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Reading Text

Iowa March 11, 1966
United Nations

We have no higher calling than to pledge ourselves as individuals, as citizens of a free nation in the world society of other nations, to the task of assuring peace....now and forever.

At this critical hour in world history, the United Nations is faced with possibly its most important and meaningful task.

We should recall that the U.N. was created to "reaffirm faith in the fundamental human rights, to promote social progress---to unite our strength and to maintain international peace and security---to save succeeding generations the scourge of war."

More than 20 years ago the U.N. was created with jubilant hope and enthusiasm. Today, some believe these emotions have turned to cynicism... that the U.N. cannot survive in a controversial and turbulent world.



Trygve Lie, an able Secretary-General of the organisation, once said of the infant United Nations...."We have built as strong an organisation as all of them could agree upon, and as, in their judgment, could in practice be effective at this stage in the history of the world."

Today, history's stage is changed.

Since the words were uttered by Mr. Lie, we have witnessed the mushrooms of atomic fury...the stark reality of the hydrogen bomb....New centers of world power are emerging...Membership in the U.N. is more than doubled....It is no longer an organization of the traditional and major powers. A group of people form a nation today. It joins the U.N. tomorrow.

Despite the new challenges, the new forces, the strong voices of dissent there are and criticism, ~~the~~ cries for abolishing the U.N., a world peace organisation with a record of major accomplishments.



U.N.



The United Nations has made rapid strides in the fields of health, agriculture, education and other activities related to economic and social development.

International protection is provided for more than a million refugees.

Unfortunates who are victims of aggression, oppression and military conflict are provided food, shelter, medical care, education,

More than 500 U.N. programs benefit children by helping the developing countries fight disease, hunger, malnutrition, ignorance and the break-down of family life.

Millions of children are protected from malaria, tuberculosis, leprosy. Millions more are cured.

Children caught in shanty towns and big-city slums are aided by the U.N. support of day-care centers, community and health facilities.



Although the U.N. is strengthening its activities in the areas of economic and social welfare, it faces other tasks of awesome proportions, among them is the controversial issue of peacekeeping finances.

The past summer, there was a capitulation to the demands of the Soviet Union and 11 other nations which allowed these delinquents to dodge their financial obligations as U.N. members.

These member nations owed \$108 million on the basis of a World Court decision. The debt represents their share of financing previous U.N. peacekeeping activities.

In granting Russia and other nations full voting rights in the U.N. General Assembly despite their financial delinquency the organization has been severely weakened.

In the future this condition must be changed. Each nation must bear its fair share to maintain strength and unity of purpose.



With a fullscale jungle war in Viet Nam, trouble brewing in many places, and unrest surging through the target nations of Communism, the U.N. has a greater role and responsibility than ever before.

It should be obvious that the U.N. charter, created in a less troublesome time, should be re-examined with the thought of more efficient ways to cope with the modern problems of a modern world.

If we fail, we could be witness to oblivion.

Somehow, some way, we must insist that member nations and others as well conduct themselves within the rules and regulations of the United Nations.

The U.N. must have sufficient, but limited, powers to prevent aggression by those who would rule the world with iron fists.


Great power and great danger go hand-in-hand. A mistake, a lapse in judgment, an instant of madness, a schizophrenic decision could plunge the nations of the world into one final war.



I end this message to you who are conducting a model United Nations
on a campus in the heartland of America.

We have no higher calling than to pledge ourselves as individuals,
as citizens of a free nation in the society of other nations,
to the task of assuring peace in the world~~---~~ now and forever.

Thank you.



Reading Text

*Gov. Fulton -
Dr. Anderson
Dr. Mittlebach*

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More than 20 years ago the U.N. was created with jubilant hope and enthusiasm. Today, some believe these emotions have turned to cynicism... that the U.N. cannot survive in a controversial and turbulent world.



Some opponents of the U.N., particularly those from overseas, may have ulterior motives. Others ^{continually} may just doubt the practicality of such an organization.

We must face reality, even if we disagree with those who predict doom for the U.N.

Certainly, the United Nations is in trouble, for it reflects the condition of the world. However, greatness emerges from trouble and strife. Greatness in accomplishments is the hallmark of free men working their will.

I have great confidence that the strength of the United Nations will emerge if the peoples of the world stand strong in their faith.

We can ask...what is the future for the United Nations?

The answer may be---the right to suggest, to recommend, to persuade, and certainly, to deliberate.


World atmosphere has drastically changed since the creation of the U.N.

Therefore, suggestion, recommendation, persuasion may have to be conducted with different outlooks.

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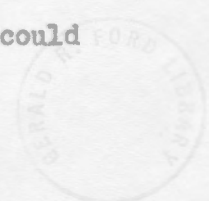
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I end this message to you who are conducting a model United Nations
on a campus in the heartland of America *as I began it.*

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as citizens of a free nation in the society of other nations,
to the task of assuring peace in the world ~~now~~ now and forever.

Thank you.



Maintaining the PEACE

Korea -

Middle East -

Congo -

Cyprus -

Viet Nam -

Disarmament

Outer-Space

Technical Assistance



State College of Iowa - U.N.
Not here to speak only of the Good
" " " " " " Bad

History - Oct. 1945 / 20 yrs
Oct 1965

~~Vanderberg~~

51 to over 110

Q - Should there be universality?

Red China - Art 4

Finances - History - U.S. principal contributor
70%
Now 31%

Special funds -

Peace Keeping -

Article 19

Organization -
Security Council
General Assembly

1965

Before you speak say:

"In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, Amen"

We have no higher calling than to pledge ourselves as individuals, as citizens of a free nation in the world society of other nations, to the task of assuring peace....^{now} and forever.

At this critical hour in the space of world history, we commemorate the ~~20th~~ anniversary of an organization whose goal and purpose is to make our world one of meaningful peace.

This year is
~~Today~~ is the 20th anniversary of the United Nations...created to "reaffirm faith in the fundamental human rights, to promote social progress----- to unite our strength and to maintain international peace and security----- to save succeeding generations the scourge of war."

Twenty years ago
~~Before~~ the United Nations was created with jubilant hopes and enthusiasm. Today, some believe these emotions have turned to cynicism ...that the U.N. cannot survive in a controversial and turbulent ~~world~~ *world*.



Trygve Lie, once said of the infant United States.... "We have

built as strong an organization as all of them could agree upon, and as, in their judgment, could in practice be effective at this stage in the history of the world.".....He spoke of the founding member nations.

Today, history's stage is changed.

-more-

~~Today's history is being made.~~

Since the words were uttered by Trygve Lie, we have witnessed

the mushrooms of atomic fury...the stark reality of the hydrogen

bomb. New centers of ^{world power} power are emerging. Membership ^{in the U.N.} is more than doubled. It is no longer an organization of the traditional of major powers. A group of people become a nation today. It joins the U.N. tomorrow. Despite the new challenges, the new forces, the strong voices of

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Millions of children are ~~prevented from~~ ^{protected from} getting malaria, tuberculosis, leprosy. Millions more are cured.

out { Through applied nutrition programs in 70 countries, the U.N. helps governments increase local production of eggs, fish, vegetables. ... 44 countries are assisted in the training of primary school teachers.

Children caught in shanty towns and big-city slums are aided by the U.N support of day-care centers, ^{community} ~~community~~ and health ^{facilities} ~~clubs~~.

Secretary General U Thant describes the U.N.'s world-wide work as "the foundation upon which new concepts of human welfare and solidarity are being developed."....This is one of the reasons why 1965 is designated by the General Assembly as International Co-Operation Year.

Although the U.N. is strengthening its activities in the areas of economic and social welfare, it faces other tasks of awesome proportions.



controversial issue

Among the tasks is the ~~matter~~ of peacekeeping finances.

there was a capitulation
The past summer, our government ~~capitulated~~ to the demands
which allowed these delinquents
of the Soviet Union and 11 other nations by ~~allowing them~~

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-more-



U.N.

-7-

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*not the least of which is
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Pakistan &
India*

and unrest surging through the target nations of Communism,

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should be obvious

It seems ~~to me~~ the U.N. charter, created in a less troublesome

time, should be re-examined with the thought of more ~~efficient~~

efficient

~~handling~~ ways to cope with the modern problems of a more modern world.

If we fail, we could be witness to oblivion.

& others as well

Somehow, some way, we must insist that the member nations ¹conduct

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in judgment, an instant of madness could plunge the nations of the

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-more-



20th anniversary
On this ~~United Nations Day~~, ^{*should*} ~~we~~ pay tribute to those who
United Nations
worked with dedication to set the goals of the ~~organization~~.

The U.N. reasons for existence are clearly stated in the Preamble to the Charter. I repeat these goals, which I listed ~~a~~^{few} minutes ago. They are: "to reaffirm faith in the fundamental rights to promote social progress... to unite our strength and to maintain international peace and security... to save succeeding generations the scourge of war." These words should be remembered.

On this anniversary of the United Nations, we salute those who wrote those brave words... we salute their vision... we salute those who have tried in the past 20 years to make these words a reality.

-more-



~~There are ideas of gentleness.~~

I end this message as I began it.

We have no higher calling than to pledge ourselves as individuals,
as citizens of a free nation in the society of other nations,
to the task of assuring peace in the world....now and forever.

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After you finish your talk conclude by saying:

"Let us pray.

"O, Eternal God, we beseech thee for all who serve in the United Nations Organization. Grant thy blessing upon their endeavors to heal the wounds of the world through cooperation in education and other fields of human service; and may thy Holy Spirit so guide their deliberations in Council and Assembly, that all causes of strife may be removed, and peace and concord be secured among all the peoples of the earth; through Jesus Christ our Lord."





A/6001/Add.1*
20 September 1965

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

CAUTION: ADVANCE COPY

The attached document, "Introduction to the Annual Report of the Secretary-General on the Work of the Organization" (document A/6001/Add.1), is not to be made public by press, radio or other information media until:

12 noon (EDT) Tuesday, 21 September 1965





UNITED NATIONS



GENERAL
ASSEMBLY



A/6001/Add.1*
20 September 1965

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

Twentieth session

INTRODUCTION TO THE ANNUAL REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL
ON THE WORK OF THE ORGANIZATION

(16 June 1964-15 June 1965)

* This document is a limited edition of the report which will appear in printed form as Supplement No. 1A to the official records of the twentieth session of the General Assembly.

65-22205

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I

During the period of approximately ten months since the introduction to my last annual report on the work of the Organization was published in November 1964, there have been many developments on the international scene, which have inevitably had their repercussions on the United Nations. The postponements of the opening date of the nineteenth session of the General Assembly, and its inability, when it met, to follow the normal rules of procedure on account of the controversy over the applicability of Article 19 of the Charter, constituted the prime cause of concern. When the Assembly recessed on 18 February 1965, a mood of frustration and dissatisfaction prevailed. There was no disputing the damage which had been done to the effectiveness and dignity of the United Nations. Nevertheless, as I remarked at the time, the episode had its heartening aspect in the loyal and unceasing efforts of the Member States to preserve their Organization by finding a solution.

Another regrettable development of direct concern to the United Nations was the announcement by Indonesia of its decision to withdraw from the Organization as from 1 January 1965. Inevitably there were comparisons with the history of the League of Nations, but subsequent events have shown that some of those gloomy prognostications reflected undue pessimism. I sincerely hope that Indonesia's withdrawal from the United Nations is only a temporary phase and that, before long, Indonesia will find that its long-term interests can best be served by resuming its membership and by participating fully in the Organization's constructive activities.

The desire of the Members to resolve the crisis in which the Organization had found itself was reflected in the decision of the General Assembly, before it recessed in February, to establish the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations with the task of conducting a comprehensive review of the question of peace-keeping operations in all their aspects, including ways of overcoming the financial difficulties of the Organization. During the subsequent months, strenuous efforts were made in the Special Committee to find at least an interim

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solution to the constitutional and financial problems covered by its terms of reference. That these efforts did not altogether succeed before 15 June, by which date the Committee was due to submit a report to the General Assembly, was only an indication of the serious differences of interpretation and opinion which continued to prevail among the Member States. In the circumstances, it was a substantial achievement that the Committee was able to reach a consensus by which the members agreed that the United Nations should be strengthened through a co-operative effort and that the General Assembly, when it reconvened, must conduct its work normally, according to its rules of procedure.

The Special Committee resumed its work in mid-August and was able on 31 August to reach a further consensus which unquestionably represented considerable progress and gave rise to a new feeling of encouragement and hope. The consensus was as follows:

"(a) That the General Assembly will carry on its work normally in accordance with its rules of procedure;

"(b) That the question of the applicability of Article 19 of the Charter will not be raised with regard to the United Nations Emergency Force and the United Nations Operation in the Congo;

"(c) That the financial difficulties of the Organization should be solved through voluntary contributions by Member States, with the highly developed countries making substantial contributions."

Tribute is due to the patient and constructive work of the Committee and to the co-operation of all delegations, which made this result possible. Much, of course, remains to be done. The actual financial situation of the Organization, to which I refer elsewhere in this introduction, remains precarious at the time of writing. In addition, I wish to address an appeal to all Member States to co-operate with the Special Committee in completing its work and finalizing its recommendations on all points covered by its terms of reference. In my view it is essential for the successful conduct of peace-keeping operations in the future that we should have well-established ground rules and guidelines to govern them. This is particularly true of the financing of peace-keeping operations. As I have pointed out in connexion with the United Nations Force in

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Cyprus, the policy of piecemeal extension of peace-keeping operations, to be financed by voluntary contributions which may or may not be forthcoming, makes their efficient planning and economical running almost impossible. I hope that this problem will receive some attention at the twentieth session of the General Assembly and that the discussions on the subject may assist the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations in evolving and formulating its own recommendations on this urgent question.

The difficulties of the Organization proper were overshadowed through this period by adverse developments in international relationships, to which I shall make further reference in the pages that follow. Yet, although a review of the last ten months may leave behind it a general feeling of lack of achievement, much constructive work, in the whole range of activities from peace-keeping operations to technical assistance, has been carried out during the period. For example, the United Nations Force in Cyprus has made a significant contribution to the maintenance of peace in the area and to bringing quiet to Cyprus, even though the political problems remain unsolved. There have been accomplishments of particular satisfaction in such other fields as economic and social development and decolonization. Our work in the economic and social field has, in my view, been accurately assessed by the Administrative Committee on Co-ordination in the report on its meeting in Vienna in the last week of April:

"As this session of the Administrative Committee on Co-ordination is being held during International Co-operation Year, which marks the middle of the United Nations Development Decade, the members of the Administrative Committee on Co-ordination deem it fit, on this occasion, to place particular emphasis on the steady progress achieved in the building of peace through co-operative action in the economic, social and cultural fields and to lay stress on the indisputable value of the results to which this international co-operation has already led.

"They are unanimously convinced that such co-operation, which the agencies of the United Nations system are empowered and equipped to promote and to assist, and the essentially technical character of which is a prerequisite for its success, must be further considerably strengthened and intensified, so as to respond more adequately to the increasing needs of the developing countries and to the promotion of peace and progress in the world as a whole."

I must add that it is the feeling of the Executive Heads of all the organizations that a pre-condition for the continued success of economic, social and cultural co-operation on an international plane is the preservation to the greatest possible extent of the essentially technical character of such action. I have previously had occasion to observe that it would be a matter for regret on the part of the entire international community if important meetings dealing with these questions, and depending for their success on the vital element of international co-operation, were to fail to yield solid results because of the introduction of highly contentious political issues into the discussions and deliberations. The admitted difficulty of drawing a clear line between what is political and what is not must not be allowed to distract the Member States from their specific duty to respect the Charter, the conventions and the constitutional procedures of the agency concerned and from their general obligation to safeguard, in the common interest, the future of international order itself.

A development of note in recent years is an increasing movement towards seeking solutions to international problems within the United Nations by way of consensus rather than by reliance upon majority votes. Thus, for example, detailed procedures of conciliation have been developed for the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. There has also been a growing interest in methods of peaceful settlement of international disputes, and there are at least three items on the provisional agenda of the twentieth session of the General Assembly which may lead to a comprehensive review of the whole question of pacific settlement, both through the United Nations and through general diplomacy.

Alongside these developments, I have noted there has been a most welcome trend - on the part, in particular, of newly independent African States - to accept, often without extensive reservations, the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice. I very much hope that this trend will be continued, and that States will also have more frequent recourse to the Court as a means of settling their legal disputes. I would like to take this opportunity to draw attention once more to the resolution adopted by the General Assembly in 1947 calling upon Member States to accept the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court under Article 36, paragraph 2, of its Statute. The Court has already established that it merits universal confidence, and if real progress is to be made in the peaceful settlement of disputes, I feel that the Court should increasingly come to play the vital role envisioned for it in the Charter as the principal judicial organ of the United Nations.

A different aspect of the question of the extent of participation by countries in organized international activities is raised by the recent phenomenon of the emergence of exceptionally small new States. Their limited size and resources can pose a difficult problem as to the role they should try to play in international life. In one or two cases, such States have decided to restrict their membership to one or more of the specialized agencies, so that they may at any rate receive the fullest possible assistance from the United Nations system in advancing their economic and social development. I believe that the time has come when Member States may wish to examine more closely the criteria for the admission of new Members in the light of the long-term implications of present trends.

One of the important events of 1965 was the celebration of the twentieth anniversary of the United Nations in San Francisco. Our thanks are due to the City of San Francisco, to its Mayor and to its distinguished citizens for their dedication to the United Nations, for the fitting way in which they arranged the celebration, and for their heartwarming hospitality. The occasion provided an appropriate and timely reminder both of the achievements of the international community and of the distance that still lies between us and the goals we set ourselves two decades ago.

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The deterioration in the international situation generally, as well as the inability of the nineteenth session of the General Assembly to function normally, have made an adverse impact in the field of disarmament. No substantial progress has been achieved since my last report, and the high hopes engendered by the agreements reached in 1963 have been greatly diminished.

Yet the danger to world peace looms larger all the time. The past year has been marked by increasing concern over the evident intensification and extension of the nuclear arms race. The nuclear tests conducted by the People's Republic of China have raised the number of nuclear Powers to five. Other nations possess or are close to possessing a nuclear capacity which any worsening of global or regional relations may tempt or force them to explore. There is real reason for anxiety that, unless steps are taken quickly to halt the proliferation of nuclear Powers and weapons, the nations of the world may within a very few years find the problem of proliferation beyond control. A world containing ten, fifteen and perhaps even more nuclear Powers could well be a world confronting itself finally with the question of its survival.

A recognition of the sheer necessity of finding some way to cope with the dangers of the arms race and of nuclear proliferation has at least led to a renewal of disarmament discussions and negotiations. The Disarmament Commission, composed of all the Members of the United Nations, undertook a comprehensive review of the whole range of disarmament problems and reached some significant decisions. One resolution welcomed the proposal for a world disarmament conference and recommended that the General Assembly should consider the proposal at its next session. A second resolution specifically recommended that the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament should give priority to agreement on preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons and extending the partial test ban treaty to underground tests. The Commission indicated that in seeking new approaches to disarmament, all States, large and small, nuclear and non-nuclear, could make a contribution. It also recognized that partial measures and limited steps offered the best prospects for early agreement. The two measures singled out for urgent action were viewed as the first concrete steps necessary to halt the further expansion of the arms race in the nuclear field.

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Detailed and expert negotiations were taken up in the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee, which resumed its work at the end of July and is still in session at the time of writing. The very resumption of the Conference was of political importance in a period of increasing international tensions. The continuation of negotiations should provide opportunities to narrow the gap between opposing positions and to seek new areas of agreement on disarmament itself. At the same time, however, in disarmament as in other political questions, concessions are needed from all sides if agreements are to be reached. It is a matter not only for regret but also for grave concern that there is not yet sufficient evidence of a readiness to make such concessions or accommodations in the form either of new proposals or of acceptable modifications of old ones.

The prevention of the further proliferation of nuclear weapons is the most urgent question of the present time and should remain at the very top of the disarmament agenda. It is of prime importance that both the nuclear and non-nuclear Powers give first priority to this problem and devote their concentrated and unceasing attention to solving it. The emergence of additional nuclear Powers threatens to have a contagious and cumulative effect, which may produce its own chain reaction. Both the nuclear and non-nuclear Powers must exercise the highest degree of responsibility and restraint to prevent that from happening.

One hopeful development that indicates a practical recognition of this need for responsibility and restraint is to be found in the efforts of States of Latin America. Since the adoption of General Assembly resolution 1911 (XVIII) of 27 November 1963 on the denuclearization of Latin America, they have made good progress towards an agreement to keep their territories free of nuclear weapons. Success in their endeavours will not only be an achievement of great benefit to the States of Latin America, militarily, politically, economically and socially; it can, indeed, be of great importance to the world at large. It may well have a catalytic effect on other initiatives for denuclearization, for preventing the further spread of nuclear weapons, and for other measures of disarmament.

The year 1965 marks not only the twentieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations; it signals also the twentieth anniversary of the explosion of the first atomic bomb. It is not by the force of nature but by his own will

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that man finds himself engaged in a race between building a better world and destroying an imperfect one. And it is in the power of man alone to determine how that race will end. A growing awareness that the decisive moment may be close should lead to a more insistent demand, and a more persistent search, for new ideas and new methods for bringing about disarmament and lasting peace. The search for solutions can go on simultaneously in many ways - multilaterally and bilaterally, on a universal basis and at regional levels. It must go on.

There has been some further progress in the area of international co-operation in the peaceful uses of outer space. Several international programmes, such as the International Year of the Quiet Sun, the International Indian Ocean Expedition, the World Magnetic Survey and others, have developed successfully during the period.

On the basis of unanimous opinion within the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, it was decided that the Scientific and Technical Sub-Committee need not meet in 1965, but that the Committee, with the assistance of the Secretariat, should continue to fulfil the objectives in the field of science and technology which were outlined in its previous report. In response to the Committee's request, the Secretariat has been compiling information for a report on the possibility of establishing a civil world-wide navigational satellite system. The Secretariat has also continued to compile information on facilities for education and training in basic subjects related to the peaceful uses of outer space, as well as to compile reviews of national and co-operative international space activities on the basis of information voluntarily submitted by Member States. These compilations are to be published every other year.

The Secretariat has continued to receive from Member States literature on the goals, tools, applications and results of space technology. The Member States have been given information on various space conferences and symposia open to their scientists. Consultations have proceeded with the specialized agencies and the Committee on Space Research on the question of the possible need for material which would enhance popular understanding of space activities and also on the question of the distribution of technical literature.

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It is now to be hoped that further steps in international co-operation in this field may result from the decision, to which I referred in the introduction to the last annual report, by the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space to establish a working group of the whole to examine the desirability, organization and objectives of an international conference or meeting to be held in 1967 on the exploration and peaceful uses of outer space. The working group, which is due to meet in September, will report to the Committee at its next session.

The Committee's Legal Sub-Committee has meanwhile continued to work on the drafting of the international agreements on assistance to and return of astronauts and space vehicles and on liability for damage caused by objects launched into space. The completion of the two agreements would contribute substantially to the development of the law of outer space, and it is to be hoped that the Committee will address itself to further subjects in respect of which legal rules are essential.

Taking this question as a whole, we can in my view claim that there has been very significant progress in the past few years in the United Nations in seeking to ensure that the exploration and use of outer space would be confined to peaceful purposes. General Assembly resolution 1884 (XVIII) of 17 October 1963, which endorsed and broadened the understanding reached between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to refrain from stationing in outer space any objects carrying nuclear weapons or other weapons of mass destruction, and resolution 1962 (XVIII) of 13 December 1963, containing the Declaration of Legal Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, were very important steps. They helped significantly to meet the increasingly insistent demand for ensuring that outer space should be used exclusively for peaceful purposes. I had myself expressed the hope, on the occasion of the adoption of resolution 1884 (XVIII), that its implementation should assist in placing necessary restrictions on the military uses of scientific and technological developments. I should like once again to express my sincere hope that the positive trend that has developed in the United Nations in the peaceful uses of outer space will not be halted or reversed.

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Some consolation may be drawn from the fact that neither the sharpening of international political problems nor the financial crisis within the United Nations seriously affected the momentum of existing international action in the economic and social fields. Yet here, too, a disturbing shadow has been cast, in the form of a worsening of the relative economic position of the developing countries. Since my last report there has been a deterioration in market conditions for exports from those countries, after improvements which proved short-lived. The year 1965 opened with export prices at a lower level than twelve months previously, and still falling. Once again, therefore, it has to be recorded that the terms of trade are moving against the developing countries. The danger of this trend in world trade is accentuated by problems of external financial imbalance in leading industrial countries, causing them to adopt restrictive measures and to hold back on programmes of development assistance.

This situation gives added significance to the results of the first United Nations Conference on Trade and Development and to the action which has followed it. The work started by the Geneva Conference was carried an important step further when the General Assembly gave its unanimous approval to the establishment of the new institutional machinery of the Conference. The machinery is endowed with an instrument that is new to the United Nations system - a mechanism consisting of special procedures with which to formularize conciliation between various interests before voting takes place. The primary objective of these procedures is to maintain the fundamental principle of equality of vote while at the same time taking into account the fact that specific recommendations for action may substantially affect the economic and financial interests of particular countries. Recommendations which do not reflect the common will of all parties concerned run a grave risk of remaining without effect on national policies, since they cannot be assured of the positive support and co-operation of the various Governments to which they are addressed. The conciliation mechanism, which will no doubt give a new dimension to international co-operation within the United Nations by recognizing the different requirements of the contemporary world, will represent an important tool in the continuing process of adjustment through negotiation and mutual accommodation. It is equally important, however, that we should be aware that this mechanism is only part of what is needed to arrive at

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satisfactory and practical agreements. The success of the new procedure must depend largely on the will to arrive at solutions.

The main objective during the past year has been the administrative and organizational consolidation of the new institutional machinery. A solid foundation for future work has now been established. The first session of the Trade and Development Board established four specific committees, all of which will bear important responsibilities and will become centres for the formulation of policies in their respective fields, with an appropriate institutional basis. They will thus be capable of contributing efficiently and expeditiously to the implementation of the work programme of the Conference.

Despite the progress made in the organizational and administrative field, however, the year has not fulfilled the hopes generated in developing countries by the agreements reached in Geneva. Many of the Geneva recommendations, adopted either unanimously or by large majorities, still remain to be implemented. That the implementation of these recommendations is necessary and that the time for it is ripe is, I believe, hardly open to question. Such action would not only assist economic development in the developing regions and thus strengthen the world's economy, but it would also have a positive and far-reaching effect on the international climate in general. The new trade machinery is not just another forum for exerting pressure. It should be a centre for formulating new policies and for achieving specific solutions of trade problems. More specifically, it is an indispensable instrument for the adoption, by both developed and developing countries, of new approaches to international economic problems within the context of a new awareness of the needs of developing countries. I am confident that answers to those problems will be found if all parties continue to show the same patience and the same spirit of conciliation they have shown during this first year of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development.

Aside from trade, this year of political and financial difficulties has been one of intensified activity in all sectors of the economic and social field. The fact that twenty years after the signing of the Charter we find ourselves at the midpoint of the United Nations Development Decade, as well as the realization that, so far, progress towards the objectives of the Decade has been disappointingly

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slow, has led Member States to look to the United Nations for greater assistance in their efforts to achieve more rapid progress and to sharpen and multiply the tools available to the Organization for this purpose. This is clear from the recent records of the Economic and Social Council and its subsidiary bodies.

Among the problems to which a new emphasis has been given are the relationship of population growth to development and the phenomenon of migration towards cities. Research programmes have been launched to give Governments more insight into these problems and into the ways of solving them. There is also a greater awareness of the importance of social policies - of the role of human resources and factors, especially those represented by the younger generation, in the shaping of a better life for all. In the economic field, United Nations activities aimed at fostering industrial development are gaining a new momentum, and there has been a strengthening of the Secretariat in this area. Throughout the economic and social field, work has been stimulated by the energy with which the Advisory Committee on Science and Technology of the Economic and Social Council has set about its task.

Particularly noteworthy is the increasing attention given to development planning and, with it, the desire of the growing number of Governments which resort to it to obtain through the United Nations a better knowledge of the methods which can help them to organize their development efforts in the most coherent and purposeful manner. I regard this as significant and promising, and I welcome the support given by the Economic and Social Council to the idea of having a group of high-level experts assist the Secretariat in this field.

More research has been undertaken over a broader range of problems and more assistance is being provided to Governments by the Organization through its technical assistance programmes and through its work as an executing agency of the Special Fund. The latter is entrusting to the United Nations an increasing number of projects, especially in the area of the development of natural resources.

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The ability of the Organization to provide guidance to those shaping national development policies and to promote international co-operation for narrowing the gap between rich and poor countries has owed much, and more this year than in the past, to the dynamism of the regional economic commissions. This is reflected in the increased number of meetings held and projects carried out at the regional level. Together with the creation of the United Nations Institute for Training and Research and the steps taken to continue and enlarge the World Food Programme, the launching of the African Development Bank and the measures aimed at the establishment of an Asian Development Bank must be considered as major advances on the institutional front.

The Economic and Social Council has reaffirmed the objectives of the United Nations Development Decade and stressed the importance of increasing the quantity and quality of international aid and co-operation. It is to be hoped that the interest shown in better planning at the national level will lead to those objectives being translated into a coherent set of interrelated goals and targets providing a framework for the development efforts of the world community over the next five or ten years, as well as a better means of measuring the progress achieved. This should enhance our ability, in the years to come, to improve upon the performance in the first half of the United Nations Development Decade, during which shocking disparities in conditions and levels of living have continued to persist.

The two large United Nations development assistance programmes supported by voluntary contributions - the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance and the Special Fund - have had another year of vigorous activity. I may mention that in July 1965 the Expanded Programme observed a notable anniversary by completing its first fifteen years of operation. In a special review marking the occasion, the Executive Chairman of the Technical Assistance Board recalled that assistance had been given to more than 120 developing countries. This assistance took the form of 32,000 man-years of advice and the award of 31,700 fellowships for study abroad, as well as seminars and training courses and the provision of equipment for demonstration, training and investigation purposes. To make these services and facilities available, a total of almost \$500 million was spent by the participating organizations in the fifteen years, all of it derived from the

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voluntary contributions of Governments. I am sure that those Governments will share with the organizations a justifiable feeling of satisfaction, indeed of pride, in the accomplishments of this unprecedented enterprise, which has amply demonstrated both the feasibility and the value of concerted action in meeting some of the most pressing needs of the developing countries in a disinterested manner free from political considerations.

In the current Expanded Programme, field operations are continuing at the record level of \$101 million for the biennium 1965-1966. A new element in the Programme is the use of its funds to assign to several countries a small number of experts with formally defined operational and executive responsibilities, pursuant to a decision made by the Economic and Social Council in 1964. The greater part of the Programme, however, consists as before of the supply of advisory experts, consultants, instructors and fellowships. Such work has continued in a number of cases to open the way to larger projects qualifying for support from the Special Fund; at the same time, there has been no slackening of the demand by Governments for the great range of services which the Expanded Programme is uniquely suited to provide. On the whole, greater attention has been given by Governments to gearing their demands to development needs and to the use of the facilities of the Programme as a fully integrated element of their development strategy. There remains no doubt that the scale of assistance could substantially and usefully be increased.

During 1965 the Special Fund also set a new pace in its development assistance activities. The Governing Council approved a record level of 111 new projects with an over-all cost of \$265.5 million. This brought the total programme to 522 projects costing \$1,151 million, 58 per cent of which is being provided by the recipient Governments and the remainder by the Fund. There was also an impressive growth in the level of operations: disbursements of Special Fund resources are expected to rise to between \$70 million and \$75 million in 1965, compared with \$48.7 million in 1964. Particular credit for this large increase in field work is due to the ability of the executing agencies to gear themselves to carry out operational activity on an entirely new scale.

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The number of Special Fund-assisted pre-investment projects reaching completion also rose steeply. With projects averaging four years in duration, field work will have been completed on some forty of them in 1965 compared with forty-two over the previous five years. These and other projects at present in operation have already yielded a harvest of significant returns. Surveys and feasibility studies have provided much useful data on natural resources and industrial and agricultural potentialities in scores of developing countries. Projects supporting applied research have brought science and technology to bear on economic growth in hundreds of practical ways, and advanced education and technical training have continued apace.

Some of these results can be given in statistical terms, and these are impressive and gratifying. By 1 July 1965, nineteen projects had directly or indirectly led to the investment of over \$1,026 million in domestic and external capital. Over 70,000 senior and middle-level engineers, technicians, instructors, managers, supervisors and administrators had been trained under Special Fund auspices. Besides building up supplies of knowledge, capital and manpower, the Fund-assisted projects had helped to establish or strengthen, in all developing regions, vital training, research, planning and service institutions from which future growth will spring. Still greater results from this pre-investment assistance may be confidently forecast as the programme continues to expand in scope and effectiveness.

Increased resources are needed by both the Expanded Programme and the Special Fund if they are to meet a larger proportion of the rising requests for their services. That is why I have urged that the General Assembly raise to \$200 million the annual target for the two programmes together. I am happy to note that this suggestion has received the support of a number of Governments. It is my hope, moreover, that the Assembly will shortly be able to consider and expeditiously approve the Economic and Social Council's proposals for combining the Expanded Programme and the Special Fund in a new United Nations Development Programme. I have expressed the view on other occasions that this consolidation has now become a matter of some urgency; it should help to rationalize the efforts and considerably to strengthen the capacity of the United Nations family of organizations to help meet the urgent needs of the developing countries for accelerated economic and social advance in the second half of the United Nations Development Decade.

I have mentioned earlier that the first half of the Development Decade has seen an awareness of the necessity to invest more in human resources in order to achieve economic growth and social progress. This investment must logically begin with the child. The phenomenon of children growing to adulthood unhealthy, uneducated and unprepared for the demands of life can only retard progress. The grave problems facing children in developing countries are still, however, insufficiently recognized. It is virtually impossible for countries with a very low national income to provide all the services necessary to protect the child through his vulnerable years and prepare him for life in an era of change. There is a need for far greater outside resources specifically directed to helping developing countries meet the needs of the rising generation.

In ensuring a useful and productive future for children and youth in developing societies, an essential task accordingly falls to the United Nations Children's Fund: but the requests for aid from the Fund are outpacing its resources. The current annual expenditures of about \$35 million must be spread over 118 countries and territories for programmes in aid of children in the fields of health, nutrition, education, vocational training and social services. These programmes are co-operative ventures with the technical agencies of the United Nations family. Because of the need to meet on-going projects, less than 10 per cent of the programme allocations made by the Executive Board of the Fund in June 1965 could be devoted to new projects. While aid from the Fund continues to be highly effective in many areas, it clearly does not yet have sufficient resources to carry out fully its vital role in the Development Decade.

I think it is appropriate to recall that, despite difficulties within the membership over the financing of United Nations peace-keeping operations, all of the actual operations of this nature have been maintained according to plan. Peace-keeping action was in fact extended, in a limited form, by the mission undertaken by the United Nations in the Dominican Republic. In all cases these operations continued to vindicate the importance which most

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Member States attach to the valuable function which the United Nations is capable of carrying out in situations which are by common consent judged dangerous to international peace.

Among the present United Nations peace-keeping operations, that in Cyprus continues to be a major concern of the Organization. The duration of the United Nations Force in Cyprus, which was established on 27 March 1964 for three months, has repeatedly been extended under its original mandate, the last time for a period of six months ending on 27 December 1965.

The repeated extension of the Force by the Security Council, involving the agreement of the parties directly concerned in the Cyprus problem, attests abundantly to the helpful if not indispensable role of the Force. The explosive situation prevailing in the island has been contained remarkably well and there have been no major outbreaks of fighting since August 1964. With the cessation of active hostilities, it has been possible to make some progress towards the relaxation of prevailing restrictions and a return to normal conditions. There is no doubt that this general improvement has been due in large measure to the efforts of the United Nations Force. While the Force has been successful in these respects, the underlying causes of the conflict remain without change. The Government of Cyprus, on the one hand, and the Turkish Cypriot leadership, on the other, have maintained their basic positions regarding the future of the country and their relations continue to be marred by suspicion and mistrust. The continuance of the armed confrontation between the two sides makes the present quiet little more than an uneasy truce. I am convinced that there would be an imminent danger of violence breaking out anew and quickly if the United Nations Force were to be withdrawn from the island.

In the light of this situation, I had no sound alternative but to recommend that the Security Council extend the Force once more. But I did so with some misgivings. As time goes by, the Force may find that it will have to make greater efforts to obtain smaller results, while the United Nations will find the responsibility of financing the operation increasingly difficult, particularly since the financial burden is being borne by the generous voluntary contributions of only a handful of Member States. An indefinite prolongation of the Force contains also the danger of perpetuating the present stalemate by providing the parties concerned with an excuse for not exerting all possible efforts towards a settlement.

The need therefore becomes all the more urgent to achieve a political solution to the Cyprus problem. To help the parties find this solution, the United Nations Mediator on Cyprus, Mr. Galo Plaza, devoted his best efforts from September 1964 to March 1965. On 26 March, he submitted to me a report on the mediation activities, which I found encouraging because it envisaged a reasonable basis for a settlement of the problem. In view of the importance which I attach to the Mediator's report, I decided to transmit it immediately to the parties concerned as well as to the members of the Security Council.

Unfortunately, two of the parties reacted negatively to the report, to such an extent that the Mediator has been unable actively to continue his endeavours since the publication of the report. While I deeply regret this turn of events, I believe that it should not preclude a continuation of efforts by all possible means to bring about direct discussions and negotiations between the parties concerned, as recommended by the Mediator and in the light of his analysis of the situation. It is my earnest hope that, in the interest of the well-being of the people of Cyprus and the cause of international peace and security, these parties will soon find it possible to meet together in the search for a peaceful solution and an agreed settlement of the Cyprus problem, in the true spirit of the Security Council resolution of 4 March 1964. At my request, the Mediator remains available to the parties for the continuation of the mediation effort, in accordance with the provisions of that resolution.

A new United Nations mission in the peace-keeping category was established in the Dominican Republic following the adoption by the Security Council of resolution 203 (1965) of 14 May 1965 which called for a strict cease-fire in that country and invited me to send a representative there for the purpose of reporting to the Council on the prevailing situation. In pursuance of that resolution, I appointed Mr. José Antonio Mayobre as my Representative in the Dominican Republic.

The situation in the Dominican Republic arising from the civil strife which broke out in Santo Domingo at the end of April 1965, was of unusual complexity. It had considerable international repercussions, reflected in numerous Security Council meetings, particularly with regard to the unilateral military involvement of the United States in the initial stage and, later, to

the actions of the Organization of American States, including the establishment and deployment in Santo Domingo of a force designated as the Inter-American Peace Force. The violent struggle between contending parties in the Dominican Republic generated deep-seated feelings of hatred and mistrust. The rapidly deteriorating economic situation resulting largely from the crisis added another disturbing dimension to the problems confronting the country.

While the mandate of my Representative in the Dominican Republic is a limited one, the effect of his role has been significant. When he arrived in Santo Domingo on 17 May, fighting between the two Dominican contending parties had flared up despite a cease-fire agreement reached on 5 May under the auspices of the Organization of American States. My Representative played a major role in bringing about a cessation of hostilities on 21 May. Since then the situation has remained generally quiet, although there have been a number of isolated incidents. My Representative, assisted by a small but efficient staff, has kept me informed as to the situation both in Santo Domingo and in the interior of the country, regarding not only the observance of the cease-fire but also serious cases of violations of human rights and the prevailing economic conditions. I have transmitted this information to the Security Council at frequent intervals, thus keeping the Council informed of all important events and developments.

It bears mentioning that for the first time a United Nations peace mission has found itself operating in the same area and dealing with the same matters as an operation of a regional organization, in this instance the Organization of American States. Apart from its deeper implications, this circumstance has given rise to some special and unfamiliar problems in the way of relationships and liaison, which have however, been progressively surmounted.

The presence of my Representative in the Dominican Republic has undoubtedly been a moderating factor in a difficult and dangerous situation which, at the time of writing, holds promise of being peacefully resolved.

The newer peace-keeping efforts of the United Nations in Cyprus and in the Dominican Republic have naturally tended to overshadow those of much longer standing: the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization in Palestine, the

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United Nations Emergency Force and, until the recent renewal of conflict over Kashmir, the United Nations Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan. To the extent that any generalization can be valid, these three operations, like the United Nations Force in Cyprus, have often seemed to possess the limitations of their own success, namely, that they have helped over long periods to contain and isolate explosive situations without really affecting the basic causes of conflict. Two of the three have lasted for sixteen years and one for nearly nine years; all have been indispensable for most of that time to relative peace and order in the areas in which they operate, and their withdrawal would without question have had far-reaching consequences. On the other hand, the very fact that they have become an accepted and semi-permanent part of the way of life in the areas has tended to some extent to reduce the sense of urgency which might stimulate a search by the parties concerned for a basic and peaceful solution of their conflicts. This state of affairs is no reflection on the conduct and competence of the officers, men and Secretariat officials of these three missions; on the contrary it is perhaps the best testimony to their effectiveness, good judgement, courage and vigilance. It is, none the less, a dilemma which Member States would do well to study carefully in relation to both present and future operations of a peace-keeping nature, with a view to strengthening the machinery for peace-making (good offices, negotiation, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, etc.) parallel to that of peace-keeping.

While the foregoing considerations apply to the Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan in a general sense, its position warrants further comment. There is no doubt in my mind that over a long period the presence of the Group acted to some extent as a deterrent to the renewal of hostilities; however, as I pointed out in my report to the Security Council of 3 September 1965 on the situation which had by that time developed in Kashmir, it must be recognized that the mandate of the mission had been strictly limited in scale and scope. The mission had consisted simply of a group of forty-five officers stationed along a cease-fire line almost 500 miles in length; it had been given the quite limited function of observing and reporting and of investigating complaints of violations received from either party; it had no authority or function entitling it to

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enforce or prevent anything, or to try to ensure that the cease-fire was respected. Since the Security Council is, at the time of writing, actively seized of the crisis over Kashmir, I do not think it appropriate for me to go further in the present context than to ask that those limitations should be properly understood.

One operation of a peace-keeping nature, the United Nations Yemen Observation Mission, was terminated on 4 September 1964, having been established by the Security Council on 11 June 1963. This operation was both limited in scope and small in size. Its function was to observe and report on the implementation of the disengagement agreement in Yemen between the United Arab Republic and Saudi Arabia in the effort to ensure against any developments in the situation that might threaten the peace of the area. As I reported to the Security Council on 2 July 1964, the Mission observed only a disappointing measure of disengagement, in particular with regard to the withdrawal of the troops of the United Arab Republic, and I appealed most urgently to the parties concerned to meet at the highest level with a view to achieving full and rapid implementation of the disengagement agreement. I also warned the Council that in my opinion the Mission should be terminated in September 1964, if no improvement in the situation was by then evident. The parties concurred in the termination of the Mission on 4 September. Since that time there have been favourable developments, culminating in consultations and agreement at the highest level among the parties, which I had always felt to be essential to a solution of the situation in Yemen.

As far as the United Nations Mission was concerned, its mandate was so limited, being restricted to observation and reporting only, that inevitably the results achieved were widely interpreted as disappointing. There is little doubt that the Mission could have accomplished much more if its functions had been broader and stronger. Yet, in the circumstances, I believe that the Mission actually accomplished more than could have been expected of it and that, during its fourteen months of existence, it exercised an important restraining influence on hostile activities in the area. The problem continued inevitably to rest between the two principal countries involved, the United Arab Republic and Saudi Arabia, whose Heads of State have now successfully brought their statesmanship to bear on finding an agreed settlement.

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In the introduction to the annual report last year, I recalled the continued efforts of the United Nations in the field of decolonization and referred to the major questions in that field for which solutions had to be found through peaceful means and which therefore called for attention by the General Assembly.

In the intervening period, another former dependent territory, the Gambia, acceded to independence and constitutional progress towards self-government and independence was made in some of the remaining dependent territories. However, the problems to which I referred last year remain without any positive movement towards peaceful solution. The Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, which continued to discharge its mandate as established by the General Assembly in resolution 1956 (XVIII) of 11 December 1963, accordingly gave priority in its work to examining the situation in those territories which continued to give cause for serious concern.

With regard to Southern Rhodesia, the United Kingdom Government found it necessary, in view of its concern about the possibility of unconstitutional action by the Government of the Territory, to reiterate its warning of the serious consequences which would flow from a unilateral declaration of independence by that Government. It also reaffirmed its intention of pursuing the search for a political settlement based on general consent. However, no progress can yet be recorded in this regard and it is to be hoped that a basis for early independence, acceptable to the majority of the population, will soon be found which, in conformity with the pertinent United Nations resolutions, will embody full democratic freedom and recognition of the equal rights of all the inhabitants.

In the case of the territories under Portuguese administration, there was no change in Portugal's position of non-compliance with the relevant United Nations resolutions and in its refusal to co-operate with the Organization in implementing them. Far from recognizing the right of the inhabitants to self-determination, as laid down by the General Assembly, it pursued its policy of closer political and economic integration of the territories with Portugal.

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Likewise, South Africa has maintained its disregard of United Nations resolutions concerning South West Africa and its attitude of non-co-operation in this respect. In addition to continuing the application of apartheid policies in the territory, it has taken preliminary steps to implement some of the recommendations of the Odendaal Commission which, in the view of the Special Committee, would lead to the partition of the territory and its absorption into South Africa.

In regard to the territories mentioned above, the Special Committee gave increasing attention to the implications of the activities of foreign economic and other interests and their mode of operation in order to assess their economic and political influence. It is the hope of the Special Committee that a study of these activities will result in greater appreciation of some of the factors impeding the implementation of the Declaration.

At its nineteenth session, the General Assembly, following a recommendation by the Special Committee and in response to an invitation by New Zealand as the administering Power, authorized the supervision by the United Nations of the elections in the Cook Islands, including observation of the proceedings concerning the Constitution in the Legislative Assembly to be elected. The report of the United Nations Representative appointed for the purpose remains to be considered by the General Assembly. It is hoped that the Assembly's deliberations and those of the Special Committee will lead to increased co-operation between administering Powers and the Organization in regard to dependent territories.

Another development of note was the decision of the Special Committee to hold meetings in Africa during May and June 1965 in order to establish direct contact with peoples under colonial rule in the continent and to acquire a deeper knowledge of their situation as well as of their aspirations.

In the resolutions adopted by the Special Committee during its meetings in Africa, emphasis was placed on the legitimacy of the struggle of colonial peoples to secure the effective exercise and enjoyment of the rights set forth in the Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Declaration embodied in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). In one of these resolutions, the Special Committee recommended that the Security Council and the General Assembly should take the positive measures laid down in the Charter to ensure respect for

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the rights of the African populations in Southern Rhodesia, in Territories under Portuguese administration, in South West Africa and in Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland. At the same time, the Special Committee requested all States and all international institutions to refuse assistance of any kind to the Governments of Portugal and South Africa and the minority settler régime of Southern Rhodesia, so long as the latter failed to renounce their policy of colonial domination and the practice of apartheid.

I am hopeful that the Special Committee's work in Africa will have served to demonstrate further the concern of the United Nations for the position of the dependent peoples and to enable the Special Committee to increase its contribution to the speedy emergence of their countries from dependence.

It may be timely to recall, in a year proclaimed as International Co-operation Year, that the Declaration contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) was adopted nearly five years ago. In it, the General Assembly declared, inter alia, that:

"5. Immediate steps shall be taken, in Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories or all other territories which have not yet attained independence, to transfer all powers to the peoples of these territories, without any conditions or reservations, in accordance with their freely expressed will and desire, without any distinction as to race, creed or colour, in order to enable them to enjoy complete independence and freedom."

It is my earnest hope that all Member States and in particular the administering Powers will, in a spirit of constructive co-operation, do their utmost to assist the dependent peoples to achieve their aspirations in conditions of peace and harmony.

The situation in the Republic of South Africa presents no less dark and disturbing a picture than previously. As a result of further study by the United Nations organs, it was also revealed in clearer detail than ever before. The Expert Committee established under the Security Council resolution of 18 June 1964 submitted its report at the end of February 1965. The Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa continued to follow the situation constantly and submitted two reports to the General Assembly and the Security Council, with a number of recommendations for action.

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It is to be regretted that the South African Government has failed to respond to the invitation of the Security Council to accept the main conclusion of the Group of Experts that "all the people of South Africa should be brought into consultation and should thus be enabled to decide the future of their country at the national level". Such consultations are crucial to any efforts to find a solution which would take into account the legitimate rights and concerns of all the people of South Africa. Attempts to impose solutions by force, when a great majority of the people do not have representation in the sovereign Parliament, can only lead to increased bitterness, tension and conflict.

The Security Council and the General Assembly are due to consider the situation soon in the light of the most recent developments, which have in no way diminished its seriousness. The overwhelming feeling among Member States is clearly that it is essential to secure an abandonment of the policies of apartheid and a resolution of the situation through the full, peaceful and orderly application of human rights and fundamental freedoms to all the inhabitants of South Africa, regardless of race, colour or creed, in order to forestall serious dangers to peace and to fulfil the objectives of the United Nations. I would hope, therefore, that earnest efforts will be made to overcome differences about procedures and specific measures and that effective action commanding the widest support in the Organization will be taken.

Such action, in my opinion, should make it clear that the solution sought by the United Nations is one which takes full account of the legitimate rights and concerns of all the people of South Africa, and which emerges through free discussions among representatives of all the people. It should express the readiness and willingness of the United Nations to assist those people in the search for such a solution. In view of the grave dangers of tension and conflict, the United Nations should give the utmost attention to political and humanitarian measures which would not leave violence as the only means of fulfilling legitimate aspirations, and which would help counteract the growth of racial bitterness and tension. In this connexion, I wish to express my appreciation to several Member States who have responded to the appeal in General Assembly resolution 1978 B (XVIII) of 16 December 1963 for assistance to families of persons persecuted for their opposition to apartheid.

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Meanwhile I have been taking steps, in consultation with the appropriate specialized agencies, to establish a programme for the education and training of South Africans abroad. A limited number of fellowships and grants have been awarded for the academic year 1965-1966, and the full programme is expected to come into operation next year. I hope that this programme will receive the generous support of Member States.

I feel bound to emphasize that the actual financial crisis, in which the Organization has for too long found itself placed, has by no means been dispelled by the consensus reached by the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations and, in effect, accepted by the General Assembly on 1 September 1965. As I write these words, our financial difficulties remain serious, and it seems appropriate for me to restate them here in factual terms.

During the first eight months of this year the Organization's cash outgo to meet its current operating expenses and to settle some of its most pressing debts from prior years exceeded its cash income. As a result it was necessary on several occasions during this period to borrow money temporarily from special funds and accounts in my custody, in order to meet the payroll and other day-to-day expenses.

Between 1 January and 31 August 1965, the Organization received a total of approximately \$73.6 million from Governments consisting of advance payments towards the regular budget and United Nations Emergency Force expenses for 1965 (\$35.4 million); payments of assessed contributions to the regular budget, and to the accounts of the Emergency Force and the United Nations Operation in the Congo for 1964 and prior years (\$18.5 million); voluntary contributions to assist the Organization out of its present financial difficulties and voluntary contributions to the Emergency Force and Congo accounts (\$18.5 million); and deferred payment for a United Nations bond (\$1.2 million). During the same period miscellaneous income, other than from staff assessment, was received in an amount estimated at \$4.3 million in respect of the regular budget and Emergency Force accounts.

The Organization's expenses for the same eight-month period in respect of the regular budget and the Emergency Force are estimated as having totalled approximately \$72 million. Since, in addition to paying current operating expenses, it was

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necessary to settle some of the more pressing debts from prior years, all the income received in the first eight months of 1965 was disbursed, the relatively modest cash balances which the Organization had available at the beginning of this year were drawn down, and it became necessary to resort to the borrowings referred to above.

My estimate is that, as of the beginning of September, an amount of approximately \$100 million would be required to enable the Organization to liquidate in full the obligations currently outstanding against the special accounts of the United Nations Emergency Force and the United Nations Operation in the Congo; to meet in full the additional obligations that will be incurred, in the case of the Emergency Force, between 1 September 1965 and such time as a decision will have been reached at the twentieth session of the General Assembly on the future of that operation and its financing; to restore the Working Capital Fund to its authorized level of \$40 million; and to cover amounts due to Member States as adjustments on assessed contributions for the costs of the two peace-keeping forces.

It has been agreed, in the terms of the consensus referred to earlier, that these financial difficulties should be solved through voluntary contributions by Member States. At the time of writing, such contributions paid or pledged total somewhat less than one-fifth of the amount required. I have already made an urgent appeal to all who have not yet done so to come forward with contributions. I should like to reiterate this appeal; and I do so with some confidence that, on reflection, Governments will see the clear and pressing need to enable the Organization to solve its financial difficulties, in view of the stake they have in its survival and the value they attach to its present and potential usefulness.

I was gratified to be able to announce, just before 1 September 1965, the date recommended by the General Assembly in resolution 1991 (XVIII), that the amendments to the Charter approved under that resolution had been ratified by more than two-thirds of the Members of the United Nations, including all the permanent members of the Security Council.

The amendments enlarge the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council, and alter the number of votes necessary for decisions by the Security Council. In order to give effect to the amendments, elections will be held during

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the twentieth session of the General Assembly to fill both the new seats and those which will become vacant on 31 December 1965 in the two Councils. This procedure is consistent with Assembly resolution 1991 (XVIII), which provides that elections to fill both old and new seats should be held at the same time. In accordance with rule 140 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly, the term of office of the members of the Councils will begin on 1 January 1966.

It will be a matter of general satisfaction that the wish of the Organization to see the composition of two of its principal organs reflect more adequately the present membership will thus be fulfilled with a minimum of delay.

I referred at the beginning to certain developments on the international scene which have inevitably had their repercussions on the United Nations. Of these, perhaps the most important is the escalation of the conflict in Viet-Nam, even though, paradoxically, the problem of Viet-Nam is one in regard to which the Organization has not been able to take any constructive action. This of course is to some extent understandable. The settlement reached at Geneva in 1954 prescribed no role for the Organization in the settlement that was to follow. Neither North Viet-Nam nor South Viet-Nam is a Member of the United Nations, and most recently the parties directly interested in the Viet-Nam conflict have openly voiced the view that the United Nations as such has no place in the search for a solution for the problem of Viet-Nam. This last factor, of course, cannot by itself prevent the United Nations from discussing the problem, but it does militate against the Organization being able to play a constructive role at this stage.

It is because of the profound effect that the Viet-Nam situation is having on problems of global as well as regional importance, and the shadow it casts on almost every area of international co-operation, that I have devoted considerable personal effort in the realm of quiet diplomacy to getting the parties concerned to stop the fighting and to start the discussions which alone, in my view, can lead to a solution. I remain as fully convinced as ever that total victory or total defeat for one side or the other is out of the question and that military action cannot bring peace and restore stability to the area. The only way to those goals is the way of discussions; and it is clear, as I have stated previously, that those discussions can yield fruitful results only if there is a willingness by all sides to make major concessions.

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I cannot emphasize too strongly the profound and dangerous effect which, however paradoxical the circumstances, the present situation in Viet-Nam is having on the atmosphere in the United Nations, reflecting in turn the impact of the dispute upon the relations between East and West. Patient and persistent efforts over several years, within the United Nations as well as outside it, had brought East and West closer together than at any other time in the past decade and had opened up many real possibilities of fruitful collaboration. Signs at last were present of a thaw in international affairs which could be encouraged not only to endure but also to spread around the world. The conflict over Viet-Nam has cruelly set back that trend and has served to revive, to intensify and even to extend some of the attitudes of the cold war. The conflict engages not only the lives of the soldiers and civilians who are caught up in the present fighting. It threatens also to affect the peace of the world and the fate of all mankind. It must be stopped.

One of the issues before the United Nations on which the situation in Viet-Nam has had a noticeable impact is disarmament, on which I have made some comments elsewhere in this introduction. The lack of substantial progress, both in the discussions of the Disarmament Commission in New York and the subsequent meetings of the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee in Geneva, is one obvious result of the intensification of the cold war. I feel most strongly, however, that the time has come when the nuclear Powers must agree on the total banning of nuclear tests, including underground tests, and take at least the first concrete steps towards the prevention of the proliferation of nuclear weapons. I am convinced that progress in these two directions is in the interest of all countries - whether they be large or small, nuclear or non-nuclear - and I very much hope that the deliberations of the twentieth session of the General Assembly will help towards progress in these two directions.

I also venture to hope that at its twentieth session the General Assembly will approve the recommendations of the Disarmament Commission to hold a world disarmament conference. In this connexion, I cannot help observing that progress in disarmament, whether general or nuclear, can hardly be made if all the major military Powers of the world, both in terms of conventional and nuclear weapons, are not enabled to participate in the deliberations. I would regard it as

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essential, therefore, that the world disarmament conference should be held under conditions which would make it possible for all countries, if they so wished, to participate in it.

Both the Viet-Nam situation and the disarmament impasse point once again to the imperative need for the United Nations to achieve universality of membership as soon as possible. Being aware of the political and other difficulties involved in bringing this about, I should like to renew the suggestion which I made in the introduction to my last annual report to the effect that, in the meantime, the countries not at present represented in New York should be enabled to maintain contact with the world body and listen to its deliberations, and thus be more directly exposed to the views of the rest of mankind. I feel, indeed, that the experience of the last ten months has reinforced the view I expressed on this matter last November. I have no doubt that the true interests of peace would be better served if non-Member States were to be encouraged to maintain observers at United Nations Headquarters so that they may be in a position to sense the currents and cross-currents of world opinion which are so uniquely concentrated in the Organization. Meanwhile, it is to be recorded that last year the General Assembly admitted three new Members - Malawi, Malta, and Zambia - and that applications are now pending on the part of the Gambia, the Maldives Islands and Singapore.

The importance of the universality of membership applies not only to the political work of the United Nations, but also to its economic and social activities. In this connexion, I feel that it is very important that the Governments of all Member States should be enabled to participate in the work of at least one of the regional economic commissions. The excellent record of co-operative endeavour and positive results which the regional economic commissions have been able to achieve is no doubt responsible for the desire of some Member Governments, now denied such participation, to be enabled to join in this constructive effort. Inasmuch as the regional commissions have so far been able to get on with their work in the interests of the economic benefits of the countries involved, avoiding as far as possible political considerations, I hope that this widening of participation may be possible.

In addition to making progress towards universality of membership, we have also striven very hard to achieve the participation of nationals of all Member

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States in the Secretariat of the United Nations. Special efforts have been made to secure an adequate place in the Secretariat for nationals of those countries which, for one reason or another, have continued to be under-represented during recent years. These special efforts have included the dispatch of special missions for the recruitment of suitable candidates from countries of Africa and Eastern Europe. I hope that, thanks to their efforts, we shall be able to obtain a larger number of qualified candidates for service not only at Headquarters but also with the economic commissions and in the field offices.

The events in the Caribbean which have been the subject of discussion in the United Nations in recent months have focused attention once again on the role of regional organizations in the maintenance of peace. In the case of the Dominican Republic, the regional organization concerned assumed virtually full responsibility for both a peace-keeping operation and the mediation of a political settlement, and the United Nations undertook only the limited - although, as it turned out, very important - function which I have described earlier. As I have stated, the fact that the United Nations operation had to function in parallel with that of the regional organization led inevitably to difficulties in relationships. Without wishing to comment further on this specific situation, and without intending to question the competence of any regional organization to take action in conformity with the terms of its own constitution, I maintain the view which I expressed at the time, that the developments in the Caribbean should stimulate some thought by all of us concerning the character of the regional organizations and the nature of their functions and obligations in relation to the responsibilities of the United Nations under our Charter. I believe that a good deal of thinking has in fact been applied to this question in a number of quarters, and I should like now to suggest that it is one which deserves some concerted study within the United Nations.

In very recent weeks the international situation has again been deeply disturbed, in this case by the armed conflict which broke out between India and Pakistan over the long-standing problem of Kashmir. At the time of writing I am, in compliance with resolutions adopted with the full support of the Security Council, actively engaged in the endeavour to bring the fighting to an end; and, in accordance with the decisions which the Council has so far taken, I shall continue to exert every effort to bring about a return to peaceful conditions in the area.

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Under the circumstances it would be inappropriate for me to comment here on the situation as it now stands. One thing already clear, however, is the danger, which the Kashmir conflict has once more brought home, of leaving without a solution grave problems affecting relations between States, in the hope that the mere passage of time may solve them. We must draw from it a warning of the ever-present danger of an explosion, in any part of the world, if long-standing sources of conflict are not dealt with in a purposeful manner, and when any incident is capable of raising national emotions to fever-pitch. Such warnings may, I feel, increase our recognition of the importance of having an effective international machinery which can intervene in such difficult situations. From this it follows that, if the United Nations is to be an effective instrument for the maintenance of peace and security, it should not continue to have to contend with financial and other inadequacies. The Organization, to be strong and effective, must also be solvent.

The ten months that have passed have without doubt been difficult ones in the history of the United Nations. On the other hand, the situation in the world today has brought home, I believe, to all Member States how important it is that the United Nations should function effectively. I should like to believe that the Organization is emerging from its recent crisis with a new spirit of confidence and determination that will be reflected, in the first instance, in the work of the twentieth session of the General Assembly. A heavy responsibility now lies on all Members to translate revived hopes into those measurable achievements that can only be attained by far-sighted initiatives and by a will to find and agree on common measures and programmes of action.

All Member States have a stake in the maintenance of international peace and security, which is, in fact, the condition of their own survival. In the common task of preserving peace, there is no better instrument available to them than the United Nations. If the Organization is a fragile instrument, and still insufficiently universal in its nature, it rests with the Member States to make it more durable in substance and all-embracing in scope. It is understandable that the United Nations should mirror the difficulties and disensions which we see in so many parts of the world today; but in reflecting these distortions of peace the mirror itself should not be allowed to distort the image further. The image, however disturbing, must be clearly seen, so that in full awareness of the realities we may continue to move patiently but purposefully towards the goal of peace.
