



CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
Agenda item 9:	
General debate (<i>continued</i>)	
Speech by Mr. Amiama-Ti6 (Dominican Republic)	1
Speech by Mr. Romulo (Philippines)	4
Speech by Mr. Panya (Laos)	7
Speech by Mr. Chalmers (Haiti)	11
Statement by the representative of Malaysia	16

President: Miss Angie E. BROOKS (Liberia).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. AMIAMA-TIO (Dominican Republic) (*translated from Spanish*): One source of satisfaction afforded me by this session of the General Assembly, Madam President, is the significant fact of your election to preside over it. That fact is extremely encouraging for countries like my own that have struggled for many years, especially during the constructive phase of our present constitutional Government, to give the status of women its proper attributes. We therefore celebrate as a victory of our own, in close harmony with our beliefs, the fact that an illustrious representative of the loftiest ideals of human justice and talent has been unanimously elected by all Member States represented here.

2. Under your enlightened guidance, the General Assembly is embarking upon one of its most promising sessions, at a time when the agenda before us includes items of the utmost gravity and importance.

3. The supreme position you now occupy at the twenty-fourth session reminds us of the notable presidency of another eminent figure, Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, who conducted the eighth session of the General Assembly with the same ability that we look for from you in view of your acknowledged experience and understanding of the problems which are a source of concern and disquiet to all nations.

4. Despite our concern, it is encouraging to find that at times such as these, when international organizations are suffering the consequences of the unrest afflicting the whole of mankind, a distinguished woman should have been chosen to preside over the highest organ of the United Nations.

5. At the last session of the Assembly this same honour fell to Mr. Emilio Arenales, an eminent Latin American, now deceased, to whose memory I should like to pay a

posthumous tribute for the wisdom with which he guided our activities on that occasion, and for the admirable and unflinching courage with which he faced adversity in the difficult tasks he accomplished.

6. May I assure you, Madam President, that, in the fulfilment of our duties and responsibilities, the work lying ahead of us will be lightened by the resolution and influence you bring to bear in searching for the most desirable and appropriate solutions.

7. My country has followed with keen interest the emergence of that group of young nations that has come to be called the third world. As a token of the constructive concern that prompts us, I welcome you to this General Assembly and congratulate you in the name of my Government and of its supreme leader and President, Dr. Joaquin Balaguer.

8. As I see it, the primary cause of the international political crisis which resembles a chronic disease to which all States Members of the United Nations are liable to fall prey, is lack of compliance with international treaties. This evil is all the more prejudicial to the objectives pursued by the Organization in that neither the principles of the Charter nor the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly, nor even the Security Council, which is directly entrusted with the tremendous responsibility of maintaining peace throughout the world, have escaped its influence.

9. Hence we doubt whether, in the midst of such a crisis, we should advocate the admission of mainland China as a Member of the United Nations, when it is precisely that country which has done most to flout the principles designed to prevent the scourge of war and to ensure the maintenance of peace throughout the world, principles that are not merely legal rules of conduct but inviolable imperatives for all Members of the Organization.

10. The Dominican Republic also doubts the desirability of admitting to this Organization a new Member which neither believes in nor abides by the postulates of the Charter by which Member States are governed. It would be naive to expect that countries which become Members of the United Nations will be able to change the very structure of their policy, which has resisted all change for so many years. These considerations justify the position assumed now and in the past by my country in speaking out at the General Assembly against the persistent candidature of mainland China.

11. Nevertheless, we recognize the high ideals which generally inspire and endeavour to preserve peace. We refer to my country's refusal to accept any kind of intervention by States in the internal affairs of other States. In view of

the events that have been occurring in different parts of the world in circumstances involving States Members of the United Nations, it is vitally necessary at this time that, far from allowing those principles which safeguard the self-determination of peoples to be weakened, we should see to it that a collective reaction takes place to ensure that those principles become more than mere legal pronouncements.

12. The events in Czechoslovakia were a source of grave concern to the countries of the free world. Despite the regrettable train of events that followed, which has now culminated in an internal situation that is reluctantly accepted, we must make our position clear as regards a curious belief that has recently emerged. I refer to the claim by one Power of the right to intervene in the affairs of another Power solely on the grounds of their association in a political pact, or the use of power to freeze the ideologies shared by such countries into hard-and-fast dogmas.

13. It is incomprehensible that, while the United Nations is striving to further mutual respect among nations, these events should reveal a tendency to undermine those very objectives. We do not progress by going backwards; yet this is what seems to be happening with the doctrine which we might call the doctrine of "protected sovereignties". We are all aware that the ambitious concept of guaranteed constitutions has been mooted for many years. It has been said that one State can guarantee the political constitution of another.

14. That interpretation has naturally been refuted on the grounds that it is doubtful whether a sovereign is legitimately entitled to transfer jurisdiction over the constitution; it is certainly undemonstrable, since a people's right to self-determination is inalienable, cannot be held in disregard or made the subject of international agreements. If any benefit has been derived from these events, it is undoubtedly that all freedom-loving peoples in the world have been given an opportunity to reaffirm their faith in and acceptance of the principles which are now universal.

15. My country has not been indifferent to the secessionist war in Nigeria, which has cost so many lives because of the impossibility of going to the assistance of the defenceless civilian population, and which has given the civilized world such a picture of untold horror and tragedy in that part of Africa.

16. My Government considers that, in view of this situation, we must devise means of restoring peace in the zone of hostilities and of putting an end to the tragedy that has been going on there for so long, without infringing the right of non-intervention.

17. If we are to trust the information available to us, more than ninety aircraft have been hijacked in mid-flight by force of arms, to the danger of the aircraft, the crew and the passengers.

18. The information at our disposal indicates that these acts were committed for political motives. If we are right in thinking this, it may reasonably be expected that these acts will degenerate into even more serious offences in future. In any situation in which this criminal irregularity is likely to take place, there is undoubtedly a danger that, because of

their implications, the repetition of such acts could in certain circumstances disturb the peace which the United Nations is called upon to preserve. The United Nations is therefore justified in taking up the problem in due course and dealing with it in the appropriate way.

19. The hijacking of aircraft in different parts of the world should lead us to consider the creation of a favourable climate of opinion for the treatment of this type of depredation as an international crime similar to piracy on the high seas.

20. Views have been voiced which, although obviously well-intentioned, are apt to create confusion. We refer to the reaction aroused by the possibility that sparsely populated territories that have become sovereign and independent States will be admitted to the United Nations. The reasons advanced for not admitting these States have political overtones. It is argued, moreover, that, because the States in question have small populations and would have difficulty in becoming self-sufficient, they would not be able to meet the contribution required of them to maintain their rights as Members of the United Nations.

21. We dislike the fact that the exercise of a right involving the idea of peace should be conditioned by any kind of budgetary consideration. Nor do we like any kind of discrimination in the application of the concept of the sovereignty and independence of States.

22. We realize that these criteria afford protection for small countries such as the Dominican Republic. We also realize that for countries which cannot protect themselves in other ways, recognition of their rights is a substitute for all the other kinds of protective and defensive measures which other States have the privilege of enjoying.

23. As we object to all forms of discrimination, we maintain our inflexible attitude with regard to the policy of *apartheid* and shall continue to uphold and strengthen the principle adopted by the General Assembly in this unhappy conflict, which seems to be no nearer its end and holds out no hope that South Africa will recognize the impressive nature of one of the most laudable advances made by modern civilization.

24. The efforts made this year to find an honourable settlement in Viet-Nam through the continuation of the Paris talks have been hopefully welcomed by my Government, whose attitude is, I am sure, echoed by most of the Dominican people. Certain groups in different parts of the world have shown impatience with the slowness and nuances of this personal meeting between the parties concerned.

25. We believe that the talks should continue as long as possible and that South Viet-Nam and its associates have indicated quite clearly that they are prepared to cease hostilities and reach a constructive agreement. The withdrawal of troops from Viet-Name territory and their return to the United States, as also the categorical statements made here on the 18th of this month [*1755th meeting*] by the highest and most qualified spokesman of the United States Government, are a further manifestation of the desire for peace by which that Power is animated. We

must remember, however, that there is a long road still to travel and that a tithe of the sacrifice, which may be of vast proportions, has yet to be paid. My country expresses the heartfelt hope that a way of bringing the situation in Viet-Nam to an end will be found in the not too distant future.

26. The conflict in the Middle East still engages the attention of all peace-loving countries. Efforts have admittedly been made to put an end to the situation, which at times has been explosive—as it is at present. Security Council resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967 should be sufficient to enable the parties to enter upon the final phase of the conflict.

27. We have frequently heard it said that this is an isolated situation confined to a certain area, but we would point out that at the present time there are many tensions in the world and that peace is exposed to such grave threats in this era of atomic and nuclear weapons that it is impossible to be sure that an isolated situation will not lead to an extension of the conflict.

28. My Government is convinced that it was a wise step to include the question of international co-operation in the peaceful uses of outer space, which gave rise to General Assembly resolution 2453 (XXI) of 20 December 1968 in our agenda.

29. The speed with which research and conquest of outer space is proceeding compels us to press forward despite the obstacles that may be placed in the way of studies and decisions relating to the legal régime that must be established before a situation arises which entails orderly regulation agreed upon at the international level through the possibilities afforded by the United Nations. We must not forget that man has already left his tracks upon the moon, and that this incredible feat opens to space technology the path that will lead to other celestial bodies in our solar system. This is why we reiterate the request by the United Nations in the above-mentioned resolution that the effective co-operation of the developing countries should be enlisted in this matter which is of such importance for the advancement of the peoples of the world.

30. We cannot but express our satisfaction that the celebration of the International Education Year has also been included in the agenda of the twenty-fourth session. It is a happy coincidence for us that my Government should have declared 1969 to be Education Year.

31. This subject reminds us that education is a vital factor in the development of human resources and that, while helping to perfect man, it also equips him to assume the grave responsibilities of our time. This is why we would urge the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization to use every means available to it to ensure that consideration is given to the desirability of carrying out studies on the need to adopt a system of compulsory secondary education.

32. The universal problems facing this important sector of education stem from the situation produced by the inadequacies of a primary education that is not completed by secondary education.

33. The development of education offers an effective means of making some progress in the fight against racism and racial discrimination, which has concerned the United Nations to such an extent that it has designated 1971 as the International Year for action to combat this type of discrimination.

34. This question also involves the training of young people with a view to the development of national areas. We must overcome the obstacles in the way of the participation of the younger generations in a world that is struggling to break out of its archaic mould and to inaugurate the era of development in all fields of human activity, which must necessarily affect the destiny of nations and the objectives pursued by the basic principles of this Organization.

35. It is to be hoped that the postulates of the Economic and Social Council will be interpreted more correctly in the General Assembly so that national policies will encourage young people to play a greater part in building the modern world.

36. We are hearing a great deal of criticism of the slowness, inertia and even inefficiency of the United Nations. If this is true, we seem to forget that the blame rests on all of us. We are all equally responsible for it and under an equal obligation to rescue the United Nations from its present situation.

37. In fulfilment of our duty to the Organization, we would urge you to recognize, at this twenty-fourth session, the historic responsibility which we were called upon to assume in instituting this great international system. In acknowledging this, we are compelled to strengthen the structure of the Organization, imbue it with the necessary vigour and place our trust in it, so that it will not perish, because our hopes of peace are founded on it.

38. I am moved to recall in this Assembly, as our President recalled at a time of conflict in my country, that in 1863, eight-seven years after the United States of America became independent, Abraham Lincoln, an apostolic figure and a symbol of man's equality and of the freedom of the people, condemned violence, proclaimed the reconciliation of his countrymen and invoked, as the touchstone for settling all human conflicts, man's moral judgement and the grace of Almighty God.

39. Let us prepare ourselves to take part in this new session with sincerity, high-mindedness, impartiality and love for our fellow men. Let us enter this hall again with the eager and healthy enthusiasm with which a convalescent returns to his daily life. Let us enter this noble hall in a lofty and hopeful state of mind and spirit as befits the present situation, inspired by optimism and the will to succeed, with the joyful and full heart of which a great French poet speaks, and with the unsullied spirit and infectious enthusiasm of the person who, without fanfare and with an overflowing heart, takes up the threads of his life again.

40. These are my wishes and the wishes of my Government and of our supreme leader and President Dr. Joaquin Balaguer. And these are the hopes with which, at this solemn moment, I address the delegations assembled here.

41. Mr. ROMULO (Philippines): Madam President, it has been ten years since I last took part in the deliberations of the General Assembly. I consider it a privilege to return to this rostrum as leader of the Philippine delegation and in that capacity to extend to you my sincere felicitations on your election to the highest office attainable in this distinguished body.

42. Twenty years ago, as President of the fourth session of the General Assembly, I had the great honour of occupying the same exalted position. I remember it as a unique vantage point, providing an exhilarating view of the state of the world. But it is also the point of convergence of the world's problems. I know from experience what a lonely eminence the office of President can be and how heavy its burdens can become. My assurance, therefore, of the unstinting support and co-operation of my delegation is more than a ritualistic gesture. It is a token of recognition of the magnitude of your task and an expression of earnest hope for your success as President of what we all pray will be a constructive and fruitful session of the Assembly.

43. The sombre context of our deliberations has been accentuated by the death in office of your distinguished predecessor, Mr. Arenales of Guatemala. He was a man of brilliance and perception. He had an even rarer quality: moral courage. At the risk of being misunderstood, of becoming unpopular, he dared to do his duty by speaking what he conceived to be the truth about certain weaknesses of the United Nations. His intellectual honesty was matched by his uncompromising devotion to the high office entrusted to him. We feel his loss keenly.

44. Permit me first of all to state the Philippine position on some of the pressing problems on our agenda.

45. We share the profound concern about the deteriorating situation in the Middle East, where the protagonists appear to be once again on the brink of open war. We have pondered this intractable problem deeply, weighing carefully in our minds and in our consciences the various solutions proposed. Mindful of the claims, the interests and the aspirations of both sides, and considering them in the context of the common need for the restoration of peace with justice in that troubled area, we maintain our support for the Security Council's resolution of 22 November 1967 [242 (1967)] as the basis for an equitable settlement.

46. We remain opposed to the admission of Communist China into the United Nations and this is a position we shall maintain as long as Communist China pursues its intransigent policies and its support of so-called wars of national liberation which so often masks aggression by proxy. Like its other Asian neighbours, we are prepared to coexist with Communist China and the Chinese people but we have a right to insist that coexistence be based on mutual respect and scrupulous regard for international law.

47. We look forward to a negotiated settlement of the war in Viet-Nam but frankly hope that it will not be a peace at any price. The people of South Viet-Nam have the fundamental right to determine freely their own destiny in accordance with the principle of self-determination. They have earned that right in the crucible of war. They should not be deprived of it at the peace table.

48. We note with alarm and anxiety the lack of progress reported by the Secretary-General in the crucial field of disarmament. This continuing impasse, reflecting a basic disagreement between the two super-Powers, fosters a global climate of insecurity which makes it more difficult to settle particular disputes like those in the Middle East and Viet-Nam. We shall lend our full support to all initiatives towards effective disarmament and international control of strategic nuclear weapons and the prevention of the development, production and stockpiling of chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons.

49. We remain fully committed to the protection and promotion of fundamental human rights, mindful of the fact that their violation anywhere in the world constitutes a direct threat to peace as well as a derogation of the essential dignity of man.

50. At this juncture I should like to refer briefly—and in the most friendly way—to the Philippine claim to Sabah. We are pledged to pursue this claim only by peaceful, orderly means under the rule of law, and therefore we reiterate our standing proposal to submit the case to the International Court of Justice, by whose decision the Malaysian Government and ourselves should abide. This step is in consonance with the Manila Accord of 1963, under which Malaysia and the Philippines agreed:

“...to bring the claim to a just and expeditious solution 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”.

51. I submit that it is hardly possible to envisage a more friendly and reasonable approach to this particular problem. A further touchstone of Philippine sincerity in this matter is our continued co-operation with Malaysia in the regional economic and social programmes of ASEAN, the Association of South-East Asian Nations, which also includes our good neighbours, Indonesia, Singapore and Thailand. Moreover, the Philippines, having regard to Malaysia's recent difficulties, has exercised the utmost restraint with respect to this question, which, we continue to hope, could be adjudicated by mutual consent.

52. I now turn to the more general issues of concern to this Assembly. It gives one pause to realize that the United Nations is not yet a quarter of a century old. In 1944, as an observer for the Philippines, which at that time had not yet regained its independence, I was a witness to the historic initial steps to organize the United Nations at Dumbarton Oaks in Washington, and afterwards I had the honour to lead the Philippines delegation at the formal founding of the United Nations in San Francisco. That was in 1945, only twenty-four years ago. Yet it seems already to belong to another age.

53. The reason is partly because the pace of change in our world has become so rapid that it is no longer measureable by the ordinary time scale, and partly because its depth and scope are transforming life and society everywhere on our planet to a degree unprecedented in history. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that we are today living in a different

world from the one for which the United Nations Charter was designed twenty-four years ago.

54. Among the changes affecting the structure of the United Nations is the emergence of super-Powers possessing ultimate weapons in over-kill quantity but unable to impose peace and order in the world. None of us who signed the Charter in San Francisco knew anything about the atom bomb.

55. Another is the emergence of Africa as a major factor in world affairs.

56. Yet another is the dynamic resurgence of Asia after centuries of lethargy under Western domination. China, whose ancient civilization was a fertile source of inventions helpful to the build-up of Western power and affluence, has acquired the nuclear technology needed to reclaim its place among the great Powers. Then again, responding belatedly to the challenge of the industrial revolution, Japan nevertheless has forged to the front rank of today's economic giants, sparking what may turn out to be a new Asian renaissance.

57. It is also in Asia that the political limits to the exercise of great military power are being most sharply defined and restrained. Asia is in the process of firmly establishing a principle applicable to other regions, namely, that Asian problems are primarily the concern and responsibility of the Asian countries themselves.

58. They—the Asians—are asserting, in the words of His Excellency President Ferdinand E. Marcos of the Philippines, their right to “a rule compatible with the recovered dignity of their new status, and, in keeping with the purposes of Asian nationalism, demanding that others place their relationship with them on a basis of equality and mutual respect”.

59. Relevant to the new relationship between Asian and non-Asian Powers that might be formed after the war in Viet-Nam has ended is President Marcos' perceptive warning:

“To function in Asia without full Asian support is to build on shifting sand. The greater the power projected from outside into Asia, the more compelling the need that it should operate in harmony with Asian aspirations, towards goals compatible with Asian independence and dignity.”

60. There is a portentous stirring among the peoples of Asia today as they become more and more deeply involved in the great enterprise of transforming their ancient societies through economic and social development. As in other parts of the developing world, Asia's youth is in the forefront of this gathering march towards that glittering goal of the Charter: “better standards of life in larger freedom”.

61. I believe that this Assembly should pay special attention to the emergence of youth as one of the most important factors in the process of change in the developing countries. The Secretary-General's observations on this point are worth pondering. In his statement at the opening

of the forty-seventh session of the Economic and Social Council in Geneva on 14 July 1969, he finds that:

“... while science and technology speed forward with inventions and discoveries which were beyond imagination even a few decades ago, young people are less content with the sluggishness of the institutions and the structures of political, economic and social life. Many of them are impatient, understandably impatient, with injustice and they question the existing channels of institutional change . . .

“It seems obvious that, during the years ahead, societies all over the world will have to adapt their priorities and allocate their resources to take into account the demands of youth.”

62. I feel that it would be useful to bring to the Assembly's attention the conclusions of some of the past Presidents of the General Assembly, some Permanent Representatives and other friends of the United Nations who participated in the fourth conference on the United Nations of the next decade which was held in Quebec from 22 to 27 June 1969 under the auspices of the Stanley Foundation. A sense of profound, pervasive, revolutionary change, presenting mankind with both danger and opportunity, informed their deliberation and manifests itself in the joint statement in which they sought to convey a message of warning well worth reiterating from this rostrum. It is a warning that coincides with the significant alert sounded by Secretary-General U Thant in the introduction to his report that is before us—a report which is marked by a sustained tone of gloom, and in which he says that “time is running out” [*A/7601/Add.1, para. 198*] for efforts to save world peace. The Quebec statement of past Presidents and Permanent Representatives and students of political science declared:

“As we enter the 1970s, the world sits on time bombs: an accelerating arms race, rising racial hostility, exploding population, the widening economic development gap and the lag of human institutions behind scientific progress.

“Major changes in the United Nations are needed to make it more capable of maintaining peace, justice and freedom under law . . .

“New opportunities lie before us. New roles for the United Nations are opened by world problems such as population, pollution, and the new frontiers of the sea-bed and outer space. Increasing international contacts and the growing interdependence of nations compel new forms of co-operation. The failures of old structures and programmes open the door for new. The idealism of many young people, and their determination to participate in building a better world, should be enlisted to strengthen the United Nations.

“The twenty-fifth birthday of the United Nations in 1970 should be more than mere ceremony. It is time for a searching examination of the strengths and weaknesses of the United Nations—and new determination to make the United Nations adequate to the dangers and opportunities of the 1970s.”

63. Those are the considered views of some of the past Assembly Presidents and a group of political scientists and

United Nations representatives who conferred in Quebec on the role of the United Nations in the coming decade. Their suggestion that major changes be made to update the United Nations and make it a more efficient instrument for achieving the goals of the Charter deserve, I believe, the most careful consideration by this Assembly.

64. During their tenure, these past Presidents served the General Assembly with the whole-hearted dedication that has become an honoured tradition. They have since kept in close touch with United Nations affairs meeting together with other close observers and students of the world Organization in 1965 in San Francisco, in 1967 in Burgenstock, Switzerland, and again in 1968 in Dubrovnik, Yugoslavia. The joint statement of their meeting last spring, to which I have referred, is a succinct summing-up of the most urgent of the major concerns of the United Nations. More than that, it provides the basis for an agenda for constructive action in the next decade.

65. A fundamental review of the structure, powers, and procedure of the United Nations is an important item in the Quebec agenda. It is a proposal which my delegation considers both appropriate and timely. It is true that the purposes and principles of the Charter were, in a very real sense, written for the ages—valid not only for this generation or the next but also for the generations to follow. But the machinery and the methods for their realization were not meant to be immutable. After twenty-four years it is certainly necessary to scrutinize them closely and see how they may be made more useful and effective in our rapidly changing world.

66. That was the reason for the provision in Article 109 for a General Conference to review the Charter ten years after its coming into force. That Conference unfortunately was not held; we were told by the great Powers that it might open a Pandora's box of problems. No one has checked if the lock on that Pandora's box has remained in place. If it has, the box itself must be full of holes, because the problems it is supposed to contain are out in force, bedevilling the United Nations and its Member countries—and making it an ineffective instrument for peace.

67. First in 1955, then in 1966, the Philippines formally reiterated its proposal for a review of the Charter. On 21 September 1966, in his address to the General Assembly, President Marcos declared:

“... the review and revision of the Charter ... already years overdue ... can no longer be deferred. A whole new world has emerged”—and come into being in the twenty years since San Francisco—“the Charter should faithfully reflect the realities and the vital needs of this new world. Only thus can the United Nations become an instrument fully responsive to the aims and aspirations of Member nations ...” [1411th meeting, para. 29].

“For the United Nations itself, there is a clear and admitted need to perfect its organization, to improve the techniques employed in its manifold operations, and to bring to its work, particularly in the developing countries, an even greater sense of mission and dedication.” [Ibid., para. 28.]

68. My delegation would like to see included in the agenda of the next session of the General Assembly, coinciding

with the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, an item on the review of the United Nations Charter. We envisage three main areas of change.

69. The first would be functional. It would include measures to ensure: first, that this general debate—this important function in which we are now engaged—should be more meaningful, more productive, less wordy, and closely geared to the vital problems confronting the Assembly, not local parochial, national problems, intended only for home consumption; secondly, that the decision-making process, including the voting procedures, should facilitate the taking of more effective and realistic decisions capable of being translated into viable programmes enjoying wide support; and thirdly, that there should be more effective co-ordination of United Nations activities and programmes, with overlapping agencies duly integrated and assessment procedures established to make certain that maximum results are achieved and that proliferation of agencies stop.

70. The second principal area of change would be, in the broad sense, political. It would include measures to improve the peace-keeping capacity of the United Nations; enhance its ability to initiate collective security arrangements in areas vulnerable to aggression or subversion; and augment its resources for conciliation, mediation and arbitration of international disputes.

71. The third main area of change would be in the economic and social fields. It would centre on measures to facilitate the formulation of a global strategy for development, based on a workable partnership between the rich and the poor nations intended to bridge the steadily widening poverty gap which threatens to tear the international community asunder in the coming decade. This is a crisis we must watch because it is coming.

72. In due course, the Philippine delegation will submit specific proposals spelling out the changes I have briefly touched upon. We are well aware that structural reforms alone will be futile without the will to translate the Charter into reality. But we consider it wise to have the instrument ready when the will to make it work manifests itself, as it must if the survival of man in conditions of dignity and peace is to be assured.

73. This is all the more necessary, in our view, as the time draws near for embarking on the Second United Nations Development Decade. The preparations for this momentous undertaking should provide a common ground for the concerted efforts required to cope successfully in the 1970s with the same formidable challenge that the First Development Decade, unfortunately, has failed to surmount.

74. On the part of the United Nations, two major reviews of far-reaching implications to international co-operation for economic development are in the process of being completed. The first is Sir Robert Jackson's “capacity study” for the United Nations Development Programme. The second is the “grand assize” of international assistance for the past two decades which the World Bank has commissioned another past President of the General Assembly, Mr. Lester Pearson, to conduct. It is our earnest hope that these two searching reviews will help provide a

firmer basis for the vastly expanded international effort needed to ensure the success of the Second Development Decade.

75. For their part, the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America should consult more closely together on a common strategy for the coming decade. The Government of Chile has taken a commendable initiative in gaining the support of the developed countries for a declaration of Latin American views of how to accelerate economic and social development in the 1970s as expressed in the historic consensus of Viña del Mar of 17 May 1969. In the Organization of African Unity the African countries have an effective instrument for consultation and joint planning. A parallel effort could be made by the Asian countries. Collaboration within UNCTAD makes available to the three regional groups workable modes of high-level co-operation which could be expanded to suit the requirements of a common strategy for the Second Development Decade.

76. On the part of the developed countries, what is required above all is the basic decision, duly reflected in their policies on international aid and trade, to help the developing countries achieve the target of 6 to 7 per cent annual average growth rate in the next decade. The Secretary-General, in his statement at the opening session of the conference on the Second United Nations Development Decade on 9 May 1969, considers it

“... tragic that, at the very moment in history when assistance efforts are beginning to yield results, public and official support in the aid-giving countries appears to be weakening”.

The Secretary-General says that that is tragic, and I believe it is more than tragic, it can be fatal.

77. The Secretary-General finds it ironic that many people in the rich countries who realize the cost and the dangers of neglecting poverty at home “seem unable to apply the lessons of their domestic experience to the shrinking world in which they live”.

78. In his statement at the opening of the Economic and Social Council, the Secretary-General notes that adequate resources are available, given the political will to use them. He says:

“I continue to be struck by the magnitude of the stake and the relatively limited sacrifice, in financial terms, which would be needed to improve on the past trends in the economic growth of the developing countries: only a slight reduction in expenditure on armaments would suffice to make available the external resources required for solving at least some of the gravest economic and social problems of today’s world.”

79. Implicit in all these is the imperative need for a more decisive commitment to the purposes and principles of the Charter on the part of all Members of the United Nations. The problems of peace and development transcend national and regional boundaries. They underline the inescapable reality of our interdependent world.

80. Three years ago the President of the Philippines reminded the General Assembly [1411th meeting] that the

unresolved threat of nuclear annihilation imposed a desperately short deadline on United Nations efforts to ensure mankind’s survival. Again this is underscored by Secretary-General U Thant in the introduction to his annual report [A/7601/Add.1] now before us.

81. On 9 May 1969, in his statement at the opening session of the conference on the Second United Nations Development Decade, the Secretary-General issued this warning:

“I do not wish to seem overdramatic, but I can only conclude from the information that... the United Nations have perhaps ten years left in which to subordinate their ancient quarrels and launch a global partnership to curb the arms race, to improve the human environment, to defuse the population explosion, and to supply the required momentum to world development efforts. If such a global partnership is not forged within the next decade, then I very much fear that the problems I have mentioned will have reached such staggering proportions that they will be beyond our capacity to control.”

82. With characteristic wit, the late John F. Kennedy illuminated one aspect of the problem most pertinent to the Second Development Decade. He said: “If a free society cannot help the many who are poor, it cannot save the few who are rich”. Let us repeat that. “If a free society cannot help the many who are poor, it cannot save the few who are rich.”

83. If I have voiced some thoughts that are critical of this Organization and some aspects of its work, it does not mean that my delegation has lost faith in the United Nations. On the contrary, we would like to enhance its effectiveness because we believe in it.

84. The Philippine people are among the founding Members of the United Nations. Our belief in the freedom and dignity of man, our hopes for the future, and our commitment to the kind of world in which those hopes could find fulfilment are embodied in the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter, in the drafting of which we had the privilege of having a hand.

85. Our support of the United Nations, through the vicissitudes of its first two decades, has been firm and unstinting. It will remain steadfast through whatever trials and ordeals may lie ahead. Twenty years ago, when I had the inestimable privilege of presiding over the General Assembly, the cold war was at its height. In the aftermath of the Berlin blockade, the danger of a third world war appeared to be a very real one. Then the Korean War exploded. I confess, I spent many a sleepless night thinking of ways to help reduce tensions and develop modes of accommodation between the contending sides.

86. But on the supreme question of man’s ability and will to survive—and not only to survive, but to persevere in his everlasting quest for the fullness of freedom and dignity—my faith has never wavered; and that faith is as strong today as it was twenty years ago.

87. Mr. PANYA (Laos) (*translated from French*): Madam President, my delegation is happy to add its voice, with all

the warmth and sympathy of a member of the Afro-Asian group, to the mounting chorus of tributes and compliments addressed to you on your unanimous election to the presidency of this session of the Assembly. In the great honour paid to you today, my delegation sees a well-deserved tribute to your devotion to this Organization, to your talents, to your qualities of heart and mind, and to the personage that you are in your own country; and so, through you personally, we honour your country itself today. We are convinced that, under your enlightened presidency, our discussions will proceed with all the desired justice and objectivity.

88. At the beginning of this twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly, our thoughts naturally turn also towards the delegation of Guatemala, homeland of Mr. Emilio Arenales, the eminent President of our twenty-third session, who was suddenly snatched away from our friendship and affection at the very time when he was able to give most of himself, his knowledge and his ability to the common, universal cause.

89. Since we have the opportunity, my delegation is also pleased to express once again to U Thant, the Secretary-General, our admiration for all his efforts to promote peace and for the overwhelming and difficult responsibility he shoulders in our Organization.

90. It has become an established fact that for many years at every General Assembly session the various countries, through the authorized voice of their representatives, draw attention to the difficulties of our Organization, its inability to ensure respect for and implementation of its most serious decisions, and the consequent impunity enjoyed by certain States guilty of reprehensible acts.

91. In the face of the equanimity displayed by some States in violating the Charter, in the face of the levity with which they contravene its provisions, in the face even, in some cases, of the premeditation of such offences, it is natural that a breath of disappointment and frustration should pass over our Assembly.

92. When the Charter came into being twenty-five years ago, all hearts were uplifted by a great hope, especially in countries such as my own which have no trained armies to impose respect, no thermo-nuclear bombs to induce fear, and which rely on the goodwill of others to be able to live in peace and to forge their future in accordance with the aspirations of their people.

93. In that document, the Charter, which represents the fruit of the widest collaboration of men and nations, and the drawing up of which was inspired by the horror, disasters and incalculable consequences of the last war, it is stated in Chapter I, dealing with the purposes and principles of the United Nations, that the United Nations must be "a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends", namely, friendship, co-operation and the maintenance of international peace and security.

94. Despite that solemn declaration, to which all Members of the United Nations, large and small, great Powers and developing countries, have subscribed, the spectacle we are witnessing today is deeply disappointing.

95. Many fires of war are being kindled or continue to burn in many areas of the earth, despite the lessons of history and despite the firmest declarations, unqualified promises and duly recorded signatures. Whether in Europe, the Middle East, South-East Asia or South Africa, tense and explosive situations exist. The list of victims and of acts of destruction grows longer with each passing day.

96. My delegation appeals to the conscience of all countries to put an end to these deadly combats, this immense waste of life and property, so as to bring about a return to international morality and to peace and security.

97. Not long ago, all mankind acclaimed man's first landing on the moon. There can be no denying that this represents an unexampled scientific exploit. We feel, however, that it would be vain to conquer space as long as the Powers which have the means to do so still do not possess the morality or real determination required to bring about the rule of order, peace and security on earth.

98. I have thought it necessary to make this lengthy preamble before describing to you the situation in my country, the Kingdom of Laos, where for more than twenty years a deadly and devastating war has been waged—a "forgotten war", in the words of our Prime Minister, His Highness Prince Souvanna Phouma.

99. This term "forgotten war" should not be misunderstood to mean a war undeserving of attention. On the contrary, the ravages of the war are great and out of all proportion to the resources of the country and to the size of its population.

100. It is "forgotten" because such is the will of the States which are involved in it and which have provoked it.

101. Those responsible are well known to you: first, the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam; secondly, all who support and assist it in its reprehensible acts; and, thirdly, all who solemnly undertook to defend and guarantee the neutrality and sovereignty of Laos and who have broken both their oath and their signed word.

102. At present more than 600,000 people, one fifth of the total population, have fled the tyranny and privations imposed by the rebels and their protectors to seek refuge in more clement areas, under the protection of the Royal Government. The long list of acts of sabotage and of destruction of public works and public utilities is endless. At the end of every dry season, numbers of bridges, only just repaired, are destroyed, irrigation and hydro-electric dams are put out of operation and work on many construction sites is hampered by threats, kidnappings and assassinations. And this has been the situation for more than twenty years.

103. In these circumstances it is easy to imagine the immense difficulties facing the Royal Government in its determined efforts to promote the economic progress of the Kingdom and to overcome its great backwardness in relation to the modern world.

104. The war in Laos is, without any doubt, an unjust, amoral and unwarranted war, from whatever angle it may be viewed.

105. It is unjust because it was not the Laotians who provoked it. My country is well aware of its military strength, or rather weakness; it cannot be a threat to anyone. It has neither a political ideology to spread or to impose, nor any annexationist designs, nor any desire to engage in intrigue for anyone's benefit. My country has been known from the most remote times for its devotion to peace and tranquillity, for its great tolerance and for its Buddhist philosophy.

106. We are also aware of our geographical situation at the cross-roads where antagonistic ideas and systems come face to face. It is at cross-roads that accidents occur—we are well aware of that and we have not failed to observe the utmost severity in our conduct.

107. In this spirit we have pushed our scruples to the very limit. We know that a State, a Government worthy of the name, will never look kindly on the installation on its flanks of a systematically hostile régime with which there would be neither room for negotiation nor possibility of coexistence. We have always refused to adopt any tandem position, despite advice, manoeuvres, pressures or the tempting offers dangled before us.

108. The reason why we are neutral—as we have solemnly proclaimed, demonstrated in our institutions and translated in our actions—is that, in the first place, neutrality accords with our nature, with the aspiration of our people for a harmonious order without *diktats* and without undue prohibitions, and that it conforms to the expression of our religious beliefs and to our behaviour in social life.

109. The reason why we are neutral—we went to Geneva in 1954 and 1962 to have that status conferred on us in accordance with our wishes—is also that we wish to avoid any confrontation, on our soil and to our detriment, of foreign forces, in order not to have to take sides in a combat which bodes only ruin and mourning for our people and to remove any reason for distrust or suspicion based on connivance, complicity or alliance with one party or the other.

110. Despite all these measures, aimed at preventing war and resulting from the state of war, what do we see in return? North Viet-Nameese troops whose numbers exceed 40,000 men are occupying our territory and providing officers to the Laos rebels to harass, attack and besiege Government posts. A motor road, misnamed the “Ho Chi Minh trail”, constructed, maintained and guarded by Hanoi soldiers, uses several hundred kilometres of Laotian territory to enable Hanoi to carry to other regions and countries the seeds of war and subversive intrigue which it has initiated.

111. We have hoped, and we continue to hope, that our country might play the role of a buffer, a neutral framework where the antagonists, abandoning their distrust and their extreme demands, would begin to contemplate a peaceful coexistence. Unfortunately, this principle of peaceful coexistence, which everyone agrees should be the main pillar of modern international life, is far from being established in Laos or anywhere else in the world.

112. This war in Laos is amoral because the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam abuses its military and demographic

power and because it shamelessly denies what is self-evident. No denial can hide the actual existence of the Ho Chi Minh trail. No communiqué, however adroit, can conceal the presence of those soldiers in Laos, because the hundred-odd prisoners whom we have captured can at any moment bear witness to their presence.

113. It is amoral because certain States or Powers which are signatories of the Geneva Agreements of 1962¹ and guarantors of the neutrality and sovereignty of Laos refuse, either through complicity or calculation, or simply through negligence or lack of interest, to honour their promises and their signatures.

114. We have kept the relevant organs of the Geneva Conference² informed of each of the many violations and hostile acts committed. We cannot but realize, however, that our representations have almost always been in vain. Because of the undisguised ill-will of one of its members, we have encountered virtual immobility on the part of the International Supervision and Control Commission responsible for supervising the implementation of the Agreements, recording violations and establishing responsibility.

115. As far as the co-Chairmen, the highest authority of the Geneva Conference, are concerned, we have always been disappointed at not finding the understanding that we have a right to expect. To this day we have not succeeded, through the joint authority of the two co-Chairmen, in having the various signatories of the Agreements notified of our appeals and protests.

116. Lastly, it is amoral to connect the war in Laos with the Viet-Nam conflict. It is an entirely arbitrary act to link the destiny of a people with the outcome of a conflict to which it is totally alien. We are convinced that no legal system in the world could ever justify that.

117. The war in Laos is, moreover, unwarranted because as is well known, Laos has no military bases from which attacks are made against the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and because Laos has never harboured troops fighting against the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam.

118. True to its word, as specified in paragraph 4 of the Declaration on the Neutrality of Laos, the Royal Laotian Government has not acceded to any military alliance or any agreement of a military character and does not recognize the protection of any alliance or military coalition, including the South East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO).

119. Certain frankly partisan spirits claim that the hostilities in Laos are conducted exclusively by the Pathet Lao, the rebels against the Royal Government. In this connexion I should like to refresh the memories of representatives and recall that the Pathet Lao is nothing more or less than a creation of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, which invented the whole thing for its own ends in 1954. The leaders of the Pathet Lao are former members of the Issara movement, the initiator of Laotian independence, who

¹ Declaration on the Neutrality of Laos, signed at Geneva on 23 July 1962.

² International Conference on the Settlement of the Laotian Question, 1961-1962.

were expelled from the group with good reason, because they blindly served the subversive and annexationist designs of their protectors in Hanoi. From a strength of approximately 2,000 partisans in 1954, the Pathet Lao has increased tenfold in fifteen years through the systematic kidnapping of young men from the rural areas by Hanoi, which instructs and indoctrinates them and then sends them to carry out their shameful task, its purpose being to undermine and destroy the independence and sovereignty of their country.

120. Others, no less partisan, criticize us for having tried to obtain weapons and launch counter-attacks. As will be seen, this is a matter of self-defence, of our survival as a people and a nation. In the face of marked aggression, our handicap is not sufficient reason for not defending our country, weapons in hand, and with all the means that the situation demands.

121. Some States and Governments in the international political arena sympathize with the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, while others criticize and condemn it. I do not wish here to attempt to pass judgement in favour of the one side or against the other. What my Government wishes to point out above all else, at this twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly, is the attitude of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam to my country. The facts are eloquent and irrefutable; they speak for themselves. I am sure that your judgement will be only the logical consequence of those facts.

122. For more than twenty years, North Viet-Nameese soldiers have occupied part of our territory, using it to dispatch men, material, weapons and supplies to other fronts. How can such acts be described except by saying that their perpetrators and Government are guilty of flagrant territorial violations?

123. During the same period, the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, which created the Pathet Lao, has directed, aided and supported it in its ambition to seize power by force of arms, by illegal and unconstitutional means. In everyday terms as well as in the political vocabulary, is not this known as interference in the affairs of a country?

124. In order to dispel any misunderstanding, I hasten to add that the Pathet Lao representatives have abandoned their posts in the Government of their own will, in order to resort to armed struggle in accordance with the directives of their protectors. Whatever their argument, whatever the skill of their protectors in disguising the truth, they will never be able to find any justification or basis for their conduct or their acts, since even today their places in the Government are still marked, and discussions and negotiations could begin there at any time on any matter on which they are opposed to the other parties in the Government coalition.

125. Lastly, through the battles which they wage against Government troops on territory over which they have taken temporary control, the soldiers of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam have engaged in propaganda whose violence and hostility to the Royal Government can readily be imagined, and in indoctrination the basis of which has nothing in common with Laotian tradition. Is not this what is called outright aggression and open subversion?

126. Since 1954, since 1962, the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam has violated all the restrictions laid down in the Geneva Agreements guaranteeing the sovereignty, territorial integrity and neutrality of Laos. Can it be said, after that, that the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam respects international agreements?

127. I do not wish to take up your time by recalling from the beginning all the armed operations engaged in by the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam in Laos. I shall confine myself today to the attacks it has launched since the last dry season, which will make it possible for us fully to appreciate its responsibility, its defiance of laws and conventions, and all the harm it is doing to my country.

128. On 26 November 1968 three battalions of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam attacked Thateng in Saravene province. Another attack took place on 13 December, when 80 per cent of the centre was destroyed. On the morning of 1 March 1969 the Nakhang post was brutally attacked by combined Pathet Lao and North Viet-Nameese forces. The North Viet-Nameese forces, numbering five battalions, belonged to the 148th regiment of the 316th Division. The post had to be abandoned and 97,000 refugees had to leave their land. On 12 March 1969 a North Viet-Nameese commando unit attacked the airfield of the Royal City of Luang Prabang. There was no doubt about the nationality of the three enemy soldiers captured on that occasion. On 24 June 1969 Muong Soui was attacked by seven North Viet-Nameese battalions. All the attacking units were identified. They were the 766th *doan*, the commanding regiment for the North Viet-Nameese troops in Upper Laos, the 148th and 174th independent regiments of the 316th Division and the 12th, 34th and 924th regiments. Two hundred defenceless refugees were massacred at Ban Cat, near Muong Soui. In their offensive against Muong Soui, in order to prevent the arrival of help, the North Viet-Nameese cut and put out of service the road from Vientiane to Luang Prabang, the reconstruction of which had only just been completed after two years of effort, constant labour and financial sacrifice. Fourteen metal bridges were destroyed by the North Viet-Nameese in Central and Lower Laos in January alone.

129. That is what happened in a single season, and the situation has not changed for more than twenty years.

130. It is not out of deliberate egoism that my delegation has limited its contribution in this general discussion to a report on the situation in Laos. We wished first of all to give a full, objective and accurate account to all the countries that have undertaken to guarantee the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and neutrality of Laos, and to remind them of their responsibility.

131. There are in this hall representatives of ten of the thirteen countries that were signatories of the 1962 Geneva Agreements guaranteeing the independence, territorial integrity, sovereignty and neutrality of Laos. I solemnly appeal to them to invite their Governments fully and sincerely to assume their responsibility under the obligations they have contracted.

132. In their Declaration on the Neutrality of Laos, the thirteen signatories of the 1962 Geneva Agreements recognized and maintained that they were

“profoundly convinced that the independence and neutrality of the Kingdom of Laos will assist . . . the strengthening of peace and security in South-East Asia”.³

133. It is stated day after day in this Assembly that peace is indivisible, and that violations of the letter and the spirit of the Charter must cease everywhere and at all times. It is the duty of all Members of the United Nations to help to remedy the situation and to ensure respect for the purposes and principles of the Charter, as specified in Article 2 (6) of the Charter, which states:

“The Organization shall ensure that States which are not Members of the United Nations act in accordance with these Principles so far as may be necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security.”

134. Mr. CHALMERS (Haiti) (*translated from French*): Madam President, kindly accept, through me, the warmest congratulations of the Government of Dr. François Duvalier, President for Life of the Republic of Haiti, and of the brother people of Haiti on your unanimous election to the presidency of the General Assembly of the United Nations, one of the highest bodies in the world.

135. Liberia was one of the first countries of Black Africa to establish diplomatic relations with Haiti, through the exchange of ambassadors, and the visits to my country of your great President, Mr. William S. Tubman, and more recently of one of your Foreign Ministers and one of your Vice-Presidents, still live in the memory of our countrymen.

136. We welcome your election, Madam President, as that of a representative of a sister nation; but in our eyes and those of our brothers by race it is also symbolic.

137. A little over a century and a half ago Haiti won its independence through the tears and blood of its sons, and almost a century and a half ago your ancestors, having left America in search of a new fatherland, founded the Republic of Liberia, where they succeeded in merging the newcomers and the tribes already there in a happy symbiosis. My country and yours were for a long time the rare regions of the world where the negro had the right to walk with his head held high.

138. Now you are presiding over the Assembly of the peoples of the world only a few years after another African, Alex Quaison-Sackey of Ghana, so presided.

139. This is a happy symbol of the great brotherhood of man, of the advent, perhaps not far off, of an era in which all peoples, without distinction as to race or colour, will walk side by side towards the achievement of a better destiny, at one in the great civilization of the masses of the people, where general well-being will cease to be a vain delusion or a mere crumb of comfort for the underprivileged peoples of the third world.

140. Before concluding these words of congratulation, may I pay a heartfelt tribute to the memory of Mr. Emilio Arenales, a diplomat of rare quality, a brilliant orator with a diversity of talents, a man of uncommon courtesy, one of the most outstanding men of our Latin America, who

presided with tact and authority over the work of the preceding session of the United Nations General Assembly and whom the merciless reaper took from his country and from us all in the fullness of his genius.

141. And to you, Madam President, I renew my wishes for a successful and fruitful leadership.

142. We are almost at the end of the First United Nations Development Decade; the Preparatory Committee for the Second Development Decade has already drawn up the programme of work and calendar of meetings, in conformity with General Assembly resolution 2411 (XXIII), concerned essentially with defining the main elements of the international development strategy and with establishing an order of priority for the questions to be considered: the rate of growth, financial and economic assistance to developing countries, the world demographic situation and several other equally important points.

143. According to the annual report of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, His Excellency U Thant [*see document A/7601, p. 105*], the world economic and financial situation showed a distinct improvement during the year 16 June 1968 to 15 June 1969, indicating some progress over the previous year. The analysis of a number of indicators in the field of personal income, consumption and welfare and the extent to which, by means of investment and institutional adaptation, the productive capacity of the developing countries has improved were considered to be encouraging signs.

144. According to the same report [*ibid., p. 106*], industrial recovery in the Federal Republic of Germany and the continued rapid industrial growth in Japan helped to raise the rate of increase in world manufacturing (outside mainland China) to above 7.5 per cent, about 3.3 per cent higher than in the previous interval. Vigorous industrial expansion was also recorded in some of the developing countries of eastern Asia: China (Taiwan), Hong Kong, the Republic of Korea and, to a somewhat lesser degree, the Philippines, raising the region's rate of growth in manufacturing production to 10 per cent, about three times as high as in 1967. A marked recovery was also registered in some countries—notably Argentina and Brazil.

145. The only shadows on this bright picture, in which no reference is made to the developing countries of low productivity in Africa and Latin America, are the constant disequilibrium in the reserve currency countries, the marked deterioration of balance in the European Economic Community and the relatively vulnerable external position of France, the United Kingdom and the United States.

146. Let us hope that these facts, which show the other side of the picture, do not portend an economic crisis on a world scale like that of the 1930s, a recurrence of which according to the experts, would be quite impossible in view of the precautions taken and the new criteria adopted.

147. But leaving aside the results of the year June 1968-June 1969, which were quite brilliant in some respects, has the United Nations Development Decade achieved all the objectives it set itself? It may be doubted.

³ United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 456 (1963), No. 6564.

148. Here we are in the ninth year of the First Decade. Having nearly run the whole set course, can we really see on the horizon any glimmer of hope for a better future?

149. The reply must apparently be in the negative. The demographic dynamism of the developing countries, reluctantly resigned to practise a family planning policy restricting the growth of available manpower—sometimes condemned through under-employment to expatriation but despite everything a possible factor of progress and source of foreign currency earnings—the policy of many States to decrease financial aid, either in order to ward off the danger of monetary crisis or to slow down an economic expansion that has become a real cause for concern for certain Governments, the difficulty of finding sources of international financing—all these are disquieting signs for the deprived countries of the third world.

150. Are not the conclusions put forward in 1966 by Mr. Philippe de Seynes, Under-Secretary for Economic and Social Affairs, still valid today? “It must be clearly noted”, he said at that time, “that the flow of capital towards the third world has not increased in a period of exceptionally rapid growth, and we can imagine what it will be if we are to enter a period of less rapid growth”—a period that, despite optimistic conclusions, the above-mentioned facts might well usher in.

151. Basing himself on a study by the Hudson Institute, Mr. Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber, in his book *The American Challenge*, which is not without some attempt at sensationalism, stated that within some thirty years, subject to “unforeseen changes” (perhaps a simple stylistic precaution), the classification of nations would be as follows:

“The *post-industrial* societies will be, in this order: the United States, Japan, Canada, Sweden. That is all.

“The *advanced industrial* societies that have the potential to become post-industrial include: Western Europe, the Soviet Union, Israel, East Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Australia and New Zealand.

“The following nations will become *consumer societies*: Mexico, Argentina, Venezuela, Chile, Colombia, South Korea, Malaysia, Formosa, and the other countries of Europe.

“The rest of the world—China, India, most of South America, the Arab countries and Black Africa—will not even have reached the industrial stage.”⁴

152. Thus is announced cold-bloodedly to the countries of the third world their long-term condemnation to certain poverty as a result of some irreversible determinism.

153. These same reasons explain the moving appeals of the Heads of State of the developing countries, who are alarmed to see that the development of the economy of countries with meagre resources has proved difficult and that the gap between the economies of the affluent and the poor countries continues to grow, so that the rich countries daily become richer and the poor countries poorer.

154. We, the developing countries of Latin America, have heard, in the inter-American system, the successive promises of Operation Pan-America, proposed by Brazil, the Bogotá Charter,⁵ the first meeting at Punta del Este⁶ and, finally, the Alliance of Progress.

155. The results have been so disappointing that the present United States President, Mr. Richard M. Nixon, felt it necessary to send Mr. Nelson A. Rockefeller, the Governor of the State of New York, on a tour of the Latin American countries for a complete review, in all sectors, of United States policy vis-à-vis its Latin American partners.

156. The choice of the Presidential emissary was a happy one. It was thought that Mr. Nelson A. Rockefeller, who belongs to the liberal wing of the Republican Party and was for some time at the State Department in charge of United States relations with Latin America, could count on many friendships in the countries he was to visit, and he had in addition a large number of business contacts.

157. In his visits to the various Latin American countries he met with varying receptions. In Haiti he was received with that cordiality, that sense of hospitality, that respect for the foreigner that are characteristic of our race, which “nourishes no hatred in the heart against anyone”.

158. Dr. François Duvalier, President for Life of the Republic of Haiti, handed him a memorandum for the President of the United States, in which he vigorously stressed the urgent need for close co-operation in all sectors and the responsibilities of the leader of the Latin American countries towards those countries. In it he stated:

“We should like to express the hope that the United States of North America, which we have always recognized as the leader of the Western Hemisphere, will remember that we have stood by it ever since the memorable battle of Savannah, ever since the magnificent dialogue between Toussaint Louverture and John Quincy Adams, right up to the days of the present President for Life of the Republic who, always desirous of pursuing the dialogue, pointed out again and again to many American friends and American Ambassadors the danger that the disappearance of General Fulgencio Batista would represent. . . . But the leader of the world’s first black republic was not heeded.

“The United States of North America has assumed the leadership of the continent.

“I have expressed the view that it is desirable to recognize and appreciate the burdens carried by a great Power and the nature of the difficulties it encounters when it assumes the responsibilities of leadership. That is why I have always sought the attentive and enlightened understanding of the Heads of Government of your country, or of its high officials, without, let us say quite frankly, the desired success. The leader of the world’s first black republic was not understood. He himself has known only lack of understanding and vacillation on the

⁵ Charter of the Organization of American States, signed at Bogotá on 30 April 1948.

⁶ Special meeting of the Inter-American Economic and Social Council at the Ministerial Level, held from 5 to 17 August 1961.

⁴ J. J. Servan-Schreiber, *The American Challenge*, Atheneum, New York, 1968, pp. 34 and 35.

part of our great neighbour, vacillation and lack of understanding which go back to the first Pan-American Conference at Panama in 1826 and up to the various conferences at Punta del Este. Nevertheless, despite vacillation and lack of understanding, Haiti continues to solicit the attention of its great neighbour, the leader, the United States of North America, for the safeguard of its own security, which is linked with that of the entire Latin American sub-continent and of all other Caribbean countries. With the historic obligation of mutual assistance that was sealed with the blood shed by my ancestors on the plains of Savannah for the conquest of the freedom and independence of the United States of North America, I have, in all sincerity, sought the establishment, on such foundations, of a firm, frank, loyal and brotherly friendship; I have sought the establishment of a broad, genuine and effective co-operation with a view to assisting the Haitian nation, the Haitian people and my Government to be ready to participate in the destinies of the United States of North America in particular and of the continent in general."

159. The grave political crises that might hurl mankind into the abyss are the logical consequence of the division of the world into the wealthy and the underprivileged countries and of the lack of international co-operation. They also stem from the manifest desire of the dominant Powers to monopolize the sources of raw materials that guarantee material and intellectual well-being, whether they be sources of energy like the petroleum deposits of the Middle East, distant plantations of so-called allies, or mines that provide them with strategic metals such as nickel, chromium, aluminium, manganese and copper, to say nothing of uranium—some of them essential to the steel industry and the successful operation of steel foundries, others for the manufacture of deterrent weapons.

160. If we wish to trace back the basic causes of the crises in the Middle East, in Biafra and in Viet-Nam, and of the events in Czechoslovakia, we could analyse them as follows, against a horizon on which it is impossible to say whether the spectre of nuclear war, of an apocalyptic destruction of our civilization, looms near or far.

161. With regard to Viet-Nam, we are advancing stealthily towards what has been called, in a happy euphemism, the Viet-Namization of the war, in other words, confrontation of the dominant Powers through third parties.

162. To satisfy national public opinion, the United States Executive first, under the Democratic administration, ended the bombing of North Viet-Nam; then under the present Republican administration, it effected the withdrawal of a number of United States units, more and more of which are to be withdrawn as the forces of President Thieu become able to take over the responsibilities of the war.

163. The first operation, carried out with consummate skill or, shall we say, diplomacy, with olive branch held out and the desire of the American people for peace well in evidence, aroused a real wave of enthusiasm throughout the world. Thousands of messages of encouragement were sent to President Johnson, among them that of President Duvalier, which I had the honour of reading from this rostrum last year [1679th meeting].

164. The second operation ordered by President Nixon was also interpreted as a demonstration of the will for peace of the great American nation.

165. But, to be objective, it must be recognized that the Paris talks have made very little progress, North Viet-Nam and its ally, the National Liberation Front, having declared their determination to continue the struggle until the departure of the allied troops and the elimination of what they call the puppet government of President Thieu. If, therefore, the latter manages to hold out, with the help, of course, of advisers and the supply of the necessary arms, the action threatens to go on for some time to come.

166. It is to be hoped, however, that the Viet-Nam phase of the war will be of short duration and will end in a compromise. The struggle has already produced too many innocent victims and has offered to the eyes of the civilized world such a display of calamities and horrors that any kind of peaceful solution, however lame, has become desirable.

167. The war in the Middle East, following Israel's victory after six days of fighting, has degenerated into a war of attrition carried out against the victor by the coalition of Arab countries, and into a disguised holy war following the unfortunate burning of the Al Aqsa Mosque.

168. But here, too, the Powers concerned are watching jealously over the maintenance of the balance of power. The armed forces of the United Arab Republic, having been put to a severe test when the first blow was struck, with their air force destroyed on the ground, have been carefully built up again and trained by qualified experts, while Israel, with the delivery of new combat aircraft, has regained all its striking power. Newspaper headlines stress the will to battle of the adversaries. "Israeli jets", says a newspaper of 13 September, "launched a devastating raid along the Gulf of Suez at Ras Zafarana and at Ras Ghareb"; "Fire and the holy war", says another paper; "One with the nation, the Israeli army exerts a decisive influence", states a widely read monthly publication. All this adds fuel to the fire.

169. I could not fail to applaud once again this year the noble efforts of the Secretary-General to restore peace in the Middle East. He deserves full credit for having brought the four great Powers, permanent members of the Security Council, together on the Middle East problem. After having enjoined the four great Powers, in an appeal on 12 September, to intensify their efforts to restore peace, the Secretary-General made arrangements for a working dinner on 20 September for the four Foreign Ministers present in New York. May it produce good results!

170. Another irritating problem that has for a good many years defeated all United Nations efforts is that of the *apartheid* policy of South Africa, to which have been added the problems of South West Africa and of the Rhodesia of the rebel Ian Smith.

171. South Africa's policy of *apartheid*, a system of out-and-out racial segregation enforced upon 12 million blacks by a white minority of scarcely 3.5 million, imposes upon its victims restrictions that would have been inconceivable even in the slave societies of the past: they are forbidden to move about freely within their borders or to

go beyond them, they are forbidden to go about after a certain hour, they are required to live in places appointed by the white authorities, their right to education is limited and they are completely segregated from the dominant group, which uses the black man only for the labour which it finds repugnant.

172. The system displays a proud prosperity and reference is constantly made to a rich South Africa, when its wealth is the fruit of the most shameful exploitation of man by man.

173. The wishes of the various United Nations bodies, and the resolutions adopted by them under the vigorous urging of the Committee on *Apartheid*,⁷ have remained dead letters.

174. About six years ago, the Prime Minister of the Republic of South Africa initiated the hypocritical policy of the bantustans, which are nothing more than reservations separated from the areas occupied by individuals of the superior race, the two races being allowed neither to see nor to communicate with each other.

175. That, according to Pretoria, is a progressive liberalization of the system, a step towards a certain degree of autonomy granted to the blacks, towards the setting up of a sort of commonwealth in which the Republic of South Africa would be the nerve centre and the various black reserves satellite republics. But good care has been taken not to indicate when the period of evolution would end. Will it come about in sixty years, in three hundred years? No one knows. The system, it is to be hoped, will lead to numerous ambiguities and risks for its creators.

176. The Pretoria authorities have applied the same policy in the Territory of South West Africa, considered by Pretoria to have been annexed by right of conquest after the iniquitous judgement of the Court of The Hague, which, ruling on form rather than on substance, decided in 1966 that Liberia and Ethiopia, Members of the former League of Nations and duly commissioned by the Organization of African Unity, had neither a right nor a juridical interest in the subject of their request.⁸

177. And the same system is gradually taking root in Southern Rhodesia, despite the sanctions which have greatly shaken its economy and which will ultimately, at least this is the hope of all free men, ruin it completely. There again, as in the case of the Middle East, the solution to the problem lies in the hands of the four great Powers, the permanent members of the Security Council.

178. But no social system based on iniquity is viable. Nothing can halt the march of history. The struggle of peoples for freedom will go on—gaining in intensity and sooner or later will come the collapse of the hideous system of *apartheid*, inaugurated in South Africa and extended to South West Africa—now Namibia—and Southern Rhodesia. The prosperity of rich South Africa will be but a sad episode in the annals of the history of man's inhuman cruelty.

⁷ Special Committee on the Policies of *Apartheid* of the Government of the Republic of South Africa.

⁸ *South West Africa, Second Phase, ICJ, Reports of Judgments, Advisory Opinions and Orders, 1966, p. 6.*

179. Many other questions, of equal importance and of vital interest for mankind, have still to be settled; general and complete disarmament, a problem that has been discussed at Geneva for years; the urgent need to suspend nuclear and thermonuclear tests; a comprehensive study of the whole question of peace-keeping operations in all its aspects.

180. Let us point out, however, that at the noble initiative of Mexico, with the support of the whole Latin American group, the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America was concluded in Mexico [*see resolution 2286 (XXII)*],⁹ and that instruments of ratification have been deposited by all the signatory States. Let us also point out that a convention held recently in the Aztec capital, under the chairmanship of the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of Mexico, studied the ways and means of implementing that Treaty. May that example be followed in the interest of the protection of the third world!

181. As far as my country is concerned, the analysis for the year 1967-1968 made by the competent service for the various sectors—agriculture, mining, quarrying and construction, manufacturing, electricity and drinking water, transport and communications, trade, banking, insurance and real estate, housing government and services—contributing to the establishment of the national product has, in the face of the ever-growing population figures, shown a slight drop in *per capita* income.

182. This situation may be explained in part by the low rate of investment in the private and public sectors and by the fall in export earnings owing to a contraction in the volume of exported raw materials as a result of the devastating effects of hurricanes Flora, Cleo and Inez, whose after-effects are still being felt.

183. Faced with such a situation, the great leader of the nation, Dr. François Duvalier, President for Life of the Republic of Haiti, having considered that the Duvalier revolution had achieved its administrative and organizational objectives during its first decade, in full accord with the values and concepts of his own ancestral heritage, decided that the second decade of the Revolution should be devoted to the promotion of the Haitian economy.

184. He expressed this with force and authority in his message of 13 August 1968, entitled "The Haitian road to planning". I quote:

"The call to adapt or perish applies to all nations, large or small, developed or developing. One of the most edifying tasks of the age is to build a more harmonious, more humane and more just society, in freedom and self-determination and not as a reflect on or model of societies that are proposed or that it might be desired to impose. The refusal in this regard is clear and positive.

"My struggle for the past ten years has been to build a sure and stable socio-political structure that can provide support and protection for the tasks of the decade of organization and adaptation in the specific Haitian context. A Government that does not constantly watch over the adaptation of men and of structures, a modern

⁹ Treaty signed on 14 February 1967.

writer has said, is a bad manager, just as an engineer who lives only on past knowledge is a bad technician.

“You must remember—if the Executive Secretary, my Minister of Finance, has not already said the same—the options and priorities that must prevail in the drawing up and implementation of the 1968-1969 plan of action:

“I. First and foremost, the François Duvalier hydro-electric power station in Péligre, the symbol of our forthcoming economic independence;

“II. The Southern Road, which unquestionably demonstrates the expertise of the Haitian technician in ensuring the movement of goods and persons inside the country, as the magnificent poem in stone and concrete, the François Duvalier International Airport, has done in the case of foreign communications;

“III. An agricultural programme in which projects must be selected according to the extent to which they are able to meet our needs for foreign currency and to raise the purchasing power and general level of living of the rural masses, which constitute the national majority.”

185. As a result of these specific instructions and of the mobilization of all the vital forces of the nation, the Péligre hydro-electric power station began to take shape. Not only did the civil engineering work, which was carried out with rare competence by Haitian technicians, make it possible to bring into operation the heavy equipment necessary for completion of work on the plant, but the work on the Southern Road was pursued with vigor.

186. On 3 January 1969, extolling the profound truth of the Revolution, President Duvalier made known to the people that the sacrifices they had made had not been in vain. He said:

“Tomorrow, my dear fellow citizens, I feel—and, why should I not say so, I know—that you will come to offer your sorrows, your tears, your blood, your sacrifices and your courages, in the achievement of the François Duvalier hydro-electric power station at Péligre, so that light may burst forth and shine like sunlight into the smallest cottages and in the spirits of men.

“Thus tomorrow, 3 January 1969, Haiti is making its second payment of \$517,000 required under the contract signed on 3 May 1968 in respect of the turbines to be delivered to Péligre in March 1969.

“In the vast infrastructural sector, the year 1968 saw considerable advances. Construction work on the Southern Road, of which 200 kilometres have been completed, continues with the same vigour. The bridges at Carrefour and Petionville, as well as educational centres and dispensaries, have been inaugurated. The construction work on the bridge at Momance and the maintenance work on the Plaisance-Limbé, Saint Marc, Pont Sondé-Péligre and Morne to Cabrit Mirebalais roads are well advanced.

“In the general field of culture, letters, the arts, the sciences and technology, the National inheritance has been enriched by powerful and useful works.”

187. In this respect, the *Mémoires d'un leader du tiers monde*¹⁰ by Mr. François Duvalier, is still the book of the year for Haiti. In that work, the President for Life of the Republic has given a lively and detailed description of the negotiations that were to lead to the setting up of a Haitian episcopal hierarchy: an archbishop, one of the youngest in the world, and three bishops. This was the necessary consequence of the socio-political revolution inaugurated more than ten years ago by the Chief of State of Haiti; it marked the recognition by Rome of the spiritual maturity of the Haitian people and the Haitian Church.

188. A French critic has paid a well-deserved tribute to the literary and historic value of this work:

“The very title of the work which Dr. François Duvalier has just had published by Hachette conveys the dominant idea of the policy which he proposes for the consideration of Haitian youth and of the peoples of the third world.

“There can be found in it the essential points of his militant doctrine for what he calls the black homeland, for which, in the manner of Charles Péguy, he says he feels physical love.

“His faith in the civilizing mission of the Church, the education that he received in the family and in the sugar plantations of Carrefour and Cold River, have been strengthened with the years, especially since, according to Ernest Lavisse, one must never believe in the uselessness of history to the point of trying to separate scientific work from the moral and social education of the citizens of a democracy.”¹¹

189. Thus the programme from September 1967 to September 1969 was carried out for the Haitian people, whose heart has never ceased to beat in unison with that of its leader, in the midst of all manner of difficulties and sacrifices voluntarily accepted to ensure the future of the country in the hope—to use the words of Mr. Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber, already quoted—that some “unforeseen change”, but one fervently desired by the Haitian nation, will help it to move from a certain phase of development where the “rest of the world” now finds itself to a more advanced stage.

190. Despite its financial difficulties, Haiti, faithful to its Pan American vocation, has not failed to respond to the appeal of Mr. Galo Plaza, Secretary-General of the Organization of American States, for the establishment of an emergency fund to assist struggling countries. Mr. Plaza stated that \$45,000 had been contributed to this fund, of which \$25,000 were allocated from the working capital fund of OAS, \$5,000 given by the Government of Panama and \$20,000 given by the Government of Haiti. Thus my country, despite its modest means, values the ideals of peace, solidarity and fraternity which form the basis of the regional organization that groups the countries of this hemisphere.

191. All these efforts have been achieved despite the traps laid for the Haitian people and its leader by a clique of

¹⁰ Paris, Hachette, 1969.

¹¹ Op. cit., p. 40.

ambitious men who, in their country of exile, have not reconciled themselves to having been driven from power by the just anger of the people or to having lost their selfish and undeserved privileges as shameless exploiters of the majority classes.

192. These kings-in-exile have found allies among the hack writers in the pay of the enemies of all those who do not belong to the master race, irresponsible journalists who, having abused the generous hospitality of Haiti, have turned their poisoned and ill-famed pens against their benefactors of yesterday.

193. They have even recruited supporters, to whom they have no doubt promised substantial dividends.

194. For example, on 4 June, despite the strictest rules of territorial asylum, they sent from a territory adjacent to the Republic of Haiti a four-engined Super-Constellation aircraft, the tail and fuselage of which had been painted in Haitian colours, black and red, and which was loaded with incendiary bombs. Those bombs were aimed at the National Palace, the Chancellery building, the school of the Republic of Venezuela, where nearly 3,000 children were taking examinations for primary certificates, the Institution of Saint-Louis de Gonzague, the Sainte-Rose de Lima boarding school and Bird College, which has over a thousand students. Fortunately the targets were not hit. There were one or two fires, quickly brought under control, in some heavily populated areas of the capital and a few unfortunate victims, among them a child, the daughter of a member of the domestic staff of the United States Embassy at Port-au-Prince. The action lasted less than a quarter of an hour. As soon as the Haitian fighter aircraft took to the air, the pirate aircraft flew away and just managed to land at a military base in a neighbouring island, the fuselage riddled with bullets and the pilot's seat half torn away.

195. Shame on these assassins, murderers of women and children, whose action only strengthens the solidarity of the Haitian people with its Government.

196. There is no end to the list of acts of banditry against the Haitian nation and its leader by these power-hungry people.

197. On 13 January 1969, the police seized a training camp for Haitian exiles in a great neighbouring country.

198. On 17 August these exiles met on the territory of a country which maintains normal diplomatic relations with Haiti. Men of God, forgetting their sacred vocation, spoke at the gathering and made a collection for the purchase of weapons.

199. Lastly, plans were made to assassinate the Haitian Consul in a large town of the continent; his life was only saved through the protection of the local police.

200. I suggest that these enemies of the people, if they are still capable of so doing, should ponder the following words of the President for Life of Haiti, in his message of 2 January to the Haitian nation—words that have been taken up by another leader of the people:

“A higher power impels me to an unknown goal. Until that goal has been attained I shall be invulnerable and

unshakable. Once I am no longer necessary, a fly will be enough to overcome me.”

201. In concluding my statement, I would offer to my suffering brethren in Africa these consoling words of the Sovereign Pontiff, His holiness Pope Paul VI, when he took leave of Dr. Obote, President of Uganda:

“We carry also in our heart the sufferings of all those whose voices cannot be heard. For them we shall pray that peace and fraternal aid will heal their wounds, tend their sickness and alleviate their sufferings. We address this appeal to all men of goodwill, and especially to the Africans, who are better placed to help their fellow citizens of this continent.”

202. I should like to declare once again the faith of the Government and people of Haiti in the standards, principles and noble aims of the United Nations Charter and to express the hope that, through the action of our Organization, there may reign upon this earth a little more of the spirit of justice, peace and fraternity.

203. The PRESIDENT: I give the floor to the representative of Malaysia, who wishes to exercise his right of reply.

204. Mr. RAMANI (Malaysia): On the last occasion when this matter was debated, in 1968, the then Foreign Secretary of the Philippines took as much as twenty-six out of his thirty-two pages of presentation in support of the Philippine claim to Sabah. Today the present Foreign Secretary presented his case in one paragraph out of fifty-seven. I hope I have calculated it correctly. Anyhow it heartens me that we are moving in the right direction, so that by the time we come to 1970 we shall not hear any more about this claim to Sabah.

205. I said on the last occasion that the attitude of the Malaysian Government to the Philippine claim can best be characterized as a composite of fantasy, fallacy and fiction. Having listened to the Foreign Secretary today, I would rather describe it in different language. It is tedious, tendentious but tenacious—tedious, because it was repetitive; tendentious, because it was in pursuit of a domestic political cause; tenacious, because it is pursued with a fanatic faith in terms of the definition of fanaticism which Mr. G. K. Chesterton gave some time ago, that a fanatic is a person who pursues redoubled efforts because he has forgotten his cause.

206. As far as Malaysia is concerned, we have said that this claim does not exist. We have given every opportunity to the Government of the Philippines at all levels to tell us what precisely is the nature of the claim and what is the content of the claim which it now insists can only be decided by the International Court of Justice. Once again the Foreign Secretary referred to the Manila Accord of 1963. One would think that history—human history, at all events—stopped in April 1963. We are six years further forward in human history. Although it provides every opportunity for politicians to forget the immediate, as well as the remote, past, it is my right and duty to draw attention to the fact that after the creation of the Manila Accord the three Heads of State, including President Macapagal of the Philippines, asked the Secretary-General

of the United Nations to undertake the task of ascertainment of the wishes of the people of Sabah and that the Secretary-General did. Before doing so, the Secretary-General had the forethought to state, in his letter accepting the obligation, that it was his understanding:

“that neither the report of my representative nor my conclusions would be subject in any way to ratification or confirmation by any of the Governments concerned.”¹²

207. It was after that that the ascertainment process was begun, and it was after that, as a result of the ascertainment, that the Secretary-General gave his conclusion in these words:

“Bearing in mind the fundamental agreement of the three participating Governments in the Manila meetings, and the statement by the Republic of Indonesia and the Republic of the Philippines that they would welcome the formation of Malaysia provided that the support of the people of the Territories was ascertained by me and that, in my opinion, complete compliance with the principle of self-determination within the requirements of General Assembly resolution 1541 (XV) . . . was ensured, my conclusion, based on the findings of the Mission, is that on both of these counts there is no doubt about the wishes of a sizable majority of the peoples of these Territories to join the Federation of Malaysia.”¹³

¹² United Nations Malaysia Mission: report to the Secretary-General, para. 2.

¹³ *Ibid.*, “Final Conclusions of the Secretary-General”, p. 6.

208. I should like to conclude in the words with which I concluded my reply last year, and I quoted the words of a thesis:

“Thus the Filipinos made their claim without malicious intent. They did so on the basis of facts they had spotted, memoranda incorporating these spotted facts, more memoranda based on the memoranda and convictions picked along the way.”

I said last year:

“No words of mine can better express the final summation of the claim and the convincing lack of conviction with which it is unconvincingly pursued.

“I will conclude with one last word. If there is any claim at all to Sabah, if Sabah belongs in any technical, legal or even popular sense to anyone, it belongs to the 700,000 people inhabiting that State. Let me repeat—I hope for the last time—even though the Philippine representatives may not listen because they have denied me the authority to speak for Sabah, that the people of Sabah have chosen their destiny.” [1707th meeting, paras. 249 and 250.]

209. The PRESIDENT: I should like to take this opportunity of expressing my thanks to the representatives of the Dominican Republic, the Philippines, Laos and Haiti for the compliments they paid to me.

The meeting rose at 5.40 p.m.