

United Nations  
**GENERAL  
ASSEMBLY**

**1297th  
PLENARY MEETING**



Wednesday, 9 December, 1964,  
at 3 p.m.

**NEW YORK**

**NINETEENTH SESSION**

**Official Records**

**CONTENTS**

	Page
<i>Item 9 of the provisional agenda:</i>	
<i>General debate (continued)</i>	
<i>Speech by Mr. Borg Olivier (Malta) . . . . .</i>	1
<i>Speech by Mr. Apedo-Amah (Togo) . . . . .</i>	3
<i>Speech by Mr. Rubadiri (Malawi) . . . . .</i>	4
<i>Speech by Mr. Méndez (Philippines) . . . . .</i>	5
<i>Speech by Mr. Sapena Pastor (Uruguay) . . . . .</i>	9
<i>Statement by the representative of Malaysia . . . . .</i>	13

**President:** Mr. Alex QUASON-SACKEY  
(Ghana).

**ITEM 9 OF THE PROVISIONAL AGENDA**

**General debate (continued)**

1. Mr. BORG OLIVIER (Malta): Mr. President, I should like to renew my congratulations to you on your election as President of the nineteenth session of the General Assembly. Your selection for this duty is a tribute to your own personal qualities and also, in the same measure, an honour to your country shared by all African States. Since it attained nationhood, Ghana has, in many ways and on many occasions, given a lead to Africa and to the world.
2. The affairs of Africa and events there are of particular importance and significance to us in Malta. Our ties with that continent are many and various, and our interests in it vital. Apart from the Maltese who live and work in North Africa, Maltese doctors and others are rendering service in West and East African countries. We trade extensively with Africa and look on its rapidly-increasing importance as a market for our industries and as a source for our imports. Malta constitutes a link in the communications system between Europe and Africa. Vestiges remain of the Arab association with Malta a thousand years ago in our customs and language.
3. Our way of life has always been influenced by the position of Malta in the centre of the Mediterranean, in the path of the shipping routes crossing that sea. It is safe to say that ethnically we represent a cross-section of all peoples bordering on the Mediterranean. We have easily assimilated such groups without sacrificing anything of our identity. We have acted as a haven to many visitors to our shores, whether they came to us of their own free will or were shipwrecked on our coasts. Since neolithic times we have enjoyed a culture of a high order. Our language was always with us and our flag goes back to the eleventh century.
4. After the decline of the Roman Empire, of which we had formed a self-governing unit, the influence of

Europe once again was felt in Malta. As a European country, we naturally gravitate towards the group of nations constituting the continent of Europe and, in the West, we find the closest affinities moulded in a common culture, history and way of life. Within the Commonwealth, of which we are the nineteenth member, we also have strong links particularly with what are now called the older members.

5. I think one can safely say that Britain, Canada and Australia between them now have more citizens of Maltese origin than the total population at present living in Malta. It is as a European country that we hope to cultivate a close association with the institutions of Europe. Indeed, we look forward to participating in the work of the Council of Europe. We expect also, within the United Nations, to contribute to the activities of the Economic Commission for Europe and hope that this would not exclude the possibility of our enjoying a special status in regard to the deliberations of the Economic Commission for Africa in view of our ties with North Africa.

6. What I have said so far gives some indication of our thoughts and their influence on our policies. Basically, we believe in the freedom of the individual under the rule of law. To that end, the Constitution of my country spells out in some detail the fundamental rights and freedoms of the individual, and a constitutional court has been established to protect those rights and to enforce them, as necessary. We believe in democracy based on universal suffrage. We believe in the independence of the judiciary from the executive. We have attained the form of society we now enjoy by a slow process of evolution, spread over centuries, subjected to the vicissitudes of history and to the disabilities of colonialism.

7. It is for these reasons that we appreciate the work done by this Organization in the field of human rights. We will support that work in the expectation that the time is now ripe to consider the question of enforcement of such rights, the protection of which has been agreed upon by the overwhelming majority of States Members of the United Nations.

8. The transition of Malta to national freedom was smooth, hardly tarnished with bloodshed. When freedom came to us we were fortunate in that we did not need to depend on others to staff our civil service or to fill the benches of our judiciary. I say this, not in a boastful vein, but to justify what I have to say now.

9. We are not a powerful nation. In size, if not in population, we are, I think, the smallest nation represented in this Organization. In world politics, therefore, we can have neither great ambitions nor ulterior motives. We hope to have cordial relations with all countries of the world irrespective of their ideologies.

But in a special manner we look forward to friendly relations with the peoples and countries bordering the Mediterranean.

10. Subject to what we feel and know is right, to justice and truth, to the overriding need to maintain world peace and to the provisions of the Charter, Malta would rather keep aloof in differences that might arise, or have arisen, among nations. By this we do not mean simply that we choose to sit comfortably on the fence. Indeed, we are prepared humbly to offer the services of Malta and the Maltese in any form which might be considered useful in the eyes of the Organization for the purpose of conciliating in any dispute or of solving some difficulty that might arise. In any such service which we might be called upon to render for the United Nations, we cannot but bring to bear an attitude of mind not conditioned by the prospect of self-gain or by ulterior motive.

11. If in certain important questions before this Organization we may appear to reserve our position, the Government of Malta craves the indulgence of Member States. It will, it is hoped, be readily understood that, as a new nation, we have our own teething troubles and must learn before we are able to pronounce ourselves on the merits of certain grave problems before us. Even in such matters, however, we shall not fail in our duty and shall seek to apply our judgement in an endeavour to find just solutions in the cause of peace.

12. For such a cause it may be found possible for Malta to make available to a United Nations peace force its own manpower resources in the form of a small armed unit. We feel our university, three hundred years old and soon to be housed in a new building, can also make a valid contribution in the field of cultural exchanges, which are so effective in cementing friendship and consolidating peace.

13. In our quest for peace and justice in the world we take a stand against colonialism in whatever shape or form it has reared or will rear its head. We define the term as domination or exploitation of the weak by the strong, whether political or economic, whether overt or insidious. We recognize at the same time, in regard to colonialism, that all that is not black is not necessarily white and all that is not white is not necessarily black. The fact that we are a former colony will not affect the balance of our judgement, nor will our size and location dampen our enthusiasm for justice.

14. For the same reasons that we are against colonialism, we support and associate ourselves with the stand taken by the developing countries in the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, which was held in Geneva earlier in 1964. We hope that the decisions of the Conference will be followed up, not only by the establishment of an appropriate administrative machinery, but also by speedy action towards more dynamic and fairer international trade policies.

15. My Government views with dismay the waste inherent in the application of national resources to the creation and maintenance of armaments. We join others in the pursuit of a policy seeking to relieve the

tension which motivates the maintenance of arms and to reduce the arms which, in turn, cause tension. This we do, not only in the interest of peace, but because we know that these resources should be applied freely in an attempt to attain a more equitable distribution of wealth in the world. Malta accordingly supports the studies being pursued in the United Nations relating to the economic and social consequences of disarmament.

16. My Government believes that the main hope of increasing, substantially and rapidly, the volume of international economic development and technical assistance to the developing countries resides in the utilization, under international auspices, of some of the resources freed by general disarmament. General disarmament, however, may not be attainable in the near future and we are, therefore, anxious that due weight be given, in current studies, to the more immediately useful question of ascertaining to what extent and in what ways the developed countries would be willing to devote the recent comparatively small reductions in their military expenditure to the acceleration of economic and social progress in the world.

17. What I am about to say, I hope, will not be construed as presumption on the part of a "new boy". Malta has long been a beneficiary of technical assistance provided by the United Nations and its specialized agencies and as such can speak on the basis of some experience.

18. Very often in developing countries, such as mine, difficulties arise, not merely because of the lack of investment capital, but rather out of the unavailability at home of certain types of capital goods, specific skills and special materials. Developing countries look increasingly to the United Nations family to assist in this regard. It seems, however, that there is much dispersal of effort in the disposal of the limited resources available. This appears to be in part the result of the approval of hundreds of resolutions urging special priorities for a great number of specific projects throughout the economic and social field. The effect has been a lack of flexibility, which in turn may have caused a decline in the effective utilization of the resources used.

19. Accordingly, Malta welcomes the consolidation of the Special Fund and the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance into a United Nations development programme. We regard this as a first step in the direction of achieving better planning, simpler administrative arrangements, greater flexibility and more effective results. Such consolidation, especially if carried into the field of the regular and special programmes of the individual agencies, may well prove to be conducive to better co-ordination between projects and to a reduction of administrative costs. It may not be out of place here to mention that, when account is taken of all factors, the contribution demanded of recipient countries towards the implementation of projects often exceeds 80 per cent of total costs. This is excessive. These are some aspects of the assistance given by the United Nations family in the economic and social field which would bear closer examination.

20. Before closing, I would like to extend my grateful thanks to the Assembly for the courtesy and attention with which it has heard me. I would also like to repeat that the Government of Malta places the resources of its country and of its people at the disposal of this Organization for whatever service may be considered useful in the pursuit of peace and brotherhood among nations.

21. Mr. APEDO-AMAH (Togo) (translated from French): Mr. President, permit me to associate myself with all the speakers who have preceded me at this rostrum in extending to you, on behalf of the Togolese delegation and on my own behalf, my sincere and warm congratulations on your election to the high office of President of the nineteenth session of the General Assembly.

22. My congratulations are all the more heartfelt in that you are a Ghanaian and I a Togolese, that is to say, in that we are brothers and neighbours. There can be no doubt that your qualities of heart and mind, your genuine courtesy and your lofty concepts of a united and prosperous Africa were factors that determined the choice of the African Group. But, as you yourself stressed with such modesty, in the eyes of the Assembly this is not an honour bestowed upon you alone but on Africa as a whole and on the millions of persons of African descent who have been dispersed throughout the world by the vicissitudes of history.

23. This is truly an enhancement of the status of Africa; it is an indication of the recognition and consecration of the newly-regained dignity of the black man, the African Negro.

24. It is scarcely necessary for me to say how happy and proud I am to see, as everyone does, that the skilful manner in which you perform your very delicate task serves to demonstrate to the world the inanity of racial prejudice.

25. I believe that your tact and dedication in dealing with all the problems concerning Africa will help to make the United Nations, by the end of this nineteenth session, which began under the shadow of doubt and discouragement, ever more vigorous and confident in its future.

26. In this connexion, I make an appeal, on behalf of the Togolese delegation, to the two great Powers whose temporary disagreement prevents the Assembly from carrying out its work normally and uselessly detains delegates in New York, thereby entailing very heavy expenses for the African countries.

27. The two great Powers will be truly great only to the extent that they are able to rise above those quarrels of principle and think less of their national prestige and more of the humiliation inflicted on the small Powers as a result of their disagreement.

28. I am more than ever convinced that no one would ever accept the terrible responsibility of causing the collapse of an Organization which was born of tears and bloodshed, i.e. amid desolation, but which was built in order to bring about agreement and harmony among States and to promote peace and universal brotherhood through the exchange of ideas.

29. Moreover, since nations are composed of men, the Organization concerns itself with man as the essential element of mankind by waging a struggle against hunger, disease, and ignorance.

30. The United Nations thus appears to be the last hope of mankind in this century of confusion and incoherence, of imperialism in its many forms, and of hypocrisy. Indeed, can anyone kill hope without bringing about his own destruction?

31. It is not my intention, at this stage in the Assembly's work, to discuss the major problems which confront the world and which call for solution by the United Nations.

32. My Government's policy remains unchanged. It is based upon three fundamental principles which enable my Government to adopt a clear and logical approach in its international relations.

33. The fact that we are a small country, that we are under-developed and that we love peace makes it necessary for us to follow a policy of friendship towards all States, without exception, whether they be of the East or of the West.

34. My country is in any case always prepared to vote in favour of the admission to our Organization of all free and independent States, regardless of their political system, since, after all, the aim of the United Nations is to achieve universality. It is therefore our confident expectation that our brothers who are still suffering under the colonial yoke will soon take their place in the international community.

35. The second principle flows quite naturally from the first. My Government does not and will not interfere in the internal affairs of any State. Similarly, it will oppose, by all the means at its disposal, any foreign interference, from whatever quarter, in its own internal affairs.

36. Its policy of friendship is directed towards States and not men. Adopting the old adage that every country has the government which it deserves, my country will refuse to support any initiative, from whatever source, which it regards as interference in the internal affairs of another State.

37. Such an attitude, moreover, is fully in conformity with one of the fundamental principles of the Charter of the Organization of African Unity the essence of which is contained in its article 3.

38. The golden rule followed by my Government is a policy of non-interference in the affairs of States and a policy of friendship towards all States.

39. Such a policy, however, does not extend to those nations which have placed themselves beyond the pale of mankind by their vain efforts to keep our African brothers under their yoke. Those countries should remember that the course of history is irreversible.

40. Nor does such a policy extend to States in which part of the population, because it happens to be of a certain colour, has the arrogance to practise segregation and impose serfdom on the other part of the population which, owing to the inscrutable ways of providence, is of a different colour. However, is there really any need for further comment on these anachronistic States?

41. The third principle is derived from the first two and imposes upon the Togolese Government a position of neutrality vis-à-vis the two blocs. Our policy is one of non-alignment and non-interference, but this in no way prevents my delegation from adopting a positive attitude whenever it considers that the cause involved is a just one.

42. Finally, Togo, which until yesterday was still a ward of the United Nations and is today a free and independent State deeply committed to the noble ideals of peace and brotherhood among nations, is happy to be part of the irresistible forward movement in which men of ever-increasing similarity are joining, for at the end of the road the unity to be found through universal love is already in sight.

43. Mr. RUBADIRI (Malawi): Allow me, Mr. President, to add my country's voice to those from Africa and elsewhere who have extended to you warm greetings and congratulations on your election to the presidency of the nineteenth session of the General Assembly. Your victory is at once personal, national, truly African, and most important, an expression of the great belief of the common man in right and in truth.

44. It is personal in that you deserve it, because of the belief you have—and have had—in this Organization, and because of the personal endeavours you have put into it. It is national in that to follow is easier than to lead; indeed, was it not your nation that lit the torch for mother Africa which led us into the corridors of the United Nations, an organization which stands as man's bastion of hope. It is truly African because you, Mr. President, are truly African. It is a victory for the common man because Africa, and all the so-called non-powerful nations, base their values on the premise that from the common man the values of peace and prosperity, dignity and respect—indeed, the awe-inspiring thought of the human inspiration—must begin.

45. Within the wake of the fight for freedom and that sure path that was blazed by all our sister nations in Africa, and all other nations that believe in the dignity of man, in his freedom, in the sanctity of his existence on this planet, I would be failing in my duty, if as my country's representative, I did not express its thanks to all the friends who, in the time of trial, of the gathering storm and the hinge of fate, stood by Malawi to affirm the inevitable truth that all nations must live in freedom and dignity.

46. We in Malawi believe this to be a moment for restating the truth, which is so easily and readily forgotten, enshrined in the Constitution of the nation on whose soil this headquarters stands—not because it was originally theirs, but because they like all other free nations, restated it from history, and because independence is not a gift but a right of all peoples. The whole nation of Malawi comes before you today when the future of man, and his survival on this lovely planet, have become a matter of urgent appraisal, to remind the Organization of that dedication by which it pledged itself.

47. Today Malawi stands before the world to reaffirm the pledge that our Prime Minister and leader Dr.

Hastings Banda, gave on 2 December 1964 in his address in the General Assembly [1288th meeting] that Malawi will abide by the basic faiths and principles that are self-evident and need no questioning. To Malawi it begins from man's search for international peace and prosperity. We believe that peace and prosperity are nurtured by a genuine desire for the dignity and freedom of man. They flow through the enjoyment of equal rights for all men, of all nations, large or small, because their sum is man himself. Malawi cannot, therefore, countenance colonialism or imperialism in any guise or form. Malawi cannot, in our time—as man has never accepted at any time in history—accept that these principles be submerged or intimidated by those negative values guided by strength or wealth but it must rather be guided by justice, responsibility, truth, honour and respect for that which is right and sacred.

48. Malawi is rightly proud of being a member nation of this community. In our present trying times Malawi is proud of belonging to that band of small nations whose strength and influence lies in the keeping of the conscience of the world. In this, therefore, we need not minimize our responsibilities; indeed, it makes them greater because these responsibilities do not depend on the possession of arms but rather on the exertion of spiritual influence without fear or favour. We cannot depend on the gullibility of power, size or wealth and therefore Malawi will not prostrate itself, nor allow any nation in the same position to be used or influenced by the twentieth-century worship of ideologies.

49. That is why, in our foreign policy, as our leader stated a few days ago, we shall be guided by the tenets of "discretionary non-alignment". In the pursuance of this policy we shall unflinchingly reserve the right to take our own independent stand on the numerous international issues which face the world today and not simply to follow the respective attitudes of other nations, whether Eastern or Western. We shall refuse, categorically, to be drawn into the arena of the cold war; we shall refuse to perform the marionette shuffles of power blocs or to play the toy soldier games of military alliances designed to serve the interests of muscle or mammon. Malawi does not naively believe in the inherent good nature of man. Our belief can rather be summed up in the words of that great humanist and novelist, Mr. E. M. Forster, who said that he would rather have "less chastity and more delicacy".

50. Ours in Malawi is not a bed of roses. This is made painfully clear when one looks at our position on the map of Africa. We are faced with the most heart-rending problem that any new nation has had to face. We are land-locked. We depend on an economy whose basis is agriculture. Worst of all, we are cradled by one of the most heinous forms of colonialism that any African country has had the misfortune to have near. We shall not flinch in our duty, using all our abilities, accepting all our limitations, to fight for the total liberation of all dependent people, more especially for the total liberation of our dear continent, Africa. Malawi does not believe in mere talk and empty words of exaltation.

51. If at times, therefore, we may look as if we have failed, it will not have been for lack of trying. But never in the history of mankind should it be said of us that we killed this noble task of liberation, by sacrificing the goal and prostituting ourselves for immediate cheap applause, for if Malawi should die in the endeavour, the death will not be Malawi's only; it will be partial death for Africa. If it succeeds in circumventing this monstrous obstacle to victory, it will be a victory for Africa and all the free world.

52. For this, therefore, we shall continue, determined as ever, with the best of our ability to fight for the liberation of our brothers in Southern Rhodesia with whom for months we have shared imperialist prisons. For this we shall fight to destroy the cancer that has been sapping the life of our brothers in South West Africa, Angola and Mozambique, and for the just cause of Bechuanaland, and indeed for the whole sum total of those millions that still live under the shadow of man's inhumanity to man; and, above all, for those millions in South Africa, whose tragic lot has put the twentieth century to shame for tolerating the inhuman régime that takes the form of the so-called Government of South Africa.

53. Malawi now stands on the battle-line of this challenge to the human race. Malawi wishes to state here that in these areas the sands of time are running short. Let it not be said that the chambers of this great Organization heard the warning, but never heeded it, for what would be more tragic than to lead the world into a human tragedy so senseless?

54. Malawi is one of the "new boys" in this Organization. We have walked through the corridors of this building with open eyes. We have seen beyond the pinstriped suits, the colourful togas and pompous brief cases; heard through the whiffs of sophisticated chatter and the knowledgeable nudge on the elbow, the true message of the United Nations, that message that penetrates through the many forms of eloquence bringing us back to what this Organization is really all about. To reduce it to a simple definition, it could be summed up as the responsible concern of man for man and nation for nation.

55. Indeed, is it not humiliating to know that, when crops are being ploughed under in one area of our planet, children are dying of hunger in another part of it? Is it not callously humiliating to know that the most noble abilities of man are spent in burning uranium while, in the same breath, there are talks about aid and help to the developing areas of the world? Of what use is that nobility that rests in the face of the ladies that sell UNICEF stamps in this building? Of what significance are the school children's United Nations clubs if they are not going to flower into the spiritual embodiment of this ideal that man still refuses to accept in the General Assembly?

56. The developing nations, and Malawi in particular, believe that the exploiting imbalance of trade arrangements has begun to be tackled by the former exploiting Powers. The United Nations Trade and Development Conference is a beginning, but only a beginning. Like numerous speakers before me, I wish to say that my country will watch closely what will follow after Geneva.

57. In the great debate that questions the burning issues that certain countries should or should not be admitted to the United Nations, we can only restate our Prime Minister's statement in his address that Malawi reaffirms the provisions of Article 4 of the Charter, which stipulates that:

"Membership in the United Nations is open to all other peace-loving states which accept the obligations contained in the ... Charter".

We stand, therefore, for the admission of China.

58. One of the obvious weaknesses of this Assembly is that China is not sitting with us here today. It seems anomalous to us that China must blow dangerous fire-works into the atmosphere before the United Nations can stir up the huddles in the delegate's lounge to consider the whole question of world peace.

59. I said before that the duty of Malawi will be to add her voice to those small nations that keep the conscience of the world. Malawi believes in this Organization because it accepts the big and the small on terms of equality. Malawi is often reminded of that great period a few years ago when the noble people of the United States of America in their wisdom had the courage to elect a boy as their President. The world saw then the vision of a new frontier. It is this new frontier that Malawi will endeavour to bring into the chambers of this Organization.

60. Before I close, let it not be taken for granted that Africa, and Malawi in particular, will sit down and watch acts of unwarranted interference in our national affairs by any nation, great or small, by any group of people, who, through their own wishes and desires, believe that they have a mission to fulfil in our country. The affairs in the Congo have disturbed Africa and the world. Malawi and Africa have fought before for their rights. We shall continue against any collusions or acts of subversion, to fight for the maintenance of our national integrity. The problems of Africa are basically African problems. They can never be solved by foreign aeroplanes or foreign ideologies. Nor shall we allow our God-given natural resources to be used for our destruction and the spiritual massacre of our simple people. We look to the future with a new vision of man whose values are basically spiritual.

61. Our plea to the Assembly this year is to ask it to remember the words of that great poet, John Milton, in Paradise Lost:

*... What in me is dark  
Illumine, what is low raise and support;  
That to the height of this great Argument  
I may assert Eternal Providence,  
And justify the ways of God to men.*

62. Mr. MENDEZ (Philippines): Mr. President, will you allow me, first of all, to convey to you the warm felicitations of the Philippine delegation on your election as President of the nineteenth session of the General Assembly. Your election by unanimous acclamation was not only an exceptional tribute paid to you personally and to the country you so ably represent, but also a dramatic recognition of the significant role which Africa has assumed in the affairs of mankind and in the future of this Organization.

63. One could well believe that the logic of events, rather than mere coincidence, has placed upon the shoulders of an African President of the General Assembly a major share of the responsibility for steering the United Nations safely through a dangerous crisis arising from recent developments and decisions relating mainly to Africa. The concurrence of these two facts encourages the hope that a permanent solution to the crisis shall be devised, consistent with the Charter and acceptable to the General Assembly.

64. Unless and until a solution to this crisis is found, we are condemned to do our work in an atmosphere of unreality. The extraordinary procedure which permitted us to open and proceed with the present session we owe entirely to the prudence of the Secretary-General and to the goodwill of the parties principally involved.

65. But this is a temporary palliative which merely enables us to buy the time we need in order to discover a permanent remedy. What confronts us is not merely a financial crisis which can be resolved by the payment of certain sums of roubles and francs, but a constitutional crisis which compels us to decide whether we want the United Nations to continue to exist, and, if so, what we want it to be or to become, to do or to be capable of doing.

66. On many previous occasions, under one agenda item or another, we have debated and endeavoured to define more precisely the purposes and principles of the United Nations as enunciated in Chapter I of the Charter. No portion of the Charter has been more frequently invoked than this, and the attempts to analyse its scope and meaning fill many volumes of our records. Today, however, the question of what the United Nations is and what we want it to do is presented to us, not as a subject of philosophical or juridical exegesis, but as an issue directly related to the power of the purse. That is why it has assumed the nature of an acute problem which cannot be side-stepped indefinitely. That is why any attempt to gloss over the dispute that has arisen or to remain silent while negotiations are in progress would constitute a grave disservice to the Organization.

67. While we have no desire to disturb such negotiations, it would be a mistake to act as if the controversy concerned only two or three Member States, however important or powerful, and to accept the view that it is their exclusive responsibility to negotiate an agreed solution. Even if we agree to refrain from voting, we are at least entitled to express our views or to make our wishes known. After all, this is what *votum* means in the original Latin. We have a right and a duty to say that we want the United Nations to survive, and to indicate under what terms such survival may best be ensured. The Great Powers directly concerned, far from disdaining our views and suggestions, should welcome them as a guide in measuring their own aims and policies and in determining in what direction we may safely move in order to extricate ourselves from this impasse.

68. There is no question that an important decision must be taken during the present session concerning the procedure that is to govern the peace-keeping operations of the United Nations. Such a decision would,

first of all, place on a new, more clear-cut basis the division of responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security between the Security Council and the General Assembly. It would set forth without ambiguity the precise relationship between the authority to ordain or to carry out peace-keeping operations and the responsibility to raise the funds required by such operations. It would take account of such questions as the financial assessments that would be appropriate to the author, or to the victim, of an act of aggression which calls for a peace-keeping effort by the United Nations.

69. Such an over-all decision concerning the organization, conduct and financing of United Nations peace-keeping operations is long overdue. It would put an end to the makeshift procedure which has been followed until now on a strictly *ad hoc* basis. Such a decision would of necessity look to the future; it would apply automatically to all future peace-keeping operations of the United Nations. But it would provide so useful a framework for all United Nations activities in the domain of peace-keeping that it would be immediately accepted as the most imaginative and practical instrument of a constitutional character since the Charter was proclaimed in San Francisco. And every detail and aspect of this framework would have been examined with such great care and so thoroughly discussed and debated that its approval by the General Assembly and acceptance by the Security Council would inevitably influence our attitudes towards the peace-keeping operations undertaken by the United Nations in the past. A decision covering future operations would cast its shadow backward, and its principles would be inevitably invoked to resolve subsisting controversies.

70. It is to the formulation of such an over-all decision concerning future peace-keeping operations that the present disputants might more usefully address their efforts. This Assembly would certainly be prepared to buckle down immediately to this important task. Meanwhile, however, the question of the application of Article 19 of the Charter must be faced. There is no way to avoid it. Given the text of the Article and given the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice,<sup>1/</sup> which was sought by the General Assembly itself, there is no escape from the obligation to apply the Charter provision. Failure to apply it to powerful States today, and its application to less powerful States tomorrow, would be intolerable from the point of view of the latter. The result would be anarchy.

71. The attempt to blur the clear outlines of the dispute by calling the payments by some other name is no doubt well-intentioned, and one could wish that it might be accepted. But failing such a remedy, we are obliged to fall back upon procedures sanctioned by the rule of law, by reason and by common sense.

72. For the present, the Charter is the law, and if we ignore Article 19 and decide that it does not apply to the arrears on assessments for certain peace-keeping operations, we immediately invite the collapse of responsibility and order within the Organization. This will come about in various ways: through the

<sup>1/</sup> Certain expenses of the United Nations (Article 17, paragraph 2, of the Charter), Advisory Opinion of 20 July 1962: I.C.J. Reports 1962, p. 151.

threat of financial bankruptcy, disregard of the obligations of membership, deterioration of individual and collective discipline, and attrition of the United Nations capacity to maintain international peace and security.

73. We cannot disregard Article 19, and we do not agree with those who fear lest the procedure laid down by the Article would bring about the destruction of the United Nations. This dire prediction is based on the belief that the Members whose position is not sustained by the General Assembly would immediately resign from the Organization. We need not point out to the Members concerned that we all need the United Nations, and that the United Nations needs all of us.

74. Members have walked out from meetings, and boycotted portions of a session, but in the one case where the membership of a certain State has been under serious question there has been far more talk of its expulsion than of its resignation.

75. What we might more likely expect from a clear-cut determination of the present controversy is not the wreckage of the United Nations as such, but the emergence of the kind of a United Nations that we honestly need and want, for which we are prepared to sacrifice and to pay. We shall be compelled to indicate more precisely what we want the United Nations to be and to do, and, having done that, to pay our share of the expenses without fail. This can only be a gain not a loss.

76. Three of the Great Powers, permanent members of the Security Council, are known to be directly involved in the controversy. It would take all three of them, together, by deliberate decision, to wreck the United Nations. Each of them, singly, cannot and probably dares not do it. At the same time, the United Nations is saved the moment any one of them decides not to join the others in the deliberate act of wreckage and destruction. We do not believe that such a conspiracy exists, whether by accident or design.

77. If these three Great Powers should decide to come to the General Assembly for judgement, what would we do? We hope that we shall not be compelled to emulate the wisdom of King Solomon, who succeeded in determining who was the true mother of the disputed child by threatening to cut it in twain. During the war, these three Great Powers gave equally of the lives of their sons and the sacrifices of their peoples, in order to make the United Nations a living reality. Now that the United Nations is just beginning to yield returns upon the original investment, in terms of the expanding freedom of peoples and the strengthened peace of the world, it is inconceivable that these same Powers should risk dismantling the Organization or want to destroy it. This would be unnatural.

78. Mr. President, we have dealt at some length with a question which is uppermost in our minds but which, for some curious reason, has been muted during this general debate. The result is an atmosphere of make-believe, as if everybody is aware that we are just killing time, and that nothing can be said or done meanwhile that really matters. It is a depressing experience. We have elected our President, but there is no General Committee. We are having a general debate, but we do not have an agenda. The regular

Committees have not been organized. We run the risk of not electing the new members of the three Councils, thus inhibiting them from functioning by 1 January 1965. We run the risk also of having no budget approved before the end of 1964.

79. We stoutly reject the notion that this Assembly of 115 delegations has neither the wit nor the courage to surmount this controversy, which if allowed to persist without solution, is bound to earn for us the pity, if not the contempt, of the world.

80. We would have preferred, Mr. President, to have spoken of the achievements and failures of the past and of our plans for the future. For there are many things to which we can point with pride in the record of the past twelve months. In the politico-military field, there is the partial test-ban treaty; the "hot line" link between Washington and Moscow; the cutback in the production of fissionable materials by the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union, and the United States; the reduction in military expenditures by the United States and the Soviet Union; and the modest progress achieved in international co-operation in the peaceful uses of outer space—all these sufficiently massive in their total impact for peace so as to outweigh the ominous portent of the atomic explosion by Communist China.

81. We would like to underscore our hope that the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament will continue exploring every avenue that could lead to a significant break-through in this most crucial of questions ever to confront the United Nations.

82. We also reaffirm our unalterable opposition to any move to give the seat of China in the United Nations to the Communist régime in Peking as an act that would reward aggression and encourage that régime's unabashed belief in the inevitability of war and its unashamed policy of force in achieving its objectives. As regards the question of Korea, the Philippines continues to support the stated objectives of the United Nations and favours the continued existence of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea in pursuance of those objectives.

83. By the same token, the Philippines would like to express its sympathy for the peoples of two other divided nations, Germany and Viet-Nam. We hope that the German people will soon be permitted to achieve their unification in accordance with the principle of self-determination through the freely-expressed will of the people. We pray that free Berlin will continue to stand as a symbol of the determination of the liberty-loving people of Germany to resist Communist regimentation and tyranny.

84. As regards Viet-Nam, the Philippines is committed to a policy of assisting, within its means and on request, the Republic of Viet-Nam in its efforts to defend itself against Communist encroachment and infiltration from the north.

85. In the same spirit, the Philippines has sponsored with El Salvador and Nicaragua [A/5765] the reinclusion in our agenda of the item "The question of Tibet", under which the General Assembly would call for respect of the fundamental rights and freedoms of the people of Tibet in accordance with its resolution 1723 (XVI).

86. It will be noted that most of these questions are directly related to the policies or actions of Communist China. It might have seemed more prudent to keep a discreet silence about the misdeeds of Communist China following its recent explosion of an atomic device, particularly where these concern so-called lost or desperate causes. But the Philippines believes that there are no lost causes where freedom and justice are concerned, and that it is particularly cowardly to sweep these old questions under the carpet in the face of a condemned aggressor grown more arrogant still by the possession of an atomic fire-cracker.

87. The Philippines will continue to support the work of the Special Committee<sup>2/</sup> until the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples is fully implemented and the last subject people is free. We shall co-operate in carrying out any practical measures to combat the discredited and disastrous policy of apartheid of the Government of South Africa.

88. We regard the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, which convened in Geneva earlier in 1964, as a major step toward the realization of the goal of the United Nations Development Decade. While it may have fallen short of the expectations of most developing countries, the Conference did advance their cause by achieving explicit recognition of the urgent need to reform the existing structure of international trade in favour of the less developed countries. It was at this Conference that the developing countries, uniting in the Group of 75, found a new and vigorous voice to express their anxieties and their needs. Having played an important part in forging the agreements concluded at Geneva, the Philippines expresses the hope that the Group of 75 will continue to be a positive force in working for equitable change in the world economic order.

89. The Philippines has maintained its special interest in human rights. We have done so because we sincerely believe that respect for the worth and dignity of the individual is the foundation of all social well-being and that social progress is the necessary concomitant of economic advancement. It has been said that developing countries need to give precedence to economic programmes at the cost of subordinating social necessities. Fortunately, the Philippines has not accepted this artificial and harmful dichotomy. We believe that a free and enlightened citizenry is the surest guarantee of political stability and material development. The Philippines will give its particular attention to the adoption of measures of implementation of the two Covenants on Human Rights. We hope that, after a long delay, effective measures to protect and guarantee human rights will finally become an integral part of these legally binding instruments; for, without effective measures of implementation, the rights set forth in these Covenants will remain meaningless and, at best, theoretical. Tomorrow, 10 December, we celebrate the sixteenth anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; the passage of so much time since 1948

eloquently dramatizes the work which awaits to be done with the least possible delay.

90. It only remains for us to refer briefly to the role of the Philippines in the effort to achieve a peaceful settlement of the conflict between our neighbours, Indonesia and Malaysia. The background of this conflict was laid before the General Assembly at its eighteenth session. In June 1964, President Macapagal was able to persuade President Sukarno and Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman to hold a summit meeting in Tokyo. The meeting made possible with the co-operation of the Governments of Thailand and Japan, considered President Macapagal's proposal for the establishment of an African-Asian conciliation commission which would make recommendations for the peaceful settlement of the dispute and the restoration of normal relations among the parties.

91. President Sukarno accepted the Macapagal proposal without reservation and pledged in advance to accept the recommendations of the conciliation commission. Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman, on the other hand, accepted the proposal in principle, on condition that Indonesian troops be first withdrawn from Malaysian territory. Unhappily, the Philippines failed in subsequent attempts to bring the parties back to the conference table in order to reach final agreement on the terms of the Macapagal conciliation proposal. When, two months later, the conflict was brought before the Security Council on a formal complaint by Malaysia,<sup>3/</sup> the draft resolution which, among other things, would have endorsed the Macapagal proposal was blocked by the negative vote of the Soviet Union. The conciliation proposal itself was, however, commended by all members of the Council.

92. This fact encourages us to hope that at an appropriate occasion, possibly some time during the present session, the representatives of Malaysia, the Philippines and Indonesia may have an opportunity to meet informally here in New York to explore the possibility of bringing the "confrontation policy" to an end and restoring normal relations between the three countries. So far as the Philippines is concerned, we are prepared to normalize our relations with Malaysia as soon as it agrees to the settlement of our claim to North Borneo by the International Court of Justice. We hope that Malaysia will eventually welcome this proposal, which demonstrates our readiness to accept the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court and to abide by the rule of law in international relations.

93. By mediating and conciliating the dispute between Indonesia and Malaysia, and by scrupulously adhering to the rule of law in its own attitude towards Malaysia, the Philippines hopes to make its modest contribution to the peace and security of our troubled area.

94. Mr. President, following the example of previous speakers, we would have preferred to have concentrated exclusively on a more detailed summary of the past and future work of the United Nations in various fields. Yet an exclusive concern with these staple problems before the United Nations, in airy disregard

<sup>2/</sup> Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

<sup>3/</sup> Official Records of the Security Council, Nineteenth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1964, document S/5930.

of the crisis that threatens the United Nations itself, would have deepened the sense of unreality and the atmosphere of make-believe which have permeated our meetings since 1 December.

95. We must break this illusion which, by a combination of procedural tricks and stage management, gives us the eerie feeling of participating in a slow pantomime in an underwater tank. In truth, however, we are facing reality in two dimensions of danger: to the survival of the United Nations, and to the survival of humanity.

96. During this session, the General Assembly is confronted by these two tremendous challenges to its courage and wisdom. May it prove itself equal to both of them.

97. Mr. SAPENA PASTOR (Paraguay) (translated from Spanish): May I join other speakers in extending to you, Mr. President, our warmest and most sincere congratulations on your election by acclamation to preside over this Assembly. Your elevation to the General Assembly's highest office is a tribute to your personal qualifications and also to the country which you represent so brilliantly. My delegation also regards your election as a well-deserved and unstinted tribute to the peoples of Africa and particularly to the new sovereign States which, with their wealth of human and physical resources, are taking over the role and the responsibility in this community of nations which are unquestionably theirs by right. Together we shall establish, on a basis of law and justice, rules that will ensure the peaceful and fruitful coexistence on an equal footing of all nations, however different their origins, their stages of development and their ideological, political and economic systems.

98. Every session of the Assembly has before it a number of problems of the highest importance calling for attention and vigilance on its part. Some of these problems are a legacy from past sessions because, despite the efforts made, it has not been possible to come up with mutually satisfactory formulas for practical and effective solutions. For example, some items such as disarmament, appear on our agenda year after year; the recurrence of this item is an indication of the sterility of our efforts in this direction. I shall refer to some of these problems in more detail at a later stage.

99. In addition, each Assembly considers problems of another kind, problems which by their nature necessitate decisions that cannot be postponed. In this area, the Assembly over which you are presiding is one of the most difficult.

100. Although it is true that we have before us the promising prospects opened up by the discussions of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development,<sup>4/</sup> that are on the threshold of the International Co-operation Year when, by our own unanimous decision, we shall celebrate the twentieth anniversary of the founding of our Organization and that we are in the middle of the United Nations Development Decade, the grave crisis through which the United Nations is now passing nevertheless casts a dark shadow over a whole encouraging picture.

101. The nature and gravity of this crisis are such that its consequences may eventually paralyse the Organization or diminish its ability to launch, organize and carry out operations to preserve international peace and security. In these circumstances our primary and imperative duty is to seek appropriate solutions, without hesitation or delay.

102. The crisis seemed at first to be a strictly financial one. Although we realized how serious it was, we still hoped that before it became acute consultations would lead to generally acceptable solutions.

103. Unfortunately, time has not brought forth the hoped-for solution. On the contrary, the original problem has been complicated even more by the addition of new facts. To give an example, one question which is closely linked with it is that of the powers of the General Assembly and the special powers of the Security Council under the Charter. In this connexion, my delegation feels that the General Assembly is not only entitled but in duty bound to exercise these powers, and this opinion is based on both legal and practical considerations.

104. Incidentally, as the withdrawal of the United Nations Force in the Congo was completed in the middle of this year and it was the Congo operation which precipitated the present crisis, it is fitting that we should judge it as a whole in the light of the results obtained and the cost involved. My delegation concurs with the Secretary-General's objective and convincing analysis and assessment contained in chapter VI of the Introduction to his report on the work of the Organization.

105. I must say quite frankly that my country and my Government are seriously concerned over the possible consequences of the present crisis, because we fear that they may in the future affect the proven effectiveness of the United Nations for maintaining international peace and security.

106. My country has loyally accepted its obligations under the Charter; we respect the Charter and we abide by it. Being fully aware of our duties as a Member of this great Organization, we shape our national and our international conduct according to the Purposes and Principles proclaimed in the Charter. The result of our conduct on the national plane is that we can affirm with deep and sincere satisfaction that Paraguay has never been involved in any national or international conflict or dispute which has required the attention of this Assembly. On the other hand—and because of our devotion to these same Purposes and Principles—we have warmly and vigorously supported all the causes expressing the ideals and aspirations of the new continent and the philosophy of the Christian and democratic world to which we belong by conviction and by law, and all the other enterprises which reflect the aspirations of the developing peoples. We have supported with equal enthusiasm every sound proposal which has been discussed in this forum. Therefore the name of my country has never appeared in the records of meetings of United Nations bodies except as the sponsor or co-sponsor of draft resolutions relating to situations in which it did not have and does not now have any special interest.

<sup>4/</sup> Conference held at Geneva from 23 March to 15 June 1964.

107. Because of our loyalty to this tradition, of which we are proud, we believe that our opinion is both sincere and impartial. We have always acted in the Organization to serve the collective interest based on justice and law. We have given proof of this, both in the General Assembly and in the exercise of the high functions with which we have often been honoured by the United Nations.

108. In this spirit, we accept the heavy financial burdens which peace-keeping operations entail, even though we know that we may sometimes be confronted with temporary economic difficulties owing to our need to give priority to our people in using our available resources. We nevertheless consider that the principle of collective responsibility must always be respected and safeguarded in situations which might lead to a breach of international peace.

109. In our view, therefore, the measures adopted in the case of the Congo operation and the establishment of the Emergency Force were ineluctably predetermined by that principle and by our Organization's obligation to meet its responsibilities. Any difference between our views and those of other Member States has been solely in connexion with the scales of assessment to be applied to meet the cost of those operations, scales which we feel must be different from those for the regular budget.

110. Therefore, if the Assembly is obliged to decide between the diametrically opposed position of its Members, our opinion will be given without hesitation and will be determined by our official position, which is based on the considerations I have just outlined and is in line with the legal tradition in which Latin America takes pride. However, since we are aware of the possible consequences of such a decision, we would be the last to want the Assembly to be forced to take it, unless all hope of arriving at a satisfactory formula has been ruled out. Whatever the majority decision may be, if there is a confrontation it would be our Organization as a whole and its ability to act that would suffer, and its present infinite potentialities would be restricted, perhaps for all time.

111. Time presses, but it is not yet too late. Let us preserve our Organization. Despite its imperfections, which we know and recognize, it is still the best instrument for channelling and meeting the common needs of nations and the best known forum for the expression of constructive ideas. At the same time, however, we must realize that the sacrifice of principles is too high a price to pay for its preservation. This is the essential condition which governs our thinking with regard to satisfactory solutions.

112. The Member States, our Organization and the specialized agencies are preparing to celebrate the twentieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations. The observances planned are designed to emphasize how much has been done in the two decades since then and to emphasize and diversify the forms of international co-operation in an increasingly inter-dependent world. This world-wide celebration would have no meaning if we were not first to give it real and lasting significance by overcoming our present crisis and ensuring that the United Nations will emerge—and here I quote the words written by the

Secretary-General in 1962—"stronger than before as a force for peace".

113. We are still seeking the paths which will lead to disarmament and to the realization of one of the greatest aspirations of our times, the conversion to peaceful uses of the resources released by disarmament. Success still evades us, but steps have been taken in the right direction; however, we must admit that they have not been taken by all, nor have they been sufficiently effective to bring peace to a world terrified by the power of modern weapons.

114. When, one year ago, we rightly rejoiced at the signature of a Treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water,<sup>5/</sup> we nourished the hope that additional agreement would soon follow. That hope has not been realized.

115. Nevertheless, for the time being and in view of the high-level conversations which are under way between the representatives of the two major Powers, we prefer to await results in the hope that they will be positive and will help to improve present prospects, not only in the field of disarmament, but also in other fields within the competence of the United Nations where disagreements between two Powers often have very negative repercussions.

116. In the meantime, I feel in duty bound to express sincere appreciation to the eight non-aligned members of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament for their persistent and praiseworthy efforts to find conciliation formulas.

117. The history of the United Nations is short if reckoned in years but long in terms of effective and lasting achievements. The important measures adopted to fulfil the Purposes and Principles laid down in the Charter are already part of the universal heritage and history of mankind.

118. The role played by the United Nations in liberating peoples formally subject to foreign domination and the firm action it has taken to eradicate the last vestiges of colonialism which still regrettably persist are encouraging and shining examples of the traditions of our Organization. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination are further proof that the United Nations is truly reflecting the philosophy and thinking of our time.

119. In recent years the United Nations has played an increasing role in the economic and social field and its many different and complex sectors. One indication of the order of importance that these problems have for Member States, because of their close and indissoluble link with development, is the parallel in the importance of the Second Committee and in its weight in the General Assembly. A review of the items on which the Committee must decide and make recommendations to the plenary meetings at the present session clearly shows the importance of that body.

120. My country has no hesitation in affirming this, as it is one of the so-called "developing" countries. Whatever the term used to describe them, it is a fact that the developing countries are always agricultural

<sup>5/</sup> Signed in Moscow on 5 August 1963.

primary producing countries. The expression "developed" countries, on the other hand, is used, except in a very few cases, for countries with a preponderantly industrial economy. This is not the first time that my delegation has expressed these ideas; we have done so repeatedly in this Assembly. But we shall never stop emphasizing the dramatic reality of the enormous gap between the two groups of countries, and above all, between the peoples' levels of living in the one and in the other.

121. Whereas the agricultural countries are trying desperately to finance their low levels of living through their exports of primary commodities, the industrialized countries include in the price of their manufactured products the financial implication of their high levels of living, their industrial profits, social insurance and all sorts of taxes. The end result is that the agricultural peoples are the ones who suffer from the imbalance in world trade. Another result is that while the prices of raw materials tend to remain stationary, the cost of manufactured products is continually rising. In this connexion, I should like to repeat something I said once before in this forum.

122. The result of the steady decline in the price of raw materials and the steady rise in the price of manufactured goods—I said—has been and will continue to be a widening of the gap between the developed and the under-developed countries; and although political colonialism is on its last legs, the economic colonialism applied to countries with an agricultural economy will remain unless the present conditions for the production and export of agricultural commodities are radically changed. I also said that the outstanding event of 1964 might be the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development for which the developing countries had long been pressing with remarkable unanimity.

123. These predictions have come true. I do not propose to review all the conclusions and recommendations of the Conference that met in Geneva from March to June or to re-emphasize the long and difficult path which led up to it, but I will say that the results achieved in those few months were beyond our expectations and they have revived our hope that in an international atmosphere of greater understanding, generosity and fairness, the time when we shall become developed countries is fast approaching.

124. We now have to act in the Assembly with promptitude and without hesitation; it is our imperative duty to adopt without delay or disagreement the measures called for by the recommendations of the Geneva Conference as they are presented to us in that remarkable document, its Final Act. Let us—as the Conference asked—give our Organization new and broader functions in these spheres which are so close to the hearts of the developing peoples and, above all, let us give the United Nations a new dimension which may give it a scope that we cannot yet foresee.

125. The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development has also drawn attention to an event of exceptional importance. I refer to the consolidation of the grouping in which the developing countries first began to band themselves in this Assembly in 1963. Overcoming our differences, which result from the

diversity of our degrees of development and from certain special characteristics of our particular problems and local interests, we have joined together to defend our common aspirations and real interests. Although individually weak, together we form a force to be reckoned with and one that is called upon to play a dominant role in the fields of international trade and development. The continued strength of the new force represented by the Group of 75—or Group of 77 as it is now known—will depend on the extent to which it maintains the solid cohesion it has thus far displayed. Let us not forget, therefore, our obligation to strengthen that cohesion. Our reward will be in proportion to the extent to which we do strengthen it. Upon our attitude in this matter depends the possibility of bringing closer for our waiting peoples the day when they will have access to those levels of living hitherto reserved for the industrialized nations of the northern hemisphere, levels to which they are entitled and should in justice achieve.

126. Still on the subject of the Conference on Trade and Development, I cannot fail in my capacity as representative of a land-locked country, to make specific mention of one of the Conference's results: namely, the recommendations on the problems of the transit trade of land-locked countries and the principles relating thereto, which were adopted without a single negative vote being cast.

127. The Conference—as you are aware—recommended that the United Nations should convene in the middle of 1965 a conference of plenipotentiaries to consider and adopt a convention relating to the transit trade of land-locked countries. The Assembly must heed that recommendation and take the necessary decisions. Meanwhile, an *ad hoc* committee of twenty-four members has recently completed the preparation of the draft convention which will serve as a basis for the work of the conference of plenipotentiaries, together with a report presenting the different views expressed by the members of the Committee during its deliberations.

128. Today, my country enjoys partial access to the sea and to transit facilities through adjoining maritime States under various bilateral agreements which it has concluded with those States. Examples of this friendly co-operation are the agreements concluded with Argentina, and particularly those known as the Act of Buenos Aires and Supplementary Act of Asuncion, and the agreement concluded with Brazil.

129. Notwithstanding this, we wish to remind you that, within the more general problem of transit as a whole, the right of access to the sea, to its infinite riches, and to international markets, and the exercise of the right of transit which is its undeniable corollary, are matters of vital importance for the expansion of international trade and the protection of the most legitimate and fundamental interests of land-locked countries.

130. It is therefore our desire that the various principles and norms already established in practice and in international law, which govern such rights should attain complete universality, and that every new principle or new norm which represents an advance on earlier principles or norms and is now

embodied in a bilateral agreement should be reproduced or confirmed in the text of multilateral conventions. We are confident that in this era of solidarity the 1965 conference of plenipotentiaries, by adopting a convention that does justice to the aspirations of the land-locked States, will add further lustre to the International Co-operation Year.

131. The agenda of this Assembly includes a number of items already dealt with on previous occasions and on which our opinion has already been expressed and frequently repeated. However, my delegation will again have an opportunity to make known its position when these items are discussed individually. Among such items, for example, are those relating to the efforts to eliminate colonialism, which, however much we may regret it, still exists. Because of our convictions and our traditions our feelings are for the peoples who are striving to break their colonial bonds and become masters of their own national destiny.

132. There are, in addition, questions relating to racial discrimination, such as the item on the policies of apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa. In our opinion, these policies, which are fundamentally wrong and imply a provoking disregard for universally proclaimed rights, must be proscribed. Those are but a few examples. I preferred to devote the greater part of my statement to the questions relating to the maintenance of international peace and those concerning developments, because we look mainly to the future.

133. Accordingly, I would like now, Mr. President, to examine if I may two inter-connected matters which have been submitted for the Assembly's consideration. One of them is mentioned in the Introduction to the Annual Report of the Secretary-General on the Work of the Organization. U Thant refers therein to the offers made by a number of Member States of military units on a standby basis, that is to say forces that would be available to the Organization whenever a justified need for them arose. He goes on to say that he has been in no position to do much about it in the absence of any authorizing action by an appropriate organ of the United Nations.

134. The second matter relates to the idea put forward by the Brazilian Minister for Foreign Affairs in his statement here on 3 December 1964 [1289th meeting]. This idea concerns the possibility of including in the Charter a new Chapter entitled "Peace-keeping Operations" the contents and other details of which—and, of course, the reasons for his proposal—were amply explained to the Assembly.

135. We see the future establishment of standby forces as an integral part of a larger scheme. We have previously said that if the behaviour of nations in the international community is like that of individuals in their national communities, then we must recognize that peaceful coexistence at the international level must rest on three conventional supports, namely international law or internationally recognized principles, international tribunals or bodies to render justice among nations, and international forces to enforce the rulings of international

tribunals and to prevent or correct, as the case may be, any abnormal situation.

136. In the context of the ideas I have just touched upon, the Brazilian suggestion would signify a step forward. We are therefore prepared to examine more closely the ideas which led to that suggestion, and in this we shall be guided by one unalterable purpose: the strengthening of the United Nations.

137. We see a need in the world today for a solidarity so strong that no country is able fully to enjoy the benefit of material possessions or attain true happiness while there continue to be less developed countries and impoverished, suffering peoples. The developed countries must understand that international solidarity should have the force of dogma even for countries that are guided by self-interest and considerations connected with the preservation of their present living standards. On the basis of this concept of solidarity, we take the view that each State should set an example of national self-help for progress and of honest observance of the fundamental principles of love of peace and security and respect for human rights and freedoms.

138. I wish now briefly to outline the situation in Paraguay. In the political sphere, the responsibilities of government are shared by the major traditionally democratic parties. In the economic sphere, the national "self-help" effort has led us to unprecedented progress based on monetary stability and complete freedom in our international trade, which is unfettered by quota restrictions, licensing requirements and expropriation of foreign exchange, and also in our domestic production which is entirely free and enjoys the protection afforded by even-handed justice for all.

139. In the social sphere, our domestic tranquillity is founded on the recognition of the rights of town and country workers to the fruits of their labours and on the application of the benefits of social security. Our agrarian policy is far-reaching, reforming and effective. It is being implemented without fanfares of publicity and without unjust confiscations and expropriations.

140. At the same time, we have been making exceptional progress in the cultural and educational spheres. As a brief indication of the great advance we have made in the space of a few years, I shall merely mention the objective and factual reports made by international organizations to the effect that my country is among those with the best-fed population and among those in Latin America which have the highest level of school registration and attendance. It is with this background of achievement, indicative of the efforts we have made, that we are participating in this Assembly.

141. I would like, at this point, to express to the United Nations, its various bodies and its specialized agencies, our appreciation of the quality and quantity of the technical assistance with which they are helping us in our great national effort constantly to improve our economic and social conditions. I hope that the very simplicity of these words will be taken as an indication of our deep sincerity.

142. With the utmost cordiality and respect I would address my closing words to the representatives of Malawi, Malta and Zambia, the three States which have just been admitted to membership of the United Nations. On behalf of my country, I salute these three States which are now masters of their own destinies. On behalf of my delegation, I welcome their representatives here present. On behalf of Paraguay, I welcome the three nations to this community of free, independent and sovereign nations.

143. The PRESIDENT: I give the floor to the representative of Malaysia in the exercise of the right of reply.

144. Mr. RAMANI (Malaysia): I asked for this opportunity to offer a few words by way of a brief reply to the statement made by the Secretary for Foreign Affairs of the Philippine Republic. But I have not come here, I should like to assure representatives, including the representative of the Philippines, in any spirit of carping criticism or to score a debating point.

145. In the course of his very eloquent statement, the Foreign Secretary referred to two matters in connexion with Malaysia. But before I refer to those two matters, may I say first of all that my Government and my delegation here are always conscious of the very helpful initiatives taken by the President of the Philippine Republic to solve the problems that have cropped up in the South East Asian region and we are always appreciative—we have been in the past, we are now and we shall continue to be in the future. In the same spirit I welcome, and the Malaysian delegation appreciates, the tone and content of the statement made by the Foreign Secretary of the Philippines in his reference to my country.

146. With regard to the first, he made a passing reference to the difficulties that arose in the past and continue till this day, unfortunately, between Indonesia and Malaysia and he referred to the occasion in Tokyo—the meeting promoted by President Macapagal—at which certain proposals for an African-Asian conciliation commission were made. He is aware, and he referred to it also, that much water has flowed under the bridge since then; and we have since had a Security Council debate. And, as was made clear by the Minister who attended the Security Council and placed the case of Malaysia before it on that occasion, we unreservedly accepted the draft resolution proposed in the Security Council, which was supported by nine members of that Council. Had it been adopted, we would have undertaken to carry out the behest in that resolution. We stand by that draft resolution. And I share his regret that it was not possible on that occasion for that draft resolution to be adopted so that we could have moved forward in the process of finding some solution to these problems.

147. The second matter to which he referred is the unfortunate difference that has arisen between the Philippine Republic and Malaysia over their claim to Sabah. This is what he said:

"So far as the Philippines is concerned, we are prepared to normalize our relations with Malaysia as soon as it agrees to the settlement of our claim to North Borneo by the International Court of

Justice. We hope that Malaysia will eventually welcome this proposal, which demonstrates our readiness to accept the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court and to abide by the rule of law in national relations."

Left in that situation, without giving the background or the context in which the matter arose, this might give the impression in the minds of the delegates that there is one State which generously wants to take a legal problem before the decision of the International Court of Justice and another State unwilling to do so.

148. The position of the Malaysian Government with regard to this matter was not said orally, was not said in passing, but was stated clearly and unequivocally in a document which was created on 1 July 1963 by the three heads of Government who met in Manila: it is not called the Manila Accord. In paragraph 12 of that document this is what it says:

"The Philippines made it clear that its position on the inclusion of North Borneo in the Federation of Malaysia is subject to the final outcome of the Philippine claim to North Borneo. The Ministers took note of the Philippine claim and the right of the Philippines to continue to pursue it in accordance with international law and the principle of the peaceful settlement of disputes. They agreed that the inclusion of North Borneo in the Federation of Malaysia would not prejudice either the claim or any right thereunder. Moreover, in the context of that close association, the three countries agreed to exert their best endeavours to bring the claim to a just and expeditious solution—and I invite the delegates' special attention to the following words—by peaceful means, such as negotiation, conciliation, arbitration, or judicial settlement, as well as other peaceful means of the parties' own choice, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations and the Bandung Declaration."

149. Precisely thirteen months later to the day, on 31 August 1964, the Philippine Government made it clear to the Malaysian Government that this is purely a legal dispute and therefore must be taken, in accordance with the general rules spelt out in Article 36 of the Charter, to the International Court of Justice. To that view she has stuck all along and, only a half hour ago the Foreign Minister of the Philippines stated that they hoped that Malaysia would welcome this proposal which demonstrates their desire to abide by the rule of law.

150. In effect, you will observe that as a result of that unilateral act the Philippines, having given Malaysia five choices to solve this problem, has withdrawn four of those choices, and is saying to Malaysia: "Shall we go to the International Court of Justice or not?"

151. Even at that, we were anxious to find out if it is a legal claim, and then undoubtedly the appropriate forum would be the International Court of Justice. We wanted to look into the details of this particular claim so that the Malaysian Government may decide for itself if this is a purely legal claim so that it may be unreservedly submitted to the International Court of Justice for decision.

152. That meeting has not yet taken place. The impediment to that meeting, as the Secretary for Foreign Affairs of the Philippines Government is well aware, was an impediment placed by the Philippine Government itself. It said to Malaysia: "We are quite ready to talk with you, provided you agree beforehand that you will take it to the International Court of Justice." I do not need to remind you that Sabah is not an empty tract of land, or an uninhabited territory in Antarctica: it has a population.

153. These two Governments should try now, by the process of conciliation, arbitration, mediation and everything available to them under the Charter, to find a solution to the problem, a problem that is going to affect the lives, the livelihood, and the happiness of more than half a million people. Therefore, the Malaysian Government's position has been that we agreed that we should exhaust every possibility. We have five choices open to us and you now limit us to one choice. That simply is the position that I wish to

make clear. It is not as if we were unwilling to go to the International Court of Justice. It is that we first want to know about what we shall go to the International Court of Justice, and secondly, why have you withdrawn all the other four choices open to us?

154. I shall, of course, if it becomes necessary, expand on this on a later occasion, but I do not want to leave the impression in the minds of the delegates that there is a readiness on the one side to go to the Court and a sort of unreadiness or reluctance on the other.

155. I echo his feeling that we are always ready to talk whenever the occasion arises, when the appropriate occasion arises. He referred to the possibility of Indonesia, Malaysia and the Philippines getting together on an appropriate occasion. He could not have chosen a more appropriate objective.

*The meeting rose at 5.5 p.m.*