

# United Nations GENERAL ASSEMBLY

TWENTY-SECOND SESSION

Official Records



1578th  
PLENARY MEETING

Wednesday, 4 October 1967,  
at 10.30 a.m.

NEW YORK

## CONTENTS

	Page
<i>Agenda item 9:</i>	
<i>General debate (continued)</i>	
<i>Speech by Mr. Péter (Hungary) . . . . .</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>Speech by Mr. Tončić-Sorinj (Austria) . . . . .</i>	<i>5</i>
<i>Speech by Mr. Lyng (Norway) . . . . .</i>	<i>10</i>

*President: Mr. Corneliu MANESCU (Romania).*

## AGENDA ITEM 9

### General debate (continued)

1. Mr. PETER (Hungary): Long years of experience prove that each session of the General Assembly has its own particular character. In this ever-changing world of ours the sessions of the United Nations General Assembly often reflect, even though incompletely, the tidal rise and fall of the world situation.

2. The present session is overshadowed once again by ever-growing dangers stemming from the escalating war in Viet-Nam and from the continued existence of aggression in the Middle East. The general debate is overwhelmed with tensions and even confusions because of deepening antagonisms with regard to many problems of present-day international life.

3. It is an onerous but at the same time dignifying task that has been bestowed upon you, Mr. President, by the unanimous decision of this Assembly to elect you as its President at this juncture of world events. There are not many good omens for the possible results of the deliberations at the twenty-second session. However, one of the few good omens that encourage us is the fact that in the year of the fiftieth anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution the guidance of the General Assembly for the first time in the history of this Organization has been placed in the hands of a distinguished representative of a socialist Member State. Efforts to this end had failed during many years past. This year's decision of the General Assembly is a due appreciation of the great changes that have taken place in history. It is with great pleasure and deep personal feelings, Comrade President, that I express to you my best wishes when I congratulate you upon your election, wishing you complete success in the performance of our current work in search of solutions to the burning issues of our times.

4. In the space of one year the General Assembly has held three sessions under the Presidency of Ambassador Pazhwak. The necessity of convening special sessions is indicative of the growing deterioration of the world situation. I wish to commend Ambassador

Pazhwak for his devotion and perseverance in his dealing with our affairs. We will never forget it, and I wish him further successes in his public activity for the benefit of international understanding.

5. One of the most gratifying features of the twenty-first regular session was the unanimous desire of Member States to convince the Secretary-General that the common interest required him to make himself available for a new term of office. My Government has been pleased with his willingness to carry on his responsibilities for a new term. I can only express the wish that our experience of his participation in paving the way for this Organization towards improving international relations will convince him of the justness of his decision.

6. In the introduction to his annual report on the work of the Organization, the Secretary-General had every reason to word the very first sentence as follows: "During the period under review the international political situation has not only not improved; it has in fact deteriorated considerably." [A/6701/Add.1, para. 1.]

7. He then referred to what we all know, but what we have also to keep constantly in mind, whichever aspect of international problems we are dealing with, namely:

"... how the war in Viet-Nam has been progressively intensified during the last two and a half years, how the number of men and the amount of war material involved in the actual fighting have immensely increased, how the savagery of the war has steadily escalated, and the casualties on the part of all parties involved in the fighting have reached frightening proportions" [*ibid.*].

8. The war in Viet-Nam, launched by United States intervention and aggression, not only is a most inhuman sort of vandalism in itself, directed against the very existence of a nation, but also, on the one hand, may lead to major international armed confrontations of incalculable dimensions, and, on the other hand, already overshadows the whole world. It constitutes an ominous background and the deepest-rooted cause of the deterioration of the conditions for international co-operation in all fields. Therefore, to halt the aggression against Viet-Nam is in the interest of all nations of the world, including the United States, and indeed it is in the interest of all that every effort be made to find solutions to the most crucial issues confronting us today.

9. It has been made clear, first of all, by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, and also by the overwhelming majority of the speakers in this Assembly, that only an unconditional cessation of the bombing of North Viet-Nam can open the way to

the negotiating table. Permit me to recall that as early as October 1965, at the twentieth session of the General Assembly, my delegation, in the name of the Hungarian Government and on the basis of true knowledge of the position of the Viet-Nameese Government, called the attention of the Assembly to the only realistic approach to a negotiated settlement of the issues at stake in the war in Viet-Nam [1350th meeting]. Having heard the unfounded accusations put forward by the United States and the United Kingdom in this debate, I have to reiterate that the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the National Liberation Front of South Viet-Nam have so far not received any valid peace proposal from the United States—I repeat, they have so far not received any valid peace proposal from the United States. The temporary suspension of the bombing of the North in December 1965 and January 1966 did not fulfil the real requirements of a serious and sincere proposal for negotiation. It did not do so because it was made with the threat of renewal of the air raids and, what is more, the period of suspension was used to start a world-wide diplomatic campaign against the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and against the National Liberation Front, and in the meantime the United States increased its military build-up in South Viet-Nam and in South-East Asia in general, with the obvious intention of making ready for a further escalation of the war at a later stage.

10. Is there anything new in the United States attitude today? In this debate the General Assembly was told by the United States, in rather indistinct terms, that the cessation of bombing should lead to meaningful negotiations. The statement [1562nd meeting] gave the impression that the United States wished to get assurances from Hanoi in this respect. In the general debate at the twentieth session in 1965 we were told by the United States [1346th meeting] that it would be sufficient to be informed through private channels of the readiness of Hanoi to negotiate. At the twenty-first session, last year, we were told [1412th meeting] that the United States would be ready to embark on the road of de-escalation by stopping the bombardment of North Viet-Nam if it were assured that that measure would be reciprocated by equivalent actions on the other side. There is a grave miscalculation behind this sort of attitude. It is a basic experience in the history of armed conflicts that negotiations cannot take place under attack or the threat of attack, except in case of the capitulation of one of the parties involved in the fighting.

11. We have not heard in this debate anything new from the United States. Even official sources admitted that only the tone of the statement was new. Press reports pointed out that words like "peace" and "peaceful talks" were uttered forty-four times in the statement. But in questions of war and peace the French saying "*C'est le ton qui fait la musique*" does not apply. So, too, in the tremendous tragedy of the war in Viet-Nam, what can alter the course of events is not the tone of political speeches but the real intent of the parties involved. When a few days ago it became known that in February of this year Washington, almost at the same time, had sent two letters to Hanoi with diverging contents, a news editor wondered whether there was a split personality guiding the

policy of the State Department. The contradictions between words and deeds in the policy of the United States with regard to Viet-Nam may induce the careful observer to think that the real intention of the United States is revealed not in its statements before the United Nations, nor in diplomatic talks, but in the war escalation in Viet-Nam.

12. Our imagination has even been given a new impetus by the appreciation of how the so-called limited war may further escalate. In his interview explaining the new anti-ballistic missile system of the United States, Secretary of Defense McNamara stated that this system had a second purpose beyond strengthening the defence of the United States against hypothetical aggression; this is to convince some Asian countries that the United States would not be deterred from actions that might risk a Chinese attack. In other words, preparations are being made to create anti-missile umbrellas to cover up the possible further escalation of United States military action in South-East Asia.

13. The war in Viet-Nam is a limited one in so far as the use of nuclear weapons is not introduced. On the basis of the stubborn facts of the United States aggression in Viet-Nam one can rightly suppose that preparations are now under way in the United States to escalate the war in Viet-Nam into new dimensions commensurate with the defence system of the United States as scheduled according to official statements.

14. The United States will gain nothing by this war against Viet-Nam, no matter to what degree the war may be escalated. On the other hand, no end of incalculable values in the world are being lost owing to the dangers and poisoning effects emanating from this mad war. The proposal of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the programme of the National Liberation Front of South Viet-Nam, which is a programme of coalition policy, have given the United States the chance of a decent withdrawal from this tragic conflict.

15. It is impossible to disentangle entirely the Middle East aggression and its consequences from the repercussions of the war in Viet-Nam. Were it not for the general worsening of the international atmosphere brought about by the expansion of hostilities in South-East Asia, the attack of Israel's forces against neighbouring States would have been unimaginable. In the same way, the present reluctance of Israel to comply with international law and with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations is, as was implied yesterday [1577th meeting], only sustained by the destructive effects of the United States aggression upon international morals. Israeli belligerency in turn has had its own destructive influence on international relations. Under the impact of the miniature blitzkrieg of Israel, some circles in West Germany have begun to dream of what could have been the consequences of the great blitzkrieg of Hitlerite Germany if it had been as successful as that of Israel, and to speculate about the chances of a West German attack against East Berlin, the German Democratic Republic, Poland and Czechoslovakia. What has happened in the Middle East and what continues to happen there is not only a crime in itself; it is also contributing to undermining international co-operation.

16. It is therefore in the interest of all of us, and not only in that of the nations living in the Middle East, to pave the way for political solutions with the prospect of a stable and secure peace.
17. If we really wish to give due consideration to the realities existing in the Middle East for the purpose of finding realistic solutions to the questions awaiting settlement, we have to take account of the fact that as long as Israel's forces occupy territories beyond its own legitimate frontiers the act of aggression will continue. According to the Charter of the United Nations, all necessary steps are justified in order to put a stop to aggression and to liquidate its consequences.
18. If, in the present situation calling for the exercise of still greater responsibilities, the political solution is sought in a spirit of tolerance, this must not give the Israel Government a pretext for miscalculating and misinterpreting the effects of its aggression launched against the neighbouring Arab States. Until Israel has taken into due consideration the legitimate rights of the Arab States, the peace of the Middle East cannot be secured.
19. It is obvious to all of us that there is a whole series of problems that should be discussed in order to create the necessary conditions of peaceful life in that area. The opening of such negotiations is conditional upon the readiness of the State of Israel to withdraw its forces behind its legitimate frontiers.
20. Last year we heard in the general debate much more about the prospects of European security than we are hearing this year. A year ago more than forty speakers came forward with analyses, proposals and observations regarding co-operation among European States having different economic and social systems. More than twenty African and Asian representatives expressed last year their interest in the development of stability in Europe and in the search for a well-established European security system. This year's debate shows a different picture. Representatives of some of the Western European Governments have not even pronounced the name of Europe or, if they have, they have done so either more cautiously or in a more polemical way than last year; this is not to mention representatives from other continents. The reasons for the change are self-evident. On the one hand, the grave issues in other continents are occupying our minds to such an extent that less of our attention is being devoted to the problems of present-day Europe; on the other hand, it is true that the wars in Viet-Nam and in the Middle East have slowed down positive European developments by bringing to Europe also the international mistrust caused by growing armed conflicts and the deepening international crisis.
21. Nevertheless, the problems of Europe continue to be a world-wide concern. If inter-State relations in Europe take a turn for the worse, it will have a harmful impact on a world-wide scale. If, on the other hand, the controversial problems of Europe are solved in the constructive spirit of peaceful co-existence, that will exert a beneficial effect on issues of world-wide importance. My Government holds the view that, in spite of the general deterioration of international relations caused primarily by the war in Viet-Nam and its consequences, it is still possible to break the deadlock in Europe and to establish relative stability for the preparation and realization of the conditions of collective security. The Hungarian Government is ready to take part in actions favouring the improvement of inter-State relations in Europe on a bilateral and on a multilateral basis alike, and it is also ready to initiate such actions.
22. The main stumbling block in the way of more favourable European development is connected with certain aspects of the so-called German question. Until the actual frontiers of the two German States have been recognized by all concerned, and until the existence of the two German States has been accepted by the whole of Europe, the real security of Europe remains an open question and its present so-called stability will exist only in appearance.
23. In less than twenty years after the First World War German militarism and revanchism had already reopened the question of the German frontiers, and the Drang nach Osten und Westen, the march to the East and to the West, started. I repeat: that was in less than twenty years after the First World War. Twenty-two years have now elapsed since the end of the Second World War. In the light of the growing activities of right-wing movements in West Germany it is not difficult to imagine that, were it not for the existence and tremendous influence of the German Democratic Republic, German militarism and revanchism would have already reopened the question of the German frontiers even with respect to the present allies and Western neighbours of West Germany. It was only a few days ago that the people of the United States were given a realistic television report, entitled "The Germans", on present political conditions in West Germany. That report provided a surprising insight into the growing stream of the different shades of neo-fascism. Not only we, the socialist States of Eastern Europe, but also the States of Western Europe have to pay a tribute to the historic importance of the influence the German Democratic Republic has exercised on peaceful development in Europe. The existence of two German States has become a historic reality and a historic necessity. It is only through the recognition of this fact and by the actions of the lawful representatives of the two German States that the conditions for reunification can be created.
24. The Prime Minister of the German Democratic Republic, in a letter addressed to the Chancellor of the German Federal Republic, has recently put forward a proposal for direct talks about a treaty establishing normal relations between the two German States with the prospect of solving the national problem of the German people. The West German Government would bring great benefit to the nations of Europe, including the Germans, if it could move ahead and match its attitude to the new proposal, thus opening a new chapter in the history of the two German States. Western European States and States of other continents will help the German Federal Republic to find its real and constructive role in the life of a renewed Europe by increasing their official contacts with the German Democratic Republic.
25. Through the patience, tolerance, endurance, perseverance and determination of the forces of peaceful

coexistence in East and West, time is working towards stable security in Europe.

26. One of the gratifying phenomena of this year so far, if not the most gratifying one, was observed in Africa: the fourth session of the Conference of Heads of State and Government of members of the Organization of African Unity held last month at Kinshasa. That Organization of the independent States of Africa set an outstanding example for States of other continents. It was in the face of many difficulties and under conditions unfavourable in many respects that the Conference assembled—thus strengthening the union of African nations—and passed resolutions on the guidelines for solving many African problems of interest to the whole world.

27. The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic paid great attention to the deliberations and resolutions of this African summit Conference at Kinshasa. We understand and wholly appreciate that the African States adhere to the principle of national sovereignty and territorial integrity. We understand and wholly appreciate their firm stand, as expressed in their resolutions, in demanding the withdrawal of mercenaries from African territories. We understand and wholly appreciate their endeavours, as expressed in their resolutions, to eliminate the danger of a split among the African States and to strengthen the co-operation of member States in settling their disputes by peaceful negotiations. From the point of view of the Middle East crisis, it is of great importance, even for this present session of the General Assembly, that the Conference adopted a resolution by which the participating States pledged themselves to work at the present session of the United Nations General Assembly for the withdrawal of the foreign troops from the territory of the United Arab Republic, a member of the Organization of African Unity.

28. The political and economic conditions in Latin America, Africa and Asia have particularly deteriorated owing to the harmful international effects produced by the escalation of the war in Viet-Nam. If by a common effort of the nations of the world we are able to put an end to that armed conflict and to create secure, peaceful conditions corresponding to the real interests of the nations of that region, new possibilities will open for dealing effectively and on a world-wide scale with the deepening economic problems of the developing nations. In the meantime, even under the shadows of the present dangers, my Government is joining with those who, in spite of resources being at present limited, are doing their utmost to improve international economic conditions for the developing countries. Therefore, we pay great attention to the preparations for the second United Nations Conference on Trade and Development to be held at New Delhi. The Hungarian Government is ready to co-operate with other Governments, regardless of their economic systems, to further the effectiveness of the work of that world Conference.

29. The new proposal submitted by the Soviet Union at the present session for the conclusion of a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons may contribute to improving the general atmosphere for the discussion of the problems of disarmament. As long as the war in Viet-Nam goes on with the

aggressive participation of a great nuclear Power, it is impossible to create the atmosphere of a minimum of mutual trust needed for any major effort in the field of disarmament. It is for want of the necessary confidence that we have for a long time been standing only at the threshold of complete agreement on a treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. In spite of the obvious difficulties, the Hungarian Government is in favour of signing a non-proliferation treaty, with a view to improving international political conditions in some measure. We look forward to the discussion of the new Soviet proposal with the same expectation. If the great nuclear Powers could agree to adopt the new convention, it could strengthen the feeling of security in the non-nuclear-weapon States.

30. It would be unrealistic for us, confronted with the difficulties and dangers resulting from the present international political crisis, not to take into account the great changes in the life of nations that help us to concentrate our strength on overcoming those difficulties and eliminating those dangers.

31. With respect to the fiftieth anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, it is easy to recall here, in the Assembly Hall of the United Nations, that it was on the proposal of the Soviet Union in 1959 that this Organization for the first time in its history dealt with a comprehensive project for achieving general and complete disarmament. For that proposal to break through the barriers of resistance was not easy. The records of those debates remain for ever very exciting to read. The partial agreements we have reached so far and the draft agreements we are dealing with at present are an organic part of the basic proposal. The idea of general and complete disarmament, opening up hopeful new vistas to the whole of mankind, has become the only alternative offering survival, in face of the dangers of a thermo-nuclear cataclysm.

32. It was also on the proposal of the Soviet Union in 1960 that the General Assembly drafted the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The development of the socialist States and their participation in international political life have contributed in great measure to making international conditions favourable for the struggle for independence of peoples under colonial oppression. The participation in the work of the United Nations of a great number of States liberated from colonial domination has been of great benefit to this Organization, as it has improved the international situation by and large. The actual demands of the developing nations and their participation in the international organizations make it imperative for us to stand up against war dangers and artificial "cold war" issues and to struggle for the just solution of current issues concerning the very existence of mankind.

33. In 1963, at the time of the Moscow partial nuclear test ban treaty, it was hoped that, having seen the futility of the sharp "cold war" manoeuvres and the failure of armed interventions, we would start out on the road to a more orderly international life. The good expectations, however, were frustrated by a series of harmful events, first of all by the wanton escalation of the war in Viet-Nam. In order to return

to the road we have left, or rather to start a fresh and more successful approach towards a more orderly pattern of international life, we have to cope with various crucial issues, most of which are interdependent.

34. Without ending the war in Viet-Nam, it is impossible to make any considerable progress in any way. The remnants of the colonial system should be liquidated as quickly as possible. The co-operation of the five permanent members of the Security Council should be restored. Conditions for ensuring the participation of the People's Republic of China in the work of this Organization should be established. The possibility of the return of France to disarmament negotiations should be created. The States not represented so far in this Organization should be given adequate opportunity for participation on the basis of equality, as proposed in the introduction to the Secretary-General's annual report. The United Nations should rid itself of the shameful burdens of the past. In the Far East the Organization is still viewed as a belligerent party to the Korean war under the provisions of an armistice treaty. How can the United Nations get out of past entanglements? Is there anyone who could nurture the anachronistic idea of concluding a peace treaty in the name of the United Nations with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea? There is only one realistic way to liquidate the past and to open a hopeful future; and that is to end the United Nations role in this affair and to withdraw all foreign troops from South Korea.

35. The primary and most urgent task in the present situation in the face of the danger of further deterioration of international relations and of deepening international crises is to persuade the United States to start the process of de-escalation of the war in Viet-Nam. Its beneficial effects would soon make themselves felt. Governments of Member States might help—as many of them certainly are doing already—by increasing their persuasiveness with a view to opening the way to de-escalation.

36. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): Before calling on the next speaker, I should like to propose that the list of speakers wishing to take part in the general debate be closed on Friday, 6 October, at 1 p.m. It is to be hoped that the general debate can be concluded by 13 October.

37. Since there is no objection to this proposal, I shall take it that the General Assembly approves it.

*It was so decided.*

38. Mr. TONCIC-SORINJ (Austria): Mr. President, when I had the privilege of visiting your country recently I voiced the hope that this year's session of the General Assembly of the United Nations would be convened under your Presidency. Today it is my great pleasure to express to you the sincere congratulations and the satisfaction of the Austrian delegation on your election to the highest office of this Assembly.

39. Your election is evidence of the high esteem which you personally, and your country, enjoy among the nations whose representatives are assembled in this hall. The fact that for the first time in the history of this Organization the representative of an Eastern European country has assumed the Presidency is

also a symbol of the détente which has, at long last, replaced the acrimony of the cold war and the state of tension in Europe, and has made it possible to establish to an ever increasing degree normal relations between countries of different social and political systems in Europe. To Austria—throughout the centuries chosen by history as a bridge between the nations in the North and the South, the East and the West of Europe—this is indeed a matter for deep satisfaction.

40. I should also like to take this opportunity to acknowledge the services rendered by your predecessor, Ambassador Pazhwak of Afghanistan.

41. You have taken the Chair at this session, Mr. President, in an international situation marked by tension, conflicts and unsolved problems.

42. The Assembly convenes only a few months after the outbreak of armed hostilities in the Middle East, which once again have brought death, destruction and suffering to large parts of that area.

43. I must express here my sincere regret that neither the Security Council nor the fifth emergency special session of the General Assembly have succeeded in their attempt to solve the crisis. While we note with relief that it has been possible to establish a cease-fire and to hold the major fighting on the battle-fields, we are deeply distressed that it has still not been possible to bring peace to the Middle East. The basic and deep-rooted problems of the area remain unresolved. Tension and belligerency persist, sporadic fighting recurs along the armistice lines, and it has not been possible to liquidate either the causes or the consequences of the recent outbreak of hostilities. And hundreds of thousands of refugees have become the innocent victims of the war, further increasing the large number already existing in the area since 1948. Austria has indeed seen in its recent history much of the distress of refugees, and it is the same human misery, irrespective of whether these refugees are in Europe, in Africa or in the Middle East.

44. It is our sincere hope that the present session of the General Assembly will be able to make a constructive and effective contribution towards a settlement of the crisis in the Middle East, and to a just and lasting solution of the complex problems of the area.

45. Any such settlement, we believe, will have to be based on the recognition of certain fundamental principles. Among these will have to be the respect for the territorial integrity of all nations of the area, and of the right of all peoples to live in peace and security. Recognition of this principle, which forms an integral part of the Charter of the United Nations, is indispensable within the community of nations. From this, it follows that all States must settle their international disputes by peaceful means, and refrain from the threat of force or the use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of other States. This means that the belligerency in the Middle East should come to an end.

46. Of equal importance, and as a logical consequence of the first principle, there will have to be recognition of the fact that military occupation of the territory

of other States as a result of war or hostilities can be no title to territorial gains, and that occupation forces will have to be withdrawn.

47. These principles appear to be the essential elements of a settlement in the Middle East.

48. Other important issues will, of course, be a settlement of the refugee problem, the problem of navigation through international waterways in the area, and the question of the special religious interests in the City of Jerusalem, which latter, we hope, will find a solution by some form of international arrangement.

49. The United Nations can be of great assistance in establishing an armistice and in maintaining a certain measure of tranquillity in the Middle East. The past twenty years have shown, however, that all efforts in this respect have not been sufficient to bring peace to the area, nor to prevent the recurrent outbreak of hostilities. We must realize that in the last resort a peaceful settlement in the Middle East will be possible only if the nations of the area themselves are willing to co-operate in this effort.

50. As in the state of tension which still exists in the Middle East so shortly after the end of the war immediate contacts between the parties to the conflict will be difficult, the designation of a special representative of the Secretary-General, with the mandate to establish contacts with all sides and assist in re-establishing peaceful conditions in the area, could be of considerable value. Should it appear difficult to appoint one person for that task, one might consider the appointment of a special group, headed by a person of recognized international standing.

51. Any rapprochement will naturally have to be slow and gradual. But on behalf of my Government I appeal to all countries of the Middle East to recognize their historic responsibility. There is a history of thousands of years, theirs is a culture which had reached the highest achievements at a time when Europe and America were only just awakening to their role in history. There is a region which has given to mankind three of the world's great religions and the message of peace among men. May the people of the Middle East, aware of their place in the history of mankind, find, at this critical hour, a new common basis for bringing back peace into their homelands.

52. The disturbing situation in the Middle East is unfortunately not the only element contributing to an international situation which the Secretary-General has characterized as having, over the past year, not only not improved, but in fact deteriorated considerably.

53. Foremost among the factors contributing to this development is, of course, the continuing war in Viet-Nam. Apart from the tragic human suffering which every day of prolonged hostilities inflicts upon the people of Viet-Nam, its impact and its international repercussions represent a serious danger to international peace and security. It is therefore imperative to seek a settlement of the conflict before it is too late, and before the steadily increasing involvement of outside Powers makes a solution by agreement unattainable. And I agree with those speakers who have already expressed the view that a solution by

agreement, a settlement through negotiations, is at this stage the only hope for a termination of the hostilities and for the restoration of peace to the people of Viet-Nam.

54. It is our hope that that attitude will be adopted by all parties involved in the conflict, and that it will thus be possible to move the Viet-Nam conflict from the battle-field to the conference table, to bring about an end to the fighting and to reach a solution by agreement and in accordance with the wishes of the people of Viet-Nam itself. Mutual concessions and a de-escalation of military activity will be necessary to prepare the ground for a meeting at the conference table. We can only address an appeal to all parties concerned to take whatever initial step may appear likely to set in motion a process tending towards peace, and also an appeal to all Governments to assist in this effort.

55. Another international conflict has been overshadowed in recent months by the violent developments in the Near East and in Viet-Nam. But the Assembly should not forget that a solution to the problem of Cyprus has still not been found. Austria, together with several other countries, has responded to the appeal made by the Secretary-General and has sent a medical contingent and a police contingent to serve with the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus. My Government is willing to continue its support of the United Nations action in Cyprus. But the parties directly involved must understand that the United Nations operation in Cyprus cannot go on forever, and that they do not relieve those directly involved in the dispute from their primary responsibility to reach a solution to the question of Cyprus as speedily as possible.

56. The fact that it has not been possible for the United Nations to find a solution to the crisis in the Middle East, or to achieve a settlement of the dispute in Cyprus, or to make any meaningful contribution towards a solution to the conflict in Vietnam, has resulted in widespread criticism of the United Nations and considerable disillusionment in many quarters. Some speakers from this rostrum have spoken of a crisis of confidence in the United Nations. I share the regret that the United Nations has not been able to achieve results in these questions, but I believe the criticism is not fully justified. The United Nations, after all, only reflects the political constellations in the world. The Organization is not a world tribunal to make or enforce political decisions; it is only an instrument which Member States can use if they are willing to co-operate. If the willingness to co-operate is absent, this will naturally be reflected in what the United Nations can achieve, or, rather, cannot achieve.

57. The recent crisis in the Middle East, as well as the prolonged operations in Cyprus, have shown the limits but also the usefulness of United Nations peace-keeping operations. In our opinion it is regrettable that this aspect of United Nations activity has become so controversial and that at this moment no agreement on the peace-keeping function of the United Nations appears possible. I should like to stress in this respect that Austria continued to support the concept of such operations carried out by the world Organization. We hope that through continued nego-



tations a satisfactory and generally acceptable solution to this problem will be found.

58. The complex and difficult problems characterizing the situation in the southern part of Africa have found no solution over the past year. It seems, on the contrary, that the positions of all the parties involved have become more inflexible than ever, and our hopes for a relaxation of the tension existing in the area in the foreseeable future are, therefore, only slight. Understandably, there is disappointment and bitterness among the Members of this Organization that so many resolutions of the General Assembly dealing with the urgent problems of apartheid, South West Africa and Southern Rhodesia remain unheeded. We deplore this situation, which is of deep concern not only to the countries of Africa but to all nations of the world.

59. I should like to reiterate, on this occasion, my Government's rejection of all forms of racial discrimination, including the concept of apartheid, and our firm support for the full implementation of the principles embodied in the Universal Declaration on Human Rights.

60. As to the situation in Rhodesia, it is known to this Assembly that Austria has refused to recognize the unilateral declaration of independence by the present régime in that country, and is observing strictly the sanctions imposed against that régime by the Security Council [resolution 232 (1966)]. We regret, however, that the decision of the Security Council has not been fully implemented. It is obvious that without the full co-operation of all States, the purpose of the United Nations cannot be achieved.

61. With regard to the situation in South West Africa, Austria supported resolution 2145 (XXI), adopted by the General Assembly last year. We regret that the Ad Hoc Committee for South West Africa was unable to agree on practical means of implementing that resolution. It is to be hoped that the Assembly will now consider other approaches to this question. As was suggested by a number of delegations, the appointment of a representative of the Secretary-General with the purpose of undertaking preliminary consultations on the spot might be helpful in this respect.

62. The fact that over the past years so little has been achieved in ensuring observance of the principles of the Charter and of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights in many parts of the world and that countless resolutions and appeals of the United Nations have been disregarded by the Governments concerned is, of course, a source of bitter disappointment.

63. Tension and antagonism between the races constitute one of the great dangers in our world today. Great efforts will still be required to eradicate the ideas of racial discrimination from the minds of all people, and in particular the younger generation. To this end, I am convinced, the debates in the United Nations and the resolutions adopted by the various organs of the United Nations, as well as our efforts in the field of education and information, will significantly contribute.

64. At a time when the Assembly is alarmed by so many conflicts in various parts of the world, we note

with some satisfaction the relatively encouraging developments in Central Europe. Over the past years Austria has been able to maintain and reinforce its close and cordial relations with its traditional friends in the area, but it has also been possible to establish increasingly friendly relations with its neighbours adhering to different social and political systems. It is the desire of the Austrian Government to strengthen these ties further, and we hope that our efforts will be met with a corresponding spirit of co-operation from all quarters and with the wish to avoid all incidents that might harm this development.

65. While we express our satisfaction at this encouraging trend towards greater political stability in Central Europe, we must note with regret that the German problem has still not found a solution. Complete stability in Europe will, indeed, be impossible as long as this question has not been settled.

66. It is my duty to report now to the General Assembly on the efforts undertaken during the past year to solve the dispute between Austria and Italy regarding the implementation of the Paris agreement of 5 September 1946 concerning the South Tyrol.

67. Following the consideration of the question of South Tyrol at the fifteenth session of the General Assembly in 1960 and at the sixteenth session in 1961, this subject has been taken up at every subsequent session as a special item in the statements made by the Foreign Minister of Austria in the general debate. These statements contained a review of developments during the year with a view to informing the General Assembly of the progress achieved towards the desired settlement of the dispute.

68. The dispute, it will be noted, relates to the implementation of the Paris agreement of 5 September 1946 on South Tyrol, which was incorporated as annex IV into the Treaty of Peace with Italy of 10 February 1947.<sup>1/</sup> The agreement contains special provisions to safeguard the ethnical character and the cultural and economic development of the German-speaking element of the population, including the exercise of a regional autonomous legislative and executive power. The issue is the fate of a quarter of a million people whose right to preserve their ethnic identity, within a nation of about 50 million inhabitants, has been assured them.

69. Referring to the fact that dispute had arisen between Austria and Italy concerning the implementation of the above-mentioned agreement, and desirous of preventing the situation created by this dispute from impairing the friendly relations between the two countries, the General Assembly, in resolution 1497 (XV) of 31 October 1960, urged the two parties concerned to resume negotiations with a view to finding a solution for all differences relating to the implementation of the Paris agreement.

70. In resolution 1661 (XVI) of 28 November 1961, the General Assembly called for further efforts by the two parties concerned to find a solution in accordance with the above-mentioned resolution 1497 (XV).

71. In keeping with the provisions and the principles of the Charter and in full compliance with the General

<sup>1/</sup> United Nations, Treaty Series, vol. 49 (1950), No. 747.

Assembly resolutions referred to above, Austria has spared no effort in seeking a solution of the differences by means of bilateral negotiations, as urged by the Assembly. Convinced that there must be a way to settle the conflict through direct negotiations, the Austrian Government has displayed, during the six years which have elapsed since the adoption of the last resolution at the sixteenth session of the General Assembly, the utmost calm, patience and readiness to compromise. In the light of the repeated assurances of goodwill given by our counterparts in the negotiations, in my speech here last year I was in a position to express confidence that the other side, too, would do all it could to overcome the remaining difficulties and that, in these circumstances, there was hope that an end would soon be put to the still unsettled differences.

72. Although another year has passed without the dispute's having been resolved, I am nevertheless of the opinion that developments since our last session contain important elements that have brought us closer to solving the remaining differences, in keeping with the injunction contained in General Assembly resolution 1497 (XV). A full year of negotiations between Austrian and Italian representatives has resulted in the elaboration of a series of measures, designed to create effective self-administration for the minority, which seems to be an appropriate basis for resolving the dispute.

73. We are, however, still confronted with the task of assuring the effectiveness of the envisaged measures within the framework of the Paris agreement of 5 September 1946. This is a procedural problem, namely, to establish appropriate modalities for the settlement in order to assure both Governments and the ethnic groups concerned that the agreement of 5 September 1946 will be implemented in the manner provided for in the above-mentioned system. The attainment of such safeguards presupposes goodwill on the part of all concerned in loyally fulfilling their obligations. In the substantive result described above, I see an encouraging sign for future consideration of the procedural aspects, a sign which strengthens my conviction that the present difficulties will be overcome. Indeed, no one could afford the risk of endangering the substantive results for the sake of procedural considerations; nor can any party to the dispute overlook the fact that the settlement of all differences concerning the implementation of the Paris agreement, in accordance with resolution 1497 (XV), can be achieved only on the basis of mutual trust and understanding.

74. One should not conceal the fact that the still unresolved dispute concerning the implementation of the Paris agreement could bring about the very situation which the General Assembly endeavoured to prevent by its resolution 1497 (XV), in which it recommended to both the countries concerned that they should refrain from any action which might impair their friendly relations—a recommendation which the Austrian Government has followed to the letter in word and deed.

75. Unfortunately, the negotiations are at present adversely affected by recent measures which are not connected with the dispute in question. We hope to

see re-established very soon an atmosphere of objectivity, which is an indispensable condition for a successful conclusion of the negotiations.

76. Despite all difficulties, the Austrian Government is still convinced that, in accordance with paragraph 1 of the above-mentioned resolution, a settlement of the dispute should be reached through bilateral negotiations. We have given evidence of this conviction in about twenty-five bilateral meetings, among them nine on the Foreign Ministerial level. In this connexion, I should like to reiterate what I have already stated, last year, before this Assembly: the Austrian Government firmly condemns any act of terrorism, because violence is no way to settle international issues.

77. Resolving the conflict would not only enhance the mutual relationship of two neighbouring States with a common European cultural heritage and numerous economic ties, but would also deepen confidence in the efficacy of the principles of our Organization. The latter could, with full justification, consider the settlement of this conflict as a significant contribution to the maintenance of peace.

78. I wish to take this opportunity to convey, on behalf of my country, our gratitude to the General Assembly for the concern it has shown and the part it has played in the endeavours to achieve a solution of the present conflict.

79. I should now like to turn to the field of disarmament. We appreciate the efforts made over the past year by the countries participating in the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament. As we have regretfully come to realize that our hopes for an agreement on general and complete disarmament will not be fulfilled in the foreseeable future, it has become all the more important to concentrate on partial measures of disarmament in those areas where agreement can be reached.

80. In this respect we have been able to record some progress in the past years. Following the Antarctic Treaty of 1959 and the partial nuclear test ban treaty of 1963, agreement was possible, last year, on a Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies, which provides important measures limiting the armaments race in outer space. This Treaty was followed, in February of this year, by the signing of a Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America, creating a nuclear-free zone in a large part of the world and also establishing an effective system of international control. These encouraging events were followed, in August of this year, by the tabling, at Geneva, of a draft treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. The tabling of this draft treaty has been considered an event of great significance, and the Austrian Government shares this opinion. Ever since the end of the Second World War the world has watched with growing concern as the nuclear potential, and with it the means of destruction, increased. Numerous initiatives have been undertaken in the course of these twenty years to stop or limit the spread of nuclear weapons. Several of these initiatives within the General Assembly were supported by the Austrian delegation. Unfortunately, all



efforts have hitherto failed. The stockpiles of nuclear weapons have been continuously growing and the number of countries possessing them has increased.

81. Now, for the first time, the possibility of stopping this dangerous evolution seems to be within reach. We sincerely hope that it will be possible to reach agreement on those points which the draft treaty has so far left open, particularly the question of effective international control. The fact that the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America has relied on the International Atomic Energy Agency's Safeguards System might perhaps serve as a useful precedent.

82. We expect that the treaty will be envisaged as a concrete step not only towards the limitation of nuclear armaments but also as a step towards nuclear disarmament. Its objective should not be to create a nuclear monopoly of a few Powers, but rather to be a real beginning for the reduction and ultimate elimination of nuclear weapons.

83. We also understand the preoccupations expressed by a number of non-nuclear-weapon States that the treaty should not limit the peaceful uses and applications of atomic energy and their concern that their national security be assured if, under the treaty, they renounce the right to acquire nuclear weapons themselves. It is our hope that it will be possible to satisfy those considerations and thus ensure acceptance of the treaty by all nations. We appeal to all countries to realize the opportunity offered by the draft treaty, an opportunity which, if missed now, may perhaps not present itself again. The importance of an agreement today might reveal itself in its true perspective only in historic retrospect.

84. The presentation of the draft treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons is also a symbol of a certain relaxation of tension in East-West relations. In many fields the positive influence of this development has already been felt. One of these is the exploration and the peaceful uses of outer space where, over the past year, we have been able to record further progress in national and co-operative international space programmes, new technical achievements and further advances in the practical applications of space technology. The exploration and use of outer space is today no longer the prerogative of only a few space Powers, and the application of space technology is playing an increasingly important part in everyday life. Next year my Government will be privileged to be host to the first United Nations Conference on the Exploration and Peaceful Uses of Outer Space [resolution 2250 (S-V)] whose primary objective will be to bring to all countries, and in particular the non-space and developing countries, the knowledge of the benefits which all nations will be able to derive from the practical applications of space technology. I can assure the Assembly that the Austrian Government will do everything in its power to contribute to the success of the Conference.

85. In addition to the Conference on the Exploration and Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, Austria will, during 1968, act also as host to several other United Nations conferences, for example, the International Conference for the Revision of the Convention on Road

Traffic and the Protocol on Road Signs and Signals, the annual meeting of the Industrial Development Board and—if the General Assembly concurs in the acceptance of our invitation expressed by the Secretary-General—also the international conference of plenipotentiaries on the law of treaties. Austria is proud to provide its capital city as a meeting place for so many important international gatherings and accepts this honour as a renewed recognition of the role which a permanently neutral State with a keen interest in the United Nations and its activities can play in this regard.

86. This leads me to a related question, namely, the establishment of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization at Vienna. During last year's Assembly session I had the privilege of proposing Vienna as a possible site for the headquarters of that Organization. May I today express Austria's sincere appreciation for the overwhelming acceptance this offer has found among the delegations of this Assembly. My Government made a special effort to justify the confidence placed in it by the Assembly's decision, and it gives me great satisfaction to say that our offer has already been accepted by the Industrial Development Board. Besides providing free of charge all the facilities required for the immediate establishment of the Organization at Vienna on a provisional basis, my Government decided to construct, at its own expense, a completely new United Nations centre in that city. This centre will comprise headquarters buildings for the United Nations Industrial Development Organization and the International Atomic Energy Agency, in accordance with an agreement with the Board of Governors of the Agency, as well as an international conference centre, which would be at the disposal of those two Organizations and would be spacious enough for large-scale international conferences. The construction of this complex will require an investment of about \$35 million, and the location of the site on the shore of the River Danube will provide ample opportunities for future expansion.

87. Since the headquarters agreement relating to the United Nations Industrial Development Organization entered into force in July of this year, its Secretariat has already been established and is actually working at Vienna. We trust that this Organization will be able to fulfil the urgent need to stimulate the industrialization of the less-developed countries and contribute to the great goal of development to which the United Nations rightly devotes so much of its attention and efforts.

88. My country stands ready to help wherever it can to improve the economic basis which is so important to the well-being and political independence of the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America and, in particular, to increase trade relations with all countries of the world. We realize that after the successful completion of the Kennedy Round of tariff negotiations, which should result in a general increase in world trade, much remains to be done to improve the trading position of the developing countries. We therefore attach great importance to the forthcoming second United Nations Conference on Trade and Development for which, to our satisfaction, a solid basis has been

laid during the fifth session of the Trade and Development Board.

89. Thanks to the United Nations the world community today is fully aware of the serious problems facing the less-developed countries in their economic development. Special measures concerning economic development in favour of the least-developed nations seem to be called for, and we therefore fully support proposals like the one made by the Foreign Minister of Sweden only a few days ago. In view of the steadily increasing number of requests for assistance addressed to United Nations technical assistance bodies, my Government nearly doubled its contribution to the United Nations Development Programme during the last couple of years and will continue to increase its support in the future.

90. I have tried in my statement to deal with the main problems our world is confronted with today. We are of course aware that there are many other questions which are waiting for answers and solutions. However, it cannot be the purpose of this debate to cover all the manifold problems within and outside our agenda.

91. Let us not blame the United Nations for the failures of the past. Let us be more aware that it is up to us, the Member States, to make every effort in order to overcome the present impasse. If we succeed in eliminating the existing mistrust and if we succeed in creating more confidence among the nations of the world, the United Nations will surely be able to fulfil its great task, which is the maintenance of peace and security for mankind.

92. I should like to express the hope that this Assembly, guided by a spirit of co-operation, will be able to conclude this session successfully, and make constructive contributions towards a settlement of the many problems on its agenda.

93. Mr. LYG (Norway): This session of the General Assembly has opened at a time when the international situation is characterized by serious conflicts and difficult problems: the war in Viet-Nam, the grave and acute conflict in the Middle East, and the tensions which prevent the harmonious liberation of peoples, particularly in the southern part of Africa. And, overshadowing all this, there is the threat of an accelerated development of nuclear weapons, which might obliterate most of mankind.

94. Quite naturally, during this debate, several of these conflicts and problems have been amply discussed and analysed from different viewpoints and positions. For my part, I shall not engage in any detailed examination. I should like, however, to state the position of the Norwegian Government on some of the most pressing problems and conflicts. Following this, I will make some remarks about this Organization, its structure, its working methods and its ability to act.

95. Even if the question of the conflict in Viet-Nam is not formally on the agenda of the United Nations, the member nations of a world organization obviously cannot stand aloof from a crisis which affects world peace. The conflict has in years past been in the centre of the general debate, and the debate this year has in

many ways become a continuation of the debate which took place at the last session. Attention was then sharply focused on two questions. First, what long-term aims have the parties to the conflict, and particularly the United States of America, defined as their final objectives? Second, what are the conditions of the parties for entering into negotiations?

96. As to the long-term objective stated by the spokesmen of the United States I believe it can be summed up as follows: the United States does not aim at establishing permanent bases or any other form of permanent military presence on Viet-Nam territory. The United States does not aim at creating any long-term or permanent influence on the right to self-determination of the people in South Viet-Nam or in North Viet-Nam or in a united Viet-Nam. The United States has declared that it will withdraw from the area as soon as a stable situation has been created through negotiations.

*Mr. Khatri (Nepal), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

97. I have the impression that some of the speakers have tended to regard the United States presentation of its position as a sort of verbal camouflage of its real intentions. We do not share that view. We have learnt from our close and long-standing relations with the United States that there is no reason to doubt commitments made by that country. However, the distrust between the parties to this tragic conflict is so strong that it has not been possible to get talks or negotiations in any form started. The question now seems to be how to create an atmosphere in which negotiations might be initiated. I repeat: to create an atmosphere in which negotiations might be initiated. Mr. Goldberg, in his statement in the general debate [1562nd meeting], invited an open and frank exchange of views on just that question. There is every reason to take advantage of this invitation.

98. I agree with those who have pointed out that the situation would be clearer if North Viet-Nam could give some indication of willingness to negotiate if the United States should cease the bombing. In this connexion I refer to the speech by the President of the United States last Friday at San Antonio, Texas. But even without such an indication, it is the view of the Norwegian Government that it would greatly improve the possibilities for development towards a negotiated settlement if the bombing of North Viet-Nam were stopped. Of course, nobody can say or predict exactly what would be the response to such an initiative. Nevertheless, we feel that this should be tried as a first step to get negotiations started. There seems to be general agreement that no lasting and just solutions can be achieved by military means. Consequently, there does not seem to be any other alternative than to take the chance and to use this possibility to initiate negotiations.

99. A small nation like Norway can, of course, do very little in a direct way to contribute to a solution of a conflict of the kind we have in Viet-Nam. I should like, however, to refer to two modest initiatives which have been taken in my country.

100. In February 1966 the Norwegian Parliament declared its willingness to participate in the reconstruction of Viet-Nam which we assume will take place

on a broad international basis when hostilities have finally been terminated. As already mentioned by my Danish colleague [1562nd meeting], we had at a later stage engaged in discussions with our Nordic neighbours to find out whether it would be useful to organize our contributions to such a reconstruction as a joint Nordic endeavour.

101. The Norwegian Government has also found it natural to support the initiative taken by a group of former Peace Prize winners who, through contact with the parties to the conflict, will try to ascertain the possibilities for negotiations.

102. Now, I should like to give a brief summary of how my Government views the situation in the Middle East.

103. During the different phases of the consideration of this question in the United Nations, two very clear and simple principles have emerged. First, territorial gains obtained through the use of force cannot be recognized—any more in this conflict than in any other conflict. Secondly, all the States in the area have a right to independent national existence and territorial integrity. They must, on a mutual basis, recognize the rights of each other in conformity with international law. These two principles have, as far as I know, not been challenged by anyone.

104. At the same time the present situation seems deadlocked in a way which has frustrated the prospects of a step-by-step implementation of these principles. The Arab States have adopted the position that the Israeli troops must be unconditionally withdrawn from the occupied territories; only then are they willing to negotiate. Israel has adopted the position that the withdrawal from occupied territories can only be considered as part of a complete and comprehensive settlement. Thus the parties concerned have been frozen into positions which have hitherto hindered any progress.

105. Sometimes it may happen that the lapse of time in itself makes it easier to solve a conflict. It seems quite clear that just the opposite is the case in the Middle East. As has already been said by my colleague, Mr. Brown, the United Kingdom Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs [1567th meeting] in this conflict time is not the great healer. As time goes by, it becomes obviously ever more difficult to implement the two fundamental principles on which a solution will have to be based. For the parties concerned there is no time to lose. Furthermore, the continuation of the conflict is not acceptable to the international community. It is also of paramount importance that neither side carries out any measures which in turn may present new obstacles to a final and lasting solution.

106. My Government is of the opinion that it must be an important undertaking for the United Nations to bring this conflict out of the present deadlock. I shall not in this context elaborate on the various formal and procedural questions involved, I shall confine myself to saying that my Government fully supports the idea of designating a special United Nations representative who could assist in the return of peaceful conditions. We also welcome the efforts of third parties to aid in bringing about conditions

for a settlement. It would be particularly helpful if the understanding reached between the United States and the Soviet Union during the emergency special session could serve as a basis for progress.

107. In addition to the two fundamental principles to which I have already referred, there is a third aspect on which there is common agreement: a solution must not be found to the refugee problem in the Middle East. This can, of course, not be achieved without the full co-operation of all the parties concerned in the area. But it is equally certain that this is a humanitarian task which, in terms of finances, technical problems and administration, far exceeds what these countries can be expected to do alone. This is a responsibility for all of us. We are faced with a task which demands a joint effort on a broad international scale.

108. I shall now make some more general observations on the United Nations and its ability to perform its functions.

109. It is often the smaller nations which are most concerned with the promotion of international co-operation. Individually they have only limited capacity to influence the geopolitical power constellations and the international conflicts of interests. Their contribution to the creation and maintenance of international law and the way to influence the course of international events lies in co-operation with other States. It is for this reason that so many smaller nations have found it useful to engage in different patterns of regional co-operation. Norwegian foreign policy has in many important fields been influenced by our participation in organizations such as the Nordic Council, the Council of Europe, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the European Free Trade Association group, and so forth. Several other Member countries have similarly found their place within the pattern of the co-operation in other regional organizations.

110. But regional co-operation only becomes really meaningful when it takes place within the context of comprehensive international co-operation on a global basis. In Norway we therefore regard our membership in the United Nations as a cornerstone in our foreign policy. It is one of the fundamental principles of the United Nations that its functions and tasks are of a universal character. The Organization should be universal in its membership too, so that it comprises the vast majority of the peoples in the world. This is the basis for Norway's consistent support of the seating of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. Perhaps it is not realistic to think that this question will be solved in the present somewhat confused situation. We do, however, consider that as a matter of principle the present Members of the United Nations should make it clear that the United Nations is open also to the most populous nation in the world.

111. It may be said about most organizations and associations, also in international life, that they are not an aim in themselves but only instruments for the furtherance of certain purposes and interests. This is not the case with the United Nations. The concept of its universality invests the very existence of the Organization with a value in itself. To keep the Organization in being, irrespective of its greater or lesser efficacy in any given phase of its development is therefore an important task in itself.

112. But the realization of this does not suffice, of course. During recent years the United Nations has been subjected to new trials and ordeals. Among many Member nations there is considerable disappointment that the United Nations has not been able to achieve more, particularly in connexion with some aspects of the crisis in the Middle East. We can also sense a somewhat resigned and negative attitude concerning the capacity of the United Nations to influence the course of international events.

113. Admittedly, we all can feel disappointed that achievements have not always corresponded to expectations. But we must not forget that the Middle East conflict, which could easily have got completely out of control was after all confined and temporarily stopped.

114. On the other hand, even if the feelings of resignation concerning the capacity of the United Nations are unjustifiable, it is equally clear that we must learn from experience. We have learnt that the Organization must be strengthened, above all by giving it more effective instruments to maintain peace and security. To blame the administrative leadership of the United Nations for lack of results is to direct criticism to a completely wrong quarter. What has been missing is, to put it bluntly, the political will on the part of the Member nations to give the Organization the necessary means to carry out its functions in accordance with the United Nations Charter.

115. How can we correct this situation and develop the United Nations as an instrument for the promotion of peace? It is of vital importance that Member

nations respect the United Nations Charter and that decisions be based on its principles. The political and economic organs of the Organization must arrive at decisions which can be generally accepted and implemented. And the decisions must, as far as possible, take into consideration the different interests which exist among the parties concerned.

116. The Norwegian Government has supported every initiative previously taken in order to expand the authority of the United Nations to act on behalf of the Member nations, and to strengthen the means which are at the disposal of the Organization. With the conflict in the Middle East in mind, I would especially underline the position we have taken with regard to the question of organizing and developing the capacity of the United Nations to carry out peace-keeping operations. Norway will also in the future take a positive attitude on every initiative which aims at strengthening our Organization.

117. Mr. President, throughout all I have said I have wanted to stress the Norwegian view that the United Nations and co-operation within it are of vital importance for the future development of the world. It is with that in mind that I should like to associate myself wholeheartedly with the many speakers who have congratulated you upon your election as President of the General Assembly. Or, to put it in a slightly different manner, it is with this in mind that I wish to congratulate the United Nations on having you as the President of the Assembly during this important and difficult session.

*The meeting rose at 12.45 p.m.*