corner of the globe, through being made available to everyone. At the same time, an attempt should be made to correct the present unbalanced international situation, in which the financial, technological and scientific potentials and skills, needed to utilize these resources, are not commensurate with the urgent requirements of the developing countries. They are unable to profit by these

resources, owing to their lack of advancement in the scientific and technological domains and their lack of financial resources. As a result, only a limited number of more advanced countries will be able to profit from this new field.

46. Of course, the developing countries have the obligation to struggle and make the necessary efforts to reach a level of technology and science which would enable them to catch up with the advanced countries in this field. Such a task is not, however, easy to accomplish in the short run. The United Nations must, therefore, remedy the disparity between the requirements of the international community, represented in this Organization, and the limited scientific and technological capacity of a small number of countries. The United Nations should face up candidly to this problem and should study thoroughly the question of a just distribution and organized utilization of resources of the ocean floor and sea-bed, by laying sound foundations for a legal system capable of co-ordinating the legitimate rights and interests of all and safeguarding the interest of humanity as a whole.

47. World peace and security and humanity's advancement and prosperity can be achieved only by applying rules of international law and by promoting friendship and co-operation among countries in accordance with the United Nations Charter. For this reason, Libya regards with satisfaction and hope the efforts of the United Nations to ban the use of force or the threat to use force, and its efforts to secure equality and sovereignty among nations, to see that international obligations are fulfilled sincerely and with goodwill and, finally, to uphold the principle of non-interference in the domestic affairs of States, bearing in mind that our policy is based on respect for this principle. We also hope that the United Nations will be able to set forth an acceptable definition of aggression, as soon as possible, for we condemn aggression in all its forms, anywhere in the world and against any people.

48. We hope the United Nations will continue its efforts to promote the study, dissemination of and respect for international law, since we are convinced that one of the most important means to advance the cause and consolidate the basis of international law is to arouse the interest of the people and to educate the public through information concerning the rules of international law and its effective role in the service of peace, prosperity and the progress of mankind.

49. Before concluding my statement, I wish to express again our hope that the United Nations will be able to continue on the right path and to respond to the people's wishes for a happier and a better life. I also express the readiness of the Government and the delegation of the Kingdom of Libya to offer their utmost co-operation for the success of this session and for the achievement of the objectives and principles of the United Nations.

50. Mr. AMIAMA TIÓ (Dominican Republic) (*translated from Spanish*): All the Americas welcome with pride and enthusiasm the honour which this distinguished Assembly has just conferred on one of the American continent's most illustrious sons, Mr. Emilio Arenales, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Guatemala, by electing him its President for the

twenty-third session. On this great occasion I am happy to convey the homage and goodwill of the Government and people of the Dominican Republic, and their sincere affection, to one who in bringing honour to his own country also enhances the prestige of his fellows of the Americas.

51. Mr. Emilio Arenales is a statesman of firmly democratic persuasion and deep moral convictions; an ardent believer in the ideal of justice proclaimed by the United Nations. There can be no doubt that under his able guidance the twenty-third session of the General Assembly will achieve substantial successes adding to the stature of the international community, which finds its highest expression in this Assembly. We pray fervently and with reverent humility that by the grace of God, our President may be enabled fully to meet the enormous responsibilities we have placed upon his learning, his wisdom, his poise and his prudence.

52. I am quite sure that not only our President, but all of us who are assembled here and in some degree symbolize the aspirations of millions of human beings need the guiding light of God's Providence; for this twenty-third session of the General Assembly is beginning its work in a disquieting atmosphere of political unrest mainly deriving from dangerous backgrounds of economic and social frustration.

53. There is nothing easy in the task which faces us, but the difficulties must nevertheless be overcome. We must direct our efforts towards that all-important end even though we are bound to give warning that no-one must expect us to produce a miraculous potion capable of curing forthwith all the material and spiritual ills afflicting the less fortunate peoples and individuals.

54. However, we are fully aware that, while there are no magic formulae for more effectively helping the needy, there is no justification, either, for indolence or any failure to meet responsibility on the part of those of us whose solemn duty it is to raise aloft and to defend the banner of justice. The Government and people of the Dominican Republic, responsive to the dictates of conscience, have therefore sent their representatives to attend the twenty-third session of the General Assembly in the most vehement desire to help to find solutions leading towards worldwide concord founded upon the legitimate right to subsistence and on the mutual respect that must prevail between men and between nations.

55. This lofty aim of concord is surely of the essence of both multinational and of strictly and exclusively national endeavour. At all events, it is reasonable to assert that world peace, founded on the right to subsistence begins and finds its most dramatic expression specifically at the national level. This means that in the long run the concord we so painstakingly seek through centres of international discussion must necessarily proceed from what we are individually able to do in this respect within our own local borders.

56. This is one of the bases in which the policy of the constitutional Government of the Dominican Republic is anchored. We very firmly believe that we contribute to the

attainment of mankind's highest aims to the extent to which we are able to promote justice in all its manifold forms within our own frontiers. Starting from this premise, I can state emphatically that in the Dominican Republic, a country which in recent years has repeatedly suffered the blows of fate, a process of change at depth has begun that is inspired precisely by the ideal which imbues the thinking of this august Assembly.

57. All the machinery of my country's Government is deeply involved in this endeavour under the guidance of the Head of State, His Excellency Mr. Joaquín Balaguer, a man whose outstanding moral qualities are recognized even by his political opponents. His personal capacities, together with his acknowledged intellectual ability and his keen sense of social values, are the human qualities underlying the implementation of a policy of rehabilitation and betterment in a community in whose least conspicuous strata there are restless stirrings and the germs of political strife proliferate.

58. This national effort is our contribution to peace. We come to this austere meeting-place with a message of brotherhood and positive willingness to understand, for the purpose of calmly and impartially weighing the vital problems which the agenda places before us for consideration. But we must acknowledge that we are deeply concerned at the continued existence in various parts of the world of focal points of conflict and areas of tension which may burst into flame at any moment and none of which it has been found possible to eliminate or reduce since the previous—last year's—session of this Assembly.

59. Nevertheless, we are even more concerned and disturbed to note that in addition to our having made only very slow progress towards the political problems which confronted us last year, the power of violence has in recent times reverted to its most primitive form of expression in violation of law. We deeply deplore the offences committed against the international rule of law.

60. World society now possesses legal instruments which very firmly proscribe unilateral action. The United Nations system, with its Charter that is law for all Member States, is precisely the machinery through which disputes liable to disturb international peace should be adjusted, and is also the altar to which all States must bow before undertaking any unilateral action endangering or menacing the peace of nations.

61. I do not need to enumerate for purposes of casuistry the discouraging examples that distress those of us who are convinced and active advocates of a system in which peace prevails in a relationship of justice. We should merely like to recall that the fact that we have subscribed to the fundamental principles of United Nations as a means of settling relationships among States places us under an ineluctable duty to be faithful servants of law as well.

62. It is for this reason that the Government and people of the Dominican Republic do not wish to point an accusing finger at anyone, but wish to exhort all Governments and peoples here represented to join with us in an act of firm and sincere dedication to strengthening the pillars which sustain our Organization. Let us not, like Hercules, unleash

the forces of unreason to weaken those pillars, for if we do so we shall all, without exception, run the risk of being crushed under the weight of moral and material collapse.

63. International peace is the supreme purpose of the United Nations, but the United Nations itself is the sum of the political wills of all the individual States. My Government strongly supports the conciliatory efforts now proceeding in certain parts of the world; in particular it supports the mission of Ambassador Jarring, Special Representative of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, in pursuance of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967, which calls upon the parties in dispute to negotiate. We cannot conceal the concern with which we view the worsening of the situation in the Middle East.

64. In the same way we think it a great pity that so well-meaning an initiative as that recently taken by President Johnson in the matter of the conflict in Viet-Nam should not yet have achieved the result for which the free world was hoping. I am convinced by the teachings of history that behind the great dissensions between men and between nations there is always within reach, if the parties seek justice, a way to find an honourable solution to the most difficult problems and I therefore trust that the official talks in Paris between the United States and North Viet-Nam will not disappoint the hopes that have been placed in this important step towards the achievement of world peace.

65. It is disheartening to note that the past year has produced no favourable changes in connexion with the situation in Southern Rhodesia. My Government therefore maintains the views on this subject which it expressed during the twenty-second session of the General Assembly 1566th meeting, in 1967.

66. I said earlier that I bring to this Assembly a message of brotherhood from the Government and people of the Dominican Republic. Before concluding, I wish to convey to the delegations here present cordial greetings from the delegation of the Dominican Republic, the Chairman of which delegation I have the honour to be. In particular, I should like to express to the delegation of the Republic of China my sincere thanks for the kindnesses shown to me by the high authorities of that country when I paid an official visit to Formosa in May of this year.

67. Small countries like mine, which cannot use the language of force to ensure respect for their national integrity and their right to work out their destiny in accordance with democratic principles and the ideals upheld by the free countries of the world, have no means of asserting their international legal personality other than the vast field of high moral strategy of "consensual right", the ultimate basis of relations among States.

68. In saying this I am not thinking only of the inflamed condition of to-day's international political scene, but much more of the fact borne out by history, that rights trampled on with impunity lead to further, more profound and more dangerous violations liable to affect us all. Accordingly, although the repudiation of the civilized nations of the world is implicit, I feel bound, because my sense of justice has been offended, to include in these

general considerations the feelings so summarized, of the Dominican people when faced with the anomalous situation recently created in Czechoslovakia.

69. U THI HAN (Burma): Mr. President, I should like, first of all, to tender to you the cordial and sincere felicitations of the delegation of Burma, and my own personal congratulations, on your election as President of the twenty-third regular session of the General Assembly. We are confident that your wide experience in the affairs of the community of nations will stand you in good stead in the discharge of the heavy responsibilities which lie before you as President of this Assembly, and that, with the benefit of your wise counsel and able guidance, we shall be able to consider and discuss constructively the very important issues which we as a corporate body are faced with this year, so that the deliberations in this Assembly will take us a step forward in the true interests of international harmony and international co-operation.

70. Mr. President, I should also like to take this opportunity to convey through you our deep and sincere appreciation to His Excellency Corneliu Mănescu, the Foreign Minister of the Socialist Republic of Romania, who, at the twenty-second session of the General Assembly, gave his valued services in the interest of the world community. We are grateful for his reminder that, however difficult and varied the problems may be that lie before us, the one essential element for their solution is the continuity of effort, and that the necessary basis on which this effort is to be made is respect for the personality and dignity of each and every nation.

71. Concurring in this thought of the President of the Assembly at its twenty-second session, we are glad indeed to welcome into our midst the Kingdom of Swaziland as the 125th Member of the United Nations. We are assured by the admission of Swaziland as a sovereign Member of the United Nations that whatever shifting winds may buffet the course of peaceful, co-operative relations between one State and another, those intemperate moods are but temporary aberrations, and that small nations may yet accede to and retain their proud, dignified and equal status in a just and ordered community of nations, as envisaged in the Charter of the United Nations.

72. My delegation approaches the many issues that confront the General Assembly at this session with the sober, but not pessimistic, realization that, in relations among sovereign States, even though the gains of a decade may be set back in a day, the sustained will and mutual effort of a decade is, nevertheless, not irredeemably lost in a day, and much may be salvaged by a renewal and reorientation of effort.

73. It is necessary, nevertheless, that certain basic principles be reaffirmed and adhered to scrupulously; chief among those principles is that of peaceful coexistence between States. The principle of peaceful coexistence has sometimes in the past been interpreted to mean primarily peaceful coexistence between the major Powers, since any failure in the observance of this principle between them would, it has been hypothesized, mean the sudden annihilation of mankind and the destruction of the world at large. The corollary of this hypothesis is that peaceful coexistence

has come to be synonymous with the so-called balance of terror, operating over and in respect of spheres of influence almost formally demarcated by the major armed Powers. This self-denial and self-limitation on the part of the major Powers to their own spheres of influence might have been more commendable had it not also involved the denial and limitation of the rights of the sovereign members of the community of nations which, by accident of geography or the propulsion of history, find themselves incorporated within these spheres of influence. It is, therefore, needless to say that the principle of peaceful coexistence should be reaffirmed not merely between the major Powers or between military blocs but between all nations, large or small, and between those nations militarily potent beyond their frontiers and those merely intent on ensuring for their people a regular meal and a shelter over their heads.

74. Flowing immediately from the foregoing is a thought which I should like to interpose here, on another aspect of peaceful coexistence between all nations, large or small, namely, the need for self-denial and self-limitation on the part of the nuclear-weapon Powers, not merely in a balance of reciprocal terror, when faced with another nuclear-weapon Power, but in a categorical undertaking not to use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against a non-nuclear-weapon nation. It is essential, if the international community is to be reassured, that this assurance from the nuclear-weapon Powers should be forthcoming urgently and without the imposition of conditions on the non-nuclear-weapon nations. From my delegation's point of view, it is not enough that the nuclear-weapon Powers should seek to screen, by a threat of retaliation, threats of attack by another nuclear-weapon Power against a non-nuclear nation. It would, in fact, be more of a reassurance to all nations, nuclear and non-nuclear, if the nuclear-weapon Powers would make a solemn declaration, under an appropriate aegis, that they would not be the first to use nuclear weapons against any nation.

75. I should like to be permitted to refer briefly to a related matter which has been considered by the *Ad Hoc* Committee established to study the question, namely, the need to reserve exclusively for peaceful purposes the sea-bed and the ocean floor beyond the limits of national jurisdiction. My delegation hopes that the General Assembly will be able to establish guidelines making it possible for the adoption of principles which will preclude any and all activities of a military nature from the sea-bed and ocean floor beyond the limits of national jurisdiction. My delegation considers that there is a general consensus among all nations, those militarily potent and those merely vulnerable, that the arms race shall not be extended to any sphere and any element from which they are at present free, and that, with the pace of modern technological development, all too readily translatable into channels for death and destruction, the more urgently this prohibition acquires a binding force the better it will be for mankind. My delegation is hopeful that the specifics of this prohibition can be spelt out quickly and clearly during the current session of the General Assembly.

76. I should like to touch here again on the need, which has long been felt, for assuring universality of membership in the United Nations and the specialized agencies. It is undeniable that the effectiveness of the United Nations in

maintaining international peace and security, and in ensuring that it has the goodwill and the co-operation of all nations, depends in large part on seeing that its membership is truly universal. It is equally undeniable that this lack of universality imposes a severe and unwarranted handicap on the United Nations and limits its effectiveness. Today the world's most populous nation, the People's Republic of China, continues to be excluded from its rightful seat among the membership of the United Nations. The delegation of Burma considers that discussion of world problems would be more realistic, and the solutions reached would be more lasting, if the People's Republic of China were to be a party to them as a Member of the United Nations.

77. While we have been able to welcome in Swaziland one more nation from Africa which has acceded to independence and sovereignty, the Assembly cannot forget that in parts of southern Africa, colonialism still flourishes to the detriment of the indigenous African peoples whom it dominates and exploits. Though, seemingly, colonialism in Africa has suffered constant erosion by the achievement of independence by one nation after another, its hard core has nevertheless remained intact, and because it still thrives in significant dimensions it continues to pose a challenge to the United Nations and to the effectiveness with which the principles embodied in the Charter are being applied and implemented.

78. In this respect, the situation in Namibia is particularly disturbing in that the prestige and authority of the United Nations has been challenged openly by a Member of the Organization itself. The Government of South Africa, since 1946, has defiantly flouted world opinion and the collective will of the United Nations, and not merely has refused to acknowledge the international status of Namibia but has taken steps to incorporate the Territory into South Africa. The United Nations cannot overlook the risk of a violent racial conflict over Namibia as a result of this intolerable action of South Africa. It is the right of the people of Namibia that they be enabled to exercise their inalienable right of self-determination, freedom and independence in conditions of peace and harmony. It is essential, therefore, that the United Nations deter the Government of South Africa from the course it has embarked upon over Namibia with the co-ordinated strength of the overwhelming majority of the membership, which desires to see Namibia free and unfettered from the shackles of colonialism and racialism and avoid diluting this strength with condemnations and denunciations of the actions of certain States which have not yet complied fully with the several resolutions adopted by the Organization having a bearing on the situation in Namibia.

79. The prevalence of racial discrimination in parts of southern Africa also continues to cause concern to all nations of goodwill. *Apartheid* as the official policy of a State would have been a cancerous sore in the life of a nation at any period of history, but for it to persist in this day and age, and even to spread by accretion and example, is one of the major tragedies of our time. The delegation of Burma truly fears that this trend, by which the policy of racial discrimination in a part of southern Africa encourages the maintenance and furtherance of racist policies in other parts of southern Africa also, will lead only to an increasingly brutal tragedy for all the people of southern Africa.

80. I should like, at this point, to refer to the growing economic gap between the developing and the developed nations and to the disconcerting feeling that this means, in fact, that the poor nations, which can ill afford to, have become poorer. The Secretary-General has referred to this widening gap between the economic development of nations in his report to the General Assembly, and my delegation considers that this economic gap between nations should be as much a matter for concern of the developed as of the developing nations. International machinery intended to help to remove this danger to the ability of the world community to solve economic problems together will have little effect unless a great deal more of international goodwill, at the practical level, is in evidence than there seems to be at the moment.

81. Trade patterns between developing and developed nations continue to operate against the interests of the developing nations as the prices of primary commodities continue to remain low in the face of the rising prices of manufactured goods. Even some of the institutional arrangements intended for the assistance of the developing nations have met with apathy or veiled opposition on the part of the developed countries, and the Capital Development Fund is a case in point. When it is also realized that the developing nations lack, as at present, the industrial and technological capacity to absorb their rapidly growing

populations, the immediate prospects of solving the economic difficulties of the developing countries do not appear to be encouraging. Nevertheless, international co-operation, under the aegis of the United Nations, can play a useful role in taking up the technological slack that is part of the problem in all developing countries.

82. The United Nations Development Programme continues to play this greatly needed role, and my Government, therefore, as a token of its appreciation of this programme, has decided to increase its contribution to it by about 33 per cent for 1969. We are, indeed, but one among many Member States which consider that the useful work of the United Nations Development Programme in the interest of the developing nations should be supported and furthered.

83. In conclusion my delegation would like to reiterate its long-felt conviction that what the United Nations is able to achieve in the interest of the community of nations depends very much on what individual nations want or permit it to achieve, and the degree of achievement in turn depends on the degree of international goodwill and international co-operation which nations are prepared to bring to the Organization.

The meeting rose at 4.45 p.m.