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# Introduction to the Annual Report of the Secretary-General on the Work of the Organization

16 June 1963—15 June 1964

#### **GENERAL ASSEMBLY**

OFFICIAL RECORDS: NINETEENTH SESSION SUPPLEMENT No. 1A (A/5801/Add.1)

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UNITED NATIONS
New York, 1964

#### NOTE

Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.

### Introduction

I

The introduction to the annual report has been delayed considerably this year in view of the postponement of the General Assembly. I have taken advantage of the delay to bring the introduction up to date, although the annual report covers only the period up to 15 June 1964.

Since the last introduction, which was dated 20 August 1963, there has been some progress in disarmament, and also in our activities in the field of outer space. In the Congo, the military phase of the operations came to an end on 30 June 1964. However, the technical assistance and civilian operations still continue.

The major peace-keeping operation undertaken by the Organization during the period under review has, of course, been in Cyprus. Recent developments encourage me to hope that our efforts may assist in bringing about a peaceful solution of the various problems of this troubled island.

The most important event of the year in the economic field was the convening of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. The interest generated by this historic conference overshadowed all other developments in the economic field. I may point in this connexion to the progress we have been making towards the merging of the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance and the Special Fund in a United Nations Development Programme. I hope that the General Assembly will, before long, approve the establishment of this new unified programme.

During recent months the financial crisis of the United Nations has been one of my major preoccupations, and I have no doubt this is true of delegations also. My detailed comments on the financial crisis are to be found elsewhere in the introduction. All Member Governments seem to me to be agreed on the common objective of strengthening the effectiveness of the United Nations. If this objective is to be realized, I must reiterate that the financial solvency of the world Organization should be re-established on a firmer and more stable footing.

#### II

Questions relating to disarmament continue to command serious attention and to have high priority on the international agenda. Although the expectations of the eighteenth session of the General Assembly have not been realized, the fact remains that more significant progress in achieving some measure of disarmament has taken place since the summer of 1963 than in all the years since the founding of the United Nations.

The partial test ban treaty, the establishment of the direct communications link between Moscow and Wash-

ington, the resolution of the General Assembly to ban nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction from outer space, the unilateral reductions of the military budgets of the Soviet Union and the United States, and the mutual cut-backs in production of fissionable material for military purposes by these two countries and the United Kingdom, are all indications that a start may finally have been made to grapple successfully with the many difficult problems involved in putting an end to the arms race.

These first steps demonstrate the importance of using simultaneously a variety of diplocatic instruments and techniques. They include direct discussions through diplomatic channels, deliberations in regional and other conferences, detailed negotiations in the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament, and the annual review in the General Assembly which provides support and guidance to these discussions and negotiations. The utilization of all these channels and organs provides an opportunity for a thorough consideration of the many political and technical problems of disarmament, encourages the great Powers to bring to bear their major responsibilities on this field and enables the other countries, all of which are vitally interested, to make their contributions towards finding solutions.

This past year has also seen the development of a new institutional approach or procedure, which involves what may be called "reciprocal unilateral action" or the "policy of mutual example". This avenue of progress permits the Powers chiefly concerned to take new steps by independent or co-ordinated unilateral actions.

Despite these favourable developments, however, the year 1964 has not fulfilled the hopes generated by the partial test ban treaty and the general improvement in international relations in 1963. The resolutions on disarmament adopted at the eighteenth session either by acclamation or by overwhelming majorities have remained unimplemented in important respects.

Although the Eighteen-Nation Committee met for more than six months in 1964 in a good atmosphere, with several new and interesting proposals emerging from the discussions, it failed to make any concrete substantive progress. Despite a detailed discussion of a long list of collateral measures and an intensive debate on general and complete disarmament, the Committee reported that it had thus far not been able to reach any specific agreement.

The treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water remains neither universal nor comprehensive. Although more than one hundred States have become parties to the treaty, some States are conspicuous by their absence from the list of signatories. No progress has been made towards an agreement to ban underground tests, nor do the negotiations give the impression of having been

conducted with the sense of urgency called for by the General Assembly. If it is agreed that both national and international security depend not on technical developments from continued underground nuclear testing, but on political and military restraint and the progressive curtailment and reversal of the arms race, a comprehensive test ban would be a logical next step. In this connexion, the joint memorandum of the eight non-aligned members of the Eighteen-Nation Committee may point the way to a practical solution.

Another area where progress is most urgent is in the prevention of the spread of nuclear weapons. It is almost three years since the General Assembly unanimously adopted a resolution calling on both nuclear and non-nuclear States to enter into an international agreement to prevent the wider dissemination of nuclear weapons. The dangers of dissemination have markedly increased during this time, with one more country joining the "nuclear club", and the failure to implement the Assembly resolution gives cause for genuine and growing concern. I am hopeful that all States will give this problem their most careful attention. This is an area where each country may make a specific contribution.

One measure which seemed to hold out some promise of agreement is the destruction of bomber aircraft. This question was discussed for the first time by the Eighteen-Nation Committee during the current year and specific proposals were made by both the Soviet Union and the United States. Each of these Powers has also indicated that there is some flexibility in its position and that it wishes to continue negotiations on the subject. It is hardly necessary to underline the fact that if an agreement could be reached on any concrete measure of real disarmament, even if only modest to begin with, it would symbolize the intentions of the great Powers in the field of disarmament and would have most beneficial political, psychological and moral results.

The reduction and elimination of vehicles for the delivery of nuclear weapons continues to be the key issue of general and complete disarmament. The Eighteen-Nation Committee broke new ground by its concentrated effort to find an agreed basis for a working group to study the elimination of vehicles for the delivery of nuclear weapons. The Committee has for the first time come within reach of an agreement on a procedure to examine jointly the technical and strategic problems associated with this vitally important measure, and I feel certain that Members will wish to encourage the mutual accommodation necessary for agreement on such new exploratory machinery.

Although both the Soviet Union and the United States favoured each of the foregoing measures, as indeed did all of the participants in the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee, the disagreement between them on how to attain the desired objectives reflected a fundamental divergence in their approach to the respective measures. The efforts of the other participants to find mutually acceptable compromises did not succeed during the past session. Nevertheless, the intensive discussions at the Conference once again served to clarify positions and to indicate in what areas and in what ways progress might be possible. By exploring the various problems in depth, the Conference has also made it easier for the main parties to reach agreement more quickly when the requisite political decisions are taken by one or both sides.

That such further steps are necessary and that the time is ripe is, I believe, hardly open to question. Such steps would not only impose further limitations on the arms race, but would help to strengthen the agreements already achieved. They would also have a positive and far-reaching effect on the international political climate in general. Without such additional agreements, the momentum initiated by the partial test ban treaty might be lost. Accordingly, I consider it to be of the highest importance that what was not achieved during the past few months be yet achieved at the forthcoming session of the General Assembly and during the next round of talks in the Eighteen-Nation Committee in 1965. In addition, I hope consideration will also be given to the possibility of a dialogue among the five nuclear Powers.

#### III

Since the last introduction, there has been renewed progress in international co-operation in the peaceful uses of outer space. The long deadlock in legal issues in the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space was broken in November 1963 with the submission to the General Assembly of an agreed draft declaration of legal principles governing the activities of States in the exploration and use of outer space. The nine principles were unanimously approved by the General Assembly in resolution 1962 (XVIII).

Continuing the process of developing the law of outer space, the Legal Sub-Committee of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space has in the course of the year reported substantial progress in the preparation of international agreements on liability for damage caused by objects launched into space and on assistance to and return of astronauts and space vehicles. It is gratifying that, through the United Nations, countries at the most varied levels of development are being enabled to work together with the space Powers in a co-operative effort to develop a law of space that will meet the needs of the international community as a whole.

On the scientific and technical side, the Committee, with the assistance of the Secretariat, has continued its efforts to disseminate information on national and cooperative international space programmes and on the space-related activities and resources of the United Nations, the specialized agencies and other competent international bodies. The information will provide a consolidated world-wide picture of international cooperation in this vital area of interest to all Member States. Co-operation between the two leading space Powers has continued and preliminary agreement has been announced on the joint preparation of a review of achievements in space biology and medicine. At the same time there have been significant developments in the field of regional co-operation. Within the United Nations family of organizations, the highly successful Extraordinary Administrative Radio Conference held by the International Telecommunication Union in October 1963 and the steadily developing World Weather Watch programme of the World Meteorological Organization are indications of the growing interest in, and the practical importance of, applications of space research and technology.

Another significant development in international cooperation in the peaceful uses of outer space was the Committee's decision at its recent session 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, as well as to make recommendations on the question relating to the participation in the said meeting of the appropriate international organizations". The group will report to the Committee at its next session.

Increasing attention is being given to the provision for education and training, particularly for the developing countries, through bilateral and other arrangements. In this respect the United Nations is well placed to serve as a clearing-house for information on training requirements and the resources available to meet them. A related development is the Committee's recommendation that United Nations sponsorship should be granted to India for the continuing operation of the Thumba Equatorial Rocket Launching Station. The project, which has been made possible by the generosity of the Government of India and the co-operation of several countries advanced in space science and technology, is designed both to meet the needs of peaceful space research and to provide the developing countries with opportunities for valuable practical training and participation in rocket experiments. Brazil has recently informed the Committee that it is setting up sounding rocket facilities, for which United Nations endorsement would be sought. These are encouraging demonstrations of the way in which the Organization can nelp to uphold mankind's common interest in furthering the peaceful exploration and use of outer space, for the benefit of all nations.

#### IV

During 1964, United Nations activities in the economic and social field were carried forward in the perspective and spirit of the United Nations Development Decade. This has meant more than expansion. During the year, there have been a greater awareness of the implications and requirements of target setting for economic development, and greater efforts to increase the momentum of development. Major issues have been elucidated, and progress has been made in combining greater concentration on these issues with better integration of the vast array of United Nations activities.

The year 1964 has witnessed the deliberations of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, the largest inter-governmental conference ever assembled, with representatives of 119 States participating in it. It was only natural that the comprehensive review which this great gathering undertook should deal with policy issues in the broad field of international trade and development, for these are of the very essence of international co-operation. The Conference has already been recognized as an event of historic importance likely to have a significant impact on international co-operation for decades to come. The Final Act of the Conference represents the culmination of efforts and discussions over almost two decades, during which new political forces and ideas of international economic co-operation were gradually taking shape within the United Nations.

In its nineteen years of existence, the United Nations has developed, both at Headquarters and in the regional centres, conference techniques which permit great gatherings of almost universal scope to be welded into instruments of organized and planned co-operation.

Even the best conference techniques would, however, have been of little avail if many of the concepts underlying international economic relations had not been ripe for change, and if the spread of new ideas had not coincided with the emergence of new political forces in the world. It was the combination of these factors which rendered possible the success of the Conference on Trade and Development and made of it one of the most important events since the establishment of the United Nations. The significance of the Conference was discussed in detail by its Secretary-General, Dr. Raúl Prebisch, in a report to me. I have decided to publish that report since it represents, to my mind, an authoritative Secretariat evaluation of the Conference, the Final Act and report of which are before the General Assembly.

The Conference has recommended action by the Assembly with a view, above all, to attaining two goals: to enlarge the role of the United Nations in the field of international trade, and to add to the broad concepts of negotiation and co-operation inherent in the Charter new conciliation procedures which are essential to carry out decisions whose ultimate purpose is to change the existing international division of labour.

Negotiation and conciliation were very much in evidence at the Conference. Indeed, the process of negotiation leading to conciliation justifies, I believe, the optimism with which I introduced the Final Act of the Conference to the Economic and Social Council. I said:

 that North-South tensions are fundamentally as serious as East-West ones and that the United Nations has a unique contribution to make towards the lessening of both. Before the Conference, the parallel between North and South on the one hand and East and West on the other may have seemed a little far-fetched, since North and South could not be distinguished one from the other in our economic forums as distinctly as East and West could be on some major political issues. Now we know that the South can be identified as a large group of more than seventy-five votes, when it chooses to assert itself. In demonstrating such a possibility, the Conference may have signalled a turn in the history of international economic relations. The contribution that may be expected of the seventy-five to the solution of world problems will depend to a great degree upon the validity of my faith in the unique value of the United Nations as an instrument for reconciling differences of opinion and not only as a framework in which they can manifest themselves . . .".

Indeed, the co-operative effort of the developing nations is already making its influence felt in the work of the United Nations as a whole.

Apart from its political impact, the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development achieved, in the course of twelve weeks, what would have been considered over-ambitious only a few years ago. Its Final Act covered, both in the preamble and in detailed specific recommendations, almost every point which had been the subject of earlier debates and recommendations on trade and development, and listed additional subjects for study and action; it dealt with economic cooperation among all groups of countries, irrespective of their economic and social systems and levels of development, and sought maximum co-operation and trade for the benefit of the whole community of nations; thus the Final Act can be viewed as a successful attempt at a further advancement and codification

of the many efforts which in past years have gone into the development and implementation of Chapter IX of the Charter entitled "International economic and social co-operation".

It is particularly gratifying that the question of targets for trade and aid was considered in a constructive manner, representing in a sense a summation of all the problems that the Conference faced. I should like to emphasize particularly the following recommendation, which the Conference adopted without dissent:

"The import capacity resulting from the combined total of export proceeds, invisible earnings and capital inflow available to the developing countries, taking into account the evolution of prices, should rise sufficiently, and the measures taken by the developing countries themselves should be adequate, to enable these higher rates of growth to be achieved. All countries, developed and developing, should undertake, individually and in co-operation, such measures as may be necessary to ensure this, and provision may be made for a periodic review of the measures so taken and the experience gained...".

I attach the greatest importance to the recognition thus given to the principle that the achievement of adequate growth targets is indissolubly linked with the achievement of corresponding trade and aid targets.

Let us hope that the Conference will be followed by concrete and universally acceptable steps which will help to bring about appropriate changes in the policies of all trading nations.

In addition to trade problems, the question of development financing also promises to be a major United Nations preoccupation. As of today, much remains to be done regarding the identification, measurement and understanding of the forces at play and of the mechanisms involved. The case for more purposeful work in that direction has been made, however, and active United Nations concern for more adequate financial aid to developing countries has become an acknowledged fact. The same holds true for industrial development, a field in which research and operational activities initiated or intensified during the year are directed towards enabling Governments to adopt policies and take investment decisions in the light of the knowledge and experience that an international organization like the United Nations can muster. Such knowledge and experience should be enhanced by the coming into being of the Economic and Social Council's Advisory Committee on Science and Technology. Judging from the determined and imaginative manner in which the Committee has embarked upon its task, its creation might prove to be a long-term investment of major importance. This new committee might, on a broad front, stimulate interest in development problems among statesmen, scientists, engineers and industrialists, in the same manner as the holding of periodic conferences has done with respect to the peaceful uses of atomic energy. It is significant to note that from the first United Nations conference on the peaceful uses of atomic energy, held in 1955, to the third, held in September 1964, the range of the problems considered has extended to such specific questions as the economic feasibility of using atomic energy for the desalination of sea and brackish water in water-short areas.

As we approach the half-way mark in the United Nations Development Decade, the Organization finds itself, in the economic and social field, not only increasingly involved in the search for ways and means to accelerate growth and change, but also more insistently called upon to help in the provision of the elements necessary to policy makers for mapping out sound development strategies at the national and international levels. This is evidenced by the increasing emphasis laid in 1964 on development planning, an area of work in which more studies and field operations are needed to promote effectively the transfer, adaptation and improvement of methods and techniques. A promising start has been made in this respect with the establishment of United Nations regional development and planning institutes, and development planning accounts for a growing number of Secretariat activities at Headquarters and in the regions. During the year, projections, which are now widely recognized as indispensable for the formulation and execution of meaningful plans and programmes, have also been the subject of increased attention. The population projections prepared during the year bring into relief a most challenging problem, when compared with those relating to food production. This problem has been highlighted by the findings of the Asian Population Conference held in December 1963 under the auspices of the United Nations, and it is likely to receive special attention next year at the Second United Nations World Population Conference.

In 1964, the increased resources of the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance enabled it to establish larger programmes in newly independent and emergent countries of Africa, and made possible the continuation of the increase in the share of the Programme going to Africa without diminishing the absolute size of the Programme in other regions. Further increases in the Programme as a whole are envisaged for the 1965-1966 biennium, when for the first time the Programme has been planned on the basis of a field programme costing more than \$100 million.

Another significant development during the period under review was the General Assembly's adoption of a resolution authorizing the use of Expanded Programme funds for the provision of operational personnel to requesting Governments, experimentally for the years 1964-1965. Fears had been expressed that this action might change the character of the Programme because of the difference in nature between operational assistance and the advisory assistance normally offered under the Expanded Programme. However, only 105 operational posts, representing 2.4 per cent of the Programme, were requested by Governments in the 1965-1966 Programme.

In July 1964, the Economic and Social Council adopted a resolution which approved the participation in the Expanded Programme of the Inter-Governmental Maritime Consultative Organization, which has thus become the eleventh organization participating in the Programme.

The Special Fund, benefiting like the Expanded Programme from the full co-operation of the United Nations and most of its related agencies, raised the level of its activities in 1964 and continued to make significant progress.

During the year, the Governing Council, with an expanded membership of twenty-four, was enabled by the growth in Governments' voluntary contributions to approve a larger volume of "pre-investment" assistance than in any previous year. Approval was given

for ninety-seven large-scale survey, training and research projects costing over \$250 million. The projects are designed to supply developing countries with the knowledge, skills and institutions needed to attract investment capital and to use that capital productively. They bring the Fund's partnership programme to 421 projects worth \$919 million. Of this amount, \$374 million are being provided by the Special Fund and \$545 million by the Governments of 130 recipient countries and territories.

The pace of project implementation increased significantly over the past year; Special Fund disbursements for projects during 1964 are expected to approach those of the preceding five years combined. Projects have an average duration of four years, and by January 1964, five years after the founding of the Special Fund, eighteen projects had been completed. That figure will be more than doubled before the end of 1964.

Most gratifying is the mounting evidence that relatively modest amounts of multilateral pre-investment assistance, when judiciously employed, can mobilize infinitely larger resources for development. By September 1964, fifteen surveys, which cost the Governments concerned and the Special Fund \$15.3 million, had already produced \$780 million of follow-up investment. Meanwhile, well over 50,000 key middle-level and upper-level personnel have acquired vital new skills through Special Fund-assisted training programmes in the developing countries. Of no less importance is the network of permanent national and regional institutions created to extend and carry forward the training, research and other developments serving activities begun under Special Fund auspices.

serving activities begun under Special Fund auspices. However considerable the efforts made and results achieved during the year, the magnitude of the problems ahead is such as to make them appear too modest and, indeed, the same qualification has also been applied by some to the objectives of the Development Decade. The quest for greater effectiveness has become a major preoccupation reflected in a number of outstanding demands for organizational changes or innovations. In the course of the year, one proposal in this respect has taken shape and gained acceptance, that of the consolidation of the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance with the Special Fund into a United Nations Development Programme, as called for in Economic and Social Council resolution 1020 (XXXVII) of 11 August 1964. In recommending this action to the General Assembly, the representatives on the Council expressed their confidence in the Expanded Programme and in the Special Fund by stipulating that the special characteristics and operations of the two programmes should be maintained. If approved by the General Assembly, this consolidation should significantly improve the performance and image of the Organization in the field of technical and preinvestment assistance, as well as its potential ability to assume greater responsibilities in providing multilateral aid if empowered and endowed to do so.

If I say little on this occasion about the state and development of relationships among the organizations constituting the United Nations family, it is not because the importance of these relationships has in any way diminished. Quite the contrary, the close inter-agency co-operation which has developed over the years becomes increasingly important with every expansion in the range and scope of international

action for economic and social betterment. Eloquent testimony to the vitality and effectiveness of this co-operation is provided by the history of the consultations leading to the proposals to combine the Special Fund and the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance in a single United Nations Development Programme, proposals which the Economic and Social Council has now placed before the General Assembly. It was indeed a remarkable achievement that full agreement could be reached in the Administrative Committee on Co-ordination on draft proposals dealing with issues so profoundly affecting the interests of all the members of the United Nations family.

In the course of the past year, difficulties have arisen, in a number of meetings held or sponsored by specialized agencies, as a result of objections raised by delegations to the participation of representatives of certain Member States. My own attitude towards the policy of apartheid and racial discrimination, or the continuance of colonialism, in any form is well known and I can well understand the feelings that have given rise to such objections. At the same time, I am deeply conscious, as are my colleagues in the Administrative Committee on Co-ordination, of the importance of avoiding any impairment of constructive international work for human betterment. In the summer of last year, I emphasized to a delegation of the Geverning Body of the International Labour Organisation, which came to consult me concerning the problem of the membership of South Africa in that organization, that I attach importance to the agencies in the United Nations family avoiding divergent action on major political issues and to full regard being given by the agencies to whatever position is taken on such matters by the principal political organs of the United Nations. This continues to represent my thinking and my hope.

In August 1963, the Economic and Social Council endorsed the broad outlines of a plan I submitted under General Assembly resolution 1827 (XVII) for the establi hment of a United Nations training and research institute. I expressed the view that such an institute could make a unique contribution towards achieving the targets of the United Nations Development Decade and enhancing the effectiveness of the United Nations itself. By resolution 1934 (XVIII), the General Assembly requested me to take the necessary steps to establish the institute and to continue to explore for it possible sources of financial assistance, both governmental and non-governmental.

Early in 1964, I appointed a personal representative to visit various countries, to explain the purposes of the institute and to seek financial assistance towards its establishment. More than thirty countries have now made substantial pledges of financial support for the institute, and an almost equal number have indicated their intention to contribute. I consider that the support from Member Governments, both moral and material, is more than adequate to justify the establishment of the institute.

Our hopes of substantial assistance from non-governmental sources towards the establishment of the institute have not yet been fully realized. However, thanks to a generous donation from the Rockefeller Foundation, the institute has been able to acquire a home of its own. I hope that once the institute is established further support will be forthcoming from Governments, and also from non-governmental sources.

It is my intention to appoint the members of the institute's board of trustees in the very near future and to call a first meeting of the board early in 1965. I am confident that in due course the institute will make a significant contribution to the work of the United Nations for the promotion of peace and progress.

#### V

From a small nucleus at Lake Success in 1949, the United Nations International School has grown in enrolment to 570 children from sixty-eight countries in the current year. During all these years the School has been housed in one makeshift building after uother.

Under resolution 1982 (XVIII), the General Assembly requested me to continue to lend my good offices to the Board of Trustees of the School in seeking financial and other assistance from both governmental and private sources for the construction and equipment of a proper school building and the creation of an endowment fund.

A survey of the needs of the staff for school facilities indicated that the student body might number in the vicinity of 750 by next year. It was also felt that provision should be made for admitting to the School students from New York City who are not directly connected with the United Nations, and that the target should be a total enrolment of 1,000 pupils.

Our efforts to find financial support for the school building met with success earlier this year, when the Ford Foundation showed considerable interest in the financing of the building, following my proposal to locate the School at the northern end of the Headquarters site. Although the Ford Foundation has not yet made a formal announcement of the donation, I should like to take this opportunity to thank the Foundation in advance for its generosity towards the School. I hope that, early in the nineteenth session, the General Assembly will approve the proposed location of the School at the northern end of the Headquarters site. Financial assistance is still required for building up an endowment fund to a level which would enable the School to be self-sufficient in the future. I shall count on the generosity of both governmental and non-governmental sources so that the target of the endowment fund may be reached at an early date.

#### VI

On 29 June 1964, I submitted a report to the Security Council which dealt with the withdrawal of the United Nations Force in the Congo, which had then just been completed, and the continuation of United Nations civilian assistance in the Congo. Little needs to be added here to what was said in that report beyond the observation that, immediately following the withdrawal of the United Nations Force, some of our worst fears for the Congo began to be realized and our apprehensions about that country's future were very great.

In view of the serious deterioration in the internal security situation in the Congo since the withdrawal of the Force, it is only natural that the question should be asked why the Force was withdrawn in the first place, since the course of events that might be expected

to follow the withdrawal of the Force could have been anticipated. The answer is that there was no decision by the competent organs of the United Nations to extend the mandate of the Force, and there was no request from the Government of the Congo for any extension of the Force beyond the end of June 1964. Without such a request there could be no basis for any United Nations action involving the continued presence of the United Nations Force in the Congo after last June. The Force was sent to the Congo in the first place in answer to the urgent appeal of the Congolese Government; it remained there for almost four years at the desire of that Government; it could not remain there after 30 June without a further request from the Government. Indeed, after December 1963 there was never any intimation from the Government of the Congo of any wish to have the United Nations Force stay on after June 1964.

I cannot say, of course, how the United Nations would have responded had there been a request from the Government for a continuance of the United Nations Force in the Congo beyond June 1964 ap to which date funds had been sanctioned by the General Assembly; but such a request most certainly would have been given serious consideration. There was, however, an evident feeling in some quarters that the United Nations could not maintain an armed force in the Congo indefinitely, and that far too much had already been expended for this purpose.

Much of the disorder in the Congo thus far has been due basically to the spectacular failure of the Congolese National Army. There are other factors, of course, especially the lack of preparation of the Congolese people for independence in 1960. It will be recalled, however, that a major event influencing the future of the Congo occurred when, within a few days following the country's independence, the Congolese National Army—one of the largest and best armed armies of Africa-mutinied and ceased to be a positive factor for security, law and order in the country. This led to the reappearance of Belgian troops, and started the chain of events which caused the Government, then headed by Mr. Kasavubu and Mr. Lumumba, to appeal to the United Nations for military and other assistance. The United Nations could not ignore that appeal without losing the confidence of most of the world. In responding to it, the United Nations served the interests of the peace of Africa and of the world, as well as those of the Congo, by preventing a power vacuum in the very heart of Africa which would have been extremely grave, with the inevitable risk of East-West confrontation as well as inter-African rivalry and conflict.

As I have reported previously, recognizing how vital it would be to the future of the Congo to have its Army made effective and dependable through retraining and reorganization in order that it might regain a reasonable measure of discipline and morale, repeated efforts were made by the United Nations to induce the Government of the Congo to accept United Nations assistance in the retraining and reorganization of the Army. Indeed, at one stage the personal approval of Prime Minister Adoula was given to me directly for the United Nations training plan, based mainly on assistance to be provided by other African countries—and we proceeded to make arrangements and even recruit personnel for that purpose—but I understand that the Prime Minister was unable to obtain the ap-

proval of the Commander of the Army, General Mobutu, for the project.

It would seem advisable also to clear up one more misconception about the Congo, which concerns the often falsely reported attitude of the United Nations towards Mr. Moïse Tshombé, who is now the Prime Minister. The United Nations Operation in the Congo, having been directed by the Security Council to seek, among other things, to preserve the territorial integrity of the country, to prevent civil war and to eliminate mercenaries, was inevitably opposed to the attempted secession of Katanga. While sparing no effort to achieve a peaceful solution, it did what it could, in collaboration with the Government of the Congo, to prevent the attempted secession from becoming an accomplished fact. It succeeded in its objective. The actempted secession of Katanga was led by Mr. Tshombé, as President of that Province. Although the United Nations operation thwarted the Katanga secessionist effort, it never failed to recognize Mr. Tshombé as President of the Province of Katanga, a position to which he had been duly elected.

The Government of the Congo has recently turned to the Organization of African Unity for assistance in helping it to re-establish peace, law and order in the Congo. That organization acted on this appeal by setting up an ad hoc committee, under the chairmanship of the Prime Minister of Kenya, Mr. Jomo Kenyatta, with a view to assisting the Congo (Leopoldville) to normalize its relations with its neighbours, the Congo (Brazzaville) and Burundi in particular, and to exercising its good offices in an effort to secure a solution to the problem of the Congo by means of conciliation. I hope that this effort will prove helpful.

Although the prevailing picture of the Congo may be dark and unpromising, that country has demonstrated remarkable resilience throughout the troubles which have beset it since its independence. The resources of the country are rich. Surprises are frequent in the Congo, and it should not be excluded that the country, realizing that it no longer has a United Nations Force to depend upon for internal security, will in time muster the will and the ability to attain both security and political stability. For the sake of the Congo and its people, for the sake of the continent of Africa and for the cause of peace, I most earnestly hope that this will be so.

Meanwhile, it is worth recalling that, in its four years in the Congo, the United Nations operation reduced to a minimum the risk of East-West conflict there; it prevented the country from being engulfed in civil war, of tribal or other origins; it greatly helped to preserve the territorial integrity of the country; it was mainly responsible for restoring some semblance of law and order throughout the country; it eliminated completely the mercenaries of Katanga, some of whom have now reappeared in Leopoldville; and it provided, and continues to provide, a great amount of technical assistance. These are certainly achievements of lasting value.

It is sometimes forgotten that, although the United Nations Force has withdrawn from the Congo, the largest United Nations Technical Assistance/Special Fund operation anywhere in the world, at present consisting of approximately 2,000 persons, is still found in that country. The main reason for the comparatively large size of this programme is that the voluntary Congo fund, and various funds in trust, have made it

possible until now to finance substantial extra-budgetary assistance programmes under the aegis of the United Nations civilian operations in the Congo. Even though there have been some indications that a few countries might be prepared to make voluntary contributions to the Congo fund on a matching basis for the year 1965-1966, I do not intend, in view of the generally disappointing response to my appeal in 1964, to make a further general appeal to Member States to contribute to the fund in 1965.

Today, United Nations technical assistance is undertaking the functions of the civilian operations programme in providing the backbone of many of the essential services and much of the public administration of the Congo. It is heartening to report that, despite the recent alarming situation in the Congo, many experts are still willing to serve there under the United Nations, and I should like to take this opportunity to pay tribute to the constancy, skill and courage of the great many doctors, teachers, agricultural advisers, meteorologists, telecommunications experts, magistrates, airfield control staff, public works experts—to name only a few categories—who have continued their work in the Congo under very difficult, and often dangerous and highly unpredictable, conditions. Many of them, in addition to their regular work, have in troubled times provided a nucleus for rehabilitation in areas and towns where normal life had been seriously disrupted. The work of these devoted men and women is a matter for legitimate pride on the part of the United Nations and the specialized agencies.

#### VII

Since last March, the United Nations peace-keeping effort in Cyprus has been a major concern of the Organization, and I have been reporting on it in detail to the Security Council from time to time. The United Nations Force in Cyprus has already served two three-month terms in the island and its mandate was extended for a third three-month term by the Security Council on 25 September 1964.

The mandate of the United Nations Force in Cyprus has been to prevent a recurrence of fighting and to contribute to the maintenance and restoration of law and order, and to a return to normal conditions there. The Force has done much more than might have been expected of it towards the fulfilment of that mandate. The Commanders of the Force, General Gyani and later General Thimayya, the officers and men of the national contingents and the civilian members of the United Nations Secretariat associated with them have, in most difficult and complex conditions, performed their duties with signal devotion and effectiveness. I should also like to pay tribute to the valuable services of my Special Representatives, first Mr. Spinelli, then Mr. Galo Plaza, and now Mr. Bernardes.

The situation in Cyprus is, by any measure, a grim and formidable one, and it is sufficient here to recall that, in spite of the highly inflammable state of affairs which prevails in the island, there have been so far, while the Force has been in Cyprus, only two outbreaks of serious fighting, both of which were quickly contained and halted, the first of these in the St. Hilarica area in late April, and the second in the Kokkina area in early August.

Despite the great obstacles to a return to normal conditions in the island, and, indeed, to any quick

solution of the problems of Cyprus, some progress has been made in reducing the dangers and discomforts under which some parts of the population of Cyprus have been living, and it is to be hoped that this progress will continue, with increasingly beneficial results.

As regards the efforts to resolve the long-term problems of Cyprus through the United Nations Mediator, it is not possible at this stage to report any significant advance. The work of Ambassador Tuomioja, the first Mediator, whose tragic death interrupted his painstaking and persistent attempts to find an acceptable solution, is now carried on by Mr. Galo Plaza, who brings to the task of Mediator valuable first-hand experience of the situation in Cyprus from his service as my Special Representative there. It is certain that Mr. Plaza will spare no effort in seeking a peaceful solution, taking advantage of the relative quiet which the presence of the Force has produced.

The financial arrangements to support the Force, in accordance with paragraph 6 of the resolution adopted by the Security Council on 4 March 1964, have proved to be far from satisfactory. As I had occasion to state to the Council in my reports on the conduct of the Cyprus operation, the method of financing the Force has been inadequate and funds have been received in such manner, as regards both pledges and payment of pledges, as seriously to hamper the planning, efficiency and economical running of the Force.

#### VIII

In the introduction to the annual report last year, I referred to the agreement reached with the Governments of Cambodia and Thailand on the desirability of appointing a special representative in the area who would place himself at the disposal of the parties to assist them in solving all the problems that had arisen or might arise between them. The most immediate of these concerned the reactivation of the 15 December 1960 agreement on press and radio attacks and the lifting of certain air transit restrictions. It was hoped that in due time consideration might be given to the resumption of diplomatic relations. The expenses of this mission were to be shared on an equal basis by the two Governments. In December 1963, at the request of the two Governments, the appointment of the Special Representative was extended for another year.

During the period under review, the Special Representative has continued to serve as an intermediary between the two Governments on a number of questions, such as the exchange of prisoners, and is at present assisting them in solving the problems that have arisen in connexion with the closing of their respective diplomatic missions in Bangkok and Phnom-Penh. Meanwhile, however, the Government of Thailand has given notice that it is not in favour of continuing the services of the mission on a permanent basis, and has suggested that consideration may be given to dispatching a highranking member of the Secretariat on ad hoc missions to the area to discuss the situation with the leaders of the two countries and then make appropriate suggestions. Its views have been communicated to the Government of Cambodia which, while taking a different view of the value of such missions, has agreed to these suggestions in principle. The mission of the Special Representative will, therefore, be discontinued towards the end of 1964.

#### IX

One mission in the peace-keeping sphere, the United Nations Yemen Observation Mission, has come to an end. It had been set up in mid-1963 to observe the implementation of an agreement between Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Republic under which they had undertaken to disengage from their direct and indirect interventions in the prevailing civil war in Yemen. During its fourteen-month period of activities, the Mission was restricted by the terms of its mandate to observation alone and was able to report only a limited measure of disengagement. It was terminated on 4 September 1964, when the two States concerned, which had met the full costs of the operation, informed me, one that it was not prepared to continue to do so, and the other that it had no objection to the termination of the Mission. Despite its weak and inadequate mandate and its limited results, the Mission did contribute to a reduction of international tension in the region of its operation and to some improvement in the internal security situation in Yemen. Moreover, it helped to keep the door open for further highest level discussions between the Saudi Arabian and United Arab Republic Governments on the Yemen problem, which have finally, in fact, taken place with encouraging results.

#### X

In the introduction to last year's report, I referred briefly to the fact that I had sent a team of United Nations officials to carry out certain tasks as envisaged by the Governments of the Federation of Malaya, the Republic of Indonesia and the Republic of the Philippines. On 5 August 1963, these Governments had requested me to ascertain, prior to the establishment of Malaysia, the views of the people of Sabah (North Borneo) and Sarawak within the context of General Assembly resolution 1541 (XV), principle IX of the annex, "by a fresh approach which in the opinion of the Secretary-General is necessary to ensure complete compliance with the principle of self-determination within the requirements embodied in principle IX". From the very beginning of 1963, I had observed with concern the rising tension in South-East Asia on account of the difference of opinion among the countries most directly interested in the Malaysia issue. It was in the hope that some form of United Nations participation might help to reduce tensions in the area and among the parties that I agreed to respond positively to the request made by the three Governments.

As is well known, the United Nations Malaysia Mission expressed the opinion that "the participation of the two territories in the proposed Federation, having been approved by their legislative bodies, as well as by a large majority of the people through free and impartially conducted elections in which the question of Malaysia was a major issue, the significance of which was appreciated by the electorate, may be regarded as the result of the freely expressed wishes of the territory's peoples acting with full knowledge of the change in their status, their wishes having been expressed through informed and democratic processes, impartially conducted and based on universal adult suffrage". I accepted this view of the Mission in my conclusions.

Unfortunately, the hope I had expressed that the participation of the United Nations might help to reduce

tension has not been fulfilled. There have been continued incidents in the area, and accusations and counter-accusations have been exchanged, culminating in the complaint by Malaysia to the Security Council in September 1964. After a number of meetings, the Security Council was unable to adopt a resolution on this issue. Tension in the area, especially between Indonesia and Malaysia, continues to be a source of concern to me. I wish to express the hope that the endeavours of statesmen of the area to solve this difficult question peacefully will be steadfastly continued, and that the leaders of the countries involved will spare no effort to bring about a peaceful settlement of their differences.

#### XI

In the course of the year 1963-1964, a number of Member States have offered military units to the United Nations on a standby basis, that is, to be available to the United Nations when an acceptable demand is made by the Organization. Some other Member States have evinced interest in pursuing a similar course. I have welcomed the offers, but have been in no position to do much more than this, in the absence of any authorizing action by an appropriate organ of the United Nations, even though no expense to the Organization would be involved until a contingent was called into actual United Nations service.

There is much that could be done and needs to be done in the way of advance selection, training and other preparations which would make the offered contingents more effective and which would in general ensure better, more efficient and more economical peace-keeping operations in the future. It may be useful to have this question studied comprehensively in all its aspects, including manpower, logistics and financing. Such a study may yield recommendations for consideration by the competent organs which may then authorize the Secretary-General to proceed along such lines as may be generally approved. I would accordingly welcome appropriate action by a competent United Nations organ which would authorize the undertaking of such a study.

#### XII

Decolonization continued to be one of the most important questions engaging the attention of the United Nations. Debates on this question in the General Assembly as well as in the other bodies concerned were held in the context of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, embodied in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

During the eighteenth session of the General Assembly, several delegations expressed concern at the delay in the implementation of the Declaration. The Assembly then requested the Special Committeee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples to continue to seek the most effective and expeditious means for the immediate implementation of the Declaration in all territories which had not yet attained independence. The Assembly also transferred to the Special Committee the functions previously performed by the former Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories. With the disbanding of the Committee on

Information, the Special Committee is now the only body responsible for matters relating to dependent territories, with the exception of the three remaining Trust Territories, for which the Trusteeship Council is responsible.

As in the two previous years, the Special Committee has been studying conditions in various dependent territories in order to determine the extent to which the administering Powers are implementing the Declaration. In a document prepared in April 1963, the Special Committee listed sixty-four territories to which the Declaration is applicable. While I share the concern of Member States with regard to the delay in the implementation of the Declaration, especially in relation to some of the larger territories in Africa, it is gratifying to note that Kenya, Zanzibar, Malawi (Nyasaland), Malta and Zambia (Northern Rhodesia) have become independent sovereign States.

In spite of the many efforts that have been made to persuade Portugal to accept the principle of self-determination for the peoples of the territories under its administration, it continues to insist that the territories are parts of its "overseas provinces", and that the peoples of the territories have already been accorded "self-determination". The Portuguese concept of self-determination has been rejected by the General Assembly as anachronistic, and it also conflicts with the concept of that term as defined in the Charter.

As the Mandatory Power for South West Africa, South Africa not only has continued to ignore the resolutions of the General Assembly, but also refuses to co-operate with those agencies of the Organization that have sought to render assistance to South West Africa. During the year the Special Committee considered the Odendaal Commission report, which was released by the South African Government. The Committee's view is that the recommendations of the Odendaal Commission are inconsistent with the responsibilities of the South African Government as the Mandatory Power for the Territory and that they should not be implemented.

The situation in Southern Rhodesia continues to give much cause for anxiety. The replacement of Mr. Winston Field by Mr. Ian Smith as Prime Minister in April 1964 reflected the ascendancy of those members of the Rhodesian Front who favour a unilateral declaration of independence. Although in June 1964 Mr. Smith announced that there would be no unilateral declaration of independence, he continues to demand independence for Southern Rhodesia on the basis of the existing constitution and restricted franchise.

With a view to demonstrating to the United Kingdom Government that this demand had the support of the majority of the population, his Government proceeded to conduct a test of public opinion by means of consultation with local chies and headmen, in addition to a referendum of all registered voters; this method was rejected by the United Kingdom Government as incapable of revealing satisfactory evidence of the wishes of the African population.

The United Kingdom Government, in a statement issued on 27 October, made clear to the Southern Rhodesian Government the serious consequences of a uniteral declaration of independence. The statement has helped to clear any doubt as to the position of the United Kingdom Government and has, at least for

the time being, averted what would most certainly have been a crisis in Southern Rhodesia. The dangers still persist; and there is no evidence that the Southern Rhodesian Government is prepared to accept the principles enunciated in various General Assembly resolutions concerning Southern Rhodesia. Nor is there any indication that the Southern Rhodesian Government proposes to establish full democratic freedom and equality of political rights, and to convene a constitutional conference of all parties in Southern Rhodesia for the drafting of a new constitution based on the principle of "one man, one vote" and to prepare for an early independence of the territory.

In addition to the problems pertaining to the Portuguese territories, South West Africa and Southern Rhodesia, to which I have just referred, there are two other important problems connected with decolonization to which I would like to make brief reference.

The first problem relates to the future of the smaller dependent territories. In my address to the opening of the Special Committee, on 25 February 1964, I referred to this problem as follows:

"Although in the last two years a number of territories which were formerly non-self-governing have become independent sovereign States and are now Members of the United Nations, there are still some sixty dependent territories, many of which, though small in area and population, nevertheless come within the purview of the Declaration on decolonization.

"These small territories include many groups of islands in the Atlantic, Pacific and Indian Oceans. The majority of them are sparsely populated and are spread over millions of square miles of ocean.

"The Special Committee, during the present session, will be concerned with the questions relating to these small territories, and the Committee will no doubt be faced with problems which it has not so far been called upon to resolve, namely, the most effective manner in which to enable the smaller territories to attain the objectives of resolution 1514 (XV). The task of the Committee will not be an easy one, but I have no doubt that the experience which the members of the Committee have gained during the last two years will prove helpful in the forthcoming deliberations of the Committee."

It seems to me that this problem requires the attention of the General Assembly.

The second problem relates to the conflicting claims, by some Member States, to sovereignty over such territories as British Honduras, the Falkland Islands. Gibraltar, Ifni and Spanish Sahara. It is my belief that these conflicting claims can be resolved only by goodwill and a willingness to give and take on the part of the various claimants. What is more, any solution should take into account the interests of the peoples of the territories concerned.

#### XIII

The period under review did not witness any improvement in the situation arising from the racial policies of the Government of the Republic of South Africa. On the contrary, the trend has been in the reverse direction and has been a source of heightened concern during the year, particularly in view of new legislative measures and the detention and trial of large

numbers of persons for their opposition to the policies of apartheid. The Security Council devoted more time and attention to this problem than ever before and adopted four resolutions aimed at bringing about racial harmony based on equal rights and fundamental freedoms for all the people of South Africa.

In pursuance of the Security Council resolution of 4 December 1963, a Group of Experts was set up to examine methods of resolving the present situation in South Africa through full, peaceful and orderly application of human rights and fundamental freedoms to all inhabitants of the territory as a whole, regardless of race, colour or creed, and to consider what part the United Nations might play in the achievement of that end. This Group, under the chairmanship of Mrs. Alva Myrdal, made a number of recommendations based on the essential principle that all the people of South Africa should be brought into consultation to decide the future of their country in free discussion at the national level. This principle was endorsed by the Security Council in June 1964.

Taking account of the composition of the population of South Africa and the present international context, there is a great danger that a continuation of the efforts to impose policies decided by one racial group in South Africa and the closing up of possibilities for a peaceful change may increasingly lead to violence which is likely to have wide spread international repercussions. I can only reiterate the hope that the Government of South Africa will heed world opinion and the recommendations and decisions of United Nations organs, and take early steps to achieve racial harmony based on free consultations and respect for the human rights and fundamental freedoms of all the people of the country. I also believe the United Nations should persevere in its efforts to persuade the South African Government and people to seek a peaceful solution to the long-standing problem and thus reverse the unfortunate trends of recent years.

#### XIV

In May 1963, the General Assembly met in special session to consider, inter alia, the financial situation of the Organization in the light of a report of the Working Group on the Examination of the Administrative and Budgetary Procedures of the United Nations. At the end of the session, on 27 June 1963, it adopted a resolution in which it noted with concern the financial situation resulting from the non-payment of a substantial portion of past assessments for the Special Account for the United Nations Emergency Force and the Ad Hoc Account for the United Nations Operation in the Congo, and appealed to Member States in arrears in respect of these accounts to pay their arrears, disregarding other factors, as soon as their respective constitutional and financial arrangements would permit.

At that time, the arrears to the peace-keeping accounts totalled \$99.7 million, the Organization had cash resources totalling \$57.9 million and its deficit was some \$114 million.

Fifteen months later, on 30 September 1964, the arrears for the two accounts totalled \$112.3 million, the Organization's cash resources totalled \$24.8 million and its deficit was \$113.3 million.

Thus, over a fifteen-month period, there has been virtually no improvement in the deficit position although

in that period the Organization was able to apply in settlement of its debts approximately \$50 million of non-recurring income which derived from the sale of United Nations bonds and from the collection of assessments and voluntary contributions to the Ad Hoc Account for the United Nations Operation in the Congo.

While a further \$15 million may be received for United Nations bonds, the present prospect in respect of the over-all financial position is that unless the deficit is to be further increased the Organization's cash resources will practically disappear within the next six months.

In this situation I found it necessary to say in my statement to the Working Group in September: "... I am convinced by the experience of the past three years that a policy of drift, of improvisation, of ad hoc solutions, of reliance on the generosity of the few rather than the collective responsibility of all, cannot much longer endure. In fact, time, if I may say so, is rapidly running out. It is imperative, therefore, that your efforts in the weeks that remain between now and the nineteenth session of the General Assembly be crowned with success."

Since I addressed the Working Group in September, it has been decided further to postpone the opening of the nineteenth session to 1 December 1964. Meanwhile valiant efforts have been and are being made, both within and outside the Working Group, to find a solution for the financial crisis which may be acceptable to all sides. I would like to express my deep appreciation for these efforts, and I can only hope that such a solution may be found before the General Assembly meets.

#### XV

By resolutions 1991 A and B (XVIII), the General Assembly adopted amendments to Articles 23, 27 and 61 of the Charter to increase the number of nonpermanent members of the Security Council and to enlarge the membership of the Economic and Social Council. These amendments have so far been ratified by only thirty-two Members. They will come into force only when they have been ratified by two-thirds of the Members, including all the permanent members of the Security Council. As of today, none of the permanent members of the Security Council has done so. I sincerely hope that there will be greater progress in the ratification of these amendments in the near future, and that we may see the membership of both these principal organs expanded in 1965. I am sure that such expansion, which will make it possible to secure more adequate geographical representation in the two Councils, will contribute to the greater effectiveness of both bodies.

#### XVI

In July 1964, the second summit conference of the Organization of African Unity took place in Cairo. I was privileged to be able to attend this conference by invitation, and to address it. I was also able to exchange views with many African leaders whom I had been looking forward to meeting for some time. The proceedings of the conference confirm the optimistic view which I had expressed in the introduction to the

annual report last year, and I am particularly grateful for the resolutions adopted by the conference, which were directed towards strengthening the effectiveness of the United Nations.

In October 1964, the Second Conference of the Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries took place, also in Cairo. Although I was unable to participate in this conference, I did send a message to it. Practically all the items on the agenda of the conference were also items under consideration by the United Nations. I hope that the conclusions reached at the conference will make a useful contribution to the discussion of related items on the agenda of the nineteenth session.

Steadily the Organization is continuing to make progress towards universality. Before long we will be welcoming Malawi, Malta and Zambia into the world body. Some countries, which are not Members of the United Nations but are members of specialized agencies, are represented in New York, and have also been participating in various activities undertaken by the world body, especially in the economic field. In addition, I believe that their presence in New York has helped them towards a better understanding of the international scene. Fully cognizant of the political difficulties involved, I cannot help but wonder whether the time has not come when other countries not at present represented in New York should be enabled to maintain contact with the world body and be able to listen to its deliberations. In this way, they too would obtain an exposure, now denied them, to the currents and cross-currents of opinion in the world Organization. I feel that such exposure will have beneficial results which might well outweigh the political objections.

During recent weeks there have been changes in political leadership in two major Governments, as well as in some others, while in a third recent elections have confirmed the present leadership for a further term with a reinforced popular mandate. I am confident that in 1965, which has been acclaimed as International Co-operation Year, these leaders, as well as the leaders of all other countries, will do their utmost to promote international understanding, to reduce tensions and to reach agreement on issues on which agreement seems so near. In particular, I would urge that in 1965 we should press forward to make progress towards disarmament and to reverse the arms race, especially the nuclear arms race. I also hope that we might see an end to the financial crisis which the Organization has faced in recent years, as I believe that the solution of this crisis will improve the international climate and usher in the International Co-operation Year under the most favourable conditions.

The General Assembly is due to meet on 1 December, later than it has ever done before, in a hall which has undergone seating alterations and has been equipped with facilities for electronic voting. May I hope that the Assembly will also meet in an atmosphere of goodwill, which will be congenial to the realization of the purposes of the Charter.

U THANT Secretary-General

18 November 1964

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