

Columbia University World Leader Forum with Tun Dr Mahathir Mohammad, Prime Minister of Malaysia

Summary

This World Leaders Forum program features an address, Rule of Law and Multilateralism, by Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad of Malaysia followed by a moderated question and answer session with the audience. The Forum was moderated by Professor Lien-Hang T. Nguyen, the Dorothy Borg Associate Professor in the History of the United States and East Asia. The Prime Minister shared views on various domestic and international issues such as the US-China trade war and transboundary haze in Southeast Asia, to name a few. The event was well-attended by more than 200 students and faculty members of Colombia University.

Tun Dr Mahathir Mohammad

Ladies and Gentlemen, I am glad to be here. To see so many people attending this forum, and I hope to explain why the former head of a party decided after he had resigned from the premiership to go against the very party that I left. I am not loyal to the party. I am only loyal to my country. If, in my own party, there is something that is wrong, I feel that it is my duty to do something about it. More so when people came and asked me to do something about the governments that succeeded me. So, doing something may take the form of advising, or demonstrating, but I decided to join the opposition in order to bring down the party that I had led for more than 30 years. Fortunately for us, we were able to win in the last election. This is not usual, because the party which ruled the country, was the same party that won independence for the country and has been the government for more than 60 years, 61 years to be exact. And nobody really thought that this party would lose in any election because it is a powerful party, crooked party, and it is going to use all (within its means) to stay in power. But fortunately for us, the people decided that it was time that the previous party should step down and give way to a new party. So, we won the elections, with a good majority. And we won it in a very peaceful manner. In many countries which adopt the democratic system, elections will lead to violence, because the losing party do not like to admit losing, and would accuse the winning government of foul play and will take to the streets to demonstrate, or go on strike, or become very violent. But in Malaysia, when the then incumbent party lost, there was no violence, the preceding party admitted their lost- reluctantly, of course. After the elections, the new government was able to take over, with the task of making corrections to all the things that were done by the previous government. Particularly in regard to the embezzlement of government money. Not by millions, but by billions of dollars. So now we are going through to the task of trying to restore government finances, of trying to restore good governance, to abolish many of the Draconian laws that were passed by the previous government. And so far, we have been able to do all this without any violent protests. There were some protests of course, but there were not violent. The previous Prime Minister has been charged in court, his is now currently undergoing a trial, which has taken a

long time; around year, but the trial is ongoing and will go on for quite some time before the court decides his innocence. In the meantime, he is quite free. He is campaigning all over the country, and accusing the present government of the very same things that he did. For example, he ordered warships from China, and he is now accusing us of being stupid for ordering ships from China. But he was the one who ordered the warship, and we are just caught by the contracts he has bounded us into. And as you know, you cannot just reject contracts, you have to abide by the terms of the contract, and that has been a problem for us, because if we dropped the contract, we have to pay compensations, involving a lot of money. So instead of that, we have decided that we should reduce the amount by the reducing the scope and renegotiating with Chinese contractors. They have been quite obliging, because in regards to the East Coast Railway, they have reduced the cost by about 20 billion MYR. That is about 5 billion USD. So that is the position now. And we are still hard at work, trying to restore the economy of the country, good governance, etc. And I think with that you will know enough about what I am doing, and if you have any questions, I will be happy to answer them.

Lien Hang T. Nguyen

Thank you so much for that. I was going to steer the conversation a little bit to multilateralism, which is the topic that you have put for us today. As a historian, I am really interested in change over time. So, Dr. Mahathir, my question for you is since you have entered political office and this is since Merdeka, my question is how has your vision; and really Malaysia's vision of multilateralism, evolved during this period?

Tun Dr Mahathir Mohammad

Well, it may have been able to set up good governance with participation from almost all the communities in Malaysia. Now Malaysia is a multiracial country. We have three major races- the Malays, Chinese, and Indians. And we have about 30 different tribes. The way to go of course is to get everybody involved. So, in the government from the very beginning, we have many members of parliament and members of the cabinet coming from all the different races and tribes. And that is, what I believe, is multilateralism. Because the indigenous Malays, we're in the majority. They could have seized power by themselves, and this is what the colonialists suspected we would do, but we didn't. When we became independent, we decided to share the country with everyone, including those who descended from immigrants, and the different tribes. To share with them in a very, well, democratic way I think. We share the power to rule the country. And I think that would constitute as multilateralism.

Lien Hang T. Nguyen

That definitely does. In this pluralistic society, you've laid it out really well that, in terms of the Bumiputera being a majority, that they did not seize control through violence and this is really interesting. I will steer it towards foreign relations. So, in terms of multilateralism, and your view of

multilateralism and how that has evolved through your term in political office, at first at 1957 and then when you served your premiership, how has multilateralism changed in terms of Malaysia's position within the region?

Tun Dr Mahathir Mohammad

Well, we have always believed in solving things through negotiation, arbitration, or a court of law. If we have espoused unilateralism, we would have tried to solve problems through confrontation, and even war. Because, you have to use force in order to settle the problem. But we have never done that. Instead we have negotiated with our neighbours. In the case of Thailand, the negotiations were very fruitful. We decided in the area of the sea that is claimed by both of us, 50% to whatever is produced would belong to one party and the other 50% to the other. In the case of claim on a small rock islands by Singapore and Malaysia, we decided to go to the world court. And the world court wrongly decided that it would go to Singapore. But in the case of the claim on two beautiful islands of the coast of Malaysia in Borneo, the court decided that the islands belonged to us- a very wise decision.

Lien Hang T. Nguyen

Thank you. picking up on that, what do you think are the present challenges to Malaysia and multilateralism in the region? And here I am thinking in particular of a rising China as well as US policy towards the region.

Tun Dr Mahathir Mohammad

When we are dealing with very powerful countries, we have to accept that we are not going to be able to go to war with them. We, in many senses, have to give in. Somebody said that "the strong will take what they will, the weak will yield what they must". And sometimes we yielded as much as we can, without hurting ourselves. For example, China's claim towards the South China Sea as theirs. And now, they have this one..... new thing, it is alright for them to claim, as long as they allow ships to pass through, and war ships to pass through, they can claim the seas anywhere.

Lien Hang T. Nguyen

If I can pick up on that, in terms of Malaysia's foreign policy and its promotion of non-militarisation of the water ways, what do you see as ASEAN's role in really pushing forward this, instead of more that the regional organisation that Malaysia help found. Is there more that ASEAN could do?

Tun Dr Mahathir Mohammad

Well, the fact of grouping is to give strength to us. One single country cannot defend itself especially a weak country like us. So, we thought we should form an association of all the countries of SEA. It is not an economic association, it is not like the EU. The problem with us when we all became

independent was that there was some confrontation between Indonesia and Malaysia, and to avoid this violence, we decided that if we form an association of all the SEA countries, then all the leaders can sit around a table and discuss and solve problems around the table, rather than confrontations and wars.

Lien Hang T. Nguyen

What can you see in ASEAN, if I could continue on this question, and I appreciate your discussion of the origins of ASEAN, the initial mission of ASEAN. I guess if I could push you a little further in terms of the current composition of ASEAN, what do you see as its strengths and weaknesses as a regional alliance in confronting the challenges, not just those exclusive to Malaysia, but as a region as a whole?

Tun Dr Mahathir Mohammad

Well, the association is made up of countries at different stages of development. Some are rather not well developed, some are very well developed, and can even be considered as a developed country. So, when there is an association of unequal's, it takes some diplomacy to retain the relationship and not to hurt anybody. So, through the ASEAN forum and ASEAN meetings of heads of states, we were able to appreciate the problems of the poor, and the need for them to be helped. And this we tried to do so that they would not feel like the underdog, that they have an equal voice in the ASEAN grouping. And so far, it has worked.

Lien Hang T. Nguyen

As one of the stronger members of ASEAN, with a very strong economy a 6% growth per annum, what advice could you impart to Vietnam? And this of course a country near to my heart as I am from Vietnam. What do you see as the role of stronger members of ASEAN?

Tun Dr Mahathir Mohammad

We would like to think that we provide a model of how a poor country can develop. And I think Vietnam has been looking around the world and maybe looking also at Malaysia and our record. And Vietnam realises that in order to grow, you have to interact with other countries. In particular, Malaysia had grown very well through Foreign Direct Investments (FDI). And now Vietnam has adopted the same strategy. And because of that, Vietnam now is catching up with Malaysia and may even outtake us.

Lien Hang T. Nguyen

Thank you. If I could move the questions towards, now that we have discussed more on Malaysia's local politics and discussions within the SEA region, if I could think more globally. Given your recent statements about multilateralism, the threat to multilateralism in the global arena, if I could ask you

to expand on that, what do you think are the challenges to multilateralism in terms of the global context?

Tun Dr Mahathir Mohammad

Well, the challenges to multilateralism is unilateralism. There are some powerful countries which do not consider the feelings or the thinking of other countries. But because of its strength, has decided to make decisions and do things on its own, in its own interest, without the regard for others who are affected by whatever it is that they do.

Lien Hang T. Nguyen

Okay, looking on from your comments a few weeks ago, I was also thinking if you could focus on Malaysia and the global challenges. And here I am thinking about the haze. If you could talk about as to what could be done in terms of what I think is the most pressing challenge to not just Malaysia, but all nations- and I think this will impact SEA the most, in terms climate change.

Tun Dr Mahathir Mohammad

We know that the haze is caused by burning, big forest fires, which gives off a lot of smoke and dust, and is blown all over the place by the wind. And since our neighbour has this problem of forest fires, a lot of the smoke and dust gets blown over to Malaysia. So, we have to suffer from haze. I would admit that even in Malaysia we have some burning forests, but we have taken care of that. We have all the necessary facilities to put out fires, and we have done that. And we hope that our neighbour would allow us to help them in putting out the fires so that they will not suffer from the haze, and we will also be freed from the haze. And that is our attitude towards them. But on the other hand, of course, every country has the right to refuse help, and there is nothing that we can do.

Lien Hang T. Nguyen

I think I am going to move into my last question, and if I could ask the students to start lining up, to prepare themselves for the next segment of the event. My question is I see Malaysia, again as a historian, really championing multilateralism in terms of (as we have already discussed) the formation of ASEAN, its role in the NAM, in terms of the OIC. So, I was wondering if you could talk about Malaysia's future in multilateralism and the organisations that Malaysia has been such an active member. What role do you see Malaysia playing 10 years down the road?

Tun Dr Mahathir Mohammad

If you look into the past, there was a time in which countries could remain isolated from other countries and be independent. Providing its own food, and other needs. But today, the world is interconnected. The world has become very small, communication has been very good both in terms of telecommunication as well as travel. You can fly from Malaysia to Indonesia in three hours where

before it took 6 months, without the certainty of arriving. So, the world, whether you like it or not, the world has become small, and you have become neighbours of each other. And you cannot ignore your neighbour, because if they decide to burn their forests, you are going to be affected. If they decide not to trade with you, you also lose out. What other countries do has an effect on other countries. So, multilateralism is unavoidable now. You cannot be alone and independent of other countries. So, acknowledging that, Malaysia has been a trading nation for a long time, decides that the bigger world would become a bigger market for us, instead of the domestic market or the regional market, now we have the whole world as a market. And because the whole world has become a market, it is important that all countries of the world remain at peace, stable, and is able to become a trading partner for us. We trade with more than 190 countries, and we have grown because of trade. And when there is any attempt to stop trade, by applying sanctions and the like, that is very negative. When you apply sanctions, it means that not only the country chosen to be sanctioned suffers from its inability to trade, but we also suffer, because we are unable to trade with that country yet we had done no wrong to that country, we had done no wrong to the party who posed the sanctions, so it is all very negative. It does contribute towards wellbeing or the creation of wealth in this world. So, we are all for multilateralism. But of course, there should be certain rules that govern whatever it is that we do, but those rules should not restrict trade. Rather, it should promote it.

Lien Hang T. Nguyen

Thank you, I chose 10 years on purpose to see what you project for Malaysia by 2030. But thank you so much for that. This has been fascinating for me to be able to talk to you. Because as the eldest living member as a head of state, we do have a lot of wisdom we can draw from you. So, at this point, I am going to ask the students if they have questions, to please line up at the microphone.

Question 1

Hello Dr Mohammad, thank you for coming to Columbia today. My question for you is, what is your view on the Rohingya crisis, and what do you think can be done about it?

Tun Dr Mahathir Mohamad

Well that is very unfortunate, we had always been very friendly with Burma. During the time when Aung San Suu Kyi was under house arrest, we sympathised we her, we raised a campaign to get her released, but now we find that she is not standing up for other people who are distressed. We had hope that she would not back her government, but apparently, she could not or would not go against them. But the thing is that nowadays, despite our narratives of freedom and the abolishment of war, we find that when a country carries out such atrocities, there is practically nothing that we can do. You may remember that in Cambodia, the government killed 2 million people, and the whole world stood by and did nothing until the Cambodians themselves, managed with the help of Vietnam, to overthrow the Pol Pot regime. But in the case of Myanmar, there seems to be no popular force

wanting to overthrow this government. Wanting to take the risk and fight against the government so as to remove a government that is obviously very cruel. And the whole world cannot do anything either. If Myanmar says that you are unable to enter their country, you just don't go. You know something wrong is being done there. So, there is a very clear weakness in the UN, in that when it sees a government being absolutely brutal to its own people, we can do nothing. We can preach, we can pray, and plead, but they can continue doing it because we don't evade countries to remove such regimes. However, having said that, one has to remember that when Saddam was accused of killing people and being a dictator, the US went in to remove Saddam. And indeed, Saddam was eventually yanked. But in the case of Myanmar, it seems that nobody wants to invade Myanmar and overthrow the government. So, for a long time, the people in Rakhine state will have to suffer. They cannot go back, because they are free of the military there, which has been treating them very badly. So, we are really not in the position to help people in this modern world, despite that we champion human rights and the like. Thank you.

Question 2

Thank you Tun for coming. I have a two question. So, what are some of the current efforts to minimise racial tension in Malaysia, as they have been a history of this? And what do you think countries such as the US and Europe can learn from what Malaysia has done to solve these issues?

Tun Dr Mahathir Mohamad

We have 3 major races and 30 different tribes in Malaysia. We have tried to be fair to all of them. But different people have different cultures and capabilities. We find that some are very well adapted towards capitalism, for example, and they have benefited. They have become very rich, leaving the others behind. As you know, if there is a great disparity between the rich and poor, there will always be tension. The reason as to why we had socialism and communism before was because of the disparity between the rich and poor. Now, if the disparity is being amplified by being of different races, the tendency towards violence would be much greater. We cannot change the race of the people. But we can change their economic performance for example. So, we have the opportunity to catch up with the rich community. That was what we were doing through affirmative action. But some people still do not want to accept that there needs to be some corrective action taken. They are opposed to it. And some have even claimed that they are being discriminated against. But if you find a person far ahead, and you are trying to catch up with him, you have to give some kind of advantage to the one that is left behind. But if you treat everybody equally, it is the successful communities that are going to benefit most. The unsuccessful ones, especially those who are not well-versed in commerce and industry, they are going to be left behind even further. That has to be prevented because if that is the preexisting condition, one day clashes between the economic classes and races will be imminent. That is what we have been trying to do, but we have been accused of discriminating against the rich. Well, maybe it is discrimination because if we don't

discriminate against the rich, we can never help the poor to catch up. If you give them all the opportunities, they are going to search far ahead, and leave the poor behind. It has been difficult, because the poor do not have that skill to use opportunities and capital to grow their wealth. So we have to give them certain considerations, we have to train them, we have to educate them, and even protect them. That is what is happening in Malaysia. I know that even in the US there was also affirmative action in favour of the black community, but the whites objected claiming that it is a form of discrimination so it was dropped.

Question 3

Hi, I would like to talk about the Bumiputera Policy that you were talking about. So we know that for decades, we have instituted this affirmative action for the Malays, but we also know that for decades that it has been ineffective, the Malays are still arguably the poorest, and also the most unequal group indicative when noting that the majority of the T20 are Malays yet they also constitute some of the poorest members that make up the Malaysian society. We know that it has also instituted a system of patronage due to the presence of preferential licences given to the Malays, the Malays taking the licences due to the access their race gives them, and selling it to other subcontractors at a higher price, so we see rent seeking behaviours, we know that preferential quotas for education disincentivize competition, and the achievement gap between academic performance is still there even though affirmative action is supposed to help. This shows that current actions are ineffective in tackling these issues. Your government has promised to ratify international human rights treaties, so I am wondering what else will your government do differently? I also admire you very much, I am wondering as you are such a key figure to Malaysia, beyond your tenure, what is the future trajectory for Malaysia? How will Malaysia move forward?

Tun Dr Mahathir Mohamad

Well, what happens to Malaysia in the future depends very much on you. On your understanding of the situation. The fact is that the Malays are very far behind the Chinese, for they are backed by 4000 years of civilisation. To say it is not helping them is not correct. Many are helped, and many have succeeded. For example, before, when you gave out scholarships, you would only give it to the top students. We decided to give it to the runner ups, and they have performed. In the medical profession, we started with only 2% of doctors who were Malays. Now there are 40%. These are the people that were once considered non eligible for scholarships, because they did not perform with the highest results. So even if they weren't the best, if they appeared to be able to do things, we gave them an opportunity and because of that we have corrected an imbalance at least in the medical profession. In other professions too, we have made a lot of corrections. Not satisfactory, but at least we have seen some progress. And there are now Malays who are doing quite well in business. I was talking to a man last night, he flies helicopters, and he owns many helicopters not only in Malaysia,

but all around the world. He was given a chance, and he made good use of it. Now what happened before was that we were giving opportunities very freely, without considering their capabilities. I did try to give the opportunity to only those who would succeed, but if they had already succeeded we would help them. But when we helped them, I was accused of cronyism. Apparently, if you do not want to be accused of cronyism, you have to ensure that everybody fails. Because lots of people fail, and they are not accused of being my cronies. But those who succeed are all labelled as my cronies. So how do you correct such things? Now we have decided that we are going to be very selective to overcome this habit of selling contracts and other opportunities given them. We want to ensure that those who received them will carry out the contract, and will take it back if they fail to do so. We are not going to allow the selling of licences to others. That is to avoid the wrong people from getting the benefits. In fact, most of the contracts that are given to the Malays, there were no Malays willing to buy, they had to sell them off to the Chinese. So, it becomes worse. So now we are ensuring that if they receive the contract, they must make use of the contract and license. And the one thing that we need to accept is that something needs to be done. If you do away with affirmative action, what are you going to do? Nothing. And if you do nothing, the disparity is going to be worse and there will be tension between the rich and poor.

Question 4

My question to you is regarding institutional reforms in Malaysia. I would like to echo what you said earlier. I thought it was a huge part of our history in the last GE that Malaysia transformed from a ... to a beacon of democracy overnight. I think the peaceful transition of power was internationally applauded with the presence of articles such as in The Economists noting how unprecedented the event was for a country in SEA. With that comes the huge expectation of institutional reforms. So, what are the Top Three institutional reforms that we must prioritise in Malaysia, and what are the challenges that the government is currently facing in implementing them?

Tun Dr Mahathir Mohamad

So, the first thing that we have tried to do and have done is to give strength to the agency that focuses on corruption. We have given independence to that agency and they have access to all the information needed so that they can effectively take action against corrupt people. At this moment, we don't find anymore of those corrupt practices that was once rampant during the last regime. Secondly, we have believed in the rule of law. In the past the law was bad. And it was being abused by the government, people are charged under laws that have no relation to the crime that they had committed. Simply because, they appear not to support the government. Action was taken up on them under SOSMA - Security Offences (Special Measures) Act and the like. And also, we find that the management of funds is also very important. Malaysia actually had been quite well off. We didn't experience any financial problems for a long time. But now we have this terrible problem because the previous government excessively borrowed 1 trillion MYR, and to repay a loan that large is not

easy. If you pay with the taxes you collect, you then deprive other areas from being well-financed. We have to finance the operations, the salaries have to be paid, and statutory payments also must be paid, but what suffers is development expenditure. We have to take money from development, in order to pay off our debt. And it is estimated to be around for 30 years, unless we can find some means of reducing the debt. And that we are trying to do by tracking where the money has gone to. It has been stolen. If it was invested, we would have simply gone to the company concerned and get the money back and divest. But we do not where the money has gone to. Billions of dollars, and they are refusing to explain where they have distributed the money. But I think they know where the money is, but because we can't suspend these debts, we have to continue to pay and find some our assets and sell them in order to raise the money. We have been able to reduce the debt a little, but the ceiling is fixed by the GDP. When the GDP grows, the percentage of debt against the GDP comes down and over the years we will find that the borrowings though very big, will come below the 55% of GDP which is the ceiling for our borrowing. So, a lot of things are being done, with the institution we are also making sure that the police are cleaned up, we have established a police commission which will look into the performance of the police and set up inquiries where necessary. A lot of things have been done, and I think that you would see the result of it very soon. In fact, with regard to corruption, much of the has been reduced. Nobody now asks for payments under the table to do a job for you.

Question 5

Hi I am a member of Students Supporting Israel here at Columbia University. In one BBC interview you stated that you cannot even mention that in the Holocaust it was 16 million Jews that were killed. You also said you were proud to be label anti-Semitic in your blog post. In partnership of the Hebrew(?) institute of Holocaust Studies, Columbia University is a world centre of Jewish Studies. When you come to a place like Columbia, this kind of remark either makes you either... provocative or astonishingly ignorant. Please address and clarify your standing on the Holocaust. Thank you.

Tun Dr Mahathir Mohamad

I am exercising my right to free speech. Why is it that I can't say something against the Jews when a lot of people say nasty things about me and my country, I did not protest against them. I did not demonstrate. We have to be willing to listen to views which are not in our favour because of free speech. Free speech is about free speech. When you limit someone from expressing their thoughts (i.e when you cannot be Anti-Semitic) then there is no more free speech. You must remember that one English Journalist was jailed for three months, for disputing the number of deaths during the Holocaust. Well, I have not disputed them, but I have said that who determines these numbers? They are all subjected to their biases and personal opinion on the genocide. So, I do admit that there was a Holocaust, that there were many Jews killed, and in fact there was one time where I was very sympathetic towards them during the war.

Question 6

What are views on China's role in shaping ASEAN?

Tun Dr Mahathir Mohamad

Well China now is a big power. You deal with a weak power or a power that is equal to you differently. You see the Malay states have been around for more than 2000 years. They have always been surrounded by very powerful countries. Thailand, Burma, and China. But we were never conquered by others, except by the British. That is because we learned how to adapt with powerful countries. With China and Thailand, we used to send them *bunga emas*- flowers of silver and gold annually to leave us alone, and to survive as the Malay States. Now we have to deal with China. We don't propose to go to war with China. We want to be friendly with them, and we don't unnecessarily annoy them. We try to have good relations with China. China claims that the whole South China Sea belongs to them. That is their claim, so long as they allow ships to pass through. We can also claim that Australia belongs to us, but the Australians won't care, because it is not going to happen. So, we hope by not disputing their claim, and by extracting ourselves in the best way we can out of the claim will benefit us. The fact remains that the South China Sea and the Straits of Malacca is necessary for East-West trade. If you close that, China itself would suffer. Thank you.

Question 7

My question today is regarding the haze that is affecting Malaysia. You have previously said that if Indonesia is looking for help from Malaysia, that is definitely something that we can do. But given the gravity of the situation don't you think it's more prudent to have economic sanctions or asking the international community to speak out against Indonesia?

Tun Dr Mahathir Mohamad

Yes. You can blame Indonesia, you can criticise them, say nasty things about them. But if they continue to have their fires, we will continue to have the haze. As you know, the new president of Brazil, believes in burning the forest to allow for agriculture, and nobody has yet to stop him. So, I think the system does not allow us to interfere in the internal affairs of countries. They will come a time when these burnings are so severe that the whole world will be enveloped by the haze. I think at that time the UN might say that this is now not a national problem, this is not a domestic affair, this is a problem for the world. And if it is so, the world should exercise the right to take action. If we have that mind frame, we can then do something when somebody refuses to accept help for putting out fires, for example, and also if people kill their own people, then the whole world needs to do something about it. We should not just stay back and claim that this is a domestic right to kill people. So, at this moment the UN can do nothing, but we should try and persuade them. I think that the Indonesians are suffering very much. They have a figure of 1000 according to the Air Pollution Index.

Question 8

Hi, I am from Pakistan. You are praised equally in Pakistan as much as you are praised in Malaysia. Our Prime Minister Imran Khan Niazi, always praises you. But at this time, we see that we're standing alone in the Kashmir issue, where 8 million people are currently being jailed in their homes by the Indian regime. And do you think that since you are here with the.... you can take step forward in collectively supporting the Kashmiri cause in the United Nation. Because the United Nation has accepted that the issue is of an international significance and not a domestic affair between two countries. Can you please comment on that?

Tun Dr Mahathir Mohamad

The problem is that we do not respect the United Nation. Big countries, powerful countries, just disregard the United Nation and the resolutions that they make. When bigger countries do not abide to the resolutions of the United Nation, smaller countries would follow suit. So now what we are witnessing is that even small countries like Myanmar can point its nose to the United Nation because we are helpless to do anything. So, what we are seeing now is that resolutions made by the United Nation do not seem to affect the thinking or the policies of any country. As you know, there is a resolution regarding Jammu and Kashmir in the United Nation and people should respect it. So, we feel since we cannot go to war with them, we cannot ask the world to attack India, so what we can do is to appeal to India to go back to the resolutions of the United Nation, then we will have a much more peaceful world.

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