

United Nations
GENERAL
ASSEMBLY

NINETEENTH SESSION

Official Records



1309th
PLENARY MEETING

Monday, 21 December 1964,
at 3 p.m.

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

| | Page |
|--|------|
| <i>Item 9 of the provisional agenda:</i> | |
| <i>General debate (continued)</i> | |
| Statement by the representative of Indonesia | 1 |
| Statement by the representative of Malaysia | 2 |
| Statement by the representative of New Zealand | 2 |
| Speech by Mr. Péter (Hungary) | 3 |
| Speech by Mr. Shen (China) | 8 |
| Speech by Mr. Rakotomalala (Madagascar) | 11 |

President: Mr. Alex QUAISON-SACKY (Ghana).

ITEM 9 OF THE PROVISIONAL AGENDA

General debate (continued)

1. The PRESIDENT: Before I call on the first speaker for this afternoon, I shall give the floor to the representative of Indonesia in exercise of the right of reply. I am sure he will be very brief.
2. Mr. PALAR (Indonesia): Mr. President, this will be my last reply to my distinguished opponent. Out of courtesy to you and to the Assembly, I shall try to be as brief as possible, and I shall not burden the Assembly with quotations from the Koran, the Bible, or from Indian mythology.
3. In their statements on 18 December [1307th meeting], both Mr. Corner and Mr. Ramani endeavoured to focus our attention on the presence of Indonesian volunteers in the territory of Malaya, Sabah and Sarawak, and to conclude that that presence in itself was an act of hostility. They therefore demanded the withdrawal of those volunteers as a precondition for any negotiation or acceptance of President Macapagal's proposal to submit the Malaysian question to an African-Asian reconciliation commission. By so doing, both Mr. Corner and Mr. Ramani put all emphasis on the military aspect of the problem, while conveniently glossing over the all-important and decisive political side of the question.
4. I wonder, has it ever occurred to Mr. Corner and Mr. Ramani that the presence of British bases in Singapore, and the presence of British, Australian, and indeed recently also New Zealand troops, in Malaysia, is an act of hostility towards Indonesia, and indeed a threat to the security of the whole South-East Asia area, and that, therefore, Indonesia is entitled to demand the withdrawal of those bases and those foreign troops from that area?
5. I humbly submit, why has New Zealand sent troops into that area if not for the purpose of serving British

neo-colonialist designs, to which New Zealand has lent its helping hand, notwithstanding all the protestations made by the representative of New Zealand of cordial relations between his country and Indonesia?

6. Obviously, New Zealand has had as much difficulty in defining its position in the struggle in the world between colonialist and neo-colonialist forces, on one side, and anti-colonialist and anti-neo-colonialist forces, on the other, as it has had in defining its position between the developing and industrialized countries. Last spring, during the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development at Geneva, we saw New Zealand wavering for a long time between its needs as a developing country and its obligations to its industrialized metropolitan ally. But eventually it showed its true colours by choosing the side of its industrialized ally against the developing nations. I am afraid it has followed the same course in the political field.

7. Its territory may be situated in South-East Asia, it may be professing cordial relations with Indonesia and all newly independent countries which are waging an anti-colonialist and anti-neo-colonialist struggle, but eventually it has had to show its true colours as an advocate and strong supporter of the neo-colonialist forces. How could we otherwise explain its complete silence in the years 1957 and 1958, when Indonesia was subverted and harassed by opponents who operated from their sanctuaries in Singapore and Malaya and obtained the blessing, encouragement and support of the colonialist forces in those areas?

8. And now that Indonesia is strong enough to strike back, and strike back at the source of those threats to its own security, New Zealand sounds the alarm, invokes the United Nations Charter, and is even sending troops. For us and for all those who not only profess but actually wage an all-out anti-colonialist struggle, it is good to know once and for all who are our friends and who are our adversaries in the struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism.

9. Both Mr. Ramani and Mr. Corner concentrated on the military aspect of the dispute and conveniently glossed over the political side of the problem. My submission is that the whole military aspect—the question of Malayan and North Borneo freedom fighters and their Indonesian volunteer supporters—is only a consequence of the political dispute. Once the political dispute has been settled, the military problems will automatically disappear. To demand the withdrawal of the volunteers before the settlement of the political dispute is to put the cart before the horse.

10. What, then, is this political dispute? It is that Malaysia has been set up in a neo-colonialist design

to perpetuate, in a more subtle way, the colonial stranglehold on the region of South-East Asia by giving it the appearance of legality. Just look at the defence agreement between the United Kingdom and Malaysia, and then look at the map of South-East Asia, and you will appreciate our misgivings about the professed peaceful intentions of the architects of Malaysia and understand the threat to and the encirclement of Indonesia constituted by the British bases in Singapore and North Borneo and their Commonwealth allies in Australia and New Zealand.

11. Only a Malaysia as envisaged by the Manila agreements, namely, a Malaysia free from British interference, a Malaysia which would have been welcome to both Indonesia and the Philippines, only a South-East Asian Malaysia would guarantee that it would not pose a threat to the security of the region.

12. Before concluding, I should like to draw your attention to the contention of Mr. Ramani that Indonesia had in fact originally agreed to a withdrawal of volunteers and had since gone back on its word; and he accused my President of bad faith. That is a very serious allegation. I can state here categorically that his allegation is without any foundation whatsoever, and one can read the joint communiqué quoted by the representative of Malaysia in the Security Council during its 1148th meeting on 14 September 1964, which states that "Indonesia accepts the principle"—I repeat, the principle—"... and the beginning"—and I repeat again, the beginning—"of the withdrawal"—that was what the representative of Malaysia quoted; but the joint communiqué did not say when that withdrawal should be completed. The question of volunteers and other military questions are just some of the problems whose solution has to be sought through negotiations.

13. What was agreed to be undertaken prior to the start of negotiations, and what was indeed implemented, was the cease-fire and an initial withdrawal. Indonesia was indeed prepared to withdraw the volunteers to the extent of, and in step with, the progress made in the solution of the political aspect of the dispute. The withdrawal would be completed at the moment the political problem was solved. Perhaps if Mr. Ramani had not scorned to prepare his statement he would not have been trapped by his own eloquence into making unguarded and unfounded allegations of this kind.

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

15. Mr. RAMANI (Malaysia): I accept the gentle chastisement administered to me by my distinguished friend, Mr. Palar; he thought I was lost in my own eloquence. If, possibly, a certain amount of passion entered my expression last Friday, I should like to assure him that that passion was not intended to reflect the synthetic indignation that Indonesia affects in support of a crusade without a cause so far as Malaysia is concerned. It was not anger about the situation in Indonesia as against Malaysia, even though Malaysia regrets that it cannot refer to Indonesia's attitude to it in completely dispassionate terms. It was a language that was intended to reflect the feelings of distress and dismay that, in the years

1963 and 1964, Indonesia and Malaysia could have drifted into a situation in which innocent people have to be sacrificed on the altar of some new-fangled theory.

16. I do not wish to abuse the indulgence that you, Mr. President, offer to speakers in permitting them to exercise the right of reply by going through the whole story once again.

17. I realize that it is quite impossible to make a person see who just will not see; I realize that it is impossible to make a person hear who will not hear. But at the same time, Mr. Palar took occasion in his final reply to refer to a quotation which he did not read to you. That quotation reads: "Indonesia accepts the principle of withdrawal of her forces, both regulars and irregulars, from Sabah and Sarawak." He tried to paint a picture for you of volunteers flooding the Malayan jungles, which he is in no position to withdraw.

18. He commented on our defence treaty. I wish to tell the representatives that it is the sovereign right of any country to enter into defence arrangements, when it cannot afford its own defence industry, and that is all that Malaysia has done. And I have already said that the very acts of Indonesia have provided the justification and vindication for that treaty.

19. I should like to say one last word; I do not want to have to come back here to reply again: let me give Indonesia one comprehensive reply. Standing at this moment and looking back over recent years, over the history of the relations between Indonesia and Malaysia, I make the claim boldly that neither Mr. Palar nor Indonesia can produce a criticism of Malaysia for which Malaysia cannot produce an answer which is factual and not fanciful, which is truthful and not fictional, and which will be decisive. The pity is that Indonesia knows it.

20. The PRESIDENT: In exercise of the right of reply, I give the floor to the representative of New Zealand.

21. Mr. CORNER (New Zealand): Mr. President, the fact that the representative of Indonesia found it necessary to draw red herrings across the trail and enter into a series of irrelevancies in his reply would indicate that he is not willing or able to reply to the very clear statements that were made concerning the presence of Indonesian troops on Malaysian soil.

22. If his statement had contained no more than those irrelevancies, I would not have taken up the time of the Assembly to reply to them. It is because of the particularly vicious direction that the Indonesian reply has now taken that I find it necessary to come up here to point out to the representative of Indonesia, and to this Assembly, that the 1,000 New Zealand troops who are now in Malaysia are in Malaysia to help a small Commonwealth ally of New Zealand. They come from a country of 2.5 million people which has taken part in every struggle against aggression and has lost great numbers of its men in two world wars; a country which has never had a standing army in peace-time and has never, until this time, because of the actions of Indonesia, been forced to engage its men in operations abroad in peace-time.

23. New Zealand has developed particularly close relations with Malaysia. New Zealand is the smallest of the older members of the Commonwealth, Malaysia is the smallest of the Asian members. A country of 10 million people, it stands beside an extremely large and potentially powerful country of 100 million people, which has acted in a particularly bullying fashion towards it. The amount of help that New Zealand can give Malaysia is small, it will not add decisively to the outcome of the issue, but it is a mark of the fact that one small country will stand by another.

24. I think it unnecessary to go far into the matter which Mr. Palar has raised as to New Zealand's position at the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development.^{1/} New Zealand made no secret of the fact that it stood between two worlds. It is an agricultural country, without industry, dependent on the sale of its agricultural products abroad. This fact puts it in the same position as many of the developing countries. At the same time, New Zealand has constantly emphasized that it wishes to draw no advantage from appearing to be in the same position as the developing countries, but wishes to continue to aid them. It says it falls between two worlds. I think it does not matter that it should not come down decisively in such matters on one side or on the other. But in this particular kind of matter, New Zealand will always, I hope, come down decisively on the side of the small country which is threatened and bullied.

25. Mr. PETER (Hungary): Mr. President, with your kind permission I have a rather strange remark to make as an introduction to my statement.

26. In these days, many representatives are leaving for their home countries with the intention of coming back for the continuation of the general debate in January. At whose expense will they do so? Nobody would be surprised if a proposal were made to the effect that the United States should cover all the additional expenses of this Organization and of Member States, owing to the extraordinary procedure of this session. Whatever nonsense such a strange proposal may make, nevertheless it would be an eloquent indication of the awkwardness of the situation in which the nineteenth session of the General Assembly, if not the whole Organization in general, finds itself.

27. The responsibility for having involved this Organization in this kind of frustrated activities must be found somewhere. Considerable lessons may be drawn from it, useful ones, not only for this session, but for the future of this Organization, and even for the international scene in general.

28. As a matter of fact, what we have had to experience in recent months, with regard to this Organization, is a new sort of cold war. In this changing world, considering the new composition of the United Nations, cold war activities cannot be carried on in the same manner as before. Both methods and subject matters of cold war propaganda have had to be changed. Under the new conditions of the world situation, it has become inevitable that cold war activities should be carried on in disguised forms and with indirect subject matters. The new

Members of the United Nations, eager to solve their really essential problems, would not tolerate old-fashioned cold war performances.

29. I do not wish to enter into details. The main features of this cold war action can be described very briefly. The session should have started on the third Tuesday of September. The new bloodshed in the Congo could have been prevented in that case, but the opening of the session was postponed until 10 November. If we had started at that time, it would have been almost impossible to stop negotiations on the Congo affairs and to resort to a new form of interference. The session was again put off, until 1 December, just in order to give time for the so-called "rescue operation". Parallel to all those manoeuvres, unconstitutional demands were raised against Member States which defended the Charter against attempts to undermine the whole Organization. It has been self-evident from the very beginning that the demands are unacceptable and that they would upset and destroy the very structure of the United Nations. Consequently, the entire Organization has been paralysed ever since 1 December, and no sure solution is in sight as yet. We are already even being told by some that the problem of resuming this session after the recess could be solved by transferring the entire agenda to the jubilee session of the General Assembly to be opened in September next year.

30. The simplest way of evaluating the present situation is to recall what the political atmosphere of the general debate of the last session looked like. We were at the time witnessing the beneficial effects of the Moscow Treaty^{2/} in the firm expectation of further progress on the same lines. It was the general understanding of the overwhelming majority here that international co-operation must be strengthened against the dangers of a thermo-nuclear war, with a view to achieving complete decolonization for the welfare of the newly independent nations.

31. In that favourable climate of the last session, my delegation came out with a threefold question:

"First, is this so-called armistice in the cold war just a temporary mood, one which will soon pass, or are there in the background any permanent factors that have prompted a lessening of general tensions?

"Secondly, what should be done so that this period of 'détente' might continue? In all probability, everything depends on what use will be made of the pause in the cold war.

"Thirdly, then, what step could next be taken to widen the scope of agreements that would not only prolong but even deepen mutual understanding and international co-operation?" [1226th meeting, paras. 77, 78, 79].

32. In recalling the favourable atmosphere at the start of the eighteenth session, I wish to state that the questions I have just quoted were questions not only of my delegation but of many representatives

^{1/} Held at Geneva from 23 March to 15 June 1964.

^{2/} Treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water, signed on 5 August 1963.

attending the last session. The expectations and questions alike were wholly justified. They were prompted by the objective factors of the situation at that time.

33. In the present, somewhat confused situation we may state with confidence that the favourable factors of the world situation have not changed for the worse, only the pause in the cold war has not been put to good use by all concerned. Some Powers have used it for new cold war and even aggressive acts.

34. It is characteristic of the resoluteness of the progressive forces represented here by the overwhelming majority of the United Nations that even the new cold war attempts and the aggressive forces are unable to set back the favourable development of international life. The forces of peace, anti-colonialism and general progress are vigilant enough, and they have proved their determination in an excellent way during the discussions at this session as well.

35. Whatever those who have tried to wreck the United Nations intended to achieve comes out much more clearly in this period of confrontation than it ever did. As a result of this confrontation, the United Nations, not being able to deal with its agenda, because of its frustration, has put itself on its own agenda and on the table of the Governments of Member States. In reconsidering the Charter and the functioning of the United Nations, delegations to the nineteenth session have made it clear what kind of United Nations they need, and they have expressed their determination to protect the United Nations against imperialist attacks.

36. What the attempt against the United Nations has been aimed at is obvious. One article of the Charter is used against another—that is to say, against the whole context of the Charter and against the very foundation of the United Nations. Article 19 has been singled out against Article 46, which says: "Plans for the application of armed force shall be made by the Security Council ...".

37. Indonesia and the Netherlands set an illuminating example—of course, under different conditions and in an essentially different context, but fully valid as to the main point—of how to settle financial questions in connexion with United Nations special services. In 1962, when the question of West Irian was settled, and the United Nations was to take over the responsibilities in those territories for a certain period of time, the parties concerned made a special arrangement to meet the costs of the United Nations action and informed the General Assembly accordingly.

38. By foregoing the implementation of Article 46, some Western Powers have wanted to weaken the entire Organization and to turn it once again into an instrument of colonialist and neo-colonialist Powers in the service of their aspiration for regaining world domination. Manoeuvres around the nineteenth session were aimed at transforming the United Nations, against the interests of the overwhelming majority of Member States, into a docile instrument to be used at the capricious pleasure of colonialist and neo-colonialist forces.

39. As a consequence of the firm stand of the Soviet Union and other Member States concerned, the

manoeuvre has failed, and the determination of the newly independent nations has saved the United Nations.

40. The developing nations of Africa and Asia have once again rendered immeasurable help to the United Nations. The first beneficial action of the newly independent nations in this Organization has been realized step by step during recent years, by purifying the atmosphere of this Organization of old-fashioned cold war propaganda. In the general debate of the present session, they have performed an even more beneficial action by thwarting the new-fashioned cold war actions and safeguarding the true principles of the United Nations against attempts to undermine the entire Organization. They have saved the United Nations, and they have a special right to say what kind of United Nations is needed in the present world situation.

41. Their participation in the work of the United Nations guarantees a more effective functioning of this Organization on the very basis of the Charter. They contribute to securing the future of the United Nations by preventing any new effort to make ill use of it. With their co-operation, any action, such as the illegal dealing with the Congo, can be prevented, and United Nations action can be taken only for the sake of international peace and security.

42. The Heads of State and Government of fifty non-aligned nations at the Cairo Conference in October 1964 made it clear that they favoured the effective implementation of the Charter. They declared:

"The United Nations Organization was established to promote international peace and security, to develop international understanding and co-operation, to safeguard human rights and fundamental freedom and to achieve all the purposes of the Charter" [A/5763, sect. IX].

In this sense they recommended that all Member States should render every assistance necessary for the Organization to fulfil its role in the maintenance of international peace and security.

43. International peace and security are to be looked at from new viewpoints in the present situation. The United Nations, when dealing with issues of peace and security, should pay more attention to the peace and security of newly independent nations. The representative of the Republic of Indonesia made a very remarkable statement in that connexion during the general debate. He said:

"The struggle for peace and security in the United Nations has so far been dominated by the struggle for peace and security of the great Powers involved in the so-called cold war. I do not say that the peace and security of the great Powers is not of great value to the world as a whole, including the newly independent nations. But very often it is forgotten that these newly emerging nations have their own problems of peace and security." [1300th meeting, para. 147.]

Further, he stated:

"It is now the new emerging problem—no less acute than any other—of the security, of the peace and security of the newly developing nations, of the newly emerging forces. More than half the present membership of the United Nations is confronted with this new international problem." [*Ibid.*, para. 169.]

He added:

"The growing degree of peaceful coexistence between capitalist lands and the Communist world—which is commendable indeed—regrettably has not brought with it peaceful coexistence for the newly developing countries. On the contrary, there is less security and less peace for these nations only because their development is not in conformity with the old world they want to leave. They become the subject of interference, penetration and subversion, hand in hand with the threat or use of force—open or disguised—by the old imperialist and colonialist Powers." [Ibid., para. 170.]

44. By the recent confrontation, the United Nations has been given the promise not only of renewed effectiveness, but also of a new outlook with new responsibilities arising from the new problems of the newly emerging nations. The future of the United Nations depends on how it will be able to live up to these new responsibilities.

45. The Cairo Conference of non-aligned nations^{3/} declared in a very clear way what they meant by the new problems of peace and security. In their resolution they expressed their conviction that peace must rest on a sound economic foundation; that the persistence of poverty poses a threat to world peace and prosperity; that economic emancipation is an essential element in the struggle for the elimination of political domination; that economic development is an obligation of the whole human community.

46. The representative of Ghana made it clear in his statement what should be understood by this obligation of the whole human community. He said:

"What is needed by the developing nations is not so much foreign aid, uncertain in its application as it is. What is needed is a new approach to international trade, which will enable developing countries to earn the foreign exchange necessary for economic development through the sale of their products. We want trade, not aid." [1299th meeting, para. 166.]

47. It is in this world-wide context that problems of peace and security are to be dealt with, both inside and outside the United Nations. Just as, when there is a threat of thermo-nuclear catastrophe, all aspects of the open questions in international life should be considered with special attention to international peace and security, so the questions of disarmament and decolonization should be solved quickly in view of the urgent needs of the newly emerging nations. Problems created inside or outside the United Nations which prevent us from dealing with the urgent needs of new Member States undermine this Organization, and international co-operation in general.

48. International developments of recent months provide a great many examples of how these most valid points of view were, or were not, taken into account, and their respective consequences are also clear. The contrasts may be rather instructive.

49. The Foreign Minister of the United Arab Republic informed the General Assembly [1298th meeting] about

four international conferences held in recent months. Special attention is to be paid to all of them. Two conferences were held by the Heads of Arab States to deal with the questions of peace and security within their own region in connexion with problems of wider importance. A conference of Heads of State or Government of Africa dealt with questions of African unity with a view to achieving the complete independence of the African States in peace and security. The Foreign Minister of the United Arab Republic called for special attention to the proposals of the conference of non-aligned countries, for, as he said, "these proposals are based on a realistic and objective analysis of the present situation of international relations" [1298th meeting, para. 35].

50. The Heads of State or Government directly concerned gave highly instructive answers to most of the questions which are proposed for the agenda of this session or, if they are not, at least come within the competence of the United Nations. The proposals take into account the necessity of a more effective approach to detailed problems of general and complete disarmament, peaceful coexistence and, in close relation to these basic problems, the urgent needs of the newly emerging countries.

51. In sharp contradiction to the prospect of favourable developments, colonialist and neo-colonialist Powers have resorted to actions directed against the peaceful solution of the Congolese and Vietnamese questions. Since realistic and careful plans are being prepared by competent Governments for a peaceful and just solution of those questions, the aggressive actions cannot be excused, no matter by what motives the aggressors may claim to be actuated.

52. In the case of the Congo, the community of independent African States has undertaken to carry out the necessary measures to settle the Congolese question in conformity with the common interests of the strengthening of African unity, which is in the interest of international peace and security. Ignoring the competence of African States and all rules of international law, three States Members of the United Nations engaged in combined action as if they were legitimate masters in African affairs. They acted with the aid of mercenaries from South Africa, whose representative stated in a televised interview that for him the Congolese people killed during the operation were like beasts fallen dead on his own cattle-farm in South Africa.

53. As to the real meaning of the whole action, U.S. News & World Report gave a revealing piece of information. According to this periodical, one high official of the United Nations summed up his opinion in this way: "African nations at least have learned that if you kick Americans hard enough and long enough, something will happen."

54. Of course, I do not know whether this statement is true or not, but it is clear that this operation was an impressive lesson not only for Africans but for all of us; however, not in the sense expressed in the statement just quoted, but in the sense that such actions hurt not only one nation, not only one continent, but the possibilities of the favourable development of international co-operation so much needed for the

^{3/} Second Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Cairo from 5 to 10 October 1964.

solution of burning questions of the whole of mankind. The world-wide condemnation of these irresponsible actions is a really effective lesson for all colonialist and neo-colonialist Powers. The effectiveness of this lesson may contribute to eliminating the possibilities of the repetition of any such kind of action.

55. As regards Viet-Nam, there are sound recommendations for a new meeting of the participants of the Geneva conferences of 1954 and 1962 in order to find satisfactory solutions to the peaceful development of Viet-Nam, Cambodia and Laos. The previous Geneva conferences proved effective in so far as their measures and principles were carried out. The new recommendations appeal to all realistic thinking.

56. In sharp contradiction with the favourable possibilities offered by these proposals, the mad war is still going on with renewed acts of aggression against North Viet-Nam, the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam. Heedless of the failures incurred so far and of the dangers of a wider conflagration, the United States is making preparations for even more extensive military action. If the nations of Asia could take a common stand for action against foreign intervention, it would be beneficial not only to South-East Asia but to the world situation as a whole; thus, by using their political influence, they could obtain the convening of a new Geneva conference.

57. By curbing aggressive actions and liquidating the remnants of colonial domination, the United Nations could devote more attention and more energy to problems of international peace and security seen from the point of view of the newly independent nations.

58. Without forgetting for one moment the burning problems of Africa, Asia and Latin America, I have to draw attention to certain European questions. Their existence may be a pretext, or sometimes even a serious motive for many Powers, great or small, not to embark on the road to disarmament and not to pay sufficient attention to the peace and security of the so-called "third world". On the other hand, the solution of the European questions could augment the effectiveness of disarmament negotiations and of the handling of the economic problems of the newly emerging countries. The favourable reception and active support offered by the "third world" could pave the way to settling these European problems, the main items of the old-fashioned cold war and the main source of a possible new confrontation of the opposing forces.

59. In your first address to this Assembly [1286th meeting], Mr. President, you drew the attention of the delegations to one of the central questions of Europe, the so-called German question. Some were surprised by your statement. My feeling is, however, that you were led by the growing concern of nations, even outside Europe, about the unsettled situation with regard to the German question. The fact that the United States stubbornly insists on incorporating West Germany into a combined or multilateral nuclear military system gives a new impetus to the consideration of this question, so as to rid Europe and the world as a whole of the dangerous vestiges of the Second World War.

60. A realistic way of solving the problem is given and even determined by the existing realities: as a historical necessity, there exist two German States in Europe. The starting-point of a peaceful, permanent and realistic solution of the German question should be the acceptance of existing facts, of the existence of two German States. The very existence of the German Democratic Republic is beneficial, not only to Eastern Europe, but to the countries bordering upon West Germany and even to the Germans of the Federal Republic of Germany.

61. Were it not for the German Democratic Republic, the Western neighbours of Germany would also inevitably be facing the emergence of a neo-fascist military Power, with all its consequences. The German Democratic Republic is one of the main factors for the safeguarding of peace in Europe, and it opens a new way for the whole of the German people to be a powerful, constructive partner of European nations in building up a new Europe after centuries of colonialism and many decades of imperialism. Under a constant threat of aggression, and in spite of persistent subversive actions from the West, the German Democratic Republic has attained substantial international success. It has official or semi-official representation in more than forty countries. Its trade relations cover practically the whole world.

62. Asian and African countries could expedite the disposal of the most burning question of Europe, a question that is dangerous to the world situation in general, by according diplomatic recognition to the German Democratic Republic. This step would accelerate the process of creating favourable conditions for direct negotiations between the two German Governments regarding the co-operation of the two German States. The greater the number of Member States extending diplomatic recognition to the German Democratic Republic, the nearer the solution of the German question. It is through direct negotiations between the two German Governments that the only peaceful and permanent solution of the German question may be reached.

63. The dangers created by the plans for a multilateral nuclear force are not exclusively of a military, but also of a political, character. The very fact that the United States and West Germany have already expressed their readiness to bring that force into being, even on a bilateral basis if other NATO members refuse to join it, reveals the political intentions of the authors of these plans.

64. By military means they wish to uphold certain political and military quarters of West Germany in their effort to hinder the only realistic, permanent and peaceful solution of the German question. These quarters and their supporters are not for negotiations but for military action; they are not for the peaceful development of Europe but for conquests and a new conflagration. Consequently, the joint scheme of the United States and West Germany is far from ensuring international security; it endangers it to a great extent. It perpetuates tensions in the northern hemisphere and prevents nations of that region from using their energies to help solve the growing problems of the south.

65. The only way to free the world from the dangers latent in the opposition of forces in the northern hemisphere lies in continued negotiations for the settlement of outstanding problems in Europe, in a gradual approach to the goal of general and complete disarmament, having constantly in mind the interests of mutual security.

66. The proposals contained in the memorandum presented by the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union [A/5827] give sufficient guidance as to what questions should be negotiated, what steps could be taken towards general and complete disarmament, and what measures should be applied for the sake of mutual security. The European conference proposed by the Foreign Minister of Poland [1301st meeting] for reaching a settlement of the questions of Europe deserves the special support of all Member States. Member States from the southern hemisphere would act for their own sake and for a world-wide improvement as well if, by increasing and widening their official contacts with the German Democratic Republic, they paved the way for a real and effective European settlement.

67. The Hungarian People's Republic, as a member of the Warsaw Treaty Organization, shares with its allies in the responsibility for safeguarding peace and working for international relaxation and against colonialist and imperialist aggressive actions. The basic principle and purposes of our foreign policy are determined by the fundamental interests of all nations striving for the maintenance of peace, international co-operation and progress against imperialist and colonialist forces. According to our modest possibilities, we pay much attention to the security problems of Eastern Europe, Central Europe and Western Europe as well.

68. We are most especially interested in the peaceful development of Central Europe. Indications of our readiness to co-operate in lessening international tensions in Europe can be seen in the recent very favourable development of contacts between Hungary and Austria, in our growing relations with Western European, Northern European and American countries. In this context, mention may be made of our agreement with the Federal Republic of Germany on the establishment of official commercial representations on a reciprocal basis, and of the documents we have signed with the Vatican regarding certain questions of common interest. On the basis of our firm alliance with the socialist countries, on the basis of our firm and friendly co-operation with the newly emerging nations, my Government participates in any measures necessary in the interest of international peace and security.

69. It is in this spirit that my Government expects good results from the nineteenth session of the General Assembly. The colonialist and neo-colonialist Powers do not find much pleasure in the agenda items this General Assembly will have to tackle. Therefore, they have done their utmost to prevent this session from getting down to orderly work. The obstacles in the way of the normal functioning of this Assembly must be removed and the expectations of Member States fulfilled. We expect this session to give new directives to the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Dis-

armament, enhancing the effectiveness of its work; to pay special attention to colonial and trusteeship problems, together with special measures against the colonial and apartheid policies of South Africa, in order to celebrate the International Co-operation Year with the liquidation of the last vestiges of colonialism; to give a new impetus to the implementation of the resolutions of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development; to offer the new Member States ever growing opportunities of taking part in the activities of the United Nations.

70. With due regard to the necessity of enlarging the representation of the newly emerging nations in the Security Council and in the Economic and Social Council, my Government has taken the constitutional steps for the ratification of the General Assembly resolution [1991 (XVIII)] on this matter.

71. As long as the threat of aggression and subversive activities against the Republic of Cuba from the American continent continue, my Government considers it a permanent task of the United Nations to be vigilant, even when the question of provocative actions against the Republic of Cuba is not on the agenda. A wide front of States Members of the United Nations, the socialist countries among them, is supporting and safeguarding the sovereignty and the social order of Cuba against hostile actions originating from the American continent. The Second Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries—held in Cairo in October 1964 in the presence of observers from seven Latin American States—is a new indication of how wide-spread and powerful is the demand that the United States should accept the proposals for negotiations made by the Republic of Cuba on the basis of the principle of peaceful co-existence.

72. There is an organic connexion between the attempts of the colonialist and neo-colonialist Powers to impair the effectiveness of the United Nations, and the fact that they have so far prevented the United Nations from restoring the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China. The interests of a favourable development of the international situation require the settlement of this question during this session, so that at the time of the twentieth anniversary of the United Nations, the rightful representatives of China may occupy their seats, both in the General Assembly and in the Security Council.

73. At this particular nineteenth session of the General Assembly, it is entirely impossible for me to close my statement on the United Nations without commending the Secretary-General for his enduring good services. His annual report presented to this session, and his efforts for an orderly and effective functioning of this Organization, are most valuable. I wish him good health and further successful activity.

74. In connexion with our welcome address to the new Member States—Malawi, Malta and Zambia—my delegation has already extended its congratulations [1287th meeting]. In reiterating our congratulations upon your election, Mr. President, I also wish to thank you for your untiring activity as President of this session. The whole work of the meetings of the General Assembly so far has rested upon your

presence here. Your presidency of the General Assembly is an expressive symbol of the great change for the better in our world. I assure you that Hungary, with its modest means, is, and continues to be, working for the further steadying and deepening of these favourable changes.

75. Mr. SHEN (China): Mr. President, it affords great satisfaction to my delegation that a distinguished son of Africa has been chosen to preside over the proceedings of this session of the General Assembly. Your election to the high office of President bespeaks the growing stature of Africa in the community of nations. I take this opportunity to extend to you, Mr. President, my delegation's congratulations and good wishes.

76. Also on behalf of my delegation, I wish to express to Mr. Sosa Rodríguez of Venezuela my deep appreciation of the great wisdom, impartiality and inspiring leadership with which he presided over the General Assembly at its eighteenth session.

77. We live in an age of momentous changes in the history of human affairs. Advance in science and technology has immeasurably enhanced man's capabilities for good or for evil. While there are those who are striving to build a saner, safer and happier world in which to live, there are also those who do not hesitate to work for the world's total destruction. It is up to us Members of the United Nations to make a wise choice, and to see to it that the forces of evil shall not prevail.

78. After the Second World War, there occurred a number of events of historic importance in the community of nations. One of these was the awakening of the peoples of Asia, Africa and other areas of the world. Hundreds of millions of people have emerged from colonial rule and freely formed themselves into new independent States which now exercise considerable influence in the United Nations. Another event of equal importance was the fall of the Chinese mainland, and with it the complete loss of freedom of one-fifth of the world's population, under the tyranny of the Chinese Communist régime. Thus, while some 600 million people in Asia and Africa have gained freedom and independence, an approximately equal number of people have fallen under slavery. The Chinese Communist régime, which was brought into being by the aggressive forces of international Communism, has for its ultimate aim the domination of the whole world. It has been ceaselessly pursuing, by various tactics, acts of overt or covert aggression throughout the world.

79. In the post-war years, colonialism in its traditional form has undergone an evolutionary process of dissolution which is still continuing. Those old colonial Powers which are cognizant of the irresistible tides of the times have accepted the demands of the colonial peoples for self-rule and independence. The role played by the United Nations in encouraging and assisting the transformation of colonies from dependence to freedom is one of which we can all be proud, and the success it has achieved deserves our tribute. In general, it can be said that the liquidation of old-style colonialism has now reached its final phase, and that the remaining issues should be speedily and peacefully

resolved in accordance with the principle of self-determination.

80. While the United Nations has the bounden duty to help all peoples who aspire to independence and freedom in achieving their goal, it has, I submit, an even greater responsibility to preserve and protect the independence and freedom of those who have already won them.

81. At a time when we are witnessing the gradual disappearance of the old colonialism, it is ironic that the forces of international Communism should be seeking to exploit the difficulties of the new independent States for the purpose of turning these countries into colonies of Communist imperialism.

82. The United Nations has for its purpose the establishment of a community of free and independent States acting together in the interest of peace, security, social progress and a better standard of life for all mankind. The Communists, however, share none of these aspirations, and pursue a totally different objective. They subvert independence and freedom. They aim at the creation of totalitarian régimes wherever and whenever it is possible for them to do so.

83. To this end, every resource of their propaganda is put to use to whip up discontent, to incite to violence, and to undermine all existing institutions. They promise abundance to the suffering and impoverished masses, and conjure up a future in which liberty and democracy will flourish and every man and woman will have a glorious role to play. But once in the saddle of power, all promises are forgotten; all opposition, all contrary opinions are ruthlessly stamped out and a reign of terror is imposed. Their real objective is to replace the old colonialism of the Western Powers with the new colonialism of the Communist variety, and to convert the non-Communist world into a vast colony of Communist imperialism.

84. Although there is now a rift between Moscow and Peiping, it must be remembered that their quarrel is not over the basic aim of world conquest, on which both are in agreement, but rather over the question of who is to lead this drive and which method is to be used to accomplish it. By their struggle for leadership, Moscow and Peiping have confessed their identity of purpose and thus laid bare their insidious ambition for world domination, whether this is to be achieved by violence or by other means. Meanwhile, the Chinese Communist régime for its part is hoisting high the banner of open bellicosity and has embarked upon many acts of subversion and aggression in Asia, Africa and other areas. This poses the greatest threat to the new and independent States of the world. It therefore behooves me, as the representative of China, to expose before this Assembly the intrigues of the Chinese Communists and to offer the lessons of our struggle against Communism as a warning to all potential victims of such aggression.

85. For more than a century, China suffered many forms of injustice and humiliation under the old-style imperialism. The struggle of the Chinese people for freedom and independence was led by the Kuomintang, founded by the late Father of the Republic, Dr. Sun Yat-sen. Because of the lack of appeal of Communism as an ideology in China, the Chinese Communists

deemed it necessary to join some other political force which already enjoyed a large following. They found such a force in the Kuomintang, into which they infiltrated in the name of forging unity in resisting imperialism. During the various periods of its feigned co-operation with the Kuomintang, the Chinese Communist Party was all the time secretly developing its organization and expanding its own armed forces for the purpose of converting the national revolution into a Communist revolution. In the course of the Second World War, while the National Government of China was devoting its full attention to engaging the enemy, the Chinese Communists insidiously widened their areas of control.

86. Thus, following the war, they were able to subvert the constituted government and to set up a Communist dictatorial régime under the guise of the so-called "democratic revolution". The Chinese Communists are now urging the same tactic upon the Communist parties in Asia and Africa in the prosecution of subversive activities in their respective countries.

87. The Chinese Communists worship force. Mao Tse-tung's slogan—"Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun"—has been adopted into the Communist scriptures. According to Mao Tse-tung: "Violent revolution is a universal law of [proletarian] revolution". Mao explains his theory in this way:

"The seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of issues by war, is the central task and the highest form of revolution. This Marxist-Leninist principle of revolution holds good universally, for China and for all other countries."

Mao concludes:

"It is only by the power of the gun that the working class and labouring masses can defeat the armed bourgeoisie and landlords; ... only with guns can the whole world be transformed."

Mao is firmly opposed to the idea of peaceful transition, which he regards as "betrayal of Marxist-Leninism" and "betrayal of the proletariat".

88. The above-mentioned statements by Mao Tse-tung will serve to explain why the Chinese Communists were engaged in protracted armed rebellion on the Chinese mainland and why, shortly after the creation of the Peiping régime, they mobilized a million troops to launch aggression against the Republic of Korea and fought the United Nations forces for three years. They also explain why the Chinese Communists have encouraged and supported the Communist rebels in Viet-Nam and Laos, and why they have sent their guerrilla warfare experts to Africa and other areas to organize the local Communists for guerrilla war activities. Thus, in their plot of aggression and expansion in Asia, Africa and other areas, an important device of the Chinese Communists is to instigate the overthrow of the legally constituted governments by giving money and weapons to local armed Communists to help them intimidate the masses into joining their rebellion.

89. It is popular these days to chant the slogan of "peaceful coexistence". The Chinese Communists, however, are unalterably against peaceful coexistence. They believe in the inevitability of war. They are of

the opinion that only after the victory of the proletarian revolution can there be any possibility or need of peaceful coexistence. It is their conviction that peaceful coexistence cannot take the place of the revolutionary struggle of the world's Communist parties. In their view, the policy of peaceful coexistence before the completion of world revolution is a policy of betrayal and surrender.

90. According to the Soviet Government organ *Izvestia* of 21 September 1963, Mao Tse-tung told the Moscow Conference of the world's Communist parties:

"If we fight, atomic and hydrogen weapons will be used. Personally, I think that in the entire world there will be such suffering that a half of humanity, and perhaps even more than a half, will perish ...

"If a half of humanity were destroyed, the other half would still remain, but imperialism would be destroyed entirely and there would be only socialism in all the world, and within half a century or a whole century the population would again increase by more than a half."

91. The substance of this pronouncement had appeared in April 1960 in an article entitled "Long Live Leninism" in *Red Flag*—a theoretical organ of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee—in which the Communist leadership declared that, in the event of nuclear war, the sacrifice of the people of the world would be rewarded, because "... on the ruins of imperialism, the victorious peoples would create with tremendous speed a civilization a thousand times higher than that under the capitalist system, and build a truly beautiful future for themselves." Such is the extent of the war-like fanaticism of the Chinese Communists.

92. It may be argued that the Chinese Communists do not totally reject the idea of "peaceful coexistence", since they at one time adopted the propaganda line of "peaceful coexistence" vis-à-vis the neighbouring countries in Asia. It is said that in 1954 Chou En-lai even signed with India "the five principles of peaceful coexistence" which were subsequently adopted by the Bandung Conference. However, the true meaning of "peaceful coexistence" as advocated by the Chinese Communists is to be found in Mao Tse-tung's theory of "twin strategy", that is to say, the alternate use of the "strategy of peace" and the "strategy of war", as circumstances dictate.

93. According to this theory, war and peace are two sides of the same coin, and peace is only another form of warfare, a form of strategy, subordinate to the needs of war. The Chinese Communists know that they cannot eliminate their enemies all at once, and that war should be prosecuted in several stages and won by the tactic of defeating one enemy at a time. Consequently, when they are pressing attacks on their immediate enemy, they use "peaceful coexistence" to deceive and neutralize their next enemy, so that the latter will not be united with the former against the Communists. When the time comes for the Communists to deal with the next enemy, the idea of "peaceful coexistence" will have lost all relevance.

94. Moreover, the countries which accept the Chinese Communist version of "peaceful coexistence" will, in the first place, have to deny co-operation with those

countries which are the Communists' targets of attack and, in the second place, to acquiesce in the Communists' expansionist activities abroad. They will also have to refrain from interfering with Communist infiltration and subversive activities in their own lands, so as to demonstrate their goodwill and friendliness towards the Communists. Failure to do so will be branded by the Communists as having violated the spirit of "peaceful coexistence", and can be used as a pretext for initiating aggression by the Communists. Thus, "peaceful coexistence" as practised by the Chinese Communists is a policy to divide the enemy and a device for cheap conquests. The signing of the "five principles of peaceful coexistence" between India and the Chinese Communists did not prevent the latter from launching military attacks against India.

95. At present there are countries which still have the illusion that they can coexist with the Chinese Communists. To some of them, the Chinese Communists have extended economic aid which is alleged to be without any political conditions attached. Nothing is further from the truth. As we know, the economy of the Chinese mainland is bordering on bankruptcy after the ravages wrought by the Chinese Communist triple policy of "the general line", "the great leap forward", and "the people's commune", and after several consecutive years of natural disasters.

96. For years, the people on mainland China have been languishing under Communist tyranny. They are struggling to survive on the brink of starvation. Yet in spite of the starvation and other privations of the people, the Chinese Communists have embarked upon a programme of foreign aid with reckless abandon. Let us ask: in such circumstances, is the economic aid by the Chinese Communists given unselfishly and devoid of any ulterior motive?

97. The answer may be found in an article entitled "Apologists of Neo-colonialism", published in the nineteenth issue of Red Flag in October 1963, in which the blueprint for a Communist take-over in Asia, Africa and Latin America was spelled out clearly and in some detail. The article says:

"The various types of contradictions in the contemporary world are concentrated in the vast areas of Asia, Africa and Latin America; these are the most vulnerable areas under imperialist rule and the storm centres of world revolution dealing direct blows at imperialism."

It further says: "The national democratic revolution in these areas is an important component of the contemporary proletarian world revolution." And again:

"History has entrusted to the proletarian parties in these areas (Asia, Africa and Latin America) the glorious mission of holding high the banner of struggle against imperialism, against old and new colonialism, and for national independence and people's democracy, of standing in the forefront of the national democratic revolutionary movement and striving for a socialist future."

It continues:

"In the national liberation movement, the proletariat must seize the leadership and must at the

same time establish a mass-based anti-imperialist united front. In order to consolidate and expand this united front, it is necessary that the proletarian party should maintain its ideological political and organizational independence, and insist on the leadership of the revolution."

98. Such is the political motivation of the economic foreign aid policy of the Chinese Communists. The Chinese Communists give economic aid only to spread the seeds of revolution in the free countries of Asia, Africa and other areas, using the Chinese mainland as the base of operations. The investment thus made is looked upon as the "seed money" of revolution. By making inroads into these countries, the Chinese Communists will be in a position to achieve their real purpose of conspiring with the local Communist parties for the overthrow of their respective legitimate governments.

99. Although the Chinese Communists are already pressing hard towards the under-developed areas, it is to be regretted that there are countries which continue to hold the view that the expansion of Communism in those areas has not yet posed a serious threat to their national security. This type of thinking, I am afraid, will redound to the advantage of the Communists, and impair the unity of the free world.

100. As a matter of fact, all free countries are regarded by the Chinese Communists as their enemies, and have been listed on their agenda of conquest. One of the basic strategic concepts expounded by Mao Tse-tung is that it is necessary, first, to capture the weakly defended rural areas in order to cut off their contact with the metropolitan areas. When the latter are thus encircled, resulting in economic dislocation and stagnation, they will collapse of their own weight and can be taken without a fight. This was the strategy used by the Chinese Communists in their armed rebellion, which resulted in their occupation of the mainland of China. In the eyes of the Chinese Communists, the less developed parts of Asia, Africa and elsewhere are the rural areas, while the highly industrialized areas in Western Europe and North America are the metropolis of the world. If the Chinese Communists can control and dominate the vast territories of the world's rural areas, they will be able to isolate the above-mentioned metropolis formed by the industrialized nations.

101. Behind all that is happening and will happen in Asia looms the spectre of the Chinese Communist régime on the mainland. As early as November 1949, Liu Shao-chi, the chief theoretician of the Chinese Communist Party, told the Communist-sponsored Trade Union Conference of Asian and Australasian countries in Peiping that in furthering "liberation struggles" in that region, "armed struggles" should be carried out in the rural areas while "in the enemy-controlled cities and areas, either legal or illegal mass struggles should be conducted to co-ordinate with the guerrilla warfare in the rural districts".

102. This blueprint of strategy for the "liberation struggles" and for the Communist take-over of this area has, in fact, already been translated into action in Viet-Nam and Laos, both of which are victims of naked Communist aggression. The peoples of these two countries suffered grievous losses because they

refused to cower before the aggressor and are determined to defend their freedom and independence. All who cherish freedom for themselves should extend their sympathy and support to the brave and innocent peoples of Viet-Nam and Laos, and must not allow them to lose their freedom and independence. To let them go down in defeat will pave the way for the communization of the whole of South-East Asia.

103. It is not surprising that a régime which believes that "only with guns can the whole world be transformed" is firmly opposed to disarmament. The fanatic attempt of the Chinese Communists to develop nuclear weapons, in contemptuous disregard of world opinion and with callous indifference to the suffering of the Chinese people, can only be explained by one motivation: the realization of the dream of Communist neo-imperialism. This is a crime against the people of China and a challenge to the peace-loving peoples of the world. It calls for the strongest condemnation by the United Nations.

104. The Republic of China, which I have the honour to represent, is irrevocably dedicated to the task of restoring freedom to the Chinese people on the mainland, and thereby safeguarding the peace of the world. We know that the task is not an easy one, and the road ahead is full of hazards. We know, also, that both our will and our capacity for sacrifices will be tested. The cost of freedom is always high, and no sacrifice is too great. We are confident that the Chinese people on the mainland are with us as we are with them. They look forward to the day when they will be free again, free to think, free to speak and act, free to till their land and reap the harvest of their labour, free from fear, from coercion and regimentation. In the history of China, the people rose many times to overthrow the tyrants who had destroyed their freedom. They will no doubt rise again.

105. In fighting for the freedom of the Chinese people, we are fighting also for the freedom of all Asia and, indeed, of the whole world. If we succeed—and succeed we must—we will have made a great contribution to the cause of world peace.

106. I wish to reiterate here, as we have stressed before, that, in carrying out this historic mission, the Government and the people of the Republic of China do not seek any assistance from the United Nations. What we do ask of the United Nations is that it not go out of its way to recognize the fruits of aggression by the Chinese Communists and admit them into this Organization as the representatives of the Chinese people.

107. At this point, I cannot refrain from bringing up a fundamental problem: that is, if we need the United Nations, if we want it to carry out its purposes and principles, then we must preserve and protect the dignity and integrity of the Charter. The United Nations was created to maintain international peace and security. It must have a consistent body of moral and legal principles which are applicable at all times and in all circumstances. It must have a definite and definable standard of right and wrong which cannot be compromised. Yet we cannot help feeling disappointed at the existence of certain situations in the Organization.

108. For instance, the Republic of Korea was established under the auspices of the United Nations; but because of the consistent refusal of the Communist aggressors to allow the Korean people to express their free will, the resolutions for the unification of Korea passed by the United Nations year after year have become an empty gesture.

109. Again, while the Charter enjoins us to respect the right of freedom and independence, it is deplorable that Indonesia should openly vow to destroy the existence of a neighbouring country, Malaysia, which was created by the free will of its people, and should send armed contingents to invade the territory of that neighbouring country. We regret that the United Nations was prevented from taking just action in this matter by the Soviet veto in the Security Council.

110. This session of the Assembly has been, in the past few weeks, in a state of virtual paralysis with regard to all its activities except the general debate. This has been brought about by the dispute arising out of the question of the application of Article 19 of the Charter. From a juridical point of view, the language of Article 19 is quite clear and should not give rise to any dispute on its applicability. But, owing to the refusal of one intransigent big Power to observe the Charter, we are left to cast about for a compromise as an expediency. If Article 19 can be allowed to be ignored, so can other provisions of the Charter. If a powerful Member of the United Nations has done violence to the Charter and can get away with it, what is there to be said for law and justice under the aegis of the United Nations?

111. The Republic of China is a founding Member of the United Nations and has faithfully and consistently carried out all its obligations under the Charter. Let us admit that there is a grave crisis facing the United Nations. The reason for this crisis is that too often the principles of the Charter are compromised by yielding to force, by disregard of justice, or by contempt of human rights. If we are really interested in strengthening the United Nations, we must rededicate ourselves to the fundamental principles upon which it was founded twenty years ago at San Francisco, and we must return to the task of building a new world as originally envisaged by the framers of the Charter—a world of peace based on justice and law. Let us imbue the United Nations with a new courage and a new vigour to abide by those fundamental principles, and let us endow it with that spiritual and moral strength which alone can meet the grave challenges of our time and accomplish the noble ends of our resolve.

112. Mr. RAKOTOMALALA (Madagascar) (translated from French): Mr. President, the General Assembly has once again chosen a person of the greatest distinction to direct its work. After Mongi Slim, Zafrullah Khan and Sosa Rodríguez, its unanimous choice has fallen on you. We, who have been privileged to know you for five years, have come to appreciate your competence, your clarity of mind, your conscientiousness in the performance of your functions and your faith in the future of the United Nations. You have combined great culture and natural distinction with the friendly simplicity which is so highly esteemed by all your colleagues. It is with pride that the whole

of Africa, and especially Africa south of the Sahara, has greeted your election which is of special significance since 1965 marks the twentieth anniversary of the establishment of the United Nations.

113. I should also like to wish our Secretary-General a complete recovery. The great emotion which the announcement of his illness aroused in the world shows the importance of his role as well as the affection and respect in which he is held.

114. My delegation would like to express to Mr. Sosa Rodríguez its gratitude and its admiration for the skill and tact with which he directed and brought to its conclusion the eighteenth session, which accomplished so much.

115. Through the Chairman of the African-Asian group and the African group, my country has already expressed its congratulations and good wishes to the new States which have just been admitted to membership in the United Nations—Malawi, Malta and Zambia.

116. My delegation, which is a member of the Committee of Twenty-Four,^{4/} charged by the Assembly with the implementation of resolution 1514 (XV) on the ending of colonialism, is happy to have taken an active part in the work and studies which preceded the independence of these three countries.

117. I wish therefore to express once again our great pleasure at witnessing this new victory for the principles proclaimed in the United Nations Charter. It was won by peaceful means and it is only fitting to congratulate also the Government of the United Kingdom. It is our earnest hope that 1965 will see the birth of new independent nations and that a final solution will be found for the problems which exercise us all: Southern Rhodesia, the territories under Portuguese administration, and apartheid.

118. The speakers who have preceded me at this rostrum have expressed our satisfaction at the arrangements made on the opening day of the session, which allow the General Assembly to hear the representatives of Member States put forward their views, state their positions and express their opinions, in order to submit them to the moral judgement of the nations which make up the Organization. But we all wish—and the African-Asian group recently said so vehemently—that the great nations would stop paralysing the normal functioning of the Organization and seek sincerely and in good faith a solution which would end the present impasse. Their responsibility would be great indeed if this distressing situation were to result in a breakdown of the United Nations, the last shield against a conflagration which would mean the destruction of mankind.

119. This rostrum, symbol of liberal universalism, is the meeting place where parties to disputes can put forward arguments and counter-arguments, and where we can all make our contribution to the search for a peaceful solution, by negotiation and, if necessary, by arbitration.

120. But that is not the only merit of the United Nations, which before all considerations of a political

or juridical nature must permit the frankest discussion and the broadest confrontation of ideas, while respecting as an obligation the spirit and letter of the Charter, taken as a whole which cannot be subjected to laborious exposition.

121. It would be truly regrettable if this possibility of discussion were removed even momentarily as a result of the positions taken on points which remain in dispute all the same, because our Organization, which we are all bent on saving, would then be a body without any substance. This is certainly not the aim of certain nations which would seem more intent on making the Charter an instrument whose automatic application runs counter to the spirit of compromise in which it was drawn up and does not respect the guarantees given to every Member State for the exercise of its fundamental rights within the Organization.

122. Our position in the world and our realization of the profound changes which have taken place in the international situation lead us to examine much more closely certain aspects of the role which our Organization must assume in order "to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom" and to show the way towards peace and progress through co-operation.

123. At a time when the United Nations Development Decade is entering its fifth year, when measures to promote disarmament have been adopted by the Powers concerned and when the first United Nations Conference on Trade and Development has just ended, we consider it necessary to examine these points more thoroughly.

124. But however pressing and exceptional these circumstances are, they must not prevent us from noting that for almost twenty years the world has been experiencing a series of revolutions of which, to be sure, we are not unaware, but which may escape our just and objective consideration because we are actually living through them.

125. If rapid expansion and continued progress are ideas accepted and understood by the peoples of the developed countries, this is not always the case for the millions of human beings belonging to the underdeveloped world. As a result there is a certain tension which some are apt to call impatience, but which is only the expression of their desire to claim their share of prosperity.

126. In the same way, the peoples which have not yet been liberated are rightly astonished that they are being governed in accordance with neither justice, nor democracy, nor elementary respect for human dignity. They nevertheless rely on the United Nations to calm the eddies of resentment, rancour and passion born of their struggle against all forms of colonialism, once their claims have been met.

127. Lastly, is it not natural that our countries should seek to escape by every means and as quickly as possible from the vicious circle in which they are confined by the population explosion, the uncertainty of foreign trade and the lack of adequate resources to diversify an already stagnant production?

128. Yes, millions of people are impatient to be given access to development, to be granted full and

^{4/} Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

complete participation in progress and freedom. We are confident, we are certain, that the United Nations, in whose effectiveness we believe, will adapt itself to the needs of these economic and social revolutions and will help the nations and peoples to see them through.

129. It is already encouraging to note that at Geneva this year a great step forward was taken in the development and exchange of ideas, thanks to our Organization. The importance of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development must not be minimized and cannot be measured solely in terms of its concrete and positive results, which, as we have all repeatedly regretted, were not very substantial.

130. For the first time, we were able to work out an approach common to all the countries of the under-developed world by surmounting the obstacles raised by our differences in economic policy. The mutual concessions of the seventy-five countries enabled them to realize that in face of the various reactions of the wealthy nations, ranging from generous liberalism to acceptance of the principle to qualified refusal, the only possible position was one of firmness and solidarity.

131. If we could succeed in organizing trade in primary commodities; if a preferential policy for industrial exports from the developing countries were better defined, thanks to broader access to the markets of the developed countries and especially to export guarantees; and if sufficient financial resources were deployed to help us with industrialization and the improvement of our terms of trade, then the under-developed countries would know that the promises which have been made to them are neither empty nor deceptive and that there really exists a desire to remedy the imbalance and to stop the gap between the two worlds from widening.

132. In the opinion of the Malagasy Government, it would be relevant in this connexion to stress that we would wish for an improved flow of capital to the developing countries. This form of international economic assistance has grown steadily since 1960, but a slowing down of this expansion is also to be feared, indicating the need to make the financial conditions of loans more flexible.

133. We firmly hope that by the end of the United Nations Development Decade, which is an objective framework for our own efforts and for the aid which we expect from international organizations and the developed countries, it will at last be reasonably possible for us to see ahead the end of poverty, of economic and social misery, and the dawn of an era of true progress for us.

134. Paradoxically, however, mixed with the hope which has been kindled in us is a feeling of fear that we share with all peoples which genuinely love peace and freedom. There are some who declare, with some plausibility, that development and disarmament must proceed together. But can we say that we are on the threshold of reaping the benefits of general and complete disarmament? Can we gauge at all accurately the resources which would be released or the economic consequences?

135. These remarks are not imbued with spurious pessimism, for the Malagasy Government cannot but welcome the ban on the orbiting of nuclear weapons and the reduction in the manufacture of fissionable materials as measures which will lessen international tension and help to get the process of disarmament started.

136. But what are we to think of the tens of thousands of millions the great Powers spent on armaments last year? Does not this give us more reason to fear than to hope?

137. Faced with these contradictions, we can only hope for the development of a universal political conscience which will condemn war as benefiting no one and as no longer able to constitute "the continuation of politics by other means". We are convinced that only through exchanges of views will it be possible to settle the international differences and disputes born, alas, of the confrontation of ideologies and of deep-rooted and real differences between nations.

138. We cannot with an easy conscience accept the fact that twenty years after the Second World War we are faced, as if in defiance of the wisdom of nations and the rights of peoples, with the sorry sight of the war's aftermath, the continued arbitrary division of countries and even of a city like Berlin. We must not be satisfied merely that during the exchanges of views crises arise and disappear and be thankful that conflicts rarely reach the explosion point.

139. It is particularly urgent, therefore, that we should build the framework of a peaceful world, by hastening the settlement of disputes and defining the rights and the duties of States in a solemn declaration.

140. This calls for continuous and patient efforts to reconcile often conflicting points of view and to formulate definitions acceptable to all parties. We consider that in the absence of a legally binding convention or treaty, it is the responsibility of the United Nations, once the real intentions and disagreements have been established, to exert pressure on all States which recognize our Organization as the guardian of a moral order, with the object of ensuring international peace.

141. For nearly eighteen years the International Law Commission has been endeavouring to lay down and define principles which might validly govern relations between States and relations between States and citizens, with recognition for the rights of the latter. The adoption of these principles is urgently necessary as an essential factor in the promotion of friendly relations and co-operation between States on the one hand, and in the universal protection and development of human rights on the other. To be honest with ourselves and with the international community we must apply fully, faithfully and without delay, principles with which we are all familiar, having included them in declarations adopted by the General Assembly or in draft international covenants.

142. But what do we see in practice? Force and the threat of force are still being used to settle disputes. There are still tendencies towards interference in the affairs of sovereign States. In some States, tolerance, non-discrimination, equality of rights and self-determination remain a dead letter.

143. On the contrary, there are some who strain their wits, as in the case of apartheid, to put their own interpretation on those principles. Is it not true that whenever the United Nations questions the policy of racial discrimination, the Government of South Africa unfailingly replies that this constitutes "an unprecedented attempt at deliberate interference"? In this particular case the argument must inevitably be sterile because it is used to support a policy denounced and condemned by the conscience of mankind.

144. In an attempt to emerge from the impasse, the Group of Experts established pursuant to resolution S/5471 adopted by the Security Council on 4 December 1963⁵ declared that:

"It is only on the road of free and democratic consultation and co-operation ... that a way can be found towards a peaceful and constructive settlement",

and recommended

"... the establishment of a National Convention fully representative of the whole population. Such a representative National Convention would consider the views and proposals of all those participating and set a new course for the future".⁶

Isolating itself from the international community, South Africa replies that comment on these concrete proposals which are acceptable to us is superfluous.

145. When the question of the trial of the South African patriots and of the amnesty for political prisoners was raised, it was claimed that the United Nations was interfering in South Africa's judicial processes. Is it natural to respond to humanitarian considerations by taking refuge in legal argumentation and to carry cynicism to the point of executing patriots, as was done a few weeks ago, despite the intervention of such a universally recognized moral authority as that of Pope Paul VI?

146. These facts show that although the principle of non-intervention in matters within the domestic jurisdiction of a State is one to which we attach great importance, there are countries which dare to abuse it in an attempt—an unsuccessful attempt—to vindicate themselves to world public opinion which has already taken it upon itself to condemn the inhumanity and injustice of a system based on discrimination.

147. And the improper interpretation of certain principles of our Charter does not end there. Is it not on the basis of its own understanding of self-determination that Portugal, for example, claims to be justified in maintaining its domination over territories temporarily under its administration? On this point we adhere strictly to the principle that it is the duty of States to recognize the equality and fundamental rights of peoples and their right to self-determination, as understood in the Charter, and to the principle that States must fulfil the obligations they have assumed.

148. Recognition of these principles aside, even though it may prove desirable to explore further the possibilities offered by an exchange of views, we see no chance of succeeding unless Portugal furnishes positive proof of its good faith and goodwill. For nothing would be more repugnant to us than to have to resort to sanctions which may seriously endanger the peace and security of the African continent.

149. These are not the only two instances in which international law, once it has been exhaustively studied and precisely formulated, may allow the United Nations, the mirror of the universal conscience, to intervene effectively. There is also the much debated question of minorities which could have been solved by the conclusion of covenants on human rights.

150. Yet, just as we have seen how some States turn the provisions of the Charter to their own particular advantage, so we are amazed that, in contempt of justice which takes precedence over any considerations resulting from the fact there are some people who would stress what are falsely described as the consequences of constitutional imperatives, a minority such as that in Southern Rhodesia should claim to be the sole beneficiary of a process of development which the responsible authorities have sought to regulate. If the law were strictly complied with, it would have been normal for this development, the outcome of which is independence, to advantage the majority, whose legitimate desire for independence and liberty we must in all fairness and in all conscience endorse.

151. After we have considered these cases, which we will readily classify as abnormal, it seems essential that we should apply ourselves to the development of international law and when we have succeeded in codifying, in a manner which precludes any ambiguity, any evasion, the obligations incumbent on each of us, we shall be able to tackle the question of real co-operation among nations.

152. It is in order to give concrete expression to these ideas and feelings that the Government of the Malagasy Republic has requested the inclusion in the agenda of an item [item 6 of the supplementary list], entitled "Observance by Member States of the principles relating to the sovereignty of States, their territorial integrity, non-interference in their domestic affairs, the peaceful settlement of disputes and the condemnation of subversive activities". The explanatory memorandum [A/5757 and Add.1] submitted by my delegation in support of our request for the item's inclusion in the agenda clearly defines our objectives and the means we suggest, which stem from what I have just explained to you. All the terms—and I say "all" advisedly—of our draft resolution are taken from the Charter of the United Nations and the Charter of the Organization of African Unity signed at the Addis Ababa Conference almost twenty months ago.⁷

153. In order that freedom, democracy and justice in all spheres and respect for human dignity may prevail, it is my Government's policy to endeavour to co-ordinate our actions through regional groupings,

⁵/ Official Records of the Security Council, Eighteenth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1963, document S/5471.

⁶/ Ibid., Nineteenth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1964, document S/5658, Annex, para. 8.

⁷/ Summit Conference of Independent African States, 22-25 May 1963.

for there is no doubt that where adequate instruments are still lacking we are obliged to establish machinery which, as we see it, must constitute a factor making for understanding and a force for peace.

154. This is one of the reasons why we contributed to the establishment of the Organization of African Unity, which the African and Malagasy union has just joined, for we feel that we share the same preoccupations together with certain principles and rules which count for more than our differences.

155. In this way, by presenting a united front to the world, we are confident that we shall be able to ensure the triumph of the ideas we share with the community of nations, in particular regarding the need for development, the urgent need for an international community in which law will prevail over arbitrariness, and honest co-operation, guarantee of a lasting understanding between nations which circumstances have brought into confrontation.

156. These are the thoughts which, on behalf of the Malagasy delegation, I advance for your consideration. They have been formally expressed on several occasions by our Head of State, President Philibert Tsiranana. We must come back to them again and again and perhaps even develop them further if we want the United Nations to be able to accomplish its task. There is no longer room for doubt when we are called upon to fulfil man's desire to escape from the ebb and flow of fear and hope, to help avert the peril resulting from political, economic and social injustice, from oppression and tyranny, to promote development, exchanges of views and co-operation and, instead of observing as passive spectators the victory of one side over the other, foster peace in the world and understanding among nations.

The meeting rose at 5.55 p.m.