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CONTENTS

	Page
<i>Agenda item 9:</i>	
<i>General debate (continued)</i>	
<i>Speech by Mr. Botsio (Ghana)</i>	1
<i>Speech by Mr. Palar (Indonesia)</i>	7
<i>Speech by Mr. Bossay (Chile)</i>	12
<i>Statement by the representative of Austria</i>	16
<i>Statement by the representative of Italy</i>	16
<i>Statement by the representative of Malaysia</i>	16
<i>Statement by the representative of the United Kingdom</i>	18
<i>Statement by the representative of Indonesia</i>	19

President: Mr. Carlos SOSA RODRIGUEZ
(Venezuela).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. BOTSIO (Ghana): Mr. President, on behalf of the delegation of Ghana I am happy, first of all, to offer you our warmest congratulations on your election as President of this eighteenth session of the General Assembly. It is no coincidence that the General Assembly has unanimously elected you as President of this session immediately following upon the courageous and public-spirited vote of Venezuela which you personally cast at the meeting of the Security Council^{1/} which immediately preceded your election. The importance of this vote, cast by a leading South American State, far transcends the particular issue of Southern Rhodesia to which it was directed. It exemplifies a new spirit of approach by the nations of Latin America towards world problems. From your vast knowledge of world affairs and your distinguished service at the United Nations, especially in the Security Council, my delegation has no doubt that you will bring to the Presidency a wealth of experience and wisdom which gives us all the confidence that you will guide this session to a successful conclusion.

2. To the outgoing President, Sir Zafrulla Khan, who so ably conducted the proceedings of the last session, my delegation expresses its profound appreciation of the excellent work he did. The promptness, impartiality and energy with which he discharged his onerous responsibilities have created a record in the annals of our Organization.

3. It is a matter of great satisfaction and relief to the Ghana delegation that the present session of the Assembly opens in an atmosphere of relaxation and optimism. The recent successful conclusion of a partial nuclear test ban treaty^{2/} has indeed opened up new vistas of

hope for easing world tension. Several countries, including my own, have expressed their support for this significant, though limited, achievement by acceding to the treaty. Let us hope that other countries which have not done so will, in due course, find it possible to take a similar step, thus paving the way to a complete "détente" which will lead to the achievement of general and complete disarmament.

4. Indeed, what has come to be known as the Moscow Treaty is a significant and positive step in the right direction. In our view, the stage has been set for the conclusion of a comprehensive test ban treaty, totally banning all forms of nuclear testing in every environment, whether in the atmosphere, in outer space, under water or underground. The search for new areas of agreement should be relentlessly pursued to save mankind from the scourge of a possible nuclear annihilation.

5. In this context, any contemplation of further atmospheric testing at this time should be vehemently condemned by all as a betrayal of man's yearning for peace and survival. Ghana, as is well known, has always vigorously opposed nuclear testing everywhere, especially in the Sahara. We are amazed therefore that, despite the protests of the whole world and contrary to the resolutions of this Assembly, France, a permanent member of the Security Council, should still persist in its designs to continue nuclear tests in the Sahara. We appeal to France to hearken to the voice of mankind.

6. It is for this reason that the idea of nuclear-free zones as an initial step towards eliminating the danger of a nuclear world war appeals to us. To this end, the General Assembly, at its sixteenth session, adopted resolution 1652 (XVI), declaring Africa a denuclearized zone. This significant and far-reaching resolution of the General Assembly was fully supported and reinforced by the Heads of African States and Governments in Addis Ababa in May of this year,^{3/} when, in operative paragraph 1 of the resolution on general disarmament, they decided to advocate the adoption of the following measures:

"To affirm and respect the principle of declaring Africa a Denuclearized Zone; to oppose all nuclear and thermo-nuclear tests, as well as the manufacture of nuclear weapons; and to promote the peaceful uses of nuclear energy."

7. It is significant that recent events have increased interest in the possibilities of creating nuclear-free zones in other parts of the world, especially in Latin America, where an initiative in this direction has been taken by Brazil and a number of other Latin American countries. The Government and people of Ghana are ready to lend their support to any such constructive move anywhere in the world. We are also of the opinion

^{1/} Official Records of the Security Council, Eighteenth Year, 1069th meeting.

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

^{3/} Summit Conference of Independent African States, 22-25 May 1963.

that the Rapacki Plan for a nuclear-free zone in Central Europe, first proposed in the General Assembly on 2 October 1957 [697th meeting], could be revived and studied for possible implementation. So long as the problem of disarmament remains unsolved, so long as there is a haunting sense of impending disaster, so long will there always be room for such sincere and honest efforts towards the goal of peace, concord and harmony in the world, which we all desire.

8. Speaking before this Assembly on the question of disarmament in September 1960, my President, Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah said:

"Fundamentally, the argument in favour of disarmament must be looked at in two ways. First, it is ridiculous to pile up arms which must destroy the contestants in a future war impartially and equally. Secondly, it is tragic that preoccupation with armaments prevents the big Powers from perceiving what are the real forces in the world today. If the world population continues to grow, and if inequality between the so-called developed and under-developed countries is allowed to remain, in conditions where it is no longer technically or scientifically justified, then however great the armaments piled up, an international explosion cannot, in my view, be averted . . .

"Armaments, therefore, not only threaten the future of mankind, but provide no answer to the major problems of our age.

"Possibly the cause of disarmament has suffered because it is looked upon in a negative way." [869th meeting, para. 60-62.]

9. We have always maintained that Africa and, indeed, the whole of mankind have a stake in peace. While, therefore, we are encouraged by the successful conclusion of a partial test ban treaty, we are distressed that so far no significant break-through has been effected in Geneva by the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament. In saying this, however, my delegation does not in any way wish to minimize the significance of the agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union to establish a "hot line" between the White House and the Kremlin. This is a welcome development, calculated to prevent war by accident or miscalculation. We admit that some good work has been done, but it is our view that the core of the problem has yet to be tackled.

10. The urgency of the problem is being further accentuated by the phenomenal advances in nuclear technology and the race in rocket nuclear armaments. Every effort should therefore be made to halt this armaments race. In this regard, my delegation submits that serious consideration should be given to the abolition of military bases on foreign territories which are decidedly a danger to peace. We also support proposals for the elimination of nuclear weapons and nuclear delivery vehicles, as well as significant reductions of military forces and conventional armaments. We are also opposed to the dissemination of nuclear weapons. Surely it is in the interest of mankind that the nuclear Powers should refrain from giving these weapons of mass destruction to other States which do not possess them.

11. In reaffirming Ghana's support of these proposals, I must say at once that we are fully aware of the difficulties posed by such problems as strict international controls and inspection. But it is only by the successful application of such measures that effective disarmament can be achieved. My delegation, therefore, hopes

that the perfection of scientific devices for detection will help to remove the obstacles impeding the progress of disarmament negotiations.

12. I have dwelt at some length on the question of disarmament because it is a matter of great concern to all States, especially the developing States whose main preoccupation at the initial stage of their independence is the elimination of hunger, poverty and disease. It is our conviction that any disarmament or test ban agreement can only be effective if it embraces all States, both Members and non-members of the Organization. The exclusion of the People's Republic of China from any such agreement is, therefore, unrealistic and futile, as is now becoming apparent.

13. It is obvious that the proper representation of China in this Organization will immensely enhance our efforts to create a congenial atmosphere for harmonious world relations. What is more, this will be a significant step towards the Organization's declared objective of universality. If the partial test ban treaty is to have any meaning, and if indeed general and complete disarmament is to be effectively realized, then we cannot continue to ostracize indefinitely the world's most populous nation. It is imperative, therefore, that the People's Republic of China should take its rightful place in this Organization.

14. We must repeat here that the policy of the universality of this Organization will ever remain a pious hope so long as large areas of Africa and other parts of the world still linger under colonial domination and oppression. The independent States of Africa are determined to remove the stigma of colonialism from their continent. By their concerted efforts they have made a significant breach in the ramparts of colonialism and we hope that very soon this iniquitous and decadent system will disappear from Africa. Indeed, the raging hurricane of anti-colonialism is bound to dislodge all obstacles in the way of total freedom and independence for the dependent territories of Africa.

15. We are encouraged in this optimism by the march of history, as we cast our minds back to 1945 when the Charter of the United Nations was signed. Then Africa was the forgotten continent. There were at that time only three African States. But in 1958 the number rose to nine and today there are thirty-two African States. My delegation is happy at the prospect of the independence of Kenya and Zanzibar later this year. Ghana rejoices that the long struggle against outmoded colonialism and inhuman racial injustice in Kenya and Zanzibar is coming to an end. We, therefore, warmly applaud the successful conclusion of the recent elections which have led to an elected African Government assuming full reins of authority in Kenya and Zanzibar.

16. The efforts of the Government and people of Kenya to accede to independence in an atmosphere of interracial harmony is a happy augury, and all people of goodwill everywhere would wish them every success. This is the kind of racial co-operation we want to see developed in territories like Southern Rhodesia and South Africa. Ghana fervently looks forward to the admission of Kenya as the 112th Member of this world Organization, and also of Zanzibar, before the end of this session.

17. But while counting our gains, we are saddened by the fact that this proud record of decolonization in Africa is being marred by the stubborn and shameful struggles of minority white-settler governments

and racist and colonial Powers which have entrenched themselves in Angola, Mozambique, Portuguese Guinea, Basutoland, Swaziland, Bechuanaland, Southern Rhodesia, South West Africa and South Africa. African States can never accept, nor will they ever accept, the principle that Africa shall be half slave and half free.

18. It must be admitted that the problem of decolonization will continue to be one of the major preoccupations of the United Nations until colonialism has been completely wiped off the face of the earth. The voice of Africa has never been silent in the denunciation of the evils of colonialism and its offspring, neo-colonialism, and we shall never remain silent until the achievement of the total liberation and political unification of our continent.

19. By unanimously adopting the resolution on decolonization at the Addis Ababa Summit Conference in May of this year, our Heads of African States and Governments once again gave expression to their deep concern about the inhuman and diabolical colonial system in Africa, particularly the intolerable situation prevailing in the territories under Portuguese domination, in Southern Rhodesia and in South Africa.

20. The recent momentous discussion in the Security Council concerning the African territories under Portuguese domination is still fresh in our minds. The situation in these Portuguese territories, as determined by the Security Council in its resolution of 31 July 1963, is "seriously disturbing peace and security in Africa".^{4/} And although Portugal has been called upon to recognize the right of the inhabitants to self-determination and independence its response has been negative.

21. The African States are calling upon Portugal to read the signs of the times and to adjust its colonial policies to accord with modern trends. We demand that Portugal should proclaim the principle of self-determination for its colonies and take immediate steps to grant independence to the territories under its domination. The heroic Angolans and other African nationalists who have justly taken up arms in defence of their inalienable rights have no illusions that their claims to self-determination and independence will succeed over the counter-claims by Portugal and its NATO allies. It is up to Portugal to abandon its fruitless intransigence or face the fury of a renascent and united Africa. Today, the people of Angola and Portuguese Guinea are up in arms. What is this Organization doing about it?

22. Ghana proposes here and now that Portugal should enter into immediate negotiations with the Angolan government-in-exile and the other nationalist leaders of Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea for the granting of self-determination and independence. A great moral responsibility devolves upon the NATO allies of Portugal, without whose support and assistance Portugal could not have dared to flout the wishes of a United Africa.

23. Ghana, in concert with other African States, has exposed the grave situation which the dissolution of the Central African Federation will create in the British-ruled territory of Southern Rhodesia. The Government of Southern Rhodesia, as presently constituted, is a fraud; it is undemocratic and oppressive. If, as is contemplated by the United Kingdom Govern-

ment, the large section of the powerful Federal Army and the powerful Air Force are put under the control of the minority white-settler government with such a notorious record of racial oppression, then those forces will certainly be used to perpetuate the suppression of the three million Africans by the few white settlers in Southern Rhodesia.

24. It is unnecessary for me to go over the various aspects of this grave problem which have been so exhaustively discussed recently by the Security Council. Although the United Kingdom succeeded in nullifying Security Council action by a veto, Africa has nevertheless won a great moral victory and we shall continue to fight relentlessly until this anomalous situation has been corrected. It is the hope of my delegation that the result of the forthcoming consideration of this question by this Assembly will meet the aspirations of the people of Southern Rhodesia. We are convinced of the justice of our African cause and we believe that reason will prevail.

25. We hail the prospects of independence for Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland under democratically elected governments. But we are categorically opposed to any transfer of sovereignty or attributes of sovereignty to the Government of Southern Rhodesia as presently constituted.

26. The consequences of any disregard of African wishes will only spell disaster and chaos. The United Kingdom Government has a great moral responsibility to the people of Southern Rhodesia, to Africa, to this Organization and, indeed to the world at large, and it will therefore be well advised to heed the warnings of the Heads of African States, reflected in the statement made to the Ghana National Assembly on 21 June 1963 by Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, when he said:

"Any Government that is formed in Southern Rhodesia without the consent of the majority of its people will be unacceptable. Not only would we refuse to acknowledge any such government; we shall also oppose its entry into the Commonwealth and into the United Nations. Our recognition will only go to a government which in our view is fully representative of the people of Zambia—that is, a government based upon universal adult suffrage, employing the principle of 'one man, one vote'."

27. I should now like to turn to the question of South West Africa. It is a matter of disappointment and regret to my delegation that South Africa still persists in its refusal to accept a United Nations resident representative in South West Africa. By its persistent refusal, South Africa is preventing the establishment of a United Nations presence in the territory, as called for in General Assembly resolution 1805 (XVII) of 14 December 1962.

28. It is the view of the Ghana delegation that a United Nations representative stationed in South West Africa will ensure the implementation of General Assembly resolutions, particularly resolution 1702 (XVI), which demands, among other things, the evacuation of South African troops from the territory, the release of all political prisoners and the repeal of laws which establish and maintain the intolerable system of apartheid. The present session should, therefore, continue its efforts to secure the establishment of a United Nations presence in South West Africa.

29. The racial policies of the Government of South Africa constitute some of the most formidable problems in Africa, and the shameful plight of millions of

^{4/} Official Records of the Security Council, Eighteenth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1963, document S/5380.

Africans' cries for speedy redress. The long list of Security Council and General Assembly resolutions has failed to produce any change of heart among the leaders of the present South African ruling party. The arrogance and truculence of Dr. Verwoerd and his colleagues can no longer be tolerated. As Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah has said, Dr. Verwoerd must realize that the present South African Government is a foreign government resident on African soil. How long can such a government remain a Member of this Assembly? And as the Romans would put it, "Quousque tandem abutere patientia nostra?" How long, oh how long, can we bear with these things? This Organization at this session must take appropriate steps against South Africa to bring it to book.

30. There is no excuse for those countries which, because of their financial interests or military commitments, take shelter behind plausible excuses and refrain from taking positive steps to eradicate the very evil they themselves vehemently condemn. The Heads of African States and Governments at their conference in Addis Ababa irrevocably committed themselves to the application of certain measures which will compel the South African Government to abandon its inhuman policy of apartheid. In this regard, the co-operation of all countries, especially the great Powers, will certainly hasten the day when the Government of South Africa will be made to bow to world public opinion.

31. I must say here that my delegation was heartened by the tenor of the statement made at this Assembly on 20 September 1963 by President Kennedy. In particular, we appreciate his efforts to eradicate racial discrimination and racial inequality and segregation in the United States of America. The long and sorrowful plight of peoples of African descent in America is a matter of deep concern to us all. America cannot long continue to have this blot and at the same time continue to enjoy the confidence of the African peoples.

32. President Kennedy, in referring to Africa, said: "We do not advocate the rights of black Africans in order to drive out white Africans." [1209th meeting, para. 66.] Neither do we in Africa advocate this. Our struggle in Africa is not against race or creed. We only seek the elementary democratic right of "one man, one vote". As long as constitutional changes are made to allow majority rule in that continent, there can be no racial conflict. We have not advocated that the white man should be driven out of Africa. In fact, the concept of black and white Africans is alien to us.

33. Having said this, my delegation would like to place on record its appreciation of the decision by the United Kingdom Government refusing to hand over the so-called High Commission territories to South Africa. How can South Africa presume to administer these African territories when they have demonstrated in every way a callous disregard of human dignity, freedom and justice?

34. The recent sinister overtures of the South African Government regarding the future status of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland have brought into sharp focus the deplorable political and economic anomalies existing in these territories. Despite the provisions of General Assembly resolution 1817 (XVII), the United Kingdom Government has not taken effective steps toward the creation of democratic institutions following the convening of a constitutional conference with the full participation of all the duly elected political leaders to pave the way for the at-

tainment of complete independence. Instead of implementing this resolution, the United Kingdom imposed a constitution on Swaziland against the will of the majority, and this resulted in a general strike which was repressed by the use of military force. Furthermore, the composition of the constitutional conferences for Bechuanaland and Basutoland has proved wholly unsatisfactory, since there has been a preponderance of officials and traditional rulers. There is a notable tendency on the part of the Administering Authority to pit the people of these territories against their traditional rulers. It is my delegation's hope that the United Kingdom Government will realize the dangers inherent in this old practice of divide and rule.

35. My delegation fully endorses the recommendation of the Special Committee of Twenty-Four^{5/} that United Nations observer teams be sent to the three territories in order to prevent any encroachment by South Africa and to guarantee their territorial integrity. There has recently been some disquieting news about restrictions on air services to these territories and the movements of labour. These restrictive measures are undoubtedly designed to increase the difficulties of the territories and to hasten their absorption by South Africa. The Ghana delegation will therefore urge the General Assembly to adopt measures which will encourage the educational, social and economic advancement of these territories and their early attainment of independence.

36. No discussion of the problems of Africa would be complete without reference to the Congo. Three years ago the Organization was called upon to face the greatest challenge in its short history. The operations in the Congo reached such heights of complexity and magnitude that the Organization was driven to the verge of bankruptcy. Today, thanks to the sacrifices of Member States and the efforts of the Secretary-General, the operations have been virtually brought to a successful conclusion. At this juncture, I should like to pay warm tribute to the Secretary-General, U Thant, and his United Nations staff who helped to restore peace to that troubled country. We must not forget the gallant soldiers who placed their lives at the service of this Organization. My own country, Ghana, was one of the first to respond to the call of the United Nations and the appeals by the first Congolese Government led by our late compatriot and martyr in the struggle against world imperialism, Patrice Lumumba, of blessed memory. Since 1960, our troops have continued to render loyal service to the Congo. It must not be forgotten that Ghana suffered the heaviest casualties in human life in the cause of peace in this troubled country.

37. The secession of Katanga has been averted, the Congo has been unified and its territorial integrity guaranteed. But the seeds of trouble still remain. The problem of maintaining law and order has yet to be effectively solved, as the training of the Congolese National Army has not yet been completed. Imperialist and neo-colonialist intrigues have not yet been completely eliminated. Some members of the notorious Katanga "gendarmierie" and mercenaries are still a potential threat to law and order.

38. Had this Organization listened to the voice of Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah at the very beginning and the numerous warnings made by him, the present difficult situation would have been averted.

^{5/} Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

39. If the United Nations forces are withdrawn at the end of this year for financial reasons, steps must quickly be taken to fill the vacuum. It is for this reason that the President of Ghana has proposed that a small force contributed by African States should take over from the United Nations force the duty of maintaining law and order in the Congo until such time as the Congolese Government decides that its Army will be in a position to take over that responsibility. This African contribution will be a kind of real technical assistance to our sister African country. Ghana is prepared to leave its troops in the Congo in concert with other African States if the United Nations withdraws. My delegation commends this proposal to the serious consideration of all African States for that is the only way to free the Congo from neo-colonialist encumbrances and to enable it to develop its resources in stability and tranquillity.

40. While focusing attention on the problems of Africa, we are not oblivious of the existence of tension in some areas of the world. Close to us in Africa is the Middle East where Israeli-Arab relations have hung precariously on an uneasy truce which has never been scrupulously observed. There have been sporadic outbursts of fighting in this area over the last fifteen years and this potentially dangerous situation calls for urgent and permanent solution.

41. Ghana's views on the Arab-Israeli conflict are already very well known and I need not repeat them here, but they need urgent consideration. I should, however, like to express my Government's deep concern over the piling up of lethal weapons in the area concerned.

42. As recently as 21 June 1963, when addressing the National Assembly, my President, Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah drew attention to this when he said:

"The nuclear arms race in the Middle East is now an open secret. Instability in this area not only heightens world tension but jeopardizes the security of the African continent. In the interests of world peace a way must be found quickly to end the dangerous arms race between Israel and Egypt, which could easily lead to disaster for Africa, the Middle East and the world. This arms race has already involved some of the major world Powers who are aiding and abetting both sides in the struggle."

43. Ghana hopes that the problems of the Middle East will be approached with objectivity and a sense of realism. The United Nations should continue in its efforts to seek a solution to the intractable problems which bedevil relations in the Middle East. To these efforts all States must lend their co-operation.

44. It is generally agreed that since the big Powers confrontation which almost brought the world to the brink of a thermo-nuclear war in October 1962, the situation in the Caribbean has fortunately shown signs of easing, although the threat to Cuba's sovereignty continues to raise tension. Every effort should be made to bring the two parties together for talks to resolve their differences. At least they must agree to coexist. Ghana, as a friend to both countries, would like to see a reconciliation effected and normal relations restored.

45. Ghana's position in world affairs as a non-aligned nation has enabled it to play a constructive role in the Security Council and in the United Nations generally on all matters affecting peace and security. We shall continue to exert our influence to assist in the resolution of all problems which bedevil world peace. As in the case of the crisis over Cuba in October 1962, so in

the case of the Sino-Indian conflict, Ghana, in concert with other non-aligned countries, contributed towards the easing of world tension.

46. In Asia, one is confronted with the unfortunate clash between China and India which has created an unhappy tension along the frontiers of Asia's two most populous States. A group of non-aligned countries, including Ghana and spearheaded by Ceylon, has endeavoured to reconcile the two parties. Although reconciliation has not yet been achieved, my delegation is hopeful that a way will be found for a peaceful settlement.

47. Parts of South-East Asia are also in great ferment, such as Laos where the situation is precarious. It is the view of my delegation that a strict adherence to the Thirteen-Nation Geneva Agreement of Laotian neutrality, signed on 23 July 1962,^{6/} will ensure peace and stability to that unhappy country. Every co-operation and assistance should be given to the members of the International Commission for supervision and control in Laos in the discharge of their onerous and difficult assignment. We appeal to the political leaders of Laos to place the interests of their country above any ideological differences. And to the co-chairman of the Geneva Conference, the Foreign Ministers of the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union, I address a special appeal to use their good offices in ensuring that the terms of the agreements are duly observed.

48. The grave religious troubles in South Viet-Nam and the attendant difficulties have aroused concern in all parts of the world. Ghana deeply deplores the loss of lives which has resulted from this conflict and urges an early settlement of the dispute between the parties concerned.

49. The settlement of the Berlin and German problems remains one of the most urgent tasks of the great Powers. Today, eighteen years after the Second World War, a German peace treaty has not yet been signed; Germany remains a divided country and Berlin split into East and West. There is no doubt that a peaceful settlement of this thorny problem will make a significant contribution to the lessening of the cold war. We must continue to cling to the hope that the possibilities for negotiations leading to the easing of world tension which the partial test-ban treaty has opened up will be utilized for the solution of this problem, too.

50. Sometimes it seems that we in the developing countries are unduly preoccupied with the problems of world peace. But this is bound to be so, because we are convinced that the objectives of this Organization, as set out in Article 55 of the Charter, can only be attained in an atmosphere of peace and tranquillity. The prevalence of poverty, ignorance, and disease among two thirds of the world's population poses a challenge to this Organization. The achievement of a real and lasting peace will continue to elude us so long as the gap between the developed and the developing countries progressively widens. All of us, therefore, must redouble our efforts to narrow this gap. The developing countries are conscious and appreciative of the tremendous assistance which the developed countries are giving either through bilateral or multilateral agreements. But there is still room for increasing this aid. We believe that in this partnership of technical and

^{6/} Declaration on the Neutrality of Laos and Protocol.

economic co-operation lies the road to prosperity for us all.

51. The proposal to establish a United Nations capital development fund is still at the blueprint stage. My delegation is fully aware of the difficulties involved in translating this idea into reality, but we fervently believe that establishment of such a fund will be a follow-up to the Special Fund which is at present doing such valuable work in promoting pre-investment projects in the developing countries. A capital development fund will eliminate the wasteful duplication of development funds and the outcome will be increased prosperity and a higher standard of living in the developing countries.

52. Another setback to world-wide economic co-operation is the creation of restrictive and discriminatory economic groupings. We are looking forward, therefore, to the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, due to convene in the spring of next year, and trust that with the united efforts of all concerned, acceptable solutions will be found to urgent problems which have tended to stifle the expansion of international trade and economic co-operation.

53. No one can deny that the trend of trade has been moving against the developing nations, especially during the present decade. This is because while the price for manufactured products has been steadily rising, that for primary products has been steadily declining. This is a situation which merits the serious attention of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. If we receive the proper price for our primary products, there will even be no need for technical assistance. As the Osagyefo has said time and time again, "We need trade, not aid". We, therefore, demand the proper price for our goods.

54. We cannot discuss the economic problems of developing Africa without an acknowledgement of the valuable part being played by the Economic Commission for Africa, the youngest of the regional economic commissions. It has always given ample evidence of drive and energy in tackling our basic economic problems. It has a great future, for many tasks lie ahead of it and the competence with which it handles them will be the measure of its further success. But we are convinced that it is only when there is a central political direction and co-ordination under a Union Government that the Economic Commission for Africa can be fully meaningful and effective in our continent. This conviction is exemplified in the Charter of the Organization of African Unity adopted at Addis Ababa, which has laid firm foundations upon which the superstructure of a Union Government will be built for a United Africa.

55. For Ghana, the realization of a United States of Africa is an article of faith. Our common political problems, our common economic problems, our common boundary problems, our common defence problems, and our common fight to feed and raise the standard of living of millions of our peoples—all these underlie the imperative need for a common, concerted continental approach for the solution of these problems.

56. The United Nations has justified its existence and even the sceptics concede that it has a valuable role to play in world development and international relations. In spite of its shortcomings and weaknesses, the United Nations continues to exert a salutary influence in areas hitherto undreamt of. It has demonstrated a dynamism to which its phenomenal growth in membership is a living testimony.

57. The contribution of Africa to the rapid increase in the membership is significant; but this has also created the problem of its adequate representation on the principal organs of this Organization. It is an urgent problem requiring prompt solution. Otherwise, injustice will be done to a large segment of its membership. Unfortunately, a review of the Charter which will permit an increase in the membership of the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council now appears to be a remote possibility.

58. Proposals have been made for revising the so-called "Gentleman's Agreement" made in London in 1946. So far as the African countries are concerned, we have made our position clear on this "Gentleman's Agreement". That, too, must be revised. This session cannot properly discharge its duty to Africa without redressing the outmoded representation on the main organs of this Organization.

59. Before concluding, I should like to express my delegation's disappointment that the fourth special session of the General Assembly did not succeed in providing a solution for meeting the cost of the peace-keeping operations of the Organization.

60. While we are quarrelling about principles, the inescapable fact is that the Organization's financial position remains a matter of deep concern. The arrears are steadily mounting up. My delegation believes that every means, including high-level talks between the great Powers, should be employed to solve this problem. All agree that the problem is not purely financial, but has very strong political overtones. That is why the opportunity should be seized to make another attempt to discuss this question at the highest inter-governmental level. The future of our Organization is at stake, and it is incumbent upon us all to work hard to put it on an even keel. No sacrifice is too great to preserve the United Nations, which is the only hope for man's survival in this thermo-nuclear age.

61. The Conference of Heads of African States, realizing the seriousness of the financial crisis facing the United Nations, reiterated its desire to strengthen and support the Organization. Moreover, the Conference reaffirmed "its dedication to the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and its acceptance of all obligations contained in the Charter, including financial obligations". This is a testimony of Africa's faith in this Organization.

62. The Member States of Africa have come to this session fortified by the momentous decisions taken at the Addis Ababa Summit Conference, where a significant chapter in the chequered history of Africa was written. Our future course of action is clear. We, in Ghana, shall ever cherish and strengthen our hard-won continental unity and nothing shall deflect us from our goal of a Union Government for Africa.

63. While pledging ourselves to work assiduously towards the solution of world problems in general, we must also ensure that Africa no longer remains the down-trodden continent. To the colonialists, therefore, we say: "Hands off Africa. Africa must be free now." To the settler régimes we say: "Your days are numbered; therefore come to terms now with the people and live in peace in Africa or you will be overtaken by events." To the neo-colonialists we say: "We know your tricks, for Africa is now awake. You cannot fool us all the time."

64. And finally, a word to the great Powers: "We appeal to you solemnly to come together in the interest

of mankind. A divided world is an unhappy world. Let us all, therefore, come together, big and small, in the true spirit of this Organization and work for the peace, progress and prosperity of all mankind; in that lies man's survival and happiness."

65. In conclusion, Mr. President, may I express the hope that under your able guidance this eighteenth session will go down in history as having made significant progress in the solution of the three major problems of our time, namely, decolonization, disarmament, and economic development.

66. May success attend our deliberations.

67. Mr. PALAR (Indonesia): Mr. President, I have already had an opportunity, a few days ago, to congratulate you on your election to the Presidency of the General Assembly. But with your permission, speaking now in the general debate, I would like once more to express our conviction that with your ability, experience and knowledge you will be able to guide our work in such a way as the General Assembly would expect of you.

68. Revolutionary changes and gains have marked the period between the birth of the United Nations and its eighteenth General Assembly. This transformation, which is the result as well as the source of changes in men's minds, has been characterized by three great struggles. The struggle against exploitation of nation by nation has reached its final stages with the colonial peoples facing the desperate attempts of colonial Powers to translate imperialism and colonialism into neo-colonialism. The struggle against exploitation of man by man is the result of the age-old yearning of mankind for social justice and prosperity for all. And finally, there is the struggle for lasting peace, made crucial today by the threat of weapons of mass destruction produced by modern science and technology.

69. The three struggles are inextricably interwoven. Lasting peace cannot be guaranteed by disarmament alone for peace cannot endure without the universal practice of social justice, and neither peace nor social justice can be safeguarded without world-wide national independence. Each of the struggles is an aspect of what President Sukarno, my President, has named the "Revolution of Mankind"—the confrontation of the new emerging forces and the old established order. The tragedy of our time has been that the two great Powers, possessing different social systems, have evaluated the Revolution of Mankind in different ways. And it is these conflicting interpretations that have caused the deep mistrust that has so often brought the world to the very brink of annihilation.

70. It is with a great sense of reprieve, then, that we are able to notice today the beginnings of a new sentiment guiding the two Powers. Mutual distrust seems to be giving way to a common interest in avoiding mutual destruction. The terrible fear of nuclear warfare, which throughout the long years of the cold war has grown steadily more intense, is now so intolerable that it has at last begun to break down the stalemate of mutual lack of confidence. What only a short time ago appeared impossible has come to pass. The opposing Powers in the cold war have shown themselves able to agree on one of the thorniest issues that have divided them since 1945. The Moscow agreement on a partial test-ban treaty has created a feeling of such deep relief that it has renewed the hope of millions of people frustrated and disheartened by disarmament negotiations that hitherto have always ended in failure.

Mr. Bashev (Bulgaria), Vice-President, took the Chair.

71. In his address to the Assembly last Friday [1209th meeting], President Kennedy of the United States said that an atmosphere of rising hope prevailed in the world. The previous day [1208th meeting], Foreign Minister Gromyko of the Soviet Union declared that this eighteenth session is "weighing anchor with a favourable wind—even if a weak one—in its sails". And we feel blessed because they are in virtual agreement as to the next steps to be taken. Both agree that the partial test ban should be followed by negotiations on the prevention of war by accident or miscalculation, on safeguards against surprise attack, on prevention of the proliferation of nuclear weapons, and on prevention of armaments in outer space. We feel sure that other measures intended to help solve the prime difficulty of general lack of confidence—measures which received individual mention by both statesmen—can and will be negotiated.

72. The existence of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament, a produce of one of the wisest decisions ever taken by the United Nations, has proved to be of inestimable value. It was in this Committee that the non-aligned world began its successful attempts to persuade and pressure the opposing parties in the cold war to make their first concessions to each other, concessions which, however small, had never before been considered possible. Encouraged by the present spirit of give-and-take, and certain that a tortured world will not tolerate even the slightest lessening of hope for survival, Indonesia believes that Mr. Gromyko's suggestion of convening a summit-level conference of the States members of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament should be given the most serious consideration. The armaments race has attained such a high point of danger that nations have no choice but to do everything in their power first to curb it, then to halt it, and finally to rid themselves of it altogether. Otherwise, to use the words of Canada's Prime Minister in the opening meeting of our debate, "scientific advances" will "move it beyond man's reach" [1208th meeting, para. 60]. And if, as one of the results of this proposed summit meeting on disarmament, the United States and the Soviet Union would agree to President Kennedy's suggestion and cooperate in preparing and carrying out a joint expedition to the moon, the world would rejoice indeed.

73. Allow me now to touch briefly on the economic aspect of the Revolution of Mankind. In the interests of world-wide economic welfare, there is an urgent need for the international community to adopt a completely fresh approach to the position of the developing nations in the context of world economic relations. If we are to establish a balanced international economy, full account has to be taken of the essential nature of the developmental process in the new nations.

74. In seeking to create a just and prosperous society for its citizens, each new nation must strive to develop an economic system that expresses the political and social structure which has been devised to embody its own unique national characteristics. Efforts to do so, however, are often seriously hampered by the vestiges of economic imperialism and feudalism which are maintained by outside forces seeking to control the economic life of a developing nation. The first task of the new nation, therefore, must be to free itself from these alien influences in order that it may create its own conceptual, organizational and structural

economic framework. Only when this has been accomplished, can a new nation effectively mobilize all its material and human resources to build the society it desires.

75. Unfortunately, the structure of present-day international economic relations continues to reflect the old-established order. Originally designed, as it was, essentially to serve the narrow interests of a small number of industrialized countries, it is necessarily inimical to the interests of the new nations, and as a consequence they are frustrated in their attempts to reach a stage of self-sustaining growth. The international community as a whole has a duty to correct this situation. Nothing less than an entirely new set of rules for international economic behaviour, based on the principles of freedom, equality and social justice, is required.

76. The first step in that direction should be a radical revision of those obsolete principles that still govern today's pattern of international trade. Trade is a new nation's primary instrument for economic self-development; yet the existing world pattern of trade operates sadly in its disfavour. Developing countries have an urgent need for an expansion of their traditional exports, coupled with an opening up of markets for their new products. Improved general terms of trade to afford them an over-all increase in their share of world exports are also desperately required. Indeed, if the economic independence of the new nations is to be assured and if a truly interdependent integrated world economy is to be achieved, a new international division of labour with new patterns of production and trade will have to be established. We may note that a unique opportunity for taking such action will be offered in the forthcoming United Nations Conference on Trade and Development.

77. The second major step in the direction of establishing a just international economy is to reconsider the manner in which much of the economic assistance is now being rendered to the developing countries. It is my delegation's firm conviction that assistance should be prevented as far as possible from being wielded as a weapon in the competition between rival ideologies. Nor should it be used, as it is being now, by old colonial Powers in order to maintain an undue influence over the life of a new nation. Economic principles should be the sole criteria; and these principles should arise from a concept of equal partnership and co-operation consistent with changed world conditions. Adherence to such a concept should, at the same time, have the welcome effect of increasing the present volume of capital and technical assistance and of liberalizing the terms under which it is rendered. Moreover, greater use would then be made of United Nations channels for transmitting aid; which in turn would enable our Organization to play an even greater part in the development process.

78. If the developing nations are ever to achieve economic emancipation, the rules of international economic behaviour must be revised. Only through decisive action on the part of the United Nations can this revision be effected.

79. Before I come to consider the main subject of my statement, the process of decolonization, I should like very rapidly to summarize my delegation's position on the question of the Charter review, for, in our opinion, this question necessarily encompasses the other three major internal problems which beset our Organization: the problem of peace-keeping opera-

tions, the problem of the enlargement of the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council, and the problem of representation of China. It seems we are almost alone in asserting the need to hold a Charter review conference as soon as possible.

80. There is general agreement among Members that the United Nations Charter conceived in 1945 no longer answers present world conditions, which have undergone a revolutionary transformation since the birth of the United Nations. However, while there seems also to be general agreement that the Charter should accordingly be revised, a great many Members nevertheless continue to believe, as they have believed since the tenth session, that the "times are not auspicious" for holding the necessary review conference. In view of the fact that that is merely a respectably vague phrase to hide a naked, head-on legal stalemate that arises from the seemingly unalterable opposing stands of the United States and the Soviet Union on the question of Chinese representation, my delegation is of the firm conviction that unless we ourselves purposely undertake to render the times auspicious, we shall never be in a position to carry out the revision of the Charter that is now so urgently required.

81. It is clear that, to achieve an effective revision of the Charter, we shall have to think in terms of several General Assembly sessions. Perhaps even as many as three, four or more will be needed. Certainly my delegation does not believe that anything sufficiently radical could be achieved at one single session. We should, therefore, do our utmost to see to it that this session is the first of the series, by deciding to convene a Charter review conference to be held as soon as possible. The conference would give all Members ample opportunity to declare their opinions and their wishes. It is essential for us to know which Articles the majority of Members wish either to amend or to replace, and what new provisions they consider desirable. Most importantly of all, we have to know the opinion of Members—and of the majority of Members—on the way in which they wish to amend Articles 108 and 109; since it is these Articles that define the limiting procedure under which all the other Articles must be revised at present.

82. In introducing my discussion of the third aspect of the Revolution of Mankind, the struggle against colonialism, I should like to refer to one of the recent examples of the successful eradication of colonialism—the eradication of the last vestige of Dutch colonialism in Indonesia, namely, in West Irian. May I express here the gratitude of my Government to the Secretary-General for his initiatives and efforts in assisting the Indonesian and Netherlands Governments to reach a solution of the West Irian dispute. In this connexion, I should like also to make special mention of the part played by the Secretary-General's personal representative, Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker.

83. May I also express the high appreciation of my Government to the Secretary-General, and through him to all his collaborators, for the magnificent way in which he carried out the task entrusted to him by the Indonesian-Netherlands Agreement of 15 August 1962 on West Irian^{2/} and authorized by the United Nations General Assembly. The part played by Secretary-General U Thant and the United Nations Temporary Executive Authority (UNTEA) has greatly contributed

^{2/} Agreement between the Republic of Indonesia and the Kingdom of the Netherlands concerning West New Guinea (West Irian).

to the preservation of peace in the area and to the hopeful development of friendly relations between Indonesia and the Netherlands. In this regard, I wish to mention the distinguished services rendered by Mr. Djalal Abdoh of Iran in his role as Head of UNTEA. I likewise wish to express the gratitude of my Government to Mr. Narasimhan and Mr. Rolz-Bennett of the Secretariat for their whole-hearted co-operation and excellent groundwork in implementing the Agreement. I wish also to express our sincere appreciation and gratitude to the Pakistan contingent under the able command of a distinguished soldier, Major-General Said Uddin Khan, for its eminent services in assisting UNTEA to keep law and order in West Irian.

84. Finally, I would like, on behalf of my Government, to express our appreciation and thanks to the Government of the Netherlands for its whole-hearted co-operation in helping to ease the task of the Secretary-General and in the smooth implementation of the Agreement. The Indonesian Government is confident that, with the continued co-operation and understanding of the Secretary-General and the Netherlands, the implementation of the remaining part of the Agreement on West Irian can be carried out in the same smooth way.

85. The present situation in West Irian since its return to the Republic of Indonesia on 1 May 1963 is one of peace and order. With the co-operation of the people of the territory, the Government of Indonesia is now actively engaged in an endeavour to promote the welfare of the people. The problem of education is being vigorously tackled and numerous new schools are being opened to satisfy the new and ever-growing thirst for learning. Even during the UNTEA period, the Indonesian Government, in co-operation with UNTEA, undertook the opening of new schools in many areas of the territory. Freedom in West Irian has generated an enthusiastic desire for rapid self-development. In recognition of this spirit of progress, the Indonesian Government has appointed a native son of West Irian to the high post of Governor of the province. In its endeavours to bring to the entire population of West Irian a decent standard of living, the Indonesian Government is devoting special attention to the people of the interior who are considered, for the most part, to be still living in the Stone Age, and who, for the greater part, have never fallen under Netherlands control or administration. It is not an easy task, but the Indonesian Government and people are determined to carry it out to a successful conclusion as soon as possible. These people have for too long been separated from the process of national development. The Government of Indonesia is satisfied in the knowledge that even during the UNTEA period of administration, the leaders of West Irian already expressed their determination to remain within the Republic of Indonesia, to enjoy its freedom and to join in the national endeavours to make the 100 million people of our country a strong and united nation.

86. I should like now to single out for review the policy of decolonization as practiced by the United Kingdom, for this imperial Power, once possessor of the most far-flung empire in our time, who has granted independence to many of her former colonies, is today pursuing a policy in regard to her remaining territories that is hostile to the letter and spirit of the three General Assembly resolutions on decolonization.

87. Let us take, first, the instance of Southern Rhodesia. It is here that the facet of British decoloni-

zation policy which is based on racial discrimination finds its clearest expression. Decades ago, a small white minority in the territory was granted the power of self-government. The constitution which the United Kingdom granted to Southern Rhodesia naturally contained explicit provisions for the protection of important British financial interests. But besides this, it also contained a written provision reserving the right of the United Kingdom Government to intervene in the affairs of the territory whenever it may seem necessary. Since all Rhodesians, of whatever racial origin, are in effect subjects of the Queen, this right therefore necessarily encompassed any action demanded in the course of a Government's most sacred duty to protect its subjects.

88. The British Government was certainly not unaware of the racially discriminatory acts of repression that the ruling white minority has systematically and mercilessly conducted throughout the years of Rhodesian self-government against the overwhelming African majority. Yet they allowed it to become, to use the words of official British texts, "an established convention for Parliament at Westminster not to legislate for Southern Rhodesia except with the agreement of the Southern Rhodesian Government", which was the white minority Government. In other words, the United Kingdom voluntarily abdicated its written constitutional right, and its duty, to protect the African majority by sheer convention. And now they have endorsed this convention by granting a new constitution which has transferred to the Rhodesian Government the reserved powers formerly vested in the United Kingdom. The Declaration of Rights which has been included in the new constitution is a mere formal gesture in the direction of protecting the Africans. I suppose no one can contest a Government's legal right to abdicate another legal right. But who has the right thus to abdicate a right that is also a duty, a duty to protect a subject?

89. An already explosive situation in Southern Rhodesia now threatens to degenerate even further. As a result of the Victoria Falls decision to dissolve the Central African Federation,^{8/} the United Kingdom has agreed to transfer certain powers from the Federal Government to the white minority Government of Southern Rhodesia. Among these powers is included the control of well-equipped and efficient modern armed forces. Although, strictly speaking, these armed forces were originally the property of the Southern Rhodesian Government before the Federation, there is no denying that, due to their merger with Federal military units, they are today a significantly strengthened force. And there seem very good grounds for the fear that with these much strengthened forces at its disposal, the leaders of the white minority Government, who have always been very close in spirit to the universally condemned apartheid policy of South Africa and who have already indulged in numerous acts of racial repression, might be encouraged to carry out even more dangerously irresponsible action in the near future.

90. The United Kingdom's avowal of its constitutional inability to intervene to prevent the transfer of the armed forces and other powers to the Southern Rhodesian Government has justly outraged all Africa. Imbued with the spirit of the recent and historic Addis Ababa Conference, which pledged the African peoples to

^{8/} Central African Conference, Victoria Falls, Southern Rhodesia, July 1963.

eradicate all traces of colonialism from the soil of their continent, thirty-two African States protested in the most decisive manner open to them. Only two weeks ago, they brought the matter before the Security Council as a situation constituting a serious threat to peace. The Indonesian delegation, representing a Government firmly in accord with the Addis Ababa spirit, followed the proceedings in the Council with close attention. We are prepared to concede the strength of the United Kingdom's legal stand. In so doing, however, we feel bound to comment that the stronger its legal stand in this instance, the weaker is its political and moral position, for it is only in the very recent past that the British Government, in full knowledge of the deteriorating racial situation in Southern Rhodesia, took the action which now enables it to adopt this stand. We may also note that its legal stand today is somewhat inconsistent with its attitude in former years, when the United Kingdom had to establish a convention against its written constitutional right to intervene, in order not to intervene. But then we fully appreciate that significant British economic interests are tied up with the maintenance of the white minority Government of Southern Rhodesia. Doubtless the United Kingdom has considered well what would happen if the banked-up hatred of millions of Africans were one day to burst forth in insurrection.

91. The dangerous British political manoeuvrings in Southern Rhodesia are an example of but one aspect of its attempt to make the decolonization process serve their own interests. The second facet, which I now wish to examine, is perhaps even more clearly expressive of its selfish policy. In an effort to achieve identification of decolonization with its own self-interests, the United Kingdom devised a particularly subtle technique for side-stepping the granting of genuine independence. As a means of perpetuating its spheres of influence in different geographic areas of the world, Britain has brought together neighbouring colonial territories which had previously been administered as separate colonies, and then granted self-government or independence to the resulting unit as a whole. Hence the four Federations which were created by the British during the past decade: the Central African Federation of Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland; the Federation of East Africa of Tanganyika, Uganda and Kenya; the Federation of the West Indies of Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago; and the Southern Arabian Federation of several Arab sultanates, sheikhdoms and emirates with Aden. All these units were conceived by British politicians almost entirely in terms of British interests. And what has happened to them now? Of the four Federations, only the Southern Arabian Federation remains in shaky existence; the other three, within a very few years of their creation, have had to be abandoned or disbanded by the very same nation that so painstakingly brought them into existence.

92. Those of us who are members of ex-colonies cannot be surprised at this turn of events, even though it may have come as an unpleasant shock to the United Kingdom. The normal procedure for creating a successful federation, one would think, would be for the peoples concerned to agree of their own free will to band themselves together and to forge their own political system according to their own common desires and interests. But the peoples in the four abortive federations created by the British, being still colonial territories at the time, were hardly in a position voluntarily to agree to a federation. Still less were

they able to mould these units to their own interests, since the units had been established precisely in order to serve those of the British. Inasmuch as these federations were created not by the countries concerned but by a foreign will, they were of necessity artificial units that bore no true relationship to the realities of the local conditions and requirements. So in time, in a greater or less time as the case may have been, the territories in each of the units rebelled against a federation that had been imposed upon them, not chosen by them.

93. The Central African Federation, to take an illustrative example, was created in order to provide the ruling white minorities in Northern and Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, whose interests are closely tied in with those of the British, with an instrument for exploiting the Africans and their land still more profitably than before. Fortunately, the African majorities in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland were able to reverse the political power relationships in their domestic governments, and they naturally eschewed the inimicably conceived union that had been foisted upon them.

94. Similar situations obtained in the cases of the Federation of East Africa and the British West Indies. But in the former instance it is important to note that the intended British federation did not materialize at all, and that Tanganyika, Uganda and Kenya are now contemplating steps to create a genuine federation of their own as soon as Kenya gains its independence—thus proving conclusively that it was not the principle of federation itself that these countries objected to in the earlier unit, but to the fact that it was imposed upon them.

95. The Southern Arabian Federation presents a rather special and complex case, the details of which I need not dwell on here. But the chief factor relevant to the point which I have been making is that in order to safeguard Britain's military, strategic, and oil interests in the process of decolonization, Aden was included in this federation of sultans, sheikhs and emirs against its wishes. The serious difficulties that have ensued from this unwise course are now the subject of investigation by the Special Committee of Twenty-Four. And, personally, I would not predict much hope for the future of this, the only one of the British federations that still survives.

96. Is the United Kingdom at all discouraged by the failure of its chosen technique for carrying out the policy of identification of decolonization with self-interest? Indeed, it would seem not, for as recently as 1962, discussions began on the creation of a new federation in the Caribbean area, designed to unite the Leeward Islands and the Windward Islands and Barbados under the aegis of Britain. And, as we know, in my own area of the world, South-East Asia, yet another federation has just officially come into being.

97. Those who are at all familiar with the history of the United Kingdom's past efforts to subvert the decolonization process of so many of her territories will not be taken aback to find evidence of a similar policy at work in the creation of Malaysia. To allay the suspicions of the neighbouring States, the idea of Malaysia has from the outset been presented as a Malayan, not a British, conception, showing that, in one respect at least, the United Kingdom has learned something from its past failures. The proposal for the federation was first publicized in the summer of 1961. Differences of opinion between Indonesia and

Malaya and between the Philippines and Malaya on the wishes of the people of the colonies of Sarawak and Sabah, and Brunei, and above all on the real motives behind the projected federation, at once became apparent. Tension between the three south-east Asian countries began to rise. In the summer of this year, however, the three States decided, on the initiative of President Macapagal of the Philippines, to hold a conference at summit level to try to settle their differences and to solve the common problems of their area. The result of this decision was the Summit Conference in Manila held from 30 July to 5 August, which was preceded by a Foreign Ministers' conference in June 1963.

98. This was an historic conference, at which agreements were reached on matters extending far beyond the problem of the formation of Malaysia, agreements of great significance for the future harmony of South-East Asia. The atmosphere between President Macapagal, President Sukarno and Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman was one of mutual understanding and of the utmost cordiality.

99. At the conclusion of the conference, the three Heads of State issued the Manila Declaration, stating the principles for their future co-operation. In addition, a joint statement was issued, elaborating on methods for implementing the main lines of the agreement which had been reached by the respective Foreign Ministers at their earlier meeting and which was published as the Manila Accord. To avoid the possibility of any misunderstanding, I shall, in describing the decisions reached at the Conference with regard to Malaysia, use the words of these documents as nearly as possible.

100. The three Heads of Government reaffirmed their countries' adherence to the principle of self-determination for the peoples of Sarawak and Sabah. In that context, Indonesia and the Philippines stated that they would welcome the formation of Malaysia, provided that the support of the people of these Borneo territories could be ascertained by an independent and impartial authority, namely, the Secretary-General of the United Nations or his representative. Malaya expressed appreciation for this attitude of Indonesia and the Philippines. The Secretary-General was accordingly requested to undertake to ascertain, prior to the establishment of Malaysia—and I repeat: prior to the establishment of Malaysia—the wishes of these people within the context of General Assembly resolution 1541 (XV), principle IX of the annex, by a fresh approach, which in the opinion of the Secretary-General is necessary to ensure complete compliance with the principle of self-determination embodied in principle IX of the resolution mentioned and taking into consideration certain items in connexion with the elections that had recently been held in Sarawak and Sabah. In the interests of all the countries concerned, the three Heads of Government also deemed it desirable to send observers to witness the carrying out of the task to be undertaken by the working teams belonging to the Secretary-General. The Malayan Government would use its best endeavours to obtain the co-operation of the British Government and the Governments of Sarawak and Sabah.

101. That, almost exactly as I have just stated it, was the essence of the agreement between the Philippines, Indonesia and Malaya. And at this point may I say that my Government would like to express its sincere appreciation to the Secretary-General for

his willingness to comply with the request made by the three Manila Powers, at the same time recognizing the difficult position in which he found himself when he came to formulate his final conclusions on the basis of the report of his team.

102. Let me now try to evaluate the role played by the British in the events that followed the Manila Conference. First, let us consider Malaya's official announcement, made on 29 August, of 16 September as the date for the establishment of Malaysia, regardless of the outcome of the United Nations investigation, which at that time was still in progress. Neither Indonesia nor the Philippines is willing to believe that Malaya was already thinking in terms of acting contrary to the spirit of the Manila accords when we agreed at the Manila Conference to welcome Malaysia, provided that the support of the peoples in Sarawak and Sabah was ascertained.

103. It was clearly understood at the Manila summit meeting that Malaysia could be proclaimed only when and if the support of the people of Sarawak and Sabah had been ascertained by the Secretary-General. Indeed, on his return to Kuala Lumpur from Manila on 5 August 1963, Tunku Abdul Rahman himself stated to the Press that the Manila Agreement on Malaysia had made "flexible" the date of 31 August 1963 for Malaysia Day. Questioned as to what would happen should the outcome of the ascertainment prove to be negative, he answered, rightly: "Then the formation of Malaysia should be cancelled". We were therefore very astonished by the sudden change in Malaya's position. The very inconsistency of this position, the suddenness of Malaya's reversal of attitude, is to us sufficient indication that it could have happened only as the result of heavy British pressure and manipulation.

104. For we should not by any means underestimate the United Kingdom's enmity towards the whole idea of a United Nations investigation team entering its territory and examining processes of elections held under its own auspices. Members will recall the United Kingdom's consistent refusal to allow the Special Committee of Twenty-Four to conduct similar surveys in British Non-Self-Governing Territories. Moreover, the demand which we made in the Manila Statement for a "fresh approach" to the methods of actually ascertaining the wishes of the people seemed to endanger the findings of the Cobbold Commission, which the United Kingdom itself had sent to investigate the territories in 1962.

105. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that, having officially accepted the Secretary-General's investigating teams, the United Kingdom imposed limiting conditions. The Secretary-General himself acknowledged in his report on the team's findings that it was extremely difficult for him to implement his task properly within the short period he had at his disposal. But who was it that imposed this extremely short time-limit? Not Indonesia or the Philippines, certainly. It is true that the three Manila Powers were in agreement that there should be a time-limit. But, at the same time, they also agreed that the investigation should be a thorough one, based on a fresh approach. To meet both these requirements together, the end of September was considered a likely target date for the completion of the assessment. A period of a mere ten days, however, which was the actual duration of the United Nations investigation, was definitely not contemplated by the three Manila Powers.

106. Not content with trying to obstruct the work of the United Nations team, the United Kingdom Government also attempted to delay as much as possible the arrival of the Indonesian and Philippine observers provided for in the Manila Statement, even going to the length of warning Indonesian observers, in order to discourage them, that they would have to sleep in tents. As a result of British delaying tactics, the observer teams were present for only less than one third of the time during which the investigations took place. Despite this, however, the observers of both countries were able individually to establish certain important inadequacies in the fresh approach required of the investigation, unavoidable because of the short period of time within which the United Nations teams had to work, the smallness of these teams and the insufficient facilities put at their disposal by the colonial administration. In their report, the Philippine observers likened the operation of the United Nations teams to a guided tour organized by the British colonial authorities.

107. Anyone who has lived under colonial conditions knows that it is not difficult for the authorities to make people answer questions exactly in the way required. Very often the mere presence of armed soldiers or police will suffice; all colonial peoples know this. In general, only those who are members of a militant freedom movement dare to defy the intimidation of a show of force. With this in mind, the investigators, in adopting a fresh approach towards ascertaining the wishes of the people, should have tried to make reasonably sure—and I say "reasonably sure"—that the persons questioned were relatively—I repeat: relatively—free from official pressure. And then they should also have tried to see that the hearings took place without any colonial authorities, troops or police present.

108. To say that the investigators did not take all the necessary precautionary measures to ensure the integrity of their findings is not in any way to place blame upon them. Their number was too few and they had far too short a time at their disposal. Facilities were entirely dependent upon the co-operation of local colonial authorities. This being the case, my Government does strongly feel that in the circumstances their report should then have included a full description of the conditions in which the hearings did take place. We, who were but a short time ago a colonial people ourselves, know very well from bitter experience that mere figures on the number of answers obtained are not enough. Without a knowledge of the conditions surrounding the various hearings, how can we be even reasonably sure that the wishes of the people have been genuinely ascertained? I can assure you that my Government, for one, is still in doubt. It is not that we are denying the possibility of the British Borneo peoples being in favour of joining Malaysia—I want to stress that. For if this were genuinely the case, Indonesia and the Philippines would, as we wrote in the Accord, welcome Malaysia. As things stand at the moment, however, we are, regretfully, not in a position to do so. There have been grave violations of the Manila Agreement, and these make it impossible for us to have any assurance of the true wishes of the colonial peoples concerned and of the goodwill of this British-sponsored Malaysia towards us. May I repeat that the date for the proclamation of Malaysia was fixed with utter disregard for the outcome of the ascertainment conducted by the United Nations, as required by the Manila

Agreement. This arbitrary act was not overlooked by the Secretary-General in his report. It was a slap in the face of the United Nations.

109. The United Kingdom's motives for this wrecking of an Asian-supported Malaysia are clear. Malaysia was originally conceived by the British as a perpetuation of its sphere of influence in a strategic area of South-East Asia. The proud declaration by the three Heads of Government in Manila that foreign bases in their region are temporary in nature and should not be permitted to be used either directly or indirectly to subvert the national independence of any of the three States, coupled with the declaration that each country will refrain from using collective defence arrangements in order to serve the individual interests of any of the big Powers, cannot have been welcomed by the British Government. Nor can the United Kingdom be expected to look with favour upon the new South-East Asian spirit manifested in the first steps toward "Maphilindo"—Malaya, Philippines and Indonesia—which were taken at the Manila Conference. The very conception of "Maphilindo" is anathema to the colonial interests of the British. They therefore felt that they had no choice but to try to destroy it. And they went about their unsavoury task by subverting the decolonization process in Sarawak and Sabah so that these colonies might be merged into a greater unit of its own making. It is just this form of decolonization policy, already pursued by the British in four abortive federations established in the previous decade, that we in Asia and Africa call British "neo-colonialism". It is the desecration of the process of decolonization that we in Asia and Africa hold sacred.

110. Britain may cry victory now. South-East Asia is in turmoil. The unity of the peoples of Malaya, the Philippines and Indonesia embodied in the Manila Agreements is splintered. Sentiments are aroused, brother faces brother in angry quarrel. "Maphilindo", the real target at which Britain is aiming, is crippled. Crippled but not crushed. The "Maphilindo" spirit is still running high in Indonesia and in the Philippines. And even in British-sponsored Malaysia, there are signs that it has not been entirely extinguished. The immediate future seems dark for the sister nations of South-East Asia; but their natural affinity will surely triumph over any temporary conflict. And then "Maphilindo" will once more present itself to the world, in greater strength than before, free from colonial stains.

Mr. Sosa Rodríguez (Venezuela) resumed the Chair.

111. Mr. BOSSAY (Chile) (translated from Spanish): Mr. President: Allow me to congratulate you most warmly on your well-deserved election as President of the General Assembly. We are sure that your abilities and vast experience in United Nations affairs will help to ensure that our debates achieve fruitful results and are not wasted in pretty phrases and good intentions. It will be your lot, Mr. President, to direct a General Assembly which must respond, without vagueness or hesitation, to the grave exigencies of the present time.

112. We hope that, at this eighteenth session, the General Assembly will make a more decided effort than on previous occasions to assess the international situation, to point, forthrightly but dispassionately, to its positive and negative elements, and to arrive at conclusions which will strengthen the policy of the United Nations on behalf of peace and the development of nations. My delegation wishes to stress the need

for our labours to be inspired by a more active spirit, one more conducive to harmony, for there has been a rekindling in the minds of the peoples of that flame of hope which was almost extinguished by the cold war, the fear of thermo-nuclear annihilation, the piling-up of armaments and the harmful psychological factors of suspicion and provocation between nations.

113. The treaty on the suspension of nuclear tests has demonstrated to the world the value of negotiations pursued with sufficient patience and goodwill. We may still be capable of inventing machinery that will be able to solve our problems one after the other and establish conditions which will definitively relieve international tension. The step that has been taken is only the beginning of a vaster process which must culminate in reconciliation among the nations, disarmament and the conclusion of agreements which will prevent States plunging into war or living with weapons at the ready like warriors on guard.

114. If we do not take full advantage of this first opportunity which presents itself after years of anxiety, we shall slide back into confusion, discouragement and inertia.

115. World public opinion is weary of being constantly subjected to the pressure of terror. It is time to put an end to the long period of torture through which we have lived. The common man wishes to live tranquilly, in a stable international environment of understanding and tolerance. He does not want to open his newspaper each morning and read of nothing but dangers, obstacles, acts of violence or mutual accusations. No one will be convinced now by rhetoric about peace or the excited proclamation of ideals of justice and universal harmony, unless effective steps are taken to see that the fiendish perfecting of death-dealing instruments is replaced by the perfecting of machinery for international co-operation and assistance. The improvement of methods of mass destruction is not the best way of creating confidence among the peoples; nor is the accumulation by both sides of similar weapons of destruction the best means of ensuring the security of rival States, for in any future conflagration the victors would share the same ghastly fate as the vanquished. Has the time not come to call for common sense, in view of the saturation point that has been reached in weapons of war and the fatigue produced by continuing political hostility?

116. Here in this Assembly States governed by different political and economic systems sit side by side. We may prefer some of those systems and not agree with others, but this Organization was established in order to emphasize what can unite us and what can help us to create the common good, not to lay stress on what separates us. We are ready to promote dialogues and understanding between all countries. Chile has no wish to fan the flames or to encourage fatal disputes between States. The aim of our Organization is to establish rules of international law which will determine the obligations of States in accordance with the provisions of the United Nations Charter. If we can rise above enmities and vested interests, we may be able to find a way out of our present vulnerable situation, while we map out a course that can free the future of mankind from the threats now casting their shadow over it.

117. The division of the world into powerful rival blocs, constant recriminations between States, the assertion that might is right, and of a world balance of power based on might, provocation, hatred, invective

and propaganda, have poisoned this age of ours which was so promising. On the one hand we pride ourselves on the progress we have made and the fact that we have crossed the threshold of the atomic era; yet, on the other, we persist in keeping the world on the brink of the abyss. So absurd a paradox would be worthy of clinical study, if it did not pose a constant threat to mankind. We had already resigned ourselves to the belief that war and destruction were the only alternative, that it was merely a question of time, only the sudden flaring up of a dispute, or a miscalculation being needed to signal the apocalypse. We had already resigned ourselves to the principle of inevitability and fatality, as though mankind having gained power had lost the ability to influence the course of events. Man cannot be the plaything of events, he must be the master of his fate. It is not simply a question of the human species' instinct for self-preservation, but of ridding ourselves of this virtual moral dementia which renders ineffective the best efforts of our generation, alternately galvanized into action and cast into despair.

118. The Chilean delegation has listened with deep attention to the statements of the representatives of the two great Powers which have accumulated the greatest might in history and in our time exert the greatest influence on the destiny of mankind: the Soviet Union and the United States of America.

119. Any aggravation of their hostility towards each other might plunge the world into catastrophe. Any attempt by them at conciliation such as we are now witnessing, opens up prospects for the realization of vast undertakings of peaceful co-operation.

120. President Kennedy's statement outlined a vast plan marked by idealism, intelligence and boldness. In Mr. Gromyko's speech, we found positive elements, proposals and goodwill that must not be underestimated. Both were honest enough not to ignore the serious problems that have dragged on for so many years. Yet their statements were hopeful and have been welcomed as such by world opinion. Let us hope that the new spirit which could be discerned in the speeches of both statesmen will be translated into action, particularly with respect to the problems of disarmament and national development.

121. Chile is a small developing country, profoundly peace-loving, firmly resolved to maintain its democratic institutions, and determined to improve the standard of living of its people. We wish to fulfil our destiny as best we can, beset though we may be by the savagery of nature and difficulties of every kind. Like so many other countries that live in conditions similar to ours, we hope that we may be allowed to work in peace and aspire to a life offering greater opportunities. We cannot shut ourselves entirely off, however, or develop self-sufficiently. We realize that we are part of a world that is drawn closer together every day and that our future depends to a great extent on the future of other nations. We in Latin America are engaged in a process of economic and social, cultural, and political integration. We emerged from the colonial era to live through times of great difficulty. The awakening of the Latin American masses is now an irreversible process. It is as though a flood-gate had been opened. We do not want the cataract to waste itself in turmoil; we want the energy of our impatient masses to be directed into creative channels.

122. It is our firm belief that the small countries will have to play a more effective and important part in the United Nations. To do so we must mobilize

all our moral force and work together increasingly. In particular we must make the great Powers realize their responsibility. Why are they called upon to play a leading part in the cause of peace and progress, not only on behalf of their own peoples but of all the peoples of the world?

123. Let us tell them, frankly and unambiguously. While the small, weak countries are still grappling with backwardness and poverty, the great Powers of our time have, by their own efforts it is true, attained unprecedented destructive power; they have obtained all the benefits of industrialization, science and technology; they have accumulated vast wealth, to which we have contributed; they have imposed their influence on world trade and reached a degree of well-being and prosperity which makes them truly privileged. One of the most outstanding characteristics of our time is the marked and increasing imbalance between rich countries and poor countries. One third of mankind lives in comfort while the other two thirds must struggle merely to survive.

124. This disequilibrium is aggravated by the armaments race on which are spent increasingly enormous sums which could, if a spirit of universal brotherhood really were to prevail, in a few years banish the spectre of hunger and want from the under-developed countries.

125. The superiority of the great Powers, whose advancement we admire, has been distorted into the threat of their self-destruction, and also into lack of effective co-operation to raise the level of living in the many under-privileged nations. Nevertheless, history will some day relate that the fate of the great Powers was closely linked with the advancement of the weaker countries. At this point in history, we small nations need the great; but the great also have need of the small. That simple truth does not yet seem to have become entirely clear.

126. In the face of a policy of narrow national interests, shaped by each nation's eagerness to safeguard its own security by accumulating arms, equipment and nuclear bombs, any solemn appeal for real peace sounds like the expression of a utopian dream. But the international community can hardly be expected to develop if the desire for peace is not expressed in definite action. It is therefore natural for a country like Chile to denounce the present disastrous division of the world, to reaffirm its pacifist views and its intention to take part in any international discussions, to participate in any effort at international conciliation, to promote negotiations on disarmament, and to halt ambitions towards domination and temptations to aggression.

127. Chile was one of the five signatories of the Declaration on the Denuclearization of Latin America [A/5415]; it was one of the first countries to sign the nuclear test ban treaty; and our President, Mr. Alessandri, some years ago made a fervent appeal for limitation of armaments to the Latin American countries. Chile's international policy is not an expression of the views of one group alone but of the whole nation, uncoloured by partisanship. The search for more effective methods for the maintenance of peace and the halting of the deadly arms race is of the deepest concern to the people and Government of Chile, and we shall continue to pursue it resolutely. Our own intelligence shows us the complexity of the problem, but we are also convinced that we must

take positive action to give full effect to the principles of the Charter.

128. The suspension, even if it is only a partial suspension, of nuclear tests will not only benefit the health of millions of human beings and preserve life on our planet in face of the terrible danger of radio-active contamination, but will also induce a feeling of relief in all men, because although each atomic test explosion was a success in so far as it increased destructive power, humanity saw in the terrible mushroom clouds rising to the heavens a portent of its possible future, a holocaust of civilization and of every form of life. Chile has always been against such man-made hells. Now, from this rostrum, we feel that we must express our concern that some States have refused or hesitated to sign the treaty. We must express our fear lest some Power, believing itself to be backward in thermo-nuclear techniques, should decide to carry out further tests. An agreement of this type is only valid if universal. Consequently we think this Assembly should make a friendly appeal to all nations to respond to the moral imperative arising from the treaty. Our delegation also declares that the partial suspension of nuclear tests should be followed first by total suspension, then by prohibition of all such tests, and finally by the destruction of nuclear missiles. Suspension means the possibility of beginning again. A problem of such transcendent importance calls for a radical solution.

129. The international order of our times requires a peace which is something more than a temporary and precarious truce. Peace must be a doctrine, a climate, a system, in which all nations of the world without exception shall renounce the instruments of war and devote themselves to achieving prosperity for all the inhabitants of the globe. Armed peace is a contradiction and a sham. In fact, it is treason to ourselves; but it is above all a crime against the future of millions of human victims of hunger, disease, oppression and misery. We must place the United Nations at the service of peace, and peace at the service of the nations, before we can attain any tangible objectives, which means better conditions of material and spiritual living. For this, peace must be a reality and not a figment. The inexorable pressure of the destitute masses of the world demands the establishment of a rational peace; that is to say, planned coexistence and co-operation between nations, using the inexhaustible means and resources with which modern civilization can transform a sick and bewildered world into a healthy and happy one.

130. To the man in the street, humanity presents this picture. The banquet of life is enjoyed by a few; millions and millions of human beings are looking on through the windows, hungry-eyed and scowling. The discontent of the many increases in proportion to the indifference of the few. Threats to peace are inherent in the multiplication of weapons and in political rivalries; but they also arise from the misery of the under-developed peoples.

131. In the dialectic of armed peace we are accustomed to fatalistic reasoning. "We cannot co-operate any further" we are told, "if we do not achieve disarmament; and we cannot achieve disarmament if we cannot secure adequate guarantees of our security". The small and weak countries must do all they can to break this vicious circle into which the world has fallen.

132. As in other years, but with greater zeal on account of the pass to which we have come, the General Assembly must give serious consideration to the economic and social conditions of the developing countries, which have recently grown much worse despite international aid.

133. The recent World Food Congress has revealed hair-raising pictures of poverty in many areas of the world, poverty growing worse through population growth. Why did we establish the United Nations? We did not certainly establish it for the academic unbosoming of our anxieties, but to provide the necessary equipment to enable us to distribute the benefits of progress equally.

134. Most of the developing countries live by exporting basic commodities whose value sometimes falls, whose prices fluctuate sharply, or which are difficult to sell owing to restrictions or lack of markets. Hence the importance which my Government attaches to the Conference on Trade and Development, in which we look forward to participating with enthusiasm. We sincerely hope it will produce definite results in the removal of obstacles to international trade, to the end that prices of raw materials may be stabilized and new and modern trade machinery set up, to the benefit both of the super-developed Powers and of the developing countries.

135. Chile, like other countries, has for long been working hard to ensure that its institutional and democratic progress keeps pace with an economic and social progress which will give the masses freedom, justice and dignity of citizenship, while at the same time satisfying their natural needs. Our effort is hard, because we have many limitations, and the speed with which we fulfil the just demands of our people does not depend altogether upon ourselves. We have achieved much, but many stages will have to be passed over before Chileans can obtain the benefits which will bring some relief into their daily life. We are putting into effect a ten-year development plan and carrying out basic reforms, but we must obtain financial assistance on a larger scale.

136. Mankind is faced with a dilemma which grows daily more pressing: either the level of living of the peoples in the under-developed regions must be raised by a broader and more effective system of international aid, or those famished and poverty-stricken peoples will sink for ever into moral frustration and despair. No one wants this to happen, and it should cause the deepest concern precisely to those in whose power it is to provide more assistance.

137. My delegation wishes to establish clearly that economic and social progress is not enough unless it is accompanied by enjoyment of the fundamental freedoms and by respect for human rights, both collectively among nations and personally among individuals. At the collective level, we should like to say here once again that we are strongly anti-colonialist. In accordance with our principle we have been actively working throughout this year on the committee on decolonization. The colonialist systems are in their death agonies, but unfortunately colonialism is not yet dead. All that we ask is that the passage from colonization to emancipation shall be achieved under the best possible conditions, without bloodshed, violence or destruction and with the co-operation of the administering Power. We also want to be sure that independence is no illusion; we do not want to see

economic colonialism persisting under the cloak of political independence.

138. We have always been in favour of the self-determination of peoples, and we have with deep conviction defended also the principle of non-intervention. Relations among nations should be based on mutual respect, and each nation should support others in achieving full enjoyment of their sovereign rights, even if their political and social ideas differ. Any interference with one country by another country, either open or surreptitious, through authority, intimidation or infiltration, shakes the legal and political foundations of the international community, may lead to serious conflict, and may generate undying resentment in the nation whose sovereignty has been infringed.

139. In defending the right of peoples to self-determination, we are also defending equal rights for all human beings and seeking to remove the stigma of inferiority which, despite their political and social conquests, still clings to women. We must add that we fully accept the development which has taken place in the classic content of human rights. Or rather, we believe that the enjoyment of rights signifies that all men and women are free to express their opinions and their beliefs, to be members of associations, and to elect their representatives; but that at the same time it signifies that all men and women must enjoy equal opportunities to preserve their health, to be decently housed, and to bring up their children. We trust that the General Assembly will crown the work of many years by adopting the draft Covenants on Human Rights.

140. We are opposed to discrimination in all its forms, and we have enthusiastically participated in the preparation of the draft Declaration on the elimination of racial discrimination, which the Assembly will surely adopt. Discriminatory practices such as apartheid, or the perpetuation of privileges for racial minorities set over large majorities of indigenous inhabitants, are the legacy of old slave régimes, abuses of power and infringements of human dignity. They are also reasons why peoples remain under-developed, and they create danger-spots for international peace and security.

141. We shall energetically defend any measure or proposal designed to oblige States to promote freedom of worship, to put an end to religious persecution, and to secure respect for the right of every human being to hold a belief in conformity with the dictates of his inalienable conscience.

142. During the year we have witnessed new and marvellous evidence of man's inventive genius and his audacity in exploring outer space and in probing the atom and the living cell. Long- and short-term scientific research has made it possible to ensure that man's power over matter and over the world shall increase. But all this irradiating Promethean fire conquered by contemporary man has still to be applied not only to the control of matter but also to the conquest of spiritual and social good. Of what use are scientific advances, wonderful machines, new sources of power, technical perfection, if we find that we cannot free man from fear, oppression, hunger and injustice? Or what use to boast of the degree of civilization we have attained if we do not give well-being and happiness before all to the dispossessed, if we do not abolish castes and privileges, if we cannot prevent men from being turned into robots, if we are incapable of achieving stable peace and international co-operation in order to present succeeding generations with a more humane world?

143. In reaffirming our faith in a better future, we are expressing our most absolute faith in the United Nations, now strengthened by the presence of so many new States. The United Nations must be the basic instrument of the dominion of reason and moral law over uncontrolled passion. We warmly congratulate Secretary-General U Thant on his faith and energy, and on his successes in the settlement of various international disputes.

144. Here at this rostrum the representatives of governments express their views on the present situation in the world. But we must not forget that in this hall our own voices are accompanied by the faint echo of our peoples, expressing mingled anxiety and hope. Millions and millions of human beings, whom we must not defraud and who need our help quickly, have their eyes upon us. This burdens us with a heavy responsibility, and it is our duty to make our debates harmonious and produce energetic and constructive resolutions. Would that we could lose sight of national frontiers and vested interests, and think only of the international community! We shall only succeed if we are resolutely determined to take a great step forward and ensure that peace shall not be precarious but lasting and fruitful, and that a social justice which will bring prosperity and dignity to all our neighbours shall be established in this divided and troubled world.

145. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): I call upon the representative of Austria to exercise his right of reply.

146. Mr. KREISKY (Austria): Mr. President, I should like to thank you for giving me this opportunity to exercise my right of reply. I shall not abuse this privilege.

147. I am grateful to the Foreign Minister of Italy for having confirmed [1218th meeting] in essence the outline of facts I gave in my statement [1217th meeting]. However, I feel compelled to reject categorically his allegation that Austrian authorities have made incorrect statements. With regard to the other observations made by the Foreign Minister of Italy, I should like to give the following brief explanations.

148. The composition of the Austrian delegation at international negotiations cannot be a matter for the Italian Government to decide. Austria is a federal State, and it is our practice that representatives of our provincial governments participate in international negotiations. That fact has also been taken into account by the Italian Government at previous negotiations on the South Tyrol problem. Thus, four representatives of the province of Tyrol participated in the negotiations between the Austrian and Italian Foreign Ministers at Milan in January 1961, four participated in the negotiations at Klagenfurt in May 1961, and as many as five Tyrolean representatives were members of the Austrian delegation at the Zurich negotiations in June 1961. The inclusion of representatives of the province of Tyrol in the Austrian delegation thus did not, as the Italian Foreign Minister, Mr. Piccioni, alleges, constitute any innovation.

149. With regard to the Italian charges that Austria did not give any assistance to Italy to prevent terrorism, I wish to state here quite formally that the Austrian Government is ready at all times to submit the conduct of its organs to any examination by international institutions or representatives of such institutions. We would warmly welcome an equal readiness

on the part of the Italian Government regarding the conduct of its organs in this context.

150. Resolution 1497 (XV) of the General Assembly contains a clear mandate. It cannot be dependent on paragraph 3 of that resolution whether negotiations are or are not to take place. The Austrian Government did not consider it advisable to hold such difficult negotiations in New York, as it is of the opinion that this delegation should devote its undivided attention to the important deliberations of this General Assembly.

151. As for Mr. Piccioni's reference to the study commission on the South Tyrol question, I am very grateful to him for having given evidence of the existence of that commission before an international forum.

152. Finally, I should like to state that Italy still attaches to the holding of bilateral negotiations conditions which are outside the sphere of influence of the Austrian Government.

153. I have exercised my right of reply, above all, to give expression to the earnest desire of the Austrian Government to hold negotiations in the interest of a speedy solution of the South Tyrol problem.

154. The PRESIDENT: I call upon the representative of Italy to exercise his right of reply.

155. Mr. PICCIONI (Italy):^{9/} I have asked for the floor to reply immediately to what has been stated just now by the Austrian Foreign Minister. I should like to confirm point by point the statement I delivered this morning [1218th meeting], adding that the arguments advanced by Mr. Kreisky do not appear to us to be convincing or pertinent. Therefore we stand firmly by the position we indicated in our statement this morning.

156. Mr. Kreisky told us that Austria is ready to negotiate. That is precisely what I stated this morning on behalf of the Italian Government, and I do not see any point in taking up any more of the time of this Assembly. I apologize to the Assembly for this unforeseen intervention.

157. The PRESIDENT: I call upon the representative of Malaysia to exercise his right of reply.

158. Dato' ONG (Malaysia): Although I shall be making my statement in the general debate next week, at which time I shall give a fuller and more positive statement of my country's position, I feel that for the moment it is necessary to answer, and answer at once, some of the allegations and insinuations which the representative of Indonesia made here earlier this afternoon.

159. The concept of Malaysia came into being in May 1961, more than two years ago, when my Prime Minister, Tunku Abdul Rahman, first made a public reference to it as a desirable and practical possibility. Even before that, proposals for some form of association among the territories concerned had been made from time to time. This was only natural because of the compulsion of tradition and circumstance. The Borneo territories have had experience of an administrative and judicial system, a monetary set-up and economy that closely paralleled those obtaining in the Federation of Malaya. Furthermore, the peoples

^{9/} Mr. Piccioni spoke in Italian. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

were bound by the bonds of strong ethnic and cultural kinship, which hold them closest to the Federation of Malaya. The coming together of these territories is therefore not only natural but also recognized as a logical evolution in their political and economic progress.

160. The Malaysia proposal made by Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman immediately aroused widespread interest and was received with warm enthusiasm by political leaders and the peoples in all the territories concerned.

161. Throughout the long process of bringing Malaysia into being there have been exhaustive, extensive and thorough consultations, discussions and debates in all the territories concerned and at every level of the population. It was recognized from the very beginning that Malaysia could not come into being without the wishes of the peoples having been fully ascertained in accordance with the principles of self-determination. The proposal was fully endorsed by the Malaysia Solidarity Consultative Committee, formed in June 1961 and composed of representatives of the legislatures of the Malaysian territories.

162. In early 1962, a commission was set up to go to the Borneo territories of Sarawak and Sabah, or North Borneo, to ascertain the wishes of the people on the spot. After elaborate hearings and recordings of evidence, the commission reported that the overwhelming majority of the people were in favour of joining Malaysia. Elections were held with the Malaysia proposal as a central issue, and the results showed overwhelming support for Malaysia. New legislatures elected on the basis of universal adult franchise in the two Borneo territories went on record as being desirous of achieving independence through Malaysia, with unanimous or near unanimous support.

163. At this stage I need only commend to the attention of Members the findings of the United Nations Malaysia Mission, which I understand have been circulated by the Secretary-General to all Permanent Missions to the United Nations. The United Nations Malaysia Mission, it will be noted, found that the participation of the two Borneo territories in Malaysia had been approved by their legislative bodies as well as by a large majority of the people through free and impartially conducted elections in which the question of Malaysia was a major issue, the significance of which was appreciated by the electorate. The Secretary-General, in his final conclusion on the Mission's report, endorsed the finding that a sizable majority of the peoples of the new territories: "have concluded that they wish to bring their dependent status to an end and to realize their independence through freely chosen association with other peoples in their region with whom they feel ties of ethnic association, heritage, language, religion, culture, economic relationship, and ideals and objectives". The Secretary-General went on to say: "it is my conclusion that the majority of the peoples of the two territories, having taken them into account, wish to engage, with the peoples of the Federation of Malaya and Singapore, in an enlarged Federation of Malaysia through which they can strive together to realize the fulfilment of their destiny".

164. The Federation Government, fully satisfied with the elaborate and democratic process of consultations which bore out the wishes of the peoples as being in support of Malaysia, had entered into agreement with the United Kingdom Government, the then Administering Authority, and the Government of

the territories concerned, fixing 31 August as the date on which Malaysia would come into force.

165. However, having regard for the views of our neighbours, the Philippines and Indonesia, and in a spirit of friendship and neighbourliness and for the sake of peace and harmony in the area, the Federation Government agreed at Manila to the ascertainment by the Secretary-General. Paragraph 10 of the Manila Accord reads:

"The Ministers reaffirmed their countries' adherence to the principle of self-determination for the peoples of non-self-governing territories. In this context, Indonesia and the Philippines stated that they would welcome the formation of Malaysia provided the support of the people of the Borneo territories is ascertained by an independent and impartial authority, the Secretary-General of the United Nations or his representative."

166. Regrettably, this Accord, reached at Manila by the three Heads of Government, has now been openly violated. In continuing its opposition and confrontation, backed by military threats, against Malaysia, despite the unequivocal findings of the United Nations Malaysia Mission's report and the Secretary-General's final decision on the report, Indonesia has shown to the world that it is she who has not honoured her solemn word and commitment.

167. May I recall in this connexion the spirit in which the Secretary-General had promptly responded to the request of the three Governments to ascertain the wishes of the peoples in the territories regarding Malaysia. In his final conclusion the Secretary-General states:

"It was in the hope that some form of United Nations involvement might help to reduce tension that I agreed to respond positively to the request made by the three Manila Powers. I would hope that the exercise in which my colleagues and I have been involved in this regard will have this effect, and that the coming into being of Malaysia will not prove to be a continuing source of friction and tension in the area."

168. The facts are eloquent, and I leave it to this Assembly to draw the necessary conclusions.

169. Criticism has been made regarding the fixing of a date for the coming into being of Malaysia while the United Nations exercise was still in existence. Notwithstanding that it has been explained time and again that, to us, it was a statutory and inescapable obligation, this deliberate misunderstanding still persists, and I should like to read to this Assembly our statutory provision in this regard:

"Except in so far as the contrary intention appears, this Act"—that is the Malaysia Act—"shall come into force on the thirty-first day of August, nineteen hundred and sixty-three or such later day as may, before the said thirty-first day of August, have been specified for the purpose by proclamation of the Yang di-Pertuan Agong; and in this Act and in any other written law 'Malaysia Day' shall mean the day on which this Act comes into force."

It will thus be seen that the date for Malaysia had to be 31 August or such other date as might be fixed before 31 August and proclaimed by His Majesty the Yang di-Pertuan Agong. This fact was fully and particularly explained to Indonesia personally by my Government's Chief External Affairs Official, who

made a special journey to Djakarta, and it was also explained to the two Governments before the actual proclamation was made.

170. In fixing the new date, my Government took care that it should be a date after the decision of the Secretary-General had been made known and which he had indicated not merely to us, but to all three Governments before the team arrived in the Borneo territories; and this date was 14 September. Indeed, the Secretary-General's final conclusions were made public on 14 September.

171. In so far as the criticism bears on the question of the observers, I need only refer to the Manila Joint Statement as to the true role of the observers. Paragraph 7 of the Joint Statement reads as follows:

"In the interest of the countries concerned, the three Heads of Government deem it desirable to send observers to witness the carrying out of the task to be undertaken by the working teams, and the Federation of Malaya will use its best endeavours to obtain the co-operation of the British Government and the Governments of Sabah (North Borneo) and Sarawak in furtherance of this purpose."

They formed no integral part of the fact-finding mission and, unless the two Governments are willing to take courage and render their unequivocal judgements impugning the integrity and impartiality of the fact-finding teams, the fact that a certain number of observers were not there all the time and in all their strength loses all relevance or value. An objective finding of facts by an impartial authority cannot lose its efficacy because fewer people rather than more have stood on the sidelines to watch the process.

172. A further criticism relates to the manner in which the United Nations fact-finding teams in Borneo have carried out their tasks. It is said that all they have done was to provide justification or excuse for the defects and deficiencies of the elections already conducted by the colonial authority, and this was not the "fresh approach" that the Manila Agreement intended. In this connexion, I need only refer to the terms of the Agreement itself which clearly define the tasks to be carried out. Moreover, they are to be carried out "taking into consideration the recent elections in Sabah and Sarawak, etc." Nobody can possibly read or interpret these words to mean: "Disregarding the recent elections that have taken place".

173. As a further aspect of this criticism, the view is expressed that the teams arrived at decisions after an expenditure of too short a time in the collection of facts. The brief answer to this is to be found in the Secretary-General's final decision:

"Before concluding, I would like to pay a tribute to my Personal Representative, Mr. L. Michelmore, my Deputy Representative, Mr. G. Janecek, and to all the members of the United Nations Malaysia Mission who accomplished a sensitive and difficult task in a relatively short period, but at the same time in a thorough and wholly adequate manner. In a sense, it was a pity that the work of the Mission had to be accomplished within certain deadlines. But I do feel that, while more time might have enabled the Mission to obtain more copious documentation and other evidence, it would not have affected the conclusions to any significant extent."

174. My country, since achieving independence and immediately thereafter becoming a Member of the

United Nations in 1957, has been proud to have followed an independent line in its foreign policy. Our record both within the United Nations and without is clear. Our firm stand against colonialism in all its manifestations is equally clear.

175. In the Indonesian Government's gratuitous desire to promote from without the political aspirations of the peoples of the two Borneo territories against their own clearly expressed will, the representative of that Government has used this rostrum to add to the injury that his Government has done to the peoples of Malaysia the insult that the Government of Malaysia has in some way been stained by a colonialism old or new.

176. The PRESIDENT: I call upon the representative of the United Kingdom, who has expressed a desire to make use of the right of reply.

177. Lord HOME (United Kingdom): I am glad that the representative of Malaysia has exercised his right to reply to the speech which was made by the representative of Indonesia, and I am here to support and endorse what the representative of Malaysia has just said and in particular to underline the fact, which he has made clear to all of those who were listening to him, that the idea of Malaysia was a Malaysian idea in its conception and in its origin and was in no sense a British plot; and, secondly, on my own behalf and on that of my Government, to refute the intemperate attack which was made on my country's policies by the representative of Indonesia, using, I regret to say—but I must say it straight to him—an attack on British policy as a cloak, a transparent cloak, which could not conceal that his real target was Malaysia itself. Now, I do not mind in the least acting as a lightning conductor so long as nothing happens to disturb the peace and the future of Malaysia. But I find it so difficult to choose which of the inaccuracies to answer, as they were spoken one after another by the representative of Indonesia, that I have decided that I can best answer the charges he made by giving some basic facts to my colleagues who are here, confident that few will be able to refute them because at every point they will be consistent with the Charter of the United Nations and will represent the aims, as I understand them, of the great majority of Governments represented here.

178. The first fact is that Malaysia is a major act of decolonization in Asia. Three territories are given their freedom and given their complete independence.

179. The second fact is that it fulfils a precept which has been a characteristic of our colonial policies in Britain, namely, that when we hand over power to a dependent territory, we hand it over to a country which can stand on its own feet economically, which can hold its own on the world stage and which can live in peace and charity with its neighbours.

180. The third fact is that we took most scrupulous care, as the representative of Malaysia has said, to see that the rules of self-determination and the wishes of the people were ascertained. There were elections held in freedom, there were inquiries of a most meticulous kind, and through both of them we found that the emphatic desire of the people was to join a Federation of Malaysia. The findings of one confirmed the findings of the other. But, although we were satisfied beyond any reasonable doubt that this was the wish of the people of the different territories, we consented to a special inquiry by a team sent to the different coun-

tries by the Secretary-General of the United Nations. The result of his inquiries—I need not elaborate or labour this—was to find overwhelming endorsement of the result of the elections which had previously been held.

181. The representative of Indonesia made play with the fact that there had been, in his opinion, too few observers. I thought the point was well met, if I may say so, by the representative of Malaysia. In my opinion, there were enough observers to observe what was going on. But whether there were ten, or ninety, or none, the fact remains that the Secretary-General of the United Nations is capable of carrying out an inquiry and giving a verdict which is impartial. And that is what was done. If the representative of Indonesia, by these rather devious and furtive and oblique methods, wants really to impugn the integrity of the Secretary-General and his teams, then he should say so or keep quiet and accept the findings with good grace. Furthermore, if at any time the representative of Indonesia wishes another endorsement of the evidence, which is already so apparent through elections and inquiries, and through the inquiry of the Secretary-General, perhaps he might recall the victory, at the recent elections in Singapore, of Mr. Lee Kuan Yew, who stood firmly and squarely on a platform of Malaysia.

182. The representative of Indonesia has, if I may say so, supported his case by many other considerations which I must dismiss as irrelevant. Because I shall to some extent speak to this theme on Tuesday—although I hope not too long—I shall not deal here with the question of British colonialism and how we have conducted our policies in that respect. Nor shall I dwell on Southern Rhodesia, to which the representative of Indonesia gave a good deal of attention, because we have debated it before and will debate it again. But he did suggest that we made a habit of imposing federations on people against their will. Well, I wonder whether the representatives of Australia and Canada and Nigeria will relish being told that they were servile stooges and that their Constitutions are in fact a flop. Anyhow, what was he trying to prove? I was at a loss to understand, because in the Central African Federation the will of the people is prevailing and, as far as I know, the same thing is true in the West Indies. And I really cannot—I am sorry to say this, but I cannot—acquit him of a somewhat tawdry subterfuge to cover his own chagrin that Malaysia has come into being at all. My colleagues are well aware of the assaults on the British Embassy in Djakarta and of the consequent fact that no woman or child feels safe to remain in the distinguished representative's

country. I wondered how the distinguished representative was going to explain that conduct. I am bound to say that I think he was wise not to try, and to keep silent on that particular aspect of this affair.

183. The reaction of the United Kingdom Government, I hope the Assembly will agree, has been one of restraint under great provocation. I have ordered this restraint because the United Kingdom has no quarrel with Indonesia. We wish to be friendly with Indonesia at all times. I see no reason why there should be any differences between our countries at all. All I invite the Government of Indonesia to do is to make some small response to those feelings of friendship which we very much want to develop.

184. But I am not going to worry the Assembly with our own troubles. We can in this respect look after ourselves.

185. What is of concern is the stream of abuse and threats directed against Malaysia. In one part of his speech, if I understood him correctly, the representative of Indonesia welcomed Malaysia. Well, what do we read in the newspapers almost every day? We read that it is Indonesia's aim to destroy Malaysia. That is a strange way, if I may say so, of showing one's neighbourliness and affection.

186. I am not this evening asking the Assembly for action, nor is it our intention at this stage to ask the Security Council for action, for I most profoundly trust that restraint will forbid a threat to the peace. Everyone in that region and in this Assembly should try to contribute to that end. I came to this rostrum because I wished the Assembly to be aware of the motives of the United Kingdom in helping to create Malaysia, because I wished to state before all who have listened to the representative of Indonesia that we refuse to accept the distortions that he has made today of British policy in this respect, and because I wished, above all, to appeal to those delegations here which are sympathetic to decolonization to exercise their influence so that the peace may not be disturbed.

187. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Indonesia has asked to exercise the right of reply.

188. Mr. PALAR (Indonesia): I have asked to speak only in order to request that I be given an opportunity to answer the representatives of Malaysia and the United Kingdom on Monday.

189. The PRESIDENT: We have finished the list of speakers for this meeting. The general debate will be continued at the plenary meeting which will take place next Monday morning at 10.30.

The meeting rose at 6.20 p.m.