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President: Mr. Muhammad ZAFRULLA KHAN
(Pakistan).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. OHIRA (Japan):^{1/} On behalf of the Japanese delegation, I wish to express to you, Mr. President, our hearty congratulations on your election as President of the seventeenth session of the General Assembly. Your exceptional wisdom and experience in international affairs, your unique qualifications as a jurist of world renown and, above all, your profound feeling for humanity, provide more than ample assurance that your devoted service, in carrying out the heavy and arduous responsibilities of your high office, will be crowned with success.
2. Let me also express at this time our profound thanks and appreciation to the former President, Mr. Mongi Slim, the Foreign Minister of Tunisia. Elected President of the sixteenth session of the General Assembly at a moment of great difficulty, following the sudden and tragic death of the late Secretary-General, Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld, Mr. Slim provided able leadership and contributed in large measure to the maintenance and enhancement of the prestige of our world Organization.
3. During the past year, the Acting Secretary-General, U Thant, assuming the direction of the Secretariat in very difficult circumstances, has demonstrated rare qualities of leadership, dignity, patience and skill. To him we should like to pay warm tribute and to express our gratification for the very effective manner in which he has fulfilled our expectations and discharged the important duties of the high office of Secretary-General.
4. I must now pause to express to the delegation of Yemen the sadness which overtook the Japanese delegation when we learned that His Majesty Imam Ahmed had passed away, and to offer our heartfelt condolences to the Royal Family and people of Yemen in their bereavement.
5. It seems appropriate on this occasion to express our most sincere sympathy to the Government and people of Iran, who have suffered so cruelly from the recent earthquake in that country. The news of this

^{1/} Mr. Ohira spoke in Japanese. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

terrible disaster came as a great shock to the Government and people of Japan and awakened in all our hearts feelings of the deepest compassion.

6. It is the basic and consistent policy of Japan to uphold firmly and faithfully the principles and spirit of the Charter of the United Nations and to co-operate with the United Nations in all its endeavours to our fullest capacity. It is our strong resolve to continue this policy with unswerving devotion so that the foundations of this Organization as the world's principal agency for the maintenance of peace may be further strengthened.

7. The world today is suffering from a serious case of cold-war psychosis. This ailment has developed to the point where the foreign policies and international actions taken by nations are, by and large, dictated by the exigencies of the cold war. The world has fallen into this unfortunate situation because it has been drifting with the tide of the cold war. The question before us is: Can we permit this situation to develop like a cancerous growth until we reach the point of no return?

8. I believe that the United Nations can help to cure this situation. For this purpose, we must revitalize the principles of the Charter by rededicating ourselves to uphold them in all our actions, both individually as Members and collectively as an Organization. We must look beyond our national boundaries and give our primary attention to the hopes and aspirations of the people of all lands—the people who constitute a common humanity. Regardless of race, nationality, political creed or stage of development, the common denominator that unites our peoples is the yearning for a more abundant life in peace and security, in freedom and justice. It is for the fulfilment of this common aspiration that the United Nations exists and it is to this purpose that we as Members must dedicate our supreme efforts. The challenge before us, then, is to bury the cold war and to work for true world peace, which alone can bring to all our peoples the security—unhampered by fears and anxieties—to enjoy the abundant life. It is in this context that I would like to express at the outset of this, the seventeenth session of the General Assembly, the views of my delegation on some of the major problems now confronting the United Nations.

9. Before doing so, however, I should like first of all to offer our warmest and heartfelt congratulations to the four States that were admitted to membership in the United Nations at the 1122nd plenary meeting, on 18 September. The inspiring statements made by the leaders of the delegations of Rwanda, Burundi, Jamaica, and Trinidad and Tobago on the occasion of their admission assure us of the outstanding contributions they will surely make to the great work of the United Nations.

10. It seems likely that a number of other countries which have recently become independent, or are destined soon to achieve that happy state, will also be admitted to our Organization in due course.

11. At no time has the problem of the independence of colonial and dependent peoples been a matter of more concern to all of us than it is today. Eloquent testimony of this fact was the adoption at the fifteenth session of the General Assembly of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. Overcoming many obstacles in their way, these countries and peoples are trying earnestly to win freedom and independence, to achieve economic and social progress and to carve a bright future for themselves. For these efforts the people of Japan extend to them their admiration and abiding sympathy.

12. Freedom for dependent peoples is the trend of our times. Sanctioned and anticipated by the United Nations Charter, reaffirmed by the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, freedom is an irresistible force that cannot, in the nature of things—and should not, in any circumstances—be thwarted or denied.

13. The very large number of new countries that have achieved their independence since the end of the Second World War, and particularly during the past few years, is the clearest possible evidence of this trend. We should give credit where credit is due, and we should not refrain from expressing our gratification that for a long period of time considerable efforts towards the promotion of the welfare of dependent territories have been made by Member States which have been in the position of administrators of these territories.

14. We hope and trust that the peoples aspiring to independence will not be victims of haste and impatience, that they will steadily build up toward their cherished goal with confidence and courage, knowing that in their constructive endeavours they have friends to help and support them. This, as we see it in the light of experience, is the sounder and quicker way. We hope, at the same time, that all the other countries concerned will unsparingly extend their understanding and co-operation to hasten the day when these aspirations will be realized.

15. Colonialism, let me emphasize, is an evil no matter by whom or against whom it is employed. And let me add that we should be vigilant against attempts by any country to exploit for the selfish purpose of expanding its own influence the sincere efforts of people to liberate themselves.

16. Racial discrimination, in its various forms, is also an evil which should be brought to an end. In particular, it is a cause for serious concern and regret that where such practice is legally sanctioned, there has not been a clear realization of a high sense of morality, nor a scrupulous regard for the spirit and letter of Charter obligations. We wish to express our earnest hope, in a spirit of sincere friendship and respect, that the responsible authorities concerned may soon come to realize that it would be in their own interest, as well as consistent with their Charter obligations, to co-operate more fully with the United Nations for the ending of racial discrimination.

17. With the birth of new independent States, the membership of the United Nations has more than doubled since its inception. As has been frequently pointed out, this rapid increase has created new problems. The major Powers, which enjoy the privilege

of the veto, cannot ignore or belittle the voice of the new Members, but at the same time the new Members, for their part, must realize that their responsibility with respect to all problems has become increasingly heavy. At the last session of the Assembly, Japan called upon all Member States to undergo a serious soul-searching as to the manner in which they should co-operate with the United Nations as a collective agency for international peace. Let me here renew that appeal. To the major Powers which occupy permanent seats in the Security Council, let me express the hope and trust that, with full awareness of their grave responsibility, they will exercise greater prudence in all their words and actions; that instead of pursuing solely national interests, they will at all times uphold faithfully the high purpose of the United Nations to maintain the peace of the world. To the newer Members whose voice in the United Nations is growing stronger, let me express the sincere hope that, with a sense of confidence and trust, with intelligence and wise judgement, they will address themselves to their tasks with the constructive attitude on which all good results depend.

18. The United Nations must be spared from becoming an arena of great-Power or small-Power conflict, a platform for vilification and propaganda. So that it may function effectively as a working agency for peace, we must all, with renewed resolve, make ceaseless and untiring efforts to uphold and strengthen the authority and prestige of our Organization.

19. In this connexion, the time cannot long be delayed when we should re-examine the constitutional structure and procedures of the United Nations, with regard, for example, to such matters as the composition of the Security Council and of the Economic and Social Council. In order to make the United Nations a more effective instrument for peace and for economic and social progress, prompt consideration should be given to ways in which the greatly enlarged membership of the United Nations may participate more fully and more efficiently in the wide-spread work of the Organization. In this regard, my delegation believes that the suggestions which have been advanced by the former President of the General Assembly [A/5123] are most timely.

20. In connexion with organizational matters, I should like to emphasize the gravity of the financial problem of the United Nations. However, with the issue of United Nations bonds, decided at the last session, the prospects are brighter that the financial crisis of last year, created by the refusal of some of the Members to share the expenses of the United Nations Emergency Force and of the Congo operations, may now be alleviated.

21. In accordance with its policy of co-operation with the United Nations, my country has already notified the Acting Secretary-General that it is prepared to subscribe to the bonds to the amount of \$5 million.

22. We fully support the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice that the expenses of the United Nations Emergency Force and the Congo operations are in fact expenses of the United Nations as stipulated in Article 17 of the Charter, and we trust that positive action will be taken during the current session of the Assembly in accordance with the opinion of the Court. Although there are signs of improvement in the financial position of the United Nations, we cannot view the future with undue optimism, for the increase in membership and the expansion of the activities of this Organization have created new burdens. Whether or

not we can place the financial position of the United Nations on a firm and sound basis is a matter of vital importance on which rests, indeed, the very survival of this body. It calls for a concerted effort by all the Members. Here also there is, a need for serious soul-searching as to how the Members could co-operate better with the United Nations.

23. The achievement of independence by many countries, and the consequent increase in the membership of the United Nations, has brought new emphasis to another, fundamentally important, aspect of the work of our Organization. Economic and social progress is essential to the preservation of political freedom, and such progress is equally essential if the more effective contribution of the new nations to the peace and stability of the international community is to be fully realized. The importance of United Nations responsibilities in the economic and social fields cannot be over-emphasized.

24. By General Assembly resolution 1710 (XVI), adopted last year, we now call the 1960's the "United Nations Development Decade". My country places high expectations in the Development Decade and hopes that in these years the capacity of the developing countries to support themselves will be greatly increased and that this will contribute to a balanced development of the world economy. The primary responsibility for the economic development of a country rests with that country itself. Only when there is a spirit of self-help can difficulties be truly overcome, such difficulties as lack of development funds and shortage of skilled manpower. In the developing countries there is a special need to draw up sound long-range development plans and to establish working organizations within the framework of those plans whereby national efforts can be concentrated on the mobilization and allocation of resources, human and material. If this is done, a practical and effective link can be established between foreign assistance and the development efforts of the receiving countries which will create a solid basis for friendly and impartial economic co-operation.

25. The Development Decade calls for even more intensified action on the part of all concerned—the United Nations, the specialized agencies and the member nations—with a view to consolidating and concentrating their efforts towards the common goal of rendering greater assistance to the developing countries during this crucial period in their economic and social growth, the period of the formulation and launching of their development plans.

26. During the Development Decade there will surely be an increasing need for international assistance to the newly independent States of Africa and to other developing countries. My country will continue its efforts in every possible way to further economic and technical co-operation with these countries in Asia, Africa and wherever our co-operation is required or may be useful. In this connexion, I should like to point out that most of the countries of Asia, where more than half of the world's population is concentrated, have already gained considerable experience in economic development and are making positive efforts to further their development on the basis of long-range plans. In order that their strenuous endeavours may find their just reward, it is necessary to increase assistance to them by multilateral or bilateral means.

27. The growth in capital assistance to developing countries through international agencies both within and without the United Nations is a very welcome fact.

But we should not lose sight of another related fact, which is that the demand for capital assistance is rapidly increasing. We believe that the International Development Association has been doing creditable work, even though it is still a new agency, but in order that it may play an increasingly important role in filling the gap between supply and demand in the capital assistance field, its funds must be replenished.

28. My country, as one of the principal contributors to the International Development Association, feels that this agency has a significant part to play in multi-lateral assistance programmes by providing a major source of funds. It is our intention, therefore, to extend every possible co-operation to this promising international organization so that it may fully achieve the purposes for which it was founded.

29. Closely related to the attainment of the objectives of the Development Decade are various trade problems. With this relationship in mind, at its thirty-fourth session the Economic and Social Council decided in principle to call a United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. We believe this decision to be most noteworthy. We recall that a similar conference was sponsored by the United Nations at Havana in 1947-1948. It is anticipated that the proposed conference will be attended by more than double the number of countries which participated in the Havana meeting.

30. On the problem of trade, we should remind ourselves that the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade has been making, since its inception, major contributions to the furtherance of free trade on a multilateral, non-discriminatory basis. We should also take note of the fact that the United Nations and the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, which is concerned with commodity trade matters, are engaged in efforts to solve trade problems within their jurisdiction. We should also note that there are now in operation a number of international agreements with respect to specific commodities. My country hopes that the forthcoming United Nations Conference on Trade and Development will take these facts into account in its search for solutions to the many trade problems to which we all want answers. They are problems of great complexity, in the handling of which full consideration should be paid to the activities of the existing agencies so as to make the best possible use of their present contributions and their continuing efforts to promote and expand world trade. My delegation feels therefore that in the planning and preparation of the forthcoming conference the utmost wisdom and care should be exercised.

31. If economic and social progress is essential for political stability and, in the long run, for the peace and security of the world, then it is also true that without international peace and security there cannot be any lasting economic and social progress or political stability.

32. To maintain world peace the United Nations acts on the principle that international disputes must be settled not by resort to the threat or use of force, but by negotiation and other pacific means. In itself this principle is self-evident. Yet when disputes actually occur, experience shows that it is not easy to uphold this principle and to effect a peaceful settlement. If there is to be any settlement by peaceful means, there must first of all be—more than anything else—a firm will and a genuine desire for peace. The idea that a country may, while talking peace, resort to the use of force in its own national interest must be vigorously

denounced. What we need are patient, exhaustive efforts for the pacific settlement of disputes and differences, in all circumstances, in a spirit of mutual understanding and co-operation.

33. Unfortunately, such efforts are not always forthcoming. In past years, there have been instances in various parts of the world where the threat of force and, in some cases, the use of force have been resorted to in pursuance of national objectives. Whatever the reasons for such actions—impatience and frustration, cynical disregard of Charter obligations, propaganda or political advantage—they cannot be condoned.

34. In the affirmative sense, it is a matter for gratification that we have seen encouraging instances of pacific settlement efforts in recent months. A Government of national unity has been established in Laos, supported by an international agreement which guarantees the peace, independence and neutrality of that country. The independence of Algeria has at last become a reality. An agreement has been reached between the Powers concerned for the settlement of the question of West New Guinea (West Irian). These are the results of painstaking endeavours on the part of the interested countries and merit our warm congratulations.

35. As an Asian nation, Japan has a serious interest in the situation in Laos. It is our hope and expectation that the international agreement on Laos will be faithfully carried out and that the foundations of the Government of national unity of that country will be so strengthened that Laos may fully contribute to the peace not only of Asia, but of the world.

36. We are also glad that a start has been made towards the peaceful solution of the West New Guinea question. We hope that the letter and spirit of the agreement reached between the Governments of Indonesia and the Netherlands will be faithfully carried out. In the happy outcome of this question, we should not fail to note the important and constructive roles played by the Acting Secretary-General, U Thant, and by Mr. Ellsworth Bunker of the United States. By their contribution, the authority of the United Nations has without doubt been further enhanced and a splendid proof has been provided of the *raison d'être* of the United Nations.

37. These are encouraging developments, but there are also not a few difficult problems which test the strength of the United Nations. Although the Congo crisis has passed the initial stage of confusion, it is a source of regret that the true unification of the Congo has not yet been accomplished. We are very glad, however, to note that the Central Government of the Congo and the Katangese authorities have now agreed to settle their differences peacefully on the basis of the plan to end the conflicts in the Congo which was submitted by the Acting Secretary-General. My delegation wishes to make a strong appeal to both parties to respond to the efforts of the Acting Secretary-General for national unity and to reach a final accord at an early date. We earnestly hope that in the process of national conciliation this newly rising country will itself make further vigorous efforts to establish order and tranquillity and enable itself as rapidly as possible to march forward on the road of economic and social progress.

38. All of us should be fully aware that the real difficulties of the Congo lie ahead, not behind, and that if all the efforts thus far made are not to be in vain it is

essential that we extend co-operation and assistance through the United Nations to help the Congo carry out its tasks. We pay a tribute to the Acting Secretary-General for his endeavour to find a constructive solution while taking into due account the realities of the situation. Whether or not the United Nations succeeds in this important task is a matter of major significance not only for the Congo itself but also for Africa as a whole and, indeed, the entire world.

39. For many years all of us here have been aware of the need to relax international tension. Yet the deep-seated East-West confrontation goes on, only deepening distrust and intensifying rather than relaxing world tension. For example, the Berlin question and the German question, focal issues in the East-West conflict, remain unresolved. For the sake of world peace, it is a matter of deep regret that such festering questions are the source of recurrent world crises. It is our prayerful hope that they will be settled as quickly as possible, but we firmly believe that their settlement must be achieved by peaceful means in accordance with the principles of self-determination and respect for fundamental human rights, as called for by the Charter of the United Nations.

40. The confrontation of East and West and their mutual distrust, coupled with the remarkable developments in science and technology in recent days, have further aggravated the armaments race. Directly related as it is to world security and the relaxation of international tension, the problem of disarmament poses a major and vital challenge calling for the exertion of supreme efforts. It was because of this concern that we were gratified when, in response to the strong hopes of all the Members, as expressed in a resolution passed at the sixteenth session [General Assembly resolution 1722 (XVI)], the membership of the Ten-Nation Disarmament Committee was enlarged to eighteen, and negotiations on this all-important question were resumed at Geneva in March 1962.

41. My country is in favour of general and complete disarmament as an objective to strive for. The fact that the major Powers have agreed to such an objective is a source of hope. Since it is a problem of great complexity, the Japanese delegation believes that a realistic and constructive approach towards attaining this end would be to begin the process of disarmament with limited measures—measures that are feasible in their execution and supervision. After international trust and confidence have been restored by thus putting the process into operation, the next step would be to expand the scope of disarmament measures gradually and progressively. At the present time, when the initial need is to dissipate distrust, the essential first step should be to secure an effective system of international control.

42. In this context, my delegation views the question of nuclear weapons testing as one of great importance. The consummation of an agreement which effectively prohibits such testing would not only be in itself a great step forward for mankind, but would also serve to accelerate the process of general disarmament. My country has consistently and vigorously advocated the early conclusion of an agreement for the effective suspension of nuclear weapons testing as a prior step to other disarmament measures, and I take this occasion to re-emphasize the logic of this point.

43. Nuclear weapons testing, suddenly and unilaterally resumed last year, goes on this year in a vicious circle—a most ugly and fearful situation, to say the

least. Whenever and wherever tests have occurred, and regardless of the country conducting them, the Japanese Government has protested, appealing to the Governments concerned to make extra exertions to reach an early test-ban agreement. We have also from time to time asked the members of the Disarmament Committee to redouble their efforts to reach an early agreement. But the tests have gone on as if there were complete indifference to and disregard for the meetings in Geneva. Discussions go on and on, but no concrete results have come out of them.

44. The peace of the world today rests precariously on a balance of nuclear power. Whether we like it or not, this is a hard fact of life from which we cannot turn away our eyes. And the testing of nuclear weapons leads to the manufacture of these weapons—and the manufacture of these weapons may lead, if there should be a single miscalculation, to the fearful threat of a world holocaust which could destroy mankind and its civilization instantly and with finality. The fate of mankind rests indeed in the hands of the Nuclear Powers. It is to their conscience that we appeal, asking them in the name of world peace and security to rise above their immediate national interests and to strive vigorously to carry out their grave responsibility by reaching an early test-ban agreement. In such an agreement lies the first step toward the ultimate objective of general and complete disarmament. We have no choice but to rely upon the good faith of the major Powers and their resolve to respond to the earnest pleas of all men of peace and goodwill. My delegation hopes that at this session the General Assembly will take such action as will effectively help to expedite the discussions of the Disarmament Committee toward an early agreement, and we assure Members that we shall extend our positive efforts and co-operation to this end.

45. The problem of the peaceful use of outer space is, I am sure we all agree, a highly important one related to the problem of disarmament. The brilliant feats of recent months—of the "Friendship", "Telstar", the "Vostok", and "Mariner"—mark the dramatic advance of human civilization. With high expectations we look forward to the further advancement of space exploration and development in the cause of human welfare. My country has always advocated the principle that the use of outer space should be promoted peacefully through international co-operation—openly and in an orderly manner. We are glad that at the last session a resolution was adopted on international co-operation in the peaceful use of outer space [General Assembly resolution 1721 (XVI)] and that international co-operative activities in this field have at last made a beginning. My delegation hopes and trusts that outer space, with its unlimited possibilities of development, will be used solely for peaceful purposes and that to this end an early international agreement will be concluded.

46. Before concluding my remarks, I should like to take note of the fact that a request has been made for the inscription on our agenda of an item related to China's representation in the United Nations. I shall not deal in any way with the substance of this matter. I need hardly say more at this time than that my country, because of its close geographical and historical relationship with China, has a very keen and serious interest in this question. Since the question involves many difficult and complex factors, it is unwise and even dangerous to force a hasty conclusion. Now this question develops will have a far-reaching effect on the peace and security not only of

the Far East but of the entire world, and what the actual effect will be is unfathomable. My delegation therefore believes that the resolution adopted by the General Assembly at the last session, designating the China representation problem as an important question under Article 18 of the Charter of the United Nations, was and continues to be sound and proper.

47. I have stated the basic position and hopes of my delegation on some of the important and immediate problems facing the United Nations. We have the utmost faith in the future of our world Organization. But we cannot close our eyes to the fact that there is much for the United Nations to do, many problems to be solved, including problems which concern the Organization itself. All of us here must realize the heavy responsibilities that each and all of us must shoulder. The United Nations cannot exist without its Members. It is the Members and they alone who can give vitality and purpose to our Organization. It is the earnest hope of my delegation, Mr. President, that this seventeenth session, under your wise leadership and with the sincere co-operation of all the Members, will make substantial accomplishments, raise the authority and prestige of the United Nations and contribute to the peace, security and prosperity of the world, thereby responding in good conscience to the prayers of the people in all our lands. To this high purpose my delegation pledges its full efforts.

48. Mr. LANGE (Norway): Mr. President, allow me to join previous speakers in congratulating you upon your election to the high office of President of this session of the General Assembly. The heavy responsibilities of the presidency have been laid upon a person eminently equipped to discharge them to the satisfaction of the Member States and to the benefit of the United Nations.

49. May I also take this opportunity, on behalf of the Norwegian Government, to greet the four new Member States—Rwanda, Burundi, Jamaica, and Trinidad and Tobago—which were admitted to our Organization on the very opening day of this session.

50. This, to me, is another demonstration of what I consider to be the most important political development of our times. The fact that nearly half the Member States of the United Nations have won their national independence since the founding of the Organization illustrates the scope and speed of the change which has taken place in the political structure of the world. To those who might have harboured doubts about the inevitability of this process of liberation, surely the rapid development of the last few years must have offered convincing proof.

51. The final outcome is clear beyond doubt. There will be no end to the striving towards freedom until the remaining dependent territories have exercised their right of self-determination. Our duty is to promote and to facilitate this process and to ensure that it takes a peaceful course. The dramatic changes which we have witnessed within a short space of time could not have been brought about without creating difficulties and problems. A wholly new system, based on co-operation between sovereign States, is struggling to replace the old pattern of relationships between peoples in the two largest continents of the world. The international community is being significantly enlarged and enriched, but at the same time is faced with tremendous tasks as a result of this historic upheaval.

52. The United Nations will continue to have an essential part to play in this new situation. The expectations

and hopes of the peoples that the Organization will assist them in solving their problems place responsibilities upon us all. To discharge them, the United Nations has gradually, as the need arose, adopted a whole set of measures to assist the dependent peoples. The United Nations has supervised elections or plebiscites, provided good offices or established its temporary presence in a troubled area.

53. Last year, a new technique was designed to meet the particular needs in the dispute over West Irian. There, the United Nations is in the process of temporarily taking over the administration in order to avoid the dangers inherent in a vacuum. It is a source of satisfaction to my Government both that this dispute has been settled and that the Organization once again has shown its capability to cope with new situations.

54. The assistance and the services of the United Nations in assuring a peaceful fulfilment of the aspirations of dependent peoples are today being rejected in certain situations in Africa where they are urgently needed. This attitude of non-co-operation is a matter of deep concern to the people and the Government of Norway, because the final choice facing the administering Powers is not one between denying and granting the right to self-determination, but rather one between the achievement of legitimate aspirations through peaceful means and their achievement through violence. If the potentialities of the United Nations were recognized, administering Powers which are now refusing co-operation would do doubt find that the world Organization would once more establish reasonable procedures and modalities for rendering effective assistance, adjusted to the actual needs and circumstances.

55. Turning now to the industrialized and developed nations, the post-war years have been dominated by the East-West conflict. This fact has often been reflected in the debates of this Assembly and has at times paralysed the activities of the Organization in important fields. Far be it from me to underestimate the risks and the dangers inherent in the East-West situation. The problems around the City of Berlin have time and again demonstrated how easily an armed conflict might be sparked. The continued arms race is a frightening expression of the prevailing mutual distrust.

56. Both these problems are of such a nature that they may lead to acute and dangerous conflicts, and it is a task of paramount importance to avoid stumbling into a catastrophe and to lay the basis for the realistic negotiation of lasting solutions. What nevertheless gives us reason for optimism is the recognition by both sides that an armed conflict must be avoided and the fact that negotiations concerning general and complete disarmament and a ban on nuclear tests have been resumed, based on the principles which were unanimously endorsed by the General Assembly a year ago. My Government believes that at this session the General Assembly should take care not to impede in any way the work of the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament, which is to reconvene at Geneva in November.

57. Is it too much to hope that our discussions here may give encouragement and guidance to the negotiating nations in Geneva—in particular, with regard to the cessation of nuclear tests, where the distance between the positions of the two sides has been considerably narrowed?

58. The East-West conflict is likely to continue for a considerable period of time. Nevertheless, it is my hope that we shall live to see this conflict recede, and eventually prove to be a passing phase in human history. We must constantly strive for an improvement in the relations between East and West and utilize every opportunity to reach negotiated settlements on specific issues. At the same time, the developed part of the world, both East and West, must concentrate sufficient attention on a problem which may ultimately prove to be of even greater danger to mankind—the gap between the rich and the poor countries.

59. The Acting Secretary-General has often drawn attention to the pressing problem and he does so once more in the following words, in the introduction [A/5201/Add.1] to his report to this seventeenth session of the General Assembly: "... the present division of the world into rich and poor countries is, in my opinion, much more real and much more serious, and ultimately much more explosive, than the division of the world on ideological grounds". I subscribe to the views of the Secretary-General on this point.

60. It is to be hoped that, in the years to come, efforts to bridge this gap will increasingly predominate in international co-operation. World-wide co-operation will indeed be required. The United Nations should play an increasing role in this connexion and we, as Member States, should equip it with the necessary tools and provide the means required for it to fulfil this task. This may well necessitate an extension of the executive functions of the Organization. An important step in the right direction was taken last year with the unanimous designation of the 1960's as the United Nations Development Decade. The task now before us is to launch a full-scale and sustained attack on poverty, disease, hunger and illiteracy.

61. It is now for Member nations to live up to their obligations. Failure to do so is bound to have serious consequences and may even have harmful effects on the very future of the Organization. If, on the other hand, the Member nations meet this challenge, and the United Nations participation in the carrying out of this tremendous task is crowned with success it will, I am sure, definitely brighten prospects for the future of our Organization. We will then have taken a considerable step towards making the United Nations the indispensable instrument for the solution of the pressing problems of the international community.

62. In the introduction [A/4800/Add.1] to the Secretary-General's report to the sixteenth session of the General Assembly, the late Dag Hammarskjöld strongly advocated this concept of the United Nations as a dynamic instrument, both for reconciliation and for executive action. He emphasized that there could be no standing still in the development of international co-operation. It would either have to proceed or recede. We owe much to Dag Hammarskjöld for his clear-sighted analysis of the problems and prospects of the United Nations and his realistic assessment of the possibilities of the Organization within the framework of the Charter. My Government shares his views of international co-operation as an evolution towards the ultimate goal of international order under law.

63. In fact, considerable progress has been made in the development of contacts and of habits of co-operation. The United Nations, with its specialized agencies, is engaged in efficient day-to-day co-operation in a variety of fields ranging from the in-

tricate problems of modern telecommunications to basic assistance of a humanitarian nature. These manifold and beneficial activities of the United Nations family of agencies do not normally stand in the centre of attention. I, for one, see great value in this unspectacular practical co-operation, even beyond the immediate results achieved. It helps to strengthen and develop habits of international co-operation across political, ideological and religious barriers.

64. The need to bring the poorer parts of the world up to a reasonable, growing and self-sustaining level of economic development will certainly call for co-operation in many fields of human activity. Scientific and technological developments dramatically demonstrated by man's conquest of space, also require international co-operation. The compelling need to reach some sort of control of the arms race, and more particularly, of the development and proliferation of new weapons, clearly points in the same direction.

65. The steadily increasing extent of international co-operation, centred in the United Nations and its specialized agencies, is in the long run bound to affect the attitude of nations and lead to lasting habits of peaceful and open co-operation between them. Development in this direction may also make it possible for nations gradually to dispense with the strict and jealous exercise of sovereignty in the traditional sense. The revolutionary advances in the field of science cannot be fully utilized, and the requirements of modern production and distribution cannot be adequately met, within the narrow confines of national entities.

66. As I have already said, my Government believes that we should build on the United Nations in our striving to consolidate and develop habits of international co-operation. Recent developments have clearly demonstrated, however, both the need for action by the United Nations and the limits which present conditions set to such action. We must take care not to demand of the United Nations what it clearly cannot do and thus risk failure, with all the dangers that might ensue. Too ambitious action, desirable as it may seem in a difficult situation, may destroy the very possibilities that exist for the United Nations to play a useful role. We must constantly keep in mind the delicate balance that has to be struck in order not to strain the Organization beyond its present possibilities.

67. When the sixteenth session of the General Assembly convened in September 1961, the Organization was faced with a very bleak prospect of bankruptcy. The financial situation is still far from satisfactory, but considerable encouragement with regard to the financial prospects of the United Nations may be found in the wide participation in the bond issue. Being a necessary stopgap measure, the bond issue itself does not represent any solution of basic problems, but the fact that so many States have purchased bonds gives reason for optimism. The decisions of Governments to do so are votes of confidence in the United Nations. The

Norwegian delegation would in particular like to pay tribute to the many developing States that have participated in the bond issue in spite of their pressing economic and social needs. They too regard the United Nations as a sound investment.

68. As a corollary to the decision to float the bond issue, the International Court of Justice was requested to give an advisory opinion regarding the nature of the expenditures for peace-keeping operations. We are all familiar with the conclusions of the Court and we shall discuss them later during this session. The Norwegian Government hopes that the outcome of these discussions will help to overcome the financial crisis of our Organization without endangering its higher interests.

69. With the greater responsibilities entrusted to the United Nations, the number of problems brought before the General Assembly has sharply increased in recent years and made it more or less impossible for the Assembly to complete its work within the period of time allocated for the purpose. It seems to be widely agreed that a reappraisal of the working habits of the General Assembly and a certain rationalization of its work is called for. To this end, the President of the sixteenth session of the Assembly has suggested a number of specific measures [A/5123] which the Norwegian delegation will be happy to support. In our opinion the suggested measures would, without limiting freedom of expression or the thorough preparation of decisions, greatly improve the efficiency of the General Assembly and thereby contribute to the realization of the aims and purposes of our Organization.

70. The agenda which has been approved by the General Committee is extraordinarily heavy. It contains a number of important and complicated issues in the political as well as in the economic field. The hard core of colonial questions is also still before us. We embark upon all these problems against the background of an uncertain international situation. The prospects for our work will to some extent depend upon the development of that situation. But similarly, what we are able to accomplish at this session will contribute to an improvement of the general international climate.

71. In this respect, each Member country, whether large or small, has its responsibility and its role to play. For her part, Norway will continue, within her means, to respond in a positive way to any request for further participation in United Nations efforts and programmes.

72. The PRESIDENT: I would again request delegations to inscribe their names for participation in the general debate as early as possible. If more delegations had been willing to make their statements this morning, we could have had the pleasure of listening to, and benefiting from, two, and perhaps three, more delegations.

The meeting rose at 11:45 a.m.