

them. But there is room for many more. We offer the stability businessmen require, good public services, financial services, internal transportation and communications, international shipping services, and other items of what economists call infrastructure. Our taxes are reasonable and honestly administered.

Above all, Malaysians have the determination, the discipline and many of the other qualities necessary for continued prosperity and growth, and have met our economic targets. But no country can be completely self-sufficient, and there are some important ingredients we need from outside. American business can in many cases provide just the thing we need most. We invite your participation and we offer favourable prospects. We are not in dire straits, pleading for emergency help. We are a going and growing concern, and with your help we intend to keep on developing this way and progress. Our needs create important opportunities for American enterprise. We look forward to having more and more Americans with us in our development journey.

## **A PLEDGE TO UNITED NATIONS**

### **THREE HAPPY EVENTS BRING REJOICING IN MALAYSIA**

*Tun Abdul Razak, as the Chairman of the Delegation of Malaysia to the XXIst Session of the United Nations General Assembly, made the following statement on 26th September, 1966, when he explained his country's aims and aspirations and its foreign policy based on the U.N. Charter.*

One may not forget that with this session -the 21st—the General Assembly or, what is the same thing, the United Nations, has come of age. The United Nations in recent years has had its painful problems of adolescence. These were struggling years of growth when the important and unimportant jostled for attention. That experience was the very condition for progress towards maturity.

Today, therefore, as we stand on the threshold of a new chapter of human history, may I be permitted to express the hope that all of us gathered here in this great Assembly of Nations, representing our respective countries, will renew our pledge to uphold the

Charter of the United Nations and endeavour to realise the objective of co-operation among nations in a peaceful world of order, of law and of justice.

We, in Malaysia, have always based our foreign policy on the norms of behaviour as prescribed by the charter. We desire above all to be friendly with all countries regardless of their ideological persuasions and systems of Government. We believe, Sir, that it is just and right for each country to choose the system of Government and way of life best suited to it. For that is the essence of peaceful co-existence. We believe that each country has the right to be free from outside interference in any form, and that respect for each others' political sovereignty and territorial integrity is a precondition for peaceful living among nations. So long as there is mutual respect for each other's independence and sovereignty, we believe that the nations of the world of whatever ideological convictions can live together, not merely in passive co-existence but in active co-operation for the common pursuit of peace and economic and social well-being of the peoples of the world. In this spirit of positive international co-operation we want to develop further ties of friendship with as many countries as are similarly-disposed towards us.

Malaysia firmly believes that the United Nations has a major role to play in bringing about active international co-operation among nations. As the only universal organisation available to mankind, the United Nations has vast potentialities as an effective instrument for harmonizing relations among nations, to soften the edges of discord, and in broader terms and as its ultimate objective, to evolve a peaceful and prosperous world order with freedom and justice.

Twenty-one years ago this Organisation began with a membership of fifty-one. Large segments of the human race were unaccounted for, or at least unrepresented. But the principle of universality was enshrined in the concept of the United Nations. Today this Organisation consists of 118 members. That simple arithmetical fact alone emphasises the growing strength of the Organisation as it also emphasises how our problems have

necessarily grown not only in number, but inevitably in complexity. The present membership of our Organisation so nearly embraces the entire organised and peopled surface of the earth that lack of universality has to some extent diminished the authority of the Organisation. It is, therefore, the plain duty of the present members of the Organisation to encourage the hesitant few outside it to come in and thereby strengthen the authority of the United Nations so that it may be better able to achieve its ideals and objectives.

The absence of the People's Republic of China from the United Nations has often been cited as a glaring example of the lack of universality in the Organisation. My country has always believed that the Chinese people with their illustrious civilization, a people who number one-quarter of the world's population, should be brought into association together with the other 118 Member States of this Organisation. It is a fact, however, Mr President, that the People's Republic of China by choosing to adopt critical and even hostile policies towards the United Nations has created barriers on its own path, which prevent it from joining the United Nations unless the Organisation is refashioned in a manner acceptable to it. We regret China's attitude to the United Nations—that this Organisation should be completely reorganised and reconstructed in conformity with its own preconceptions. That the Organisation has in the past shown certain weaknesses and difficulties cannot be denied. But no single State, however powerful or populous, can impose its will upon the United Nations. No single State can remake the United Nations in its own image and likeness.

While my Government believes in the importance of the representation of the Peoples' Republic of China in the United Nations, we strongly feel at the same time that this can only be considered together with the question of the fate of the thirteen million inhabitants of Taiwan. We have always held the view that these thirteen million inhabitants of Taiwan must not be denied the right to pursue a separate destiny of their own, a right this Organisation has prescribed for and promoted in even the tiniest colonies of the world. My country believes that this Organisation cannot deny the thirteen million inhabitants of Taiwan their inalienable right to self determination and that Taiwan should not be tied to the chariot wheel of the mainland State, merely because of the latter's claim that it is an integral part of China. Therefore, in

my Government's view, it would be unrealistic and unjust for this Organisation to take a decision on this question in a manner that would give legal and moral sanction to the sacrifice of the rights of the inhabitants of Taiwan to the demands of mainland China. Taiwan should be allowed the right to remain a member of the United Nations while Mainland China should be admitted to this Organisation if she so agrees.

Mr President. I have referred in my earlier remarks to the United Nations consisting of 118 States. This number during the 20th session remained at only 116. by the voluntary' non-participation of the Republic of Indonesia. Permit me. Mr President. to say a word now about the great State of Indonesia, a close neighbour of my country and peopled by no less than 107 million people who are linked to my country by strong ties of history, race and culture.

Members of the Assembly are aware of the unhappy differences which arose between Indonesia and Malaysia almost precisely three years ago. The events of the past three years have kept apart our two countries, two countries which have every reason to hold together and work closely together and no justification whatsoever to stand apart. It is a matter of great rejoicing not only to our two peoples but to all peace-loving nations that this unhappy episode is now ended. The credit goes to both sides—it was a victory to both countries—a victory of peace and co-operation over enmity and confrontation. We, in Malaysia, have always believed in peace, co-operation and friendship among nations. That is why we are so happy that the new leaders of Indonesia have decided to bring an end to confrontation.

Mr President, I would like to pay my sincere tribute and that of my Government to the new leaders of Indonesia in particular to the Chairman of the Presidium. General Suharto, and the distinguished Foreign Minister of Indonesia. Mr Adam Malik, whose integrity, sincerity and patience have greatly contributed towards bringing about peace between our two countries. Now Indonesia and Malaysia can look forward to an era of peace, co-operation and friendship and my Government is determined to develop the closest and the most durable relationship between our two nations.

Mr President, since it was my great privilege to participate personally in the diplomatic negotiation leading to the resumption

of friendly relations between Indonesia and my country, may I be permitted to say in all humility, but with every satisfaction, that the restoration of peace in our part of South-east Asia represents a major contribution to the progressive stabilisation of the most turbulent region in the world today, namely. South-east Asia and by so doing. Mr President. Indonesia and Malaysia together have strengthened the stakes of peace, order and progress throughout the world. The ending of confrontation came about as a result of direct contacts between the countries in a sincere endeavour to bring about a peaceful settlement. As a result it was possible to discuss our differences freely and frankly and, in a spirit of friendship, to find ways and means of bringing about the desired settlement. We hope, Mr President, that this would set a pattern for the settlement of disputes between nations. It is a solution based on a sincere determination to find lasting solutions to differences and problems among nations by peaceful negotiations.

On behalf of my country I wish to take this opportunity of extending a formal welcome back to this Organisation of the delegation of Indonesia whose wise counsel in our debates had always been available to this Organisation and which will again be available with fresh vigour and a new earnestness. Coupled with our rapprochement with Indonesia, other equally happy events have recently taken place which bring profound rejoicing to us in Malaysia. I refer to the resumption of relations between Malaysia and the Philippines and also with Pakistan. With these happy developments. Malaysia can now look forward with the keenest anticipation to fruitful co-operation with these great Asian countries and neighbours in the pursuit of peace and economic and social well-being of our peoples.

I should like in this connection, Mr President, to place on the records of this Assembly our deep gratitude and appreciation for the personal initiative taken and the painstaking efforts which His Imperial Majesty the Shahinshah of Iran had made to bring about the restoration of normal relations between Pakistan and Malaysia

Mr President, my country achieved its independence barely nine years ago. In that period we have devoted our energy and resource to development; but this process had been retarded because of the unhappy episode with Indonesia. With the return of peace to Malaysia, we can now redirect our resources and redouble our efforts in the field of development and towards giving our people a fuller measure of happiness and prosperity.

It is also a cardinal principle in the policy of my country to promote and achieve on a regional basis, co-operation in trade, economic and cultural matters. We firmly believe that regional co-operation is the logical starting point and indeed the basis for international co-operation on a wider global basis. It is desirable that states in particular geographical regions should get together on a co-operative basis to solve problems which, by their very nature, are common to them. It is obvious for example that one can more easily discover a common denominator and common basis for action, among States within a particular region, such as the States of South-east Asia, than seek to discover common ground between regions geographically placed as far apart as, say, South America and South-east Asia.

This is not to say that efforts should not be made to discover common factors among widely separated and disparate regions, for such an attitude would be contrary to the spirit, ideals and scope of the Charter. All that we in Malaysia plead for is a return to realism and commonsense. a return to first principles. We in Malaysia believe profoundly that world peace and world order is, in a very real sense, a process in which we should proceed, slowly and surely, from the particular to the general, from the part to the whole.

It is with this objective in mind that my Government, in association with the Governments of Thailand and of the Philippines has reactivated ASA, the Association of South-east Asia, which has had more than its rightful share of teething troubles in its early years.

ASA has been revived and revitalised with a view to pursuing common economic and cultural objectives shared by the states of our region. Its specific-and only—objectives are to promote co-operation among its members in the economic and cultural fields. It proposes, by its inherent immediate strength and its long-term potential, to generate economic forces for development.

This is not to say that the States of South-east Asia must learn and are now beginning to look inwards rather than outwards. This is only by way of changing the emphasis: and I wish to reiterate that our dedication to the Charter ideals of universal peace in conformity with the principles of justice and international law is not subject to any reservations or qualifications. The preamble to the Charter bids us live together in peace with one another as good

neighbours and the virtue of neighbourliness can first be proved and given effect by those who are neighbours.

But we cannot afford to live isolated lives as South-east Asians, and we are deeply aware that events occurring in other parts of the world necessarily affect us in South-east Asia to a greater or lesser extent.

Among the problems of worldwide importance is the problem of disarmament. It is a problem shared by all nations, from the greatest and most powerful to the smallest and weakest. The frenzied increase and improvement in armaments, both nuclear and conventional involve the whole world, not merely the great powers, since a general war would not discriminate between the guilty and the innocent in the casualty lists.

Every State, big or small, has, therefore, the right and the duty to call a halt to this insane competition among the big powers who seem determined to increase and perfect their potential power of destroying themselves and the entire human race.

It is a matter of no small significance that the 18 Nation Disarmament Committee functioning with 17 members has not been able to stem the aspirations of other States in their prestigious desire to enter what is known as the nuclear club.

Nuclear proliferation has also become a new ideological arena for conflict between the big powers. Nuclear military science has produced a new language and a new jargon of controversy that is all but meaningless to the rest of the world. The protagonists in this controversy use the same terminology to mean diametrically contradictory concepts. But the people of the world are demonstrating that they will not be deceived or confused by this verbal smokescreen. With this in mind, my delegation has in common with many other states like Sweden, consistently urged that non-nuclear powers should get together as soon as possible in order to enter into a convention pledging absolutely and for all time that they will not accept, either by gift or sale, possession participation or custody of any nuclear weaponry from any nuclear power.

The urgency of such a move has been underlined by the recent proceedings of the 18 Nation Disarmament Committee which emphasise the danger posed by the attitude of certain States who possess the potential for a nuclear arsenal. These states have made

it dear that their present attitudes should not lead to the assumption that at a later stage they would be willing to adhere to nonproliferation Treaty. Mr President, as a country in Southeast Asia. Malaysia cannot afford to forget that it lives under the shadow of an Asian nuclear power. Malaysia's interest in the problem of disarmament cannot be merely academic since our very existence is at stake. Therefore we strongly urge an early solution to this problem, whether under the auspices of the United Nations or otherwise.

Mr President. I turn now to the problems of trade and development. More than two years have gone by since the United Nations conference on trade and development. Its second conference is hopefully expected to take place next year. But we shall only be deluding ourselves if we tend to regard that mere passage of time as having in any way contributed to the progress to which the first conference had looked forward.

It must be admitted that the problems which cried for solution then, remain with us still. If anything, they have grown in extent, enlarged in its dimensions. The gap between the developed and the developing Nations is consistently and predicably growing wider on a scale that renders it less and less easy to bridge. Capital outflow has not significantly increased and technological skills are getting more and more beyond the reach of the developing nations. The rate of growth, ironically in the development decade, is slower than what it was in the earlier decade. Per capita food production in the ECAFE region has moved backwards and it is here that the greater part of the world's population continues to reside and grow and threatens to engulf all problems.

I have no doubt that we shall whenever the conference meets next—expend more millions of words in a variety of languages, to take stock and endeavour to move forward. But I venture to think that instead of waiting hopefully for any positive action by the developed countries, a more useful endeavour will be for the developing countries themselves to meet and re-examine their need and discover if they cannot help themselves even in limited spheres of economic activity.

In this connection I wish to inform distinguished delegates that<sup>11</sup> is with this objective that my Government has planned a Seminar on development to be held next month in my country's Kuala Lumpur, at which several Afro-Asian invitees will meet



and exchange their knowledge and experience in the field of planning and development. We believe that this seminar will be productive of positive results towards helping the countries taking part in it to implement their respective development plans for a higher and faster rate of economic growth for the benefit of their own peoples. In this context the newly created Asian Development Bank of which my country is a member will become a most useful instrument for development in our region.

My Government has for some time been engaged in promoting economic co-operation and facilitating trade among countries in South-east Asia and the clouds of political upheavals which for a time had thrown their shadows across our path, have happily lifted and we are moving forward again. My delegation naturally welcomes, in this connection, the creation of the United Nations Organisation for industrial development in which we hope to participate to the full limits of our capacity.

Mr President, there are a variety of other problems that confront this session, and that require urgent solution. They include the financing of peace-keeping operations; the persistence of the evil, anachronistic policy of Apartheid in South Africa; the extension of apartheid into the mandated territory of South West Africa, a process by no means discouraged by the recent regrettable decision of the International Court of Justice relating to the territory; the denial of self-determination to the vast majority of the people of Rhodesia; the intransigent colonial policy of Portugal in Angola, Mozambique and other small territories in Africa and Asia; the movement for independence in South Arabia; and the denial of the inalienable rights of the people of Palestine. My Government's policies on these issues are well known and my delegation will have the opportunity at the appropriate time in this session to elaborate on them in detail.

I cannot, however, allow this occasion to pass without expressing the grave anxieties of my Government about recent developments in the affairs of Southern Africa and the increasing **disappointments** and disillusionment of the coloured nations and peoples at the apparent acquiescence of the Western countries in these developments. May I therefore address myself directly to the Western States concerned, and in particular the major powers, and most earnestly urge upon them the need for prompt and positive action to arrest this trend, which has the most dangerous implications

for the future of relations between the white and the coloured nations and peoples of the world.

May I also be permuted. Mr President, to speak a little on Rhodesia. My Government continues to regard with grave concern the Rhodesian situation and urges that effective steps be taken to bring to an early end the rebellious and illegal regime of Ian Smith. We cannot for one moment accept a situation which involves the suppression of the African majority by the white minority regime. Our policy on the Rhodesian situation has remained very clear and consistent. We firmly believe that this British colony of Rhodesia must not be granted independence before majority rule has been established on the basis of universal adult franchise, that is, one man one vote. The Smith regime in Rhodesia by seizing independence illegally has made it the duty of every member of the United Nations to see that this illegal regime is removed and replaced by a constitutional and democratic Government. The recent meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers has given a solemn and categorical warning to the Smith regime. If this warning is not heeded, we must urge that effective mandatory sanctions under chapter seven of the charter be applied firmly and vigorously so that the people of Rhodesia may be ensured their inalienable right to self-determination and independence.

I should like now to refer to an important matter that very closely concerns us in Malaysia and indeed all of South-east Asia - the continuing conflict in Vietnam in which many including our distinguished Secretary-General, U Thant, have seen the seeds of the Third World War. To us in South-east Asia, the Vietnam conflict poses a real and proximate threat to the peace, progress, safety and security of the whole region. We in Malaysia have on a number of occasions made it clear that we would like this conflict to be brought to an end as speedily as possible and that those directly involved should be helped to resolve their differences by peaceful negotiations across the conference table. Malaysia has taken and will continue to take every necessary and appropriate initiative open to it, on a comprehensive all-Asia basis to seek an Asian solution to the problem. It should be left to the parties involved to find a formula to solve their problems and our efforts should be directed solely to bringing them together, not to suggest, much less impose, a solution. We have always held the view in accordance with the charter that every country has a right to an "independent existence without interference by any other country

in its territorial integrity or political independence. We can only hope that our efforts will succeed. I take this solemn occasion standing at this rostrum to invite all states, large and small, represented in this Assembly to give us their help in bringing the immediate parties to the conference table. An end must be brought and brought early, to this most unfortunate of conflicts so that the people of all Vietnam North and South—may be relieved from the cruel realities of war from which they have continually suffered for more than two decades.

We are acutely conscious that the obstacles to the promotion of peace in Vietnam from within this Organisation are great **and** daunting. We cannot therefore but regret that it has not yet been possible for the co-chairmen of the Geneva Conference to convoke a conference so that a solution of the conflict can be sought **and** found, from without this Organisation, if necessary.

Before concluding may I, Mr President, be permitted to say a word about our distinguished Secretary-General. I do not wish to repeat what has been said from this rostrum and from outside about the absolute necessity of having him continue as Secretary-General at least in the immediate years ahead. My country both individually and collectively in common with other Asian States has joined in this process of persuasion and gentle pressure. I am not unmindful of the difficulties that he has fairly and legitimately set out in detail as standing in the way of his offering to continue to serve. May I not now invite him to consider that the states which have already urged their pleas to him include those that may be regarded **as** being directly or indirectly involved in these difficulties and by the very fact of their plea have manifested a moral commitment to a solution of these difficulties. In any event I read his letter of the 1st September as meaning no more than standing aside for the moment so that the Security Council may feel absolutely free in making its recommendations to this Assembly, unhampered by an embarrassment that might be felt by the Security Council should he offer to stay.

This is one matter in which with complete and rare unanimity this Assembly has expressed its wishes. U Thant, as we all well know, has rendered great and distinguished service to the cause of the United Nations and of world peace. Now more than ever in its history this Organisation needs him.

There are still many problems that beset this Organisation to which he has drawn attention. Let us urge every priority **to these**

problems and pledge ourselves to find solutions to them. With these words, I hope and trust U Thant will find it possible, in the interest of the Organisation and of international co-operation, to meet the wishes of all of us and agree to continue in office.

## THE PEACE AGREEMENT

### TURNING POINT IN HISTORY OF MALAYSIA AND INDONESIA

*The signing of the Peace Agreement between Malaysia and Indonesia at Jakarta on 11th August, 1966, was described by Tun Abdul Razak as a turning point in the history of the struggle of the two countries to build and ensure their future destiny in Asia and the whole world. Below is the statement of Tun Razak after he had signed the agreement.*

The people of Malaysia and, I believe the people of Indonesia, too, have been looking forward to the signing of this Agreement, desirous themselves that relations between the two countries should be restored to what they were before.

At the same time I should like to express my profound gratitude to the Government of Indonesia for the *very* warm reception given to my delegation on our arrival in Jakarta. Thanks to God, after going through a period of serious differences for three years today, the two neighbouring countries which have had close ties for centuries and have a common origin, have come to a mutual understanding to live in co-operation and assistance.

The Bangkok talks have brought about an understanding marking a significant step towards peace and friendship between the people of Malaysia and the people of Indonesia.

The Bangkok understanding represents a turning point in the history of the struggle of the people of Indonesia and the people of Malaysia to build and ensure their future destiny in Asia and the whole world.