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*President: Mr. Carlos SOSA RODRIGUEZ  
(Venezuela).*

**AGENDA ITEM 9**

**General debate (continued)**

1. Mr. SHEARER (Jamaica): Mr. President, it is my pleasure to associate my delegation with the warm congratulations addressed to you by other representatives upon your election to the Presidency of this eighteenth session of the General Assembly. Your unanimous election is particularly satisfying to us in Jamaica, your friends and neighbours in the Caribbean, because it expresses a universally high regard for your own personal qualities. It is satisfying also because it is in part a special mark of respect for your great country, whose unfaltering determination to protect its restored democracy we admire and applaud.

2. This session of the Assembly, as others have pointed out, opens under most favourable auspices. Less than a year ago one of the gravest crises since the Second World War hung over us. It was a crisis of particular gravity for my country, which was so close to the area of potential conflagration. Nothing more eloquently expounds the interdependence of nations in this modern world than our position in that confrontation between the two great nuclear Powers. At peace with all the countries directly concerned, having no interest in imposing our way of life on anyone, yet against our will we would have been as heavily involved as Cuba itself had that crisis exploded into atomic hostilities. Fortunately for us, the concern for peaceful coexistence and the will to resist combined to remove the crisis which hung over the proceedings of our previous session. The experience of those days reinforces the desire of Jamaica's people to keep the whole Caribbean area free from nuclear arms. Indeed, we should wish to see all Latin America so kept free. We noted with complete satisfaction the decision of the United Nations two Assemblies ago that the continent of Africa should be recognized as a denuclearized zone [resolution 1652 (XVI)]; we should wish to see as large a part of the globe as possible kept free of these dangerous weapons. So Jamaica welcomes the proposal for a denuclearized Latin America, and we will co-operate with the other Member States in our region in working out the details of the proposed weapon-free zone—the limits of the zone, the categories of weapons to

be excluded and appropriate methods of verification. If the other Governments wish to take the first steps to this end within the Latin American regional organization, Jamaica will await the results of their efforts. We will not disguise, however, our preference for action on this subject to be taken within the United Nations system and our belief that final binding arrangements will be most effectively secured through the United Nations.

3. Since last we met in this Assembly, the Moscow Treaty on nuclear tests has been signed. Many Members of the United Nations were long ago convinced that no real technical difficulties stood in the way of an agreement to ban nuclear tests in the three environments to which this Treaty applies. Our country hastened to sign the Treaty, although we have neither means nor pretensions to become a nuclear Power. We made haste to sign as an affirmation of our support for the principle of the test ban and as an expression of hope that countries with genuine capacity to become nuclear Powers would be encouraged to do the same.

4. Seldom have the nations spoken so unanimously as they have since the Moscow Treaty<sup>1/</sup> was announced that the present agreement should be only a beginning and that the nuclear Powers must seize the opportunity to reach a wider area of agreement on disarmament. The stage is now set for negotiations to ban testing in the fourth region, underground. I trust that the Foreign Minister of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics will already have received encouraging responses to his proposal that disarmament should be examined anew within the framework of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament. We wish to see the Ministers and Plenipotentiaries set to work immediately to prepare the way for a conference at the highest level.

5. At this moment it behoves us all to welcome every gesture which represents a reaching out towards the other side, and to grasp every hand that is extended, and to let no opportunity pass which might serve to diminish the influence of suspicion in the relations between great Powers.

6. Often in the history of nations and civilizations a whole generation lives out its little life by the rules and standards of a bygone age, oblivious of the fact that the current of history and the march of ideas have passed it by. Let it not be said that in this generation one nation continued to dispute with the other about areas of national sovereignty, about means of protecting national security, ignorant of the fact that the hydrogen bomb has eliminated the resort to force as a means of settling international disagreements.

7. We, the developing nations, need some of the resources which the great military nations now devote to armaments. We need them to enable us to develop our resources, to increase the outlets for our products,

<sup>1/</sup> Treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water, signed at Moscow on 5 August 1963.

to pay our workers fair wages and our farmers fair prices, to improve the educational opportunities for our children and, by increasing the general demand for goods and services, to raise the standards of living for our people. Without failing to appreciate the benefits of bilateral economic aid, Jamaica continues to prefer that international financial capital for developing countries should be provided on a multi-lateral basis. We want to see the United Nations Capital Development Fund established and we remain convinced that the advanced countries can most easily and immediately find the means to contribute towards the establishment of this Fund by diverting resources from armaments. The simplest and yet very possible method of providing funds for international development is for the great nations to agree upon a standstill in their budgetary appropriations for armaments.

8. In addition to the main international issues of disarmament and political affairs, I wish to deal with certain other questions before the Assembly on which my Government is most concerned that positive decisions should be made early. I would mention first among these matters the proposal for the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. We have seen the reports of the first two sessions of the Preparatory Committee for this Conference.<sup>2/</sup> We have studied the recommendations of the Economic and Social Council on these reports. Jamaica regrets to have to record our deep disappointment with the results of the Preparatory Committee's efforts up to now. Some progress has been made in the second session, and it is clear that the great nations of the East and West are preparing to take the Conference very seriously, but something is still missing. In the last session too much time was devoted by the advanced countries to competitive pronouncements about what they regard as the wonderful expansion which has already taken place in their trade with developing countries. We do not consider it enough for the great economic Powers in each trading bloc simply to continue their present programmes for expansion of trade or simply to increase by some small percentage their volume of imports from developing countries.

9. Last year, when the date of the Conference was a subject of intense disagreement and Jamaica's representative, speaking from this rostrum (1145th meeting), urged our colleagues amongst the developing nations to give in to the great Powers in their insistence on a date in 1964, it was not to enable the advanced countries to attend a world conference merely to tell us how well they had done up to now. We expected the big Powers to arrive at the Conference table genuinely determined to make real concessions in the sphere of international trade, we expected them to recognize that the widening gap between the high income and low income countries combined with rising populations in these poorer countries was a serious problem, a problem which required completely new and revolutionary solutions.

10. We are expecting, for example, the developed countries to withdraw their subsidies to beet sugar and to leave the developing countries to supply the world market for this commodity since we can produce it efficiently and cheaply. It is this sort of deliberate self-denial that we expected to emerge from the Trade Conference. Let me express the hope that

before the third session of the Conference convenes some such view of the necessities of the moment will have gained acceptance amongst the economically advanced countries.

11. I now turn to the problem of colonialism. Jamaica reaffirms its unswerving opposition to colonialism in all its forms. We are concerned to see the continent of Africa rid of it. We join our colleagues, the indigenous people of Africa, in their determination that the people of Angola and Mozambique should be liberated from European domination as quickly as possible.

12. On the subject of apartheid and the policies of the Government of South Africa our stand is well known. Jamaica was among the first of the countries to impose an embargo on South African trade. We make it known once more that we abhor the reprehensible policy which has become the religion of the Government of that country. We deeply regret that the policy of the Opposition Party does not differ appreciably from that of Dr. Verwoerd.

13. My Government has taken all measures necessary internally and externally to comply in the fullest terms possible with the provisions of General Assembly resolution 1761 (XVII) of 6 November 1962, and will co-operate with our friends in Africa to the best of our ability to see the shame of apartheid removed from the continent which gave us the majority of our ancestors.

14. Nevertheless, we believe that South Africa's future must be redemption, not destruction, not even self-destruction, and we doubt whether the nation can be redeemed from outside. So I appeal to the liberal elements within that country to abandon their support of the suicidal policies of their Government, and to show to the world that a group exists which is willing to accord the native African his just rights and is, therefore, a group whose efforts well-intentioned outsiders can support.

15. We, the United Nations, cannot allow ourselves to confess that the problem of apartheid defeats us. If a solution through one approach is delayed, then other avenues must be tried. I appeal to those nations without whose support the South African Government could not long continue its suicidal policy to abandon their support, and so bring the Government and its followers to their senses.

16. The next urgent problem is support for United Nations peace-keeping activities. I welcome the generous initiative which the Scandinavian countries have taken in placing national forces at the disposal of the Secretary-General, and I welcome the evidence which we have received since this debate began that other nations are prepared to do the same. A means must, however, be found of financing peace-keeping activities whenever the United Nations should decide to embark upon them, and it is important in my Government's view that the method of financing should not be left to be determined *ad hoc* as each new assignment is undertaken. In the appropriate committee, my delegation will submit for consideration by our colleagues a formula for a scale of assessments based upon the eminently fair and reasonable principles which were adopted in resolution 1874 (S-IV) at the fourth special session.

17. The next issue on which we look forward to a settlement within this session is the holding of a conference for the purpose of reviewing the Charter. Most Member States have expressed their views on

<sup>2/</sup> Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Thirty-fifth Session, Annexes, agenda item 6, document E/3720 and *ibid.*, Thirty-sixth Session, Annexes, agenda item 5, third part, document E/3799.

this question and there appears to be a wide measure of agreement that the time is not ripe for a conference on general revision of the Charter. However, with notable and few exceptions, there is further agreement that action should be taken under Article 108 of the Charter to provide for increased membership of two of the main organs of the United Nations. I will not weary the Assembly with a repetition of the arguments. It is sufficient to say that, in my opinion, a Security Council with fifteen members would not be an unwieldy instrument and would discharge its responsibilities as effectively, if not more so, than the present Council of eleven members.

18. In regard to the Economic and Social Council, great emphasis has been placed on the need to ensure that the various continents and regions are adequately represented. I should like to press the claim of the small countries who are parts of no large continent and of no large regional groups. I would stress the importance, moreover, of ensuring that in any enlargement of this Council provision is made for countries in all stages of economic development to be represented. It is not enough simply to have the under-developed countries "en bloc". Those in the earliest stages, those on the verge of the start to self-sustaining growth, and the large and potentially wealthy developing countries should all be represented.

19. I come now to item 79 on the agenda of this session. Representatives were good enough to agree some days ago that the proposal to designate the year 1968 as International Year for Human Rights should form part of the agenda and should be referred to the Third Committee [1210th meeting]. The year 1968 will be the twentieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. That historic document has immeasurably influenced political and social thought during its fifteen years of existence. One after another, the new nations have enshrined its principles in their constitutions. But we must move on from declarations of principle, which are binding on no one, to conventions and binding agreements.

20. In proposing that a year should be set aside for the twentieth anniversary celebrations, Jamaica has two thoughts in mind: first, that the year should be an event and, secondly, that it should be a target. We contend that the community of nations should, in 1968, call at least one, perhaps two, international conferences at which progress in the field of human rights will be reviewed and that progress celebrated with appropriate ceremonies. Delegations to that conference would report on the advances made in their own countries in eliminating particular denials of human rights in whatever form and by whatever name—apartheid, segregation, Jim Crow, or colour prejudice. We hope that all nations will be able to report that the grosser denials of fundamental freedoms like slavery and institutions bordering on slavery, will everywhere have disappeared. We hope also that international practice on the condition of refugees and the right of asylum will be reported as settled and agreed. But the year should also serve as a target towards which the United Nations and the Member States would work in their efforts to give effect to the principles in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; and the United Nations and the specialized agencies should prepare a schedule of goals to be achieved by that time.

21. We contend, too, that Governments whose efforts to give effect to particular freedoms and rights are

being delayed or opposed by reactionary elements within their own borders, should be able to use the observance of the international year and the need to report to the world on their internal measures, as a means of bringing pressure to bear on recalcitrants.

22. I trust that those delegations which, in the Commission on Human Rights, have advocated an international year for freedom from discrimination, and other celebrations, will join in supporting our draft resolution on the International Year for Human Rights.

23. Finally, let me emphasize, in the name of the Government and people of Jamaica, our conviction of the incalculable benefits of this Organization for the promotion of peace and progress for mankind. It is imperative that all Member States give the fullest support to the maintenance of this Organization and the expansion of its influence and use, and maintain confidence in the staff at all times. The Government and people of Jamaica are pledged to play their part fully in this respect.

24. Mr. WINIEWICZ (Poland): The Polish delegation has followed with vivid attention the current debate in the General Assembly. It does seem to us that the following elements can already be emphasized: First, wise statesmanship and the course of international events since our last general debate have strengthened the conviction of the need for, and the possibility of, finding concrete and constructive solutions, conducive to an easing of international tension, to a rapprochement among nations, to peace. Secondly, in previous years we witnessed in this hall attempts by certain delegations at narrowing the whole scope of international issues to arguments, mainly with the socialist countries. While the sterile cold war duels are now disappearing from our discussions—to the great satisfaction of the Polish delegation—a number of speakers have been able to occupy themselves with concrete questions by pointing out the many unsolved problems relating to certain geographical regions or even to vital special interests of their own countries. For it is evident that the political picture of the contemporary world is rather more complex than is being admitted by the too-eager proponents of anti-communist crusades.

25. Further, the prospects for a "détente" having been opened, the activity of the United Nations may become more creative than under conditions of international tension. Hence the justified belief of most delegations here—and we fully share this belief—that the signing of the Moscow Treaty has improved conditions for positive United Nations actions, based on the principle of peaceful coexistence.

26. Poland, like other socialist States with whom it is bound by fraternal alliance and in keeping with the general principles of their foreign policy, has always stood for the peaceful coexistence of States with different social and economic systems. Indeed, a contest of historical importance is taking place between the two systems to determine which of them serves better the aspirations of men and the progress of humanity. May I, however, quote the Chairman of the Polish delegation to the fifteenth session of the United Nations General Assembly, Wladyslaw Gomułka, that:

"The problem of communism or capitalism does not concern inter-State relations. This is an ideological and social problem. Therefore, the question of the superiority of one or another social system has to be decided by the people, who themselves will

express their opinion as to which social system best represents their interests and guarantees them a better, freer and happier life." [874th meeting, para. 66.]

27. This historical contest, the contest as to the future of mankind, should be solved through means of peaceful competition, within the framework of peaceful coexistence. Peaceful coexistence implies, we submit, joint responsibility for the maintenance of peace. It implies the solution of all controversial international problems through negotiations and reasonable compromises. It implies economic, scientific and cultural contacts. This is exactly how Polish foreign policy conceives and carries out constructive co-operation among nations.

28. The road Poland has embarked upon and its close alliance and friendship with socialist countries have never been in any contradiction with the development of broad relations with other countries. On the contrary, we do maintain relations with all nations which understand the paramount need for peaceful co-operation. We develop and strengthen our economic and cultural contacts with countries of all continents. We express our solidarity with, and offer assistance to, newly liberated countries and to peoples still dependent. Our participation in numerous international organizations—and we try to be active members—serves the purpose of broad international co-operation.

29. May these few words of mine be taken at the same time as a sincere and warm acknowledgement of those statements in our debate which referred to Poland, to relations with it, and to Poland's international activities in general. We did not fail to notice them.

30. A number of principles which constitute today essential elements of peaceful coexistence, defined also by the United Nations Charter, have long ago become an integral part of international law. Suffice it to mention the following: sovereignty, equality, territorial integrity and non-interference in the internal affairs of other States. If each State and each nation are to have, as they must, an opportunity to contribute freely and fully to the better and peaceful future of mankind, these principles have to be observed in all fields of international conduct. This is why we recognize and support Cuba's lawful rights. This is why we are of the opinion that an end should be put, the sooner the better, to foreign intervention in South Viet-Nam.

31. Here are the foundations on which peace can be built. If, however, mankind is to be liberated once and for all from the dangers facing it, if it is to be freed particularly from the peril of thermonuclear destruction, the very capability of waging wars should be eliminated. The goal can be achieved only through general and complete disarmament which has been unanimously recognized by the United Nations as the basic problem of our times. Because a world without arms means a world without wars.

32. The Moscow Treaty, which has been rightly welcomed by practically all the speakers in this debate as a step towards a "détente", is indeed the first significant agreement among the three great Powers in a field of the utmost importance to all humanity, in the field of nuclear weapons. It not only puts an end to the contamination of the atmosphere by radio-active fallout. It constitutes also the first step towards the diminution of the possibility of perfecting nuclear weapons and makes it possible to restrict their dissemination. It should, and it can, become a starting

point for transforming the spiral armaments into the spiral of disarmament. Yet, in itself, it does not amount to disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament. Consequently, we all, I hope, expect further agreements in this direction.

33. One cannot but be aware of the existence of influential forces which, guided by egotistic and short-sighted interests, continue to favour the maintenance and intensification of the armaments race rather than its abolition. There are, of course, important political and economic groups which have been fed by the cold war and still draw profits from it. They have refused so far to follow the desire of nations towards a relaxation of tension and towards peace. We cannot but be aware of the difficulties which remain to be overcome and the obstacles still to be surmounted. Further strenuous efforts will have to be made, so that mankind may move along the right path, following the agreement on the cessation of nuclear tests in three environments.

34. In our opinion, the reason for the impasse in the Geneva negotiations on general and complete disarmament lies in the very approach of the Western Powers to the problem of disarmament. In their disarmament plans they have not renounced, so far, the illusory attempt at securing for themselves superiority in the most important kinds of weapons, and have been rejecting the fundamental requirement of ensuring an equal degree of security to all States at each stage of disarmament.

35. The socialist States, on the other hand, do not abandon their efforts to remove the difficulties which have arisen in the disarmament negotiations. Thus, we submit, the Soviet proposal presented at this session, concerning the ways of eliminating nuclear delivery vehicles, again manifests the USSR's willingness to meet the Western position. Mr. Gromyko has in fact presented one more important proposal—to ban the placing of nuclear weapons in orbit. The proposal has quickly met with a positive response and very promising support both in this hall and outside it. Judging from today's newspapers, the proposal is even nearing the point of accord. We would all welcome it.

36. We share the view of our Soviet friends that the participation of Heads of State or Government in the debates of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament could contribute to the progress of negotiations. It could give an impetus to discussions of general and complete disarmament and also speed up agreements on collateral measures. A number of speakers in our debate were right in emphasizing the very meaning of this proposal. Its significance lies in the importance which should always be attached to direct contacts and talks of Heads of State and political leaders.

37. Many speakers stressed the usefulness of collateral measures which could further ease international tension, improve the international climate, facilitate and advance discussions of general and complete disarmament. We share this view. For it would be unrealistic to stick to the "all or nothing" position. We must try to achieve whatever is ripe for solution.

38. One of the important steps towards international "détente" would be the conclusion of a non-aggression pact between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization. A solemn renunciation of the threat or use of force in relations between the two greatest political



and military alliances would significantly contribute to the normalization and stabilization of the international situation; indeed, it would institutionalize the method of consultation and negotiation between East and West, and the whole world could profit therefrom.

39. This idea has had, and continues to have, many serious proponents in the West. It enjoys the support of the socialist States. One can note with satisfaction that many speakers here have not only taken an unbiased attitude towards it, but have even given it unequivocal support. It is our considered view that there should be no difficulty in placing the non-aggression pact in such a context, which might be acceptable to all concerned. To attain this goal, there has to be goodwill to come to an agreement, and there ought to be no attempts at making the conclusion of the pact contingent on matters not necessarily related to it.

40. More than once, from this rostrum, we have drawn attention to the proposal for setting up a nuclear-free zone in Central Europe. Poland, as the initiator of the proposal, has long been ready to discuss the principles of the Rapacki Plan and the ways and means of implementing it, and may I be permitted to remind you that the item is already on the agenda of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament.

41. The fact that our initiative has given impetus to discussions of nuclear-free zones in other regions offers convincing proof that the concept of denuclearized zones meets the requirements of the present international situation. While supporting the well-known proposals for the establishment of nuclear-free zones on other continents, we stress the particular significance of such a zone in Central Europe, in an area where there is a direct confrontation of the two opposing military groupings and where particularly dangerous sources of conflict have accumulated. The implementation of the Polish plan would bring into effect a partial disarmament measure, limiting the spread of nuclear weapons and preventing the outbreak of a military conflict by accident in a particularly sensitive area, an area where there is a real need to allay the fear of an armed conflict.

42. The proposal of Mr. Uden and that of President Kekkonen indicate that there is a possibility of banning nuclear weapons in Northern Europe also. We are convinced that the setting up of the nuclear-free zones proposed by Poland, as well as of other nuclear-free zones—in Northern Europe, in the Balkans and in the Mediterranean region—would lead to a serious improvement in the political climate of Europe, the effects of which would be felt the world over.

43. The support also voiced during the present debate by numerous speakers for the idea of nuclear-free zones points to the possibility of initiating the elaboration of general principles regarding nuclear-free zones, as well as of methods for their practical implementation. It is self-evident that particular zones, in different parts of the world, could meet the specific conditions of the given region; it is not necessary that all of them have the same status. Of great importance is the offer of the Soviet Union to exclude the use of nuclear weapons against nuclear-free zones, established through regional agreements, and against individual countries which would declare their territories to be nuclear-free; and, jointly with the Western Powers, to give the necessary safeguards to that effect. We do not feel isolated in our expectation that

this proposal will meet with a positive response on the part of the remaining nuclear Powers.

44. Poland's particular interest in the problems of Central Europe does not, I presume, require special explanation. The deep wounds of the last war have not yet healed; we have to draw conclusions from the experiences of the past. We sincerely desire to exclude from this region any danger of an armed conflict. Therefore, Poland would welcome all plans for the normalization of this sensitive area—indeed, every real step on the road towards disarmament and towards security. Hence, many a time have we declared that so far as Poland is concerned we are ready to reciprocate any move by the German Federal Republic aimed at a "détente". We do regret to say that, unfortunately, it is exactly the policy of the German Federal Republic which has already frustrated many moves to relax international tension, which has even opposed actions of realism and good sense by the NATO alliance.

45. It is the Government of the German Federal Republic which refuses to recognize the new situation in Central Europe that has come about as a result of the genocidal war unleashed by Nazi Germany, from the wounds of which we are still suffering. It is that Government which questions the established unalterable Western border of Poland. It is trying to foment tension in West Berlin. It is striving to annex the first peaceful State in Germany's long history of conquest—the German Democratic Republic, which has rejected the expansionist policy of German imperialism and has established relations and peaceful co-operation with many countries on all continents.

46. And may I stress at once here that any policy seriously directed towards reducing tension must take due account of the part the German Democratic Republic plays today, and will play to an ever-increasing degree in the future. The German Democratic Republic is making considerable efforts to establish normal relations between the two German States. We would draw the attention of those representatives who have dwelt here on the German problem to the proposal of the German Democratic Republic for the conclusion of a "treaty of good sense and good will" between the two German States. This proposal convincingly sets out reasonable conditions for co-operation between the two German States in the interest of the entire German nation.

47. It is no secret that Poland and the German Democratic Republic are bound by close links of friendship. Recent evidence of this was the visit to our country last week of the official delegation of the German Democratic Republic. Poland, however, sincerely desires to maintain good relations with the whole German nation, for our approach to the German problem is a constructive one. Indeed, the normalization of our economic relations with the German Federal Republic offers proof of our good will. Nor do we overlook some symptoms of common sense in certain West German political quarters. These, we regret to say, are not as yet influencing to a significant degree the political life of the German Federal Republic.

48. Against the background of the policy pursued hitherto by the German Federal Republic, the thesis which Bonn tries to advance with regard to the German problem—"relaxation but not on the basis of the status quo"—can, to our mind, amount only to countering the positive development of the international situation and

to obstructing peaceful coexistence. Such a situation could not have arisen, of course, if the major Powers of the West had pursued a different policy with regard to West Germany.

49. Should the opposition of the Bonn Government now prevent the Moscow agreement from being followed by other steps towards an improvement of the international atmosphere, only one conclusion, we submit, could be drawn: the conclusion that West Germany has a dangerously far-reaching influence upon the policy of the West. Such a development could only delay the process of relaxation of tension and might lead to consequences perhaps not even intended by the Western Powers.

50. What else, if not an evidence of dangerous concessions to those opposing a "détente" is the whole concept of the so-called multilateral NATO nuclear force? Such a force is not needed for the defense of the United States. It is well known that other members of NATO do not display particular interest in it. Some of them even seem to feel that they are being coerced into accepting it. It is only the German Federal Republic which insists on the creation of such a force.

51. Sharing in the nuclear capability would become a stepping-stone toward the increased influence of Bonn's policy within the Western alliance. It could lead to an independent control over nuclear weapons by West Germany, which everyone should dread. It could amount to an increase in the number of so-called nuclear Powers, contrary to the demands voiced by the majority of delegations here assembled for preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons. In turn, it would further speed up the armaments race while world public opinion, many Governments, and all nations unequivocally call for disarmament.

52. That is why I could not refrain from mentioning this problem and this sequence of reasoning of ours. The concept of a multilateral NATO nuclear force could hardly be considered as corresponding with the spirit of the Moscow Treaty.

53. I repeat once again: the nuclearization of the German Federal Republic could only seriously complicate the German problem. And this problem calls for a solution already long overdue.

54. The solution of the German problem requires, in our opinion, the abandonment of all plans for the nuclearization of Germany. It should be based on the recognition of the established German borders and on the existence of two sovereign German States, on the conclusion of a peace treaty and on the settlement of the problem of West Berlin. Only thus would the vital interests of all European nations, including the entire German nation, be served.

55. One of the main tasks of the United Nations is to assist all peoples still under colonial domination to gain full independence. As far as practical action is concerned, we believe that wherever United Nations resolutions and recommendations on decolonization remain ineffective, a more determined co-operation of all States and a common effort are necessary to bring to an end a system doomed by history and to effectively assist the national liberation struggle.

56. I particularly refer to the cases of Portugal and the Republic of South Africa. For many years the United Nations has been urging the Republic of South Africa to abolish its policy of apartheid, but the Government of that country has systematically ig-

nored these appeals. That is why today new decisions are needed, we submit, that are even more imperative than those recently adopted by the Security Council.

57. The Polish delegation welcomes, as did others, the Charter of the Organization of African Unity, adopted in Addis Ababa, and which His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie I, Emperor of Ethiopia, will solemnly register with the United Nations today. His Imperial Majesty is a historical figure admired by all for his fight for the independence of his small country. The Addis Ababa decisions have rallied the peoples of Africa in their common endeavour to do away with the remnants of the past, to strengthen the independence and co-operation of newly liberated countries, to remove foreign military bases from the African continent and to transform it into a nuclear-free zone, a zone of peace. For the independence of colonial peoples and peace are indivisible. In joining world-wide efforts to maintain peace, the newly-liberated countries fortify their independence, acquire better opportunities for economic and social development and speed up the liquidation of the sad heritage of colonialism.

58. To be independent—and this has been stated here more than once; some weeks ago President Ben Bella also reminded us of it—it is not enough to wave a national flag and to play a national anthem. What really counts is the substance, the essence of independence. Only too often it is rendered illusory due to neo-colonial exploitation, the main cause of it being that the young States remain in some form or other fettered to the old metropolis.

59. Thus we face here the great and difficult task of the development of newly-liberated countries. They ought to be assisted in the proper use of their natural resources, in establishing a sound economic structure, which would enable them to participate on an equal footing in international economic co-operation. Adequate political and economic conditions are necessary for the free development of young nations liberated from colonial dependence, so that they could fully benefit from technical and scientific progress and from international trade on the basis of equality and sovereignty.

60. However, the creation of a proper foundation for the development of newly-liberated countries does not exhaust the problem. Economic relations in the world can be likened to communicating vessels. One can hardly deal with economic problems of one region in isolation from others. All of them are interdependent. A new international division of labour, which has become a necessity, cannot fail to take this inter-relationship into account.

61. This is exactly why the Polish delegation attaches, as do others, so great an importance to the Conference on International Trade and Development which will be held under the auspices of the United Nations next year. It ought to consider all aspects of international exchange, which has suffered from discriminatory practices, an outcome as we know, either of cold war considerations and plans or of colonial exploitation.

62. In order to foster economic growth, the conference has to discuss the implementation of measures which would promote world economic co-operation between the various continents, between countries with different social and economic systems and between countries on different levels of economic development. We would also wish the Conference to create a plat-

form facilitating the removal of harmful effects of certain well-known integration processes. We expect also that it will bring into being a world trade organization.

63. Whenever the economic development of the world is being discussed, one cannot but refer to the vast reservoir of resources which could be released as a result of general and complete disarmament. Thus, non-productive expenses for armaments could be diverted to economic, social and cultural development, for the well-being of mankind.

64. The great problems of our era are closely inter-related. Each step towards an improvement in the international situation creates better conditions for economic co-operation—as a matter of fact, economic co-operation can also foster better understanding and ease tensions; each step towards disarmament releases new resources for economic development; progress in economic relations is bound to contribute to the improvement of the fate of millions of people still living in poverty or even misery and the liquidation of colonialism frees new energies and strengthens the forces of peace and progress.

65. Not all controversial international issues requiring laborious negotiations can be speedily settled by the United Nations. All the more reason why the authority of the United Nations should be increased and its activities should be intensified in those fields where it can effectively play a really constructive part.

66. During the eighteen years of its existence the Organization has undergone considerable changes. Eighteen years ago it represented only a part of the world. In the years of intensified cold war tensions it moved frequently away from the realities of life.

67. With the well-known changes in the world situation, the membership of the United Nations has also changed. The increasing number of States here represented has had a favourable, impressive influence on both the atmosphere and activities of our Organization.

68. However, it cannot fully implement its goals as long as the Chinese People's Republic is being denied its right to represent here one of the founders of our Organization; as long as one of the great Powers, which under the Charter has special responsibilities, does not participate in the work of the United Nations and its organs; as long as those who illegally occupy its seat have not been removed from the United Nations. And there is no room here or in any other international organization for what is called "two-China" representation. The delegation of Poland shares and supports the view expressed in this respect by several speakers, from socialist, European, Asian and African countries in this debate.

69. The need for agreement between the great Powers which bear the main responsibilities for the maintenance of peace and security is one of the fundamental principles of the United Nations. All the more so, we follow with interest the present talks of the Foreign Ministers of the Soviet Union, United States and United Kingdom here in New York, on the occasion of the assembly's meeting, and transmit to them our wishes of success. For we should welcome with conviction and appreciation every step that serves the improvement of relations between them.

70. But this does not imply that the importance of the part to be played by other States has decreased. Indeed, we strongly believe that their impact upon the

course of peaceful international development should not be underestimated. With relaxation of tension the importance of smaller States will grow. The influence of non-aligned countries will be strengthened.

71. Suffice it to mention the contribution of newly liberated States to the work of United Nations bodies, particularly the Committee on decolonization.<sup>3/</sup> And, of course we should not fail to mention the constructive role of the eight non-aligned countries which offered such valuable advice and initiative to the deliberations of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament in Geneva.

72. The admission of many newly liberated countries to the United Nations has undoubtedly greatly enriched its activities and made it possible for those nations to participate constructively in international life and to render a creative and more than valuable contribution. Hence, the right of African and Asian countries to be properly represented in the main United Nations organs should be respected. Poland fully recognizes it.

73. All nations face now the task to do their utmost to promote the work of the United Nations. For the United Nations can become a workshop of coexistence in the political, economic, social and legal spheres. It has the express duty to mobilize world opinion and unite the efforts of all nations for peace. It ought to denounce and remove everything that stands in the way of the fulfilment of these goals. One should also bear in mind that the United Nations can offer proper guidance to the specialized agencies so that also they become equal to the task of serving peaceful coexistence and constructive peaceful co-operation of nations. Some of them, as we know, have already adjusted their programmes and activities to the new possibilities opened up by the favourable turn in the international situation. Others have to follow suit with our assistance.

74. In a world which faces the grave choice: to be or not to be, it is up to the United Nations to create a proper atmosphere and to shape the framework for international co-operation.

75. Dedicated as Poland is to peace and co-operation among nations, this is the United Nations it desires, and in the achievement of these goals Poland declares its full and sincere support.

76. Before leaving this rostrum, I should not fail to congratulate you, Mr. President, as others did, on your election to this high office. You have been elected to preside over an Assembly which might by its constructive atmosphere become a memorable session. We of Poland have no doubt that your wise guidance can assist us all into transforming this session of expectations into a session of fulfilment.

77. Through all of our proceedings will also go our best wishes of success to the man who usually sits on your right, and who is not here today, U Thant, our so highly esteemed Secretary-General. He needs the support of all the Member nations the whole year around so that he may steer the United Nations activities in the right course towards the harbour of accomplishment. He should not be denied our support.

78. The PRESIDENT (translated from Spanish): Before calling on the next speaker, I should like to

<sup>3/</sup> Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

make the following announcement. Owing to the visit of His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie I, Emperor of Ethiopia, and in order to facilitate the work of all concerned, including the Vice-Presidents, it has been decided that this morning's meeting will conclude after the statement by the representative of Malaysia.

79. At 3 o'clock this afternoon we shall hold a plenary meeting to hear the address of the Emperor of Ethiopia, after which the meeting will be adjourned. At 4.45 this same afternoon we shall hold a second plenary meeting to continue the general debate with statements by the representatives of Sierra Leone and Gabon.

80. Dato' ONG (Malaysia): Permit me at the outset to convey to you my warmest congratulations on your unanimous election as President of the eighteenth session of the General Assembly. I have listened to speaker after speaker on this rostrum pay sincere tribute to your qualities of head and heart, qualities that eminently fit you for the duties of this office, and there is not much left by way of compliment for me to utter. But may I say that during these last three weeks you have given evidence before our very eyes of the firmness and fairness with which you have conducted our deliberations, and that it is now more appropriate for me to say that you have, by your performance, fully lived up to the promise which those with more intimate knowledge of you predicted for you.

81. May I at this moment offer my sincere tribute to your predecessor and my good friend, Mr. Muhammad Zafrulla Khan, the President of the seventeenth session and the fourth special session and I need say no more than that, as generally acknowledged by all delegations, he set an example as President which any President should try to emulate.

82. That we meet at this historic session in a relaxed international atmosphere has been affirmed by every speaker on this rostrum. The speeches that we were privileged to hear from President Kennedy [1209th meeting] and from the Foreign Ministers of the Soviet Union [1208th meeting] and the United Kingdom [1222nd meeting] gave clear evidence of that relaxation of tension that mankind hopefully, if desperately, has been looking for.

83. To countries like my own, whose history of, and experience in, independent existence is comparatively recent, the United Nations is the protective shield behind which we look forward to working out our own destinies and to being left in peace to develop our economies so as to fill the concept of political independence with the content of economic well-being. Many of us are desperately short of the good things of life and of the wherewithal with which to provide ourselves with them by our own effort. The constant fear of conflict anywhere saps our energies and clouds our vision and, far as we may be from the centre of East-West controversies, the first result that we have learnt to experience in the close-knit world of today is the chilling fear of having to suffer the consequences of actions which we have not created and to which we have not contributed.

*Mr. Erkin (Turkey), Vice-President, took the chair.*

84. Mention has been made of the partial test ban Treaty which is perhaps the most significant event in recent human history. More than a hundred Governments, my own among them, have acceded to that Treaty. The sigh of relief that it evoked could be heard around the world. Cynics have permitted themselves the comment that this was a gesture without

meaning. It is not so much evidence of that audible sigh of relief to which I have referred, as a reassurance made to the three great Powers, initiators of the Treaty, by mankind that every other State in the civilized world puts them on their honour to pursue further the ideals they have engendered so that the first step that has been taken will not remain the sole step and that it will lead on to others. And having heard the ringing words of the three protagonists of the Treaty from this rostrum, the world lives in hope and in confident expectation of other amelioration of international tensions to follow, leading ultimately, we hope and pray, to general and complete disarmament.

85. The prestige of the United Nations has also been enhanced as a result of the invaluable contributions it has made in the last several years towards the constant discussions relating to nuclear test cessation and disarmament generally. Moreover, it was in this very forum of the United Nations, more than anywhere else, that the wrath of world public opinion against nuclear testing has been strongly expressed.

86. During the relatively short period that he has been in office, the Secretary-General, U Thant, has immensely enhanced the authority and prestige of the United Nations and his own high office as a dynamic force for peace. He has done so by his ready response to meet challenging situations, by the bold initiative he has taken time and again in blunting the edges of conflict. He was in the centre of the stage when the drama of the Cuban crisis was taking place, and the role he so courageously played helped to avert what seemed to be an imminent disaster. Under his guidance, the United Nations Operation in the Congo has achieved the restoration of peace and order in that country, brought an end to the secession of Katanga, and safeguarded the territorial integrity of the Congo.

87. He also responded promptly to the crisis in Yemen, and more recently he did not hesitate in meeting the request of the Heads of Governments of the Philippines, Indonesia and Malaya to ascertain the wishes of the people of Sabah and Sarawak in northern Borneo with regard to their desire for independence through Malaysia.

88. In paying its tribute to the Secretary-General, the Malaysian delegation wishes in particular to put on record the gratitude of the Malaysian Government and people to him for his positive response to undertake the ascertainment mission to which I have just referred. No doubt in undertaking this and other difficult and delicate tasks the Secretary-General has been inspired and moved by his high sense of responsibility and dedication to the cause of a just peace in the world.

89. The Organization has proven by its activities in the Congo and elsewhere its inestimable value as the only available international peace-keeping machinery. The problems relating to the cost of peace-keeping have unfortunately become complicated by controversy and if not solved in time might well impair the efficacy of the Organization. This is therefore an immediate problem of major importance, because not only does it affect the future of the Organization in the context of peace-keeping, but it has immediate bearing on the Congo, where the continued presence of United Nations personnel depends directly on adequate financing.

90. Because of its abiding faith in the United Nations as the guardian of the integrity and independence of new and militarily weak nations, my country, along



with many others, with considerable sacrifice, had participated in the United Nations Operation in the Congo, by way of contributing troops to the United Nations Command. We are gratified, and not without a sense of justifiable pride, that the United Nations efforts, in which the smaller nations played a key role in many respects, have in large measure achieved the objectives set out by the Security Council and General Assembly resolutions. The Organization has travelled a long, hard road in bringing about what may be regarded as a satisfactory situation in the Congo today. But the journey is not yet ended. It would be a sad tragedy if for reasons of lack of finances the United Nations is compelled to withdraw where its continued presence, if only for a brief period more, may be found to be vital.

91. For this reason, and in order to ensure prompt peace-keeping operations in the future, the Malaysian delegation views it as urgently vital for this Organization to arrive at a satisfactory and workable formula by which in future the cries of small countries for help from external aggression are not again drowned in the fathomless depths of futile controversy. Unlike the big Powers with all the modern armaments at their disposal, the smaller countries are in no happy position to defend themselves in the event of external military aggression. To them the United Nations is the shield behind which they can consolidate their new-born freedoms.

92. This then is the true measure of the faith and confidence placed by the small countries, my own among them, in this great Organization of mankind. The Malaysian delegation will readily join all constructive endeavours towards strengthening the function of the Organization and enhancing its authority.

93. The situation in regard to membership in the principal organs of the United Nations is another problem for the solution of which immediate and sustained efforts must be made. It is true to say that the United Nations has served as a catalyst for the emergence of new, independent nations from colonial bondage. More than half the total membership of the Organization today consists of these new nations. Yet the composition of such principal organs as the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council remains unchanged from the situation in 1945 when the membership of the United Nations was less than half its size today. We now find ourselves in the unsatisfactory and ironic situation in which the very nations the Organization has helped to liberate are, as Member States, denied equal opportunity to participate fully in its work. Time and again over the past years demands were made for a review of the Charter with the object of rectifying the situation. My delegation regrets to note that even today the view is expressed again that the time is still not auspicious for a general conference to review the Charter. Obviously we cannot wait indefinitely for this auspicious occasion to arrive. And in view of the urgent action the situation demands, a sustained effort must be made at this session to seek an essential amendment to the Charter in relation to the two main organs, namely, the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council, to make possible equitable representation of the newly emergent nations of Africa and Asia.

94. The Malaysian delegation takes this opportunity to reiterate its dedication to the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations. Malaysia stands as always for peace with honour and justice. Malaysia will con-

tinue to strive for the preservation of peace in the world, for the promotion of international co-operation towards higher living standards, and for the establishment of world order based on the rule of law and on respect for the principle of equality, non-interference and mutual respect among nations.

95. Consistent with the United Nations Charter, Malaysia rejects the use or threat of force as an instrument for the furtherance of national policy. It is the deep conviction of the Malaysian Government that its primary responsibility to its people is to secure higher living standards for all. As Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman has said, we believe in "food instead of bullets, clothing instead of uniforms, housing instead of barracks".

96. Malaysia will continue to uphold the right of peoples to be free—free from colonial domination in all its forms and manifestations; free from any kind of discrimination on grounds of colour, race or creed; free to enjoy all the basic liberties as enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

97. As a staunch upholder of these principles, Malaysia views with abhorrence any violation of human rights wherever it may occur. Be it the denial of religious freedom in Viet-Nam or the cruel oppression of the people in Tibet, or be it apartheid in South Africa, they are equally repugnant and Malaysia will support any measures to bring these injustices to an end.

98. My delegation condemns in particular the attitude of the South African Government in flagrantly defying the angry sentiments of world public opinion, especially the increasing strength of feeling in Africa against the continued practice of apartheid. Despite successive resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, the South African Government, far from heeding them, has actually further intensified its racist policies. Such an attitude can only aggravate the strained relations already existing with the rest of Africa and the world at large, and if continued, might well lead to a more explosive situation particularly in that continent.

99. My Government's stand on apartheid has always been firm and clear. That was made evident by the important role of my Prime Minister played in the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference held in London in 1961 which led to the withdrawal of South Africa from the Commonwealth. Immediately following that Conference my Government banned all imports of South African goods into our country.

100. While much progress has been made in the area of decolonization, the liberation of subject peoples still remains an unfinished business. Indeed it constitutes one of the critical problems of our time, and all because of the stubborn attitude of certain colonial Powers which, ignoring the writing on the wall and defying world public opinion, are still desperately clinging to their colonial possessions. The colonial problem is certainly most serious in Africa, where the largest number of people and the largest area of territories are still under the colonial domination of one Power or another. In Angola, Mozambique and other Portuguese territories the cries for freedom and independence are accompanied by the sounds of gunfire. The refusal of the Portuguese Government to recognize the legitimate aspirations of the African peoples for independence and freedom and its continued waging of a colonial war against them are al-

ready having serious repercussions in the rest of Africa, with potentially grave consequences.

101. The racial problems existing in many colonial territories in Africa, such as those obtaining in the Portuguese colonies and in Southern Rhodesia, should not be an impediment to the realization of self-determination by the African peoples. Any attempt at denying such exercise of self-determination by the continued imposition of racial discrimination and discriminatory measures to perpetuate the domination of a racial minority over the vast majority of the indigenous peoples is not only a contravention of the United Nations Charter and the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, but a futile and short-sighted policy replete with dangerous repercussions within the territories concerned as well as on the broader world scene. The Administering Powers would do well, therefore, to pursue a more realistic colonial policy and to face the inevitable squarely: that Africa must be ruled by Africans. My delegation has not the slightest doubt that there is a large enough fund of goodwill and wisdom among Africans to ensure that in an independent Angola, Mozambique and Southern Rhodesia there will be a place for everyone, including the white minority.

102. In the field of economic and social development, particularly with regard to developing countries, the United Nations has a vital role to play: that of co-ordinating international efforts, of channelling international assistance, of harmonizing trade relations, with the over-all objective of accelerating the economic and industrial growth of the developing countries as well as reducing the gap between the "haves" and the "have-nots" of the world. In the final analysis it is the attainment of these economic and social objectives that will help to ensure lasting world stability, peace and security.

103. Along with most developing countries, Malaysia attaches the greatest importance to international efforts at securing fair and stable prices for primary products. The Malaysian economy is largely dependent on the export of a few products, of which rubber and tin, taking the figures for the Federation before its present enlargement, accounted for from 75 per cent to 80 per cent of the total export earnings. Although concerted efforts are being made at broadening the base of our economy by way of diversification and industrialization, we shall have to continue to rely on the export of our primary products for a very long time to come.

104. It is a well-known phenomenon that in the industrialized countries an increase in production is usually accompanied by a corresponding rise in national income, while in the developing countries even a substantial increase in productivity is sometimes unable to offset a decline in the prices of its main export commodities. In the case of Malaysia even a drop of 1 cent per lb. in the price of rubber would mean a substantial reduction in our annual export income. I have no doubt that similar situations arise in respect of other primary commodities in other developing countries. The securing of fair and stable prices is, therefore, a matter of extreme importance to the developing countries if they are successfully to implement the large-scale development projects designed to improve the lot of the people. For this reason the Malaysian Government looks forward to the forthcoming United Nations Conference on Trade and Development at which this problem of commodity

prices will no doubt be one of the major topics to be discussed.

105. The coming into being of the Organization of African Unity is one of the most auspicious landmarks in world events in the past year. The organization whose charter was signed on 25 May 1963 by all the Heads of State and Government of Africa at the historic Addis Ababa Conference<sup>4/</sup> opens new and promising vistas for co-ordinated and integrated efforts at political, economic and social development in all Africa. The Malaysian Government looks forward to the growth of this new Organization of African Unity as a positive force for peace and prosperity in Africa. From the statements of African leaders during this general debate we draw ample assurances that the Organization of African Unity will co-operate closely with the United Nations in mankind's sacred mission of promoting a peaceful and prosperous world.

106. I should like to take this opportunity to express the very sincere thanks of my delegation to all those representatives who have from this rostrum expressed their warm support and felicitations to Malaysia.

107. The formation of Malaysia is a major act of decolonization achieved in full conformity with the principles of self-determination. It is the result of the freely expressed desire of the peoples of Sabah, Sarawak and Singapore to realize their independence by joining with the people of the independent Federation of Malaya so that together they could chart their common destiny in freedom, stability and prosperity.

108. The Borneo territories, that is Sabah and Sarawak, have had experience of similar administrative, judicial and economic systems as the Federation of Malaya with which they are furthermore bound by close ethnic and cultural kinship and ideals. Therefore, the coming together of these territories is not only a natural, but also a logical, evolution in their political and economic progress.

109. Thus, for the representative of Indonesia to say that Malaysia is an artificial concept imposed by an alien power is to be blind to the true reality, and what is more it is a deliberate insult to the integrity of the whole Malaysian people.

110. My Prime Minister, Tunku Abdul Rahman, thus brought to the level of practical politics what has been thought of in the Malaysian territories, a natural and logical association in a common nationhood. And what did my Prime Minister say in that historic statement on 27 May 1961, more than two years ago? He said:

"It is premature for me to say now how this closer understanding can be brought about but it is inevitable that we should look ahead to this objective and think of a plan whereby these territories can be brought close together in political and economic co-operation . . . ."

It is quite obvious that this statement reflected the need for extensive negotiations, consultations and discussions among all the parties directly concerned in order to bring about an acceptable plan.

111. It is true Malaya had to negotiate with the United Kingdom and obtain its co-operation and agreement regarding the formation of Malaysia. But just because the United Kingdom is brought into the picture does not per se make Malaysia a neo-colonialist concept as has been insinuated by the representative of Indonesia.

<sup>4/</sup> Summit Conference of Independent African States.

Malaysia was planned from the very beginning in the way most appropriate and most beneficial—a constitutional development which necessitates the co-operation of the United Kingdom Government which was then the administering authority of Sabah, Sarawak and Singapore. Without the process of diplomacy and negotiation between the Malayan Government and the British Government, and without the freely expressed desire of the colonial peoples concerned, Malaysia could not have come into being.

112. The proposal for Malaysia by my Prime Minister in May 1961 was received with warm enthusiasm by political leaders in all the territories concerned. Indeed, it became a propelling force of political re-awakening particularly in the Borneo territories where almost immediately the proposal was announced there was an increased tempo of political activity. The Malaysia proposal brought a fresh dimension to the political consciousness and aspirations of the masses of the people.

113. In complete conformity with the principle of self-determination for the peoples of Non-Self-Governing Territories, there have been throughout the long process of bringing Malaysia into being exhaustive and extensive consultation with the peoples concerned at every level, at every stage and at every turn. The subject was debated and views, including those opposed to Malaysia, were freely expressed. In Malaya itself where our democratic written Constitution guarantees freedom of speech, every facet of the proposal was publicly debated and debated in our democratically elected Parliament.

114. Allow me to give an account, for the information of the members, of the long process of consultations and discussions in the months that followed the announcement which I mentioned earlier. The subject was first jointly discussed by the leaders of the Borneo territories, Singapore and the then Federation of Malaya, at the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association regional meeting held in Singapore in July 1961. As a result of a preliminary examination, delegations from Sabah and Sarawak—and I stress this, delegations from Sabah and Sarawak—took the initiative in proposing the formation of a Malaysia Solidarity Consultative Committee with the object of collecting and collating the views and opinions concerning the creation or the formation of Malaysia and of initiating and encouraging free discussions about Malaysia. Composed of representatives of the respective legislatures in the Malaysian territories and under the chairmanship of Mr. Donald Stephens, then a prominent unofficial member of the Sabah Legislature and now the popularly elected Chief Minister of that State, the Malaysian Solidarity Consultative Committee met in the various capitals and after months of detailed discussions, studies and work, endorsed the Malaysia plan.

115. Meanwhile the Malayan and Singapore Governments negotiated and reached complete agreement on the terms of Singapore's merger with the Federation of Malaya in the context of Malaysia. Singapore's fully elected legislature had earlier endorsed the merger proposal, and in a referendum held in September 1962 on the merger terms as contained in the Agreement between the two Governments, 71 per cent of the votes cast were in favour of the terms negotiated by the popularly elected Government of Singapore with the Government of Malaya.

116. As evidenced by the endorsement of the Malaysia Solidarity Consultative Committee, interest and sup-

port for Malaysia were mounting in the Borneo territories. Tunku Abdul Rahman's proposals for Malaysia were welcomed by the British Government in November 1961 and the Malayan Government obtained the agreement of the United Kingdom Government that Malaysia was a desirable aim. It was decided, nevertheless, that before coming to any final decision it was necessary to ascertain the views of the people of the then British colonies of Sabah and Sarawak. A Commission of Enquiry, which has become known as the Cobbold Commission, was set up to make enquiries on the spot and to make recommendations. The Commission's report,<sup>5/</sup> produced after extensive and thorough inquiry, lasting from February to June 1962, stated that an overwhelming majority of the peoples there were in favour of joining Malaysia. It recommended that a decision of principle about the future of the Borneo territories should be taken by the Governments as soon as possible.

117. Soon after, acting on the Commission's report, the representatives of the Malayan and British Governments met in a series of meetings in London in July 1962. In the light of the report and the agreement reached earlier between the Malayan and Singapore Governments on the merger terms, the British and Malayan Governments agreed in principle to the establishment of Malaysia and decided to establish an Inter-Governmental Committee on which the British, Malayan, Sabah and Sarawak Governments would be represented. The task of the Committee was to work out the detailed constitutional arrangements including the various safeguards for the special interests of Sabah and Sarawak.

118. On 12 September 1962 a motion was unanimously adopted by the Sabah Legislative Council welcoming the decision in principle to establish Malaysia. A similar motion was passed without dissent by the Legislative Council of Sarawak.

119. The Inter-Governmental Committee worked from September to December 1962 and its recommendations were published in February 1963, setting out in detail the safeguards for the two territories to be provided for in the constitutional arrangements enabling the two States to become constituent units with other States of the Federation to form Malaysia.

120. Finally, elections were held in both Sabah and Sarawak on the basis of universal adult franchise and in which Malaysia was the central issue. In the country-wide elections in Sabah to the local councils which form the electoral college for the Legislative Council Elections held in December 1962, 107 of the 110 seats were won by pro-Malaysia political parties. The three remaining seats went to independents, and they too were pro-Malaysia.

121. In Sarawak, preparations for new elections were completed by February 1963, and the new elections for District Councils which form the electoral colleges for election to the Council Negri—or State Legislature—took place in June and July with the political parties ranged principally as pro-Malaysia and anti-Malaysia. As in Sabah, the elections were based on universal adult franchise and again the central issue was Malaysia. These elections were completed by July 1963 and the final results showed that pro-Malaysia parties received 313 seats against 116 for the anti-Malaysia party. The new Council Negri was thereafter

<sup>5/</sup> Report of the Commission of Enquiry, North Borneo and Sarawak, 1962. London, H.M. Stationery Office, Cmd. 1794.

elected and in the final result, out of a total of 36 seats for the State Legislature, pro-Malaysia parties won 31 and the anti-Malaysia party only 5.

122. Thus, by July 1963, the Malaysia proposal had been subjected to all manner and forms of public discussion and debate and every democratic process consistent with the principle of self-determination. As shown by the results of the elections in the Borneo territories and the referendum in Singapore, there cannot be any doubt that the great majority of the peoples in the territories concerned are in favour of attaining their independence through merger in Malaysia.

123. On the basis of this freely expressed wish of the people, the representatives of Singapore, Sabah, Sarawak, the Federation of Malaya and the United Kingdom met in London in July 1963 and, after negotiations lasting one week, reached agreement on 8 July 1963 fixing 31 August 1963 as the date when Malaysia should come into being.

124. On 8 August 1963 the newly elected Legislative Council of Sabah reaffirmed its decision that Sabah should attain independence by joining Malaysia on 31 August, 1963.

125. On 4 September 1963 the newly elected Legislature of Sarawak approved a motion reaffirming support for Malaysia.

126. At this juncture, I should like to say a few words about another aspect of the Malaysia proposal, namely, Brunei. The entry of Brunei into Malaysia was originally envisaged as part of the Malaysia proposal, although it was made quite clear that the final decision rested entirely with the state. The Sultan of Brunei sent his representatives to examine the possible terms of Brunei's entry into the Federation, and finally Brunei decided not to join. The exclusion of Brunei from Malaysia is clear proof, if proof be needed at all, that in bringing Malaysia into being no coercion was applied and it was entirely left to the peoples concerned freely to decide for themselves.

127. It is a matter of deep regret to us that the coming into being of Malaysia, resulting from the freely expressed wishes of the people directly concerned, has become an object of hostility by Indonesia.

128. Here, as regards the reaction of the Government of the Philippines, to say the least, we were very surprised and sadly disappointed at the action taken by that Government. I am glad to note, however, that in his intervention yesterday, the representative of the Philippines said:

"Never by word or deed has the Philippine Government expressed any hostility towards Malaysia. As a matter of fact, the recognition of Malaysia is still under advisement by the Philippine Government." [1226th meeting, para. 162.]

Malaysians have no quarrel whatsoever with either the Philipinos or the Indonesians. In fact, we have always acted in the full consciousness that there exists everything tending to bring us closer together rather than dividing us. All our past acts have clearly demonstrated that we wish to co-operate with them and to live in peace with all our neighbours for the common good of all.

129. It is noteworthy to recall that in the earlier state of the Malaysia development, Indonesia did not make any objection to the Malaysia proposal. Indeed

six months after my Prime Minister's statement in Singapore, Mr. Subandrio, the Foreign Minister of Indonesia on 20 November 1961, speaking in this very hall at the sixteenth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, stated:

"... when Malaya told us of its intention to merge with the three British Crown Colonies of Sarawak, Brunei and British North Borneo as one Federation, we told them that we had no objections and that we wished them success with this merger so that everyone may live in peace and freedom." [1058th meeting, para. 193.]

Mr. Subandrio went on to say: "... we have no objections to such a merger, based upon the will for freedom of the peoples concerned" [*ibid.*, para. 194].

130. However, the Indonesian Government's attitude towards the formation of Malaysia underwent a radical change in the months that followed. A notable event in this regard was the passage of a resolution at the end of 1961 by the Central Committee of the Partai Komunis Indonesia describing Malaysia as "the formation of a new concentration of colonial forces on the very frontiers of our country", and calling for Indonesia's opposition to it. Since that time, the Communist Press of Indonesia launched a massive propaganda onslaught against Malaya and the Malaysia plan. These concerted public attacks on Malaya culminated in the statement of Mr. Subandrio on 20 January 1963 formally declaring Indonesia's opposition to Malaysia. Mr. Subandrio declared:

"We cannot but adopt a policy of confrontation against Malaysia because at present they represented themselves as accomplices of the neo-colonialists and the neo-imperialists pursuing hostile policies towards Indonesia."

131. Despite these unreasonable attacks by Indonesia, especially in their context of describing Malaysia as a threat to Indonesian security, and despite the personal attacks which the Indonesian Government-controlled Press had launched against my Prime Minister, the Malayan Government adopted a position of restraint and patience. It made every effort to assure Indonesia of Malaya's peaceful intentions, for how could Malaya or even Malaysia, with a territory and population only one-tenth of that of Indonesia, be a threat to Indonesian security?

132. In the meantime, the Philippine Government, despite favourable comments earlier on Malaysia, had also voiced its objection to the proposal on account of its claim over the territory of North Borneo, now known as Sabah.

133. Despite the increasing tempo of Indonesia's hostile attitude of confrontation against Malaya, Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman agreed to go to Tokyo in May 1963, at the invitation of President Sukarno, to discuss with him the Malaysia development. My Prime Minister made this journey, I need hardly stress, out of consideration for peace and good neighbourliness between the two countries, which indeed had been a cardinal policy which Malaya on its part had scrupulously followed since our independence in 1957. Subsequently, the Malayan Government agreed to a tripartite meeting between Indonesia, Philippines and Malaya at Manila, which met at the Foreign Minister level in June 1963. This meeting laid the foundation for a summit meeting among the three countries in August.

134. Although my Government was fully satisfied with the overwhelming support of the people of Sabah and



Sarawak to join Malaysia, we agreed at Manila that the Secretary-General of the United Nations be requested to ascertain the wishes of the people in these territories in order that Indonesia and the Philippines would welcome the coming into being of Malaysia. That is the crux of the Manila Agreement. The report of the Secretary-General, made public on 14 September 1963, confirmed in categorical terms the support of the peoples of these territories for Malaysia, which was expressed freely and democratically in complete compliance with all the relevant General Assembly resolutions relating to decolonization. I need not go into further details about the report of the Secretary-General as I have no doubt that the representatives are already familiar with them by now.

135. Despite the Secretary-General's conclusion, Indonesia has renewed its confrontation against Malaysia, backed by armed threats. The Malaysia Government deeply regrets that having, on its part, gone to considerable length to obtain the goodwill of Indonesia and the Philippines, these two Governments have chosen not to honour their pledges to welcome the formation of Malaysia, nor to recognize Malaysia.

136. The Constitution of the Federation of Malaya provided for amendments to the Constitution and for admission of new States. Thus by constitutional processes three new States have been admitted into the Federation, which by the same processes changed its name from the Federation of Malaya to Malaysia. The international obligations of the old Federation of Malaya continues to be honoured by Malaysia and all external relations by the Federation of Malaya are continued by Malaysia. There is therefore no necessity for those countries which recognized the Federation of Malaya and had diplomatic relations with it to take any action at all with regard to recognition, because their recognition and diplomatic relations with the then Federation of Malaya would apply automatically in the case of Malaysia, Indonesia and the Philippines, however, immediately indicated that they would not recognize Malaysia and told our ambassadors in Djakarta and Manila that they no longer have diplomatic status. Since these actions were tantamount to severance of diplomatic relations, my Government had no alternative but to withdraw our Ambassadors from these two countries.

137. Ambassador Mr. Palar of Indonesia, in justifying his Government's rejection of the Secretary-General's findings and his Government's renewed policy of confrontation against Malaysia, has now, unfortunately, resorted to arguments completely irrelevant to that portion of the Manila accord relating to the formation of Malaysia. He has now used this rostrum to confuse the issue by repeatedly throwing allegations that Malaysia is now a neo-colonialist concept and that is the reason for Indonesia's opposition to Malaysia.

138. So soon has Indonesia forgotten that only in August, two months ago, at Manila, where no doubt the formation of Malaysia was discussed thoroughly by the three leaders in all its aspects, President Sukarno agreed that Indonesia would welcome Malaysia if the wishes of the peoples of the Borneo territories were ascertained by the Secretary-General. This ascertainment has been completed and the findings cannot be more categorical in stating the support of the peoples of the Borneo territories for Malaysia.

139. On 27 September 1963 [1219th meeting], in exercising my right of reply, I answered several

charges and insinuations made that day by my good friend Ambassador Mr. Palar. I do not now propose to cover the same ground again.

140. Since then, however, the representative of Indonesia has played up the question of military bases in Malaysia to support his charge of neo-colonialism. In his statement on 30 September 1963, my friend read a passage from paragraph 6 of the London Joint Statement of November 1961, signed by my Prime Minister and Prime Minister Macmillan. In the context of the passage he read, Ambassador Mr. Palar asked the question—and I quote him:

"... how could Malaya justify its commitment made, *a priori*, almost two years ago, that Sarawak, Brunei and Sabah would also be bound to the United Kingdom by a military agreement at the moment they were to be granted independence?" [1221st meeting, para. 188.]

This was the passage he quoted:

"The Government of the Federation of Malaysia will afford to the Government of the United Kingdom the right to continue to maintain bases at Singapore for the purpose of assisting in the defence of Malaysia, and for Commonwealth defence... and for the preservation of peace in South-East Asia."

This passage was taken out of context, with a view presumably to presenting a distorted picture of the situation. Perhaps I might read the beginning of paragraph 6 of that Joint Statement, which reads:

"In regard to defense matters it was decided that, in the event of the formation of the proposed Federation of Malaysia,"—and I repeat those words: "in the event of the formation of the proposed Federation of Malaysia"—"the existing Defence Agreement between Britain and Malaya should be extended to embrace the other territories concerned."

141. In view of the declared intention that the peoples of the territories concerned were to be fully consulted on every aspect of the Malaysia proposal, this understanding obviously was conditional upon its acceptance by the people. When the popularly elected Governments of Sabah and Sarawak passed the Malaysia Bill they did so with full knowledge of the defence agreement, which they themselves agreed was in the best interests of Malaysia's defense—and I repeat "defence".

142. I do not know that any further answer is needed to Ambassador Palar's question, to which I referred earlier, and his subsequent question: "Who gave Malaya the right to determine the destiny of the peoples and territories not belonging to it?" But, of course, the pertinent answer to it is to ask Indonesia, in turn: "Whence comes your right to question the freely determined wishes of the peoples of the same territories to achieve independence through Malaysia?"

143. In the course of his intervention by way of reply, the Ambassador of Indonesia referred to the presence of the colonial authority's troops and police at the hearings by the United Nations ascertainment team. It is well known that, when the United Nations team was in Sarawak, the movement of the team from place to place was punctuated by disturbances carefully planned and carried out by a dissident minority, involving extensive damage to persons and property. No Government worthy of the name could, in duty bound to secure the safety of the United Nations team working in its territory, have done less than provide

the necessary personnel to guarantee its personal safety.

*Mr. Sosa Rodríguez (Venezuela) resumed the Chair.*

144. May I here quote a small passage from the United Nations Malaysia Mission's report to the Secretary-General, paragraph 10:

"As some demonstrations occurred during the early days of the Mission's presence in the territory,"—I think this means Sarawak—"accompanied by minor violence, the governmental authorities believe that some security measures were required in the interests of public safety. The Mission received no indication that these measures deterred anyone from appearing before it, nor that any witness was inhibited in his testimony."

145. Moreover, the representative of Indonesia could not be unaware that Indonesian Government leaders have openly claimed credit for having trained large numbers of irregulars over the border in Indonesian Borneo to carry on a campaign to crush Malaysia. And, in fact, incursions have taken place from across the Indonesian border into Sarawak, involving loss of life, with whole villages pillaged.

146. Coming back to the question of British bases, let me make these points clear: first, after our independence in August 1957, the Federation of Malaya, as an independent State, freely negotiated and entered into a defence agreement with the United Kingdom; secondly, that agreement has been in existence for four years, without hurting the eyes and damaging the interests of Indonesia; thirdly, in 1959, Indonesia and Malaya signed a treaty of friendship; fourthly, and most important of all, the recent Manila Joint Statement contained these paragraphs:

"The three Heads of Government emphasized that the responsibility for the preservation of the national independence of the three countries and of the peace and security in their region lies primarily in the hands of the Governments and the peoples of the countries concerned, and that the three Governments undertake to have close consultations (mushawarah) among themselves on these matters.

"The three Heads of Government further agreed that foreign bases—temporary in nature—should not be allowed to be used directly or indirectly to subvert the national independence of any of the three

countries. In accordance with the principle enunciated in the Bandung Declaration, the three countries will abstain from the use of arrangements of collective defence to serve the particular interests of any of the big Powers."

147. What could be clearer than the fact that this defence agreement, and obviously the defence agreement entered into by the Philippines, were fully in the minds of the Heads of Government, who apparently discussed and reviewed the whole military position and disposition in South-East Asia? And my Government as a signatory agreed that such bases should not be used, directly or indirectly, to subvert the national independence of any of the other countries. Reference is made there to one of the principles enunciated in Bandung. May I refer here to another principle, also enunciated in Bandung: "respect for the right of each nation to defend itself singly or collectively, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations".

148. I should like to say one final word. In spite of all the steps taken to ascertain the wishes of the people of the two territories, since confirmed by the report of the Secretary-General, it is a matter for regret that the representative of Indonesia, in his second intervention on 30 September 1963 [1221st meeting], permitted himself the statement that Malaya, Sarawak, Sabah and Singapore were forced into Malaysia.

149. In the Malaysian delegation sitting here, there is a representative of Sarawak and there is a representative of Sabah. I am sure representatives will readily appreciate it when I say that these two representatives take the strongest exception to the statement of the representative of Indonesia, which is nothing more or less than a gratuitous insult to the peoples of Sarawak and Sabah in particular and of Malaysia in general.

150. Malaysia is passing through a period of tribulations. May I assure you, Mr. President, and the General Assembly that on Malaysia's part nothing will be done to disturb the peace, but everything will be done to maintain Malaysia's honour. Having freely come together in the true spirit of brotherhood and love of freedom, the peoples of Malaysia look forward with confidence to a future of peace and prosperity, of harmony and happiness.

*The meeting rose at 1.5 p.m.*