



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

September 1968

GENERAL ASSEMBLY
OFFICIAL RECORDS : TWENTY-THIRD SESSION
SUPPLEMENT No. 1A (A/7201/Add.1)

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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.

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Introduction

I. General

1. I noted in the introduction to the annual report last year that the international situation at that time had not only not improved, but had in fact deteriorated considerably. In general, the deterioration has continued throughout the past year. There has been no progress towards peace in Viet-Nam and the military conflict is continuing with unabated ferocity, while every passing day reinforces my conviction that this problem cannot be solved by military means. The initial promise of the Paris talks between the representatives of the Democratic People's Republic of Viet-Nam and the United States of America is fading away. In the Middle East, the year has been one of continuing tension and frustration. The most recent developments in Czechoslovakia have cast a long shadow and created a feeling of uneasiness and insecurity which will take determination and sustained effort to overcome.

2. Some limited progress has been made in disarmament, where the outstanding event during the year was the conclusion of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. The Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States is still in session at the time of writing and one can only hope that it may lead to some positive results. In the field of outer space and human rights, two major international conferences have been held during the past year and their deliberations are reviewed elsewhere. In the field of economic and social development, the second session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development has not lived up to the high hopes and great expectations that the participants, especially from the developing countries, brought to it.

3. The frustrations to which I have referred every year in respect of the chronic problems in the field of decolonization, *apartheid* and other problems which have so long persisted in Africa south of the equator, in defiance of the United Nations, have continued and deepened. These problems are also dealt with in greater detail elsewhere in this introduction.

4. I referred last year to the progress made in regard to the discharge of the responsibilities of the United Nations in West Irian. As I noted then, the Indonesian Government had given me assurances that it would comply fully with the remaining responsibilities concerning West Irian deriving from the Agreement signed on 15 August 1962 by the Republic of Indonesia and the Kingdom of the Netherlands. Pursuant to these assurances, I appointed Mr. Fernando Ortiz-Sanz as my representative for the "act of free choice" by the inhabitants of West Irian. Mr. Ortiz-Sanz, together with his initial staff, arrived in Djakarta on 12 August 1968 for consultations with the Indonesian Government on the arrangements and modalities regarding the act of free choice, including the fixing of the date of the consultations, which will be held some time in 1969. On 23 August, he travelled to West Irian and has now completed a tour of the territory to acquaint himself with conditions there. According to the provisions of

article 17 of the Agreement of 15 August 1962, my representative "will carry out the Secretary-General's responsibilities to advise, assist and participate in arrangements which are the responsibility of Indonesia for the act of free choice". Thus, with the co-operation of the Indonesian Government, the remaining provisions of the Agreement which brought to an end the dispute between the Republic of Indonesia and the Kingdom of the Netherlands concerning West Irian will, I hope, be fulfilled within the time specified in the Agreement. I shall, of course, report to the General Assembly at the conclusion of my representative's mission to West Irian.

5. Within the Organization itself, once again I find it necessary to report with regret that the financial difficulties are no nearer solution. In fact, the Organization's financial position deteriorated during the past year in that net liquid assets—cash and investments plus current accounts receivable less current accounts payable—decreased by \$15.3 million between 30 June 1967 and 30 June 1968. Unpaid contributions assessed on Member States in respect of the regular budget increased during the period by \$20.5 million, while there was a decrease of \$2 million in respect of the Special Account for the United Nations Emergency Force and the amount in respect of the *Ad Hoc* Account for the United Nations Operation in the Congo remained unchanged. The unpaid assessments for the three accounts as of 30 June 1968 totalled \$260.7 million, an increase of \$18.5 million over the previous year.

6. Moreover, the amount of cash on hand plus short-term investments which could be readily converted to cash decreased during the twelve-month period from \$15.8 million to \$7.6 million, the latter figure representing less than one month's cash requirements for regular budget activities.

7. No additional pledges of voluntary contributions were made during this period to assist the Organization out of its financial difficulties, although a payment of approximately \$1.5 million was received from one Government with regard to an earlier pledge.

8. As of 30 June 1968, the Working Capital Fund had been depleted principally because of the necessity to make advances of \$27.3 million to finance regular budgetary expenditures pending the receipt of assessed contributions and advances of \$11.9 million to the United Nations Emergency Force Special Account.

9. The figures given above relate only to the regular budget and to peace-keeping operations financed in whole or in part by assessed contributions. They do not take into account an estimated deficit of about \$8.7 million as of 26 June 1968 in respect of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus. In the circumstances, I cannot but be concerned about the unfavourable prospects in the near future of being able to honour the Organization's commitments to reimburse the Member States for the extra and extraordinary costs they incurred in providing men and *matériel* for

the various peace-keeping operations of the United Nations. The cumulative shortfall in the payment of assessments in respect of the regular budget is likewise a matter of continuing serious concern.

10. I trust the General Assembly will give renewed attention to the problem of finding prompt and effective means for restoring the financial integrity and solvency of the Organization.

11. The question of peace-keeping operations continues to pose serious and difficult problems. It is increasingly obvious that the system of voluntary contributions, on which the financing of the peace-keeping operations in Cyprus is based, is unsatisfactory from several points of view. As I have noted above, no new voluntary contributions have been made since my last report, and there has been no progress, either towards a solution of the problem of indebtedness for past operations or towards agreement on means of financing present and possible future activities in this field.

12. However, there have been some welcome indications of possible movement in regard to other aspects of the question. The consensus reached on 28 May by the working group of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations, under which it will study, as a first model in its programme of work, the military observer operations established or authorized by the Security Council, represents a hopeful sign of willingness on all sides to consider new departures as a means of moving towards a solution. It is noteworthy that the decision was taken by a working group comprising, among others, representatives of four permanent members of the Security Council. There appears to be a growing recognition that what is involved in the notion of peace-keeping operations is closely related to the whole range of functions of the Organization in respect of the maintenance of international peace and security and in regard to methods for the pacific settlement of disputes. It is to be hoped that the study launched by the working group will lead to a realistic examination of this most important of its responsibilities.

13. During the past year, I put forward proposals for the first major change in the structure of the top echelon of the Secretariat in over a decade. These proposals were unanimously approved by the General Assembly at its twenty-second session. At that time, I had announced my intention of appointing a committee of seven members to review the Organization of the Secretariat. This committee was appointed early this year and has been working continuously since April. It has undertaken field trips to the major United Nations offices away from Headquarters, at Geneva, Rome, Vienna, Beirut, Addis Ababa, Bangkok and Santiago. The Committee is now engaged in finalizing its report, and I look forward to receiving its recommendations with the greatest interest. I have no doubt that they will prove of practical value in my continuing efforts to improve the structure as well as the functioning of the Secretariat.

II. Disarmament

14. The past year has been a year of achievement in the field of disarmament. The successful conclusion of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons is the culmination of ten years of efforts in the United Nations and in the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament. After a year of intensive negotiations in the Eighteen-Nation Com-

mittee the draft treaty was also subjected to a most thorough and detailed consideration at the resumed twenty-second session of the General Assembly this year. As a result of that consideration, a number of important improvements were introduced into the text and the revised draft treaty was commended by an overwhelming vote on 12 June 1968. The Treaty was opened for signature on 1 July 1968 and more than seventy States have already signed it. The General Assembly, in resolution 2373 (XXII), called for the widest possible adherence to the Treaty; I am hopeful that the necessary ratifications will shortly be forthcoming so that the Treaty may enter into force at the earliest possible date.

15. The Treaty, which has been acclaimed as "the most important international agreement in the field of disarmament since the nuclear age began" and as "a major success for the cause of peace", is important on several accounts. First, the purpose of the Treaty is to prevent the further spread of nuclear weapons among countries which do not possess them and establishes a safeguards system for the purpose of verifying the fulfilment of the obligations assumed under the Treaty. If this international agreement is duly implemented, it will help to limit and contain the threat of nuclear war.

16. Secondly, the Treaty not only reaffirms the inalienable right of non-nuclear-weapon States to develop research and the production and use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes without discrimination; it also provides that all parties to the Treaty are to facilitate, and have the right to participate in, the fullest possible exchange of equipment, materials and scientific and technological information for the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. In particular, the Treaty provides that, under appropriate international observation and through appropriate international procedures, potential benefits from any peaceful applications of nuclear explosions will be made available to non-nuclear-weapon States parties to the Treaty on a non-discriminatory basis, and that the charge to such parties for the explosive devices used will be as low as possible and will exclude any charge for research and development.

17. Thirdly, since the Treaty is not an end in itself but a step towards disarmament, each of the parties to the Treaty undertakes to pursue negotiations in good faith on effective measures relating to the cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date and to nuclear disarmament, and also on a treaty on general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control.

18. Agreement on these provisions, let us not forget, was reached only after several years of long and patient negotiations and even a longer period of preparatory work extending as far back as 1958, when the first draft resolution on preventing the spread of nuclear weapons was introduced in the General Assembly. Many adjustments and mutual concessions had to be made along the way by the parties concerned, both nuclear and non-nuclear. As a result, the final outcome necessarily represents a compromise solution. Yet, I am confident that, if this Treaty is accepted by the great majority of States and is faithfully implemented, it will play an essential role in the continuing pursuit of security, disarmament and peace.

19. Indeed, the question of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons has provided additional evidence of how closely security and the regulation of armaments are linked together. It is enough to mention, in this

connexion, the debate in the Security Council, following the conclusion of the Treaty, which led, first, to declarations of intentions by the USSR, the United Kingdom and the United States that they would provide or support immediate assistance, in accordance with the Charter, to any non-nuclear-weapon State party to the Treaty that was a victim of an act or an object of a threat of aggression in which nuclear weapons were used, and, secondly, to the adoption of Security Council resolution 255 (1968) on the question of the security of non-nuclear-weapon States.

20. Further evidence of how much the international community is concerned with the security of States which have forsworn nuclear weapons is provided by the programme of work of the Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States, which was convened at Geneva on 29 August 1968, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 2346 B (XXII). Two main questions before the Conference are programmes for co-operation in the field of peaceful uses of nuclear energy, and measures to assure the security of non-nuclear-weapon States. In dealing with the latter question, the Conference may be expected to give consideration to feasible measures of disarmament which can best contribute to security.

21. Owing to the fact that for a number of years the efforts towards disarmament have been concentrated on the issue of non-proliferation, less attention has been given to other important aspects of the disarmament question. Therefore, it will be desirable for the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament and the General Assembly to review the situation and take up, with firmness of purpose, those questions which are more urgent and more amenable to early agreement.

22. One such question is a comprehensive test ban treaty. Undoubtedly, a treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in all environments would be a most desirable step following the conclusion of the Treaty of the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. Very appropriately, the preamble of the Treaty recalls the determination expressed by the parties to the 1963 Treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water to seek to achieve the discontinuance of all test explosions of nuclear weapons for all time. Moreover, progress in the identification of seismic events has reduced to manageable proportions the issue of verification of a comprehensive ban. It is, indeed, to be hoped that improved instrumentation, international co-operation in the exchange of seismic data, and the use of statistical methods can provide a control system sufficiently reliable to deter parties to an agreement from violating such an agreement.

23. "A comprehensive test ban treaty, prohibiting the underground testing of nuclear devices, would . . . contribute to the objectives of non-proliferation and would clearly help to slow down the nuclear arms race." This was one of the conclusions in my report to the twenty-second session of the General Assembly, transmitting the study of the consultant group on the effects of the possible use of nuclear weapons and the security and economic implications for States of the acquisition and further development of these weapons. I believe it is fitting to recall this unanimous statement of a group of highly qualified experts from all parts of the world.

24. The group further noted that the objectives of non-proliferation would be served also by other effective

measures safeguarding the security of non-nuclear-weapon countries. In its words, "nuclear-weapon-free zones additional to those of Antarctica and Latin America, covering the maximum geographical extent possible and taking into account other measures of arms control and disarmament, would equally be of major assistance". At the twenty-second session of the General Assembly, the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America received considerable attention. The Assembly, in resolution 2286 (XXII), welcomed the Treaty with special satisfaction, as an event of historic significance in the efforts to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons and to promote international peace and security.

25. The Assembly also commended the Treaty as having established the right of Latin American countries to use nuclear energy for demonstrated peaceful purposes in order to accelerate the economic and social development of their peoples. It is, indeed, in the interest of all countries to see that the Treaty enjoys universal observance and that its entry into force is not in any way delayed.

26. "Whatever the path to national and international security in the future", the report concluded, "it is certainly not to be found in the further spread and elaboration of nuclear weapons". At this stage, after the conclusion of the Treaty on non-proliferation, I believe that the closest attention must be given to the situation in the entire nuclear sector, including the development of new weapons.

27. In spite of the limited successes which have been achieved in the field of arms control during the last ten years, the situation is still fraught with dangers. The stockpiles of nuclear weapons possessed by the great Powers are still increasing. The development and deployment of anti-missile systems are spurting accelerated changes in offensive missile technology. The possible military uses of the sea-bed and the ocean floor beyond the limits of present national jurisdiction are causing growing concern. New biological and chemical weapons are developed and tested in scientific laboratories.

28. As regards nuclear delivery vehicles, the willingness on the part of the United States and the Soviet Union to open talks aimed at limiting and reducing both offensive nuclear weapons and defensive anti-missile systems is an encouraging step forward. It would not be realistic, however, to underestimate the difficulties that will have to be overcome before agreement is reached on this very complicated question. Having this in mind, I strongly feel that the testing and development of new nuclear weapon systems should be halted while the talks are going on. This would, in my opinion, facilitate the difficult task that the two major nuclear Powers will have to face.

29. The unanimous adoption of resolution 2340 (XXII) on the question of the reservation exclusively for peaceful purposes of the sea-bed and the ocean floor, and the subsoil thereof, and the uses of their resources in the interests of mankind was a positive achievement of the General Assembly at its twenty-second session. It is necessary, however, that the initial steps envisaged by the resolution be followed soon by further measures of international co-operation aimed at preventing actions and uses which might be detrimental to the common interests of mankind.

30. While progress is being made in the field of nuclear disarmament, there is another aspect of the disarmament problem to which I feel too little attention

has been devoted in recent years. The question of chemical and biological weapons has been overshadowed by the question of nuclear weapons, which have a destructive power several orders of magnitude greater than that of chemical and biological weapons. Nevertheless, these too are weapons of mass destruction regarded with universal horror. In some respects they may be even more dangerous than nuclear weapons because they do not require the enormous expenditure of financial and scientific resources that are required for nuclear weapons. Almost all countries, including small ones and developing ones, may have access to these weapons, which can be manufactured quite cheaply, quickly and secretly in small laboratories or factories. This fact in itself makes the problem of control and inspection much more difficult. Moreover, since the adoption, on 17 June 1925, of the Geneva Protocol for the Prohibition of the Use in War of Asphyxiating, Poisonous or Other Gases and of Bacteriological Methods of Warfare, there have been many scientific and technical developments and numerous improvements, if that is the right word, in chemical and biological weapons, which have created new situations and new problems. On the one hand, there has been a great increase in the capability of these weapons to inflict unimaginable suffering, disease and death to ever larger numbers of human beings; on the other hand, there has been a growing tendency to use some chemical agents for civilian riot control and a dangerous trend to accept their use in some form in conventional warfare.

31. Two years ago, by resolution 2162 B (XXI), the General Assembly called for the strict observance by all States of the principles and objectives of the Geneva Protocol of 1925, condemned all actions contrary to those objectives and invited all States to accede to the Protocol. Once again I would like to add my voice to those of others in urging the early and complete implementation of this resolution. However, in my opinion, much more is needed.

32. During the twenty-three years of the existence of the United Nations, there has never been a thorough discussion in any United Nations organ of the problems posed by chemical and biological weapons, nor has there been a detailed study of them. Recently the matter has been receiving more attention and it is felt that the time has come to deal with it more fully. I therefore welcome the recommendation of the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament to the General Assembly that the Secretary-General appoint a group of experts to study the effects of the possible use of chemical and bacteriological means of warfare. I believe that such a study, which would explore and weigh the dangers of chemical and biological weapons, would prove to be a most useful undertaking at the present time. It could attract attention to an area of multiplying dangers and of diminishing public appreciation of them. It could also serve to clarify the issues in an area which has become increasingly complex. Certainly a wider and deeper understanding of the dangers posed by these weapons could be an important element in knowing how best to deal with them.

III. Outer space

33. The first decade of outer space exploration has shown, in a most convincing manner, that remarkable progress has been made in the conquest of outer space. The outstanding achievements of the two major space Powers, the Soviet Union and the United States, de-

monstrate the gigantic developments in space science and technology. I welcome these achievements as serving not only national interests but also the common interests of all nations. At the same time I venture to hope that the progress achieved by the major space Powers as well as by many of the other countries in space science and technology will help in man's economic and social development.

34. This will be possible only through the continuation and strengthening of the close co-operation that has taken place between the two major space Powers, as well as between them and other countries, both within the United Nations and the specialized agencies concerned and on a bilateral basis. It is in recognition of this vital need that the United Nations took the initiative to convene an international conference under the auspices of the United Nations so as to ensure the wide and full participation of all States in the exploration of outer space.

35. The United Nations Conference on the Exploration and Peaceful Uses of Outer Space set itself the task of examining the practical benefits to be derived from space research and exploration on the basis of technical and scientific achievement and the extent to which non-space countries, especially the developing countries, may enjoy these benefits as well as take part in international co-operation in space activities. It was noted in the many valuable papers presented to the Conference that, while the full measure of benefits to be derived from space technology is still unknown, exploration of outer space has far-reaching implications for many areas of life on this planet. Thus the developments in the area of space communication, for purposes of dissemination of information and mass education in particular, could, on the one hand, help the promotion of international collaboration and, on the other, aid significantly in the advancement of developing countries in the near future. In the area of meteorology, programmes such as the World Weather Watch, under the direction of the World Meteorological Organization, will help to provide systematic weather observation and eventually aid weather modification and control, with resulting benefits to all countries. The developments in space communications and meteorology, as well as earth resource survey satellites, were envisaged to help to a very great extent in solving the problems of economic and social development.

36. Emphasis was placed on the need to co-ordinate and aid the development of existing bilateral and multi-lateral programmes for education and training in space science, particularly those of the developing countries, in a sustained and effective manner. Similarly, there was a vital need to encourage and strengthen international co-operative efforts in space activity if the number of States taking part in space activity was to increase. In this regard, international organizations were recognized as having a special responsibility.

37. The General Assembly will have before it at the present session a detailed report of the Conference. I should like to reiterate the hope that this will be only a first step in publicizing the practical benefits of space exploration and that it will ultimately result in joint practical ventures and bring the benefits of space exploration to all nations. An example of a joint venture that is already pointing the way towards international co-operation for non-space Powers is the United Nations-sponsored Thumba Equatorial Sounding Rocket Launching Station in India. The dedication of this station, which is now fully operational, took

place this year. In this connexion, I note with satisfaction that the Assembly at its last session endorsed the decision of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space to appoint a group of scientists to visit the sounding rocket station at Mar del Plata, Argentina, when it is operative, in order to advise the United Nations of the eligibility of that station for United Nations sponsorship.

38. In order to ensure that practical benefits of space exploration will accrue to all countries irrespective of their degree of economic development, space activities must be carried out in an orderly fashion. The United Nations has taken several important steps in this direction during the last few years. The Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, including the Moon and other Celestial Bodies, which was unanimously acclaimed by the General Assembly, came into force on 10 October 1967, establishing a legal régime in this environment which might otherwise have become an area of conflict and strife.

39. During the last year, the United Nations continued its work in this direction and further elaborated the provisions of the Treaty in the Agreement on the Rescue of Astronauts, the Return of Astronauts and the Return of Objects Launched into Outer Space, which was unanimously commended by the Assembly at its last session. It is heartening to note that this Agreement, was opened for signature in April this year in London, Moscow and Washington, has already been signed by more than fifty countries.

40. I am hopeful that this spirit of co-operation will continue to maintain the new environment as an area of peace through the process of law. In particular, it is my hope that the present agreements will shortly be supplemented by an agreement on liability for damage caused by objects launched into outer space, which is at present being discussed in the Organization. In this connexion, I am also gratified to note that the International Telecommunication Union will convene a conference in 1970 for the purpose of continuing its work in the area of frequency control for space communications.

41. I hope that the present trend will continue in order to establish a régime for the furtherance of peace and co-operation in outer space and to provide useful analogies for other areas which may require new arrangements in the near future.

IV. Peace-keeping

42. The year since the war of early June 1967 has been one of high tension and great frustration in the Middle East. The war came quickly to an end, but the cease-fire demanded by the Security Council has often been broken by a succession of incidents of fighting varying in seriousness. This was especially the case in the Israel-Jordan and the Suez Canal sectors. The machinery of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization in Palestine, although truncated and dislocated by the events of June 1967, has been an important factor in preventing an escalation of the fighting, especially by limiting the scope of incidents and by securing on-the-spot cease-fires through the cease-fire arrangements in the Syrian and the Suez Canal sectors made after the June war. In the Israel-Jordan cease-fire sector, where because of the lack of agreement by the parties it has not been possible to station United Nations observers, incidents of fighting have tended to be more frequent and serious. Indeed, the

Security Council has had to meet on several occasions as a result of such incidents. I have repeatedly urged that observers be stationed in all cease-fire sectors and have stressed that such arrangements of a practical nature, which need not prejudice the claims and positions of the parties, would be in the interest both of the parties and of the United Nations.

43. It must be borne in mind, in considering the background for the many and regrettable breaches of the cease-fire, that on one side the cease-fire sectors in the Middle East are almost entirely areas under military occupation. History shows that such situations tend to give rise to a more than ordinary incidence of acts of violence.

44. In the light of the situation in the area of the conflict of June 1967 and especially in the occupied territories, I felt that there was a great need for—and had proposed—a second humanitarian mission to the Middle East, in particular for the purpose of meeting my reporting obligations under Security Council resolution 237 (1967) and General Assembly resolution 2252 (ES-V) concerning humanitarian questions. It was with great disappointment, therefore, that I had to report on 31 July 1968 to the Security Council and the General Assembly that my efforts in this regard had thus far been unavailing.

45. The situation of the refugees since the June war has further deteriorated, and the task of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East has become correspondingly more difficult. In particular the shortage of funds, food, supplies and equipment to meet the emergency conditions has on occasion been acute. With this in mind, I addressed two appeals to Governments for special contributions, one on 2 March 1968, for funds and additional tents, and the other for food aid made jointly with the Director-General of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations on 30 April 1968. The response to both these appeals has been disappointingly limited.

46. Hopes for progress towards easing tensions in the Middle East and avoiding conflict through solution of the major issues between the Arab States and Israel have centred on the efforts of my Special Representative to the Middle East, Ambassador Gunnar Jarring. By their very nature, these efforts must be confidential and discreet. It has been Ambassador Jarring's policy to make no public pronouncements or even substantive reports while his efforts continue. It would be equally inadvisable for me at this time to discuss substantive questions relating to the Jarring mission. It may, however, be useful to make some general comments at this stage on that mission in the context of the Middle East situation and also in the larger context of the United Nations involvement in it.

47. Resolution 242 (1967) adopted unanimously by the Security Council on 22 November 1967 was in itself a considerable achievement and provided a basis for a constructive and peaceful approach both by the parties and by the international community to the bitter problems of the Middle East. The resolution provided for a special representative "to establish and maintain contacts with the States concerned in order to promote agreement and assist efforts to achieve a peaceful and accepted settlement". This was a heavy responsibility for one man to undertake, but in a practical sense it was the wisest of the obviously limited alternatives.

48. The tireless, persistent and understanding efforts of Ambassador Jarring over the past nine months have

more than justified the confidence placed in him by me and by the Security Council. No one has ever doubted the extreme difficulty and complexity of the problems with which he has had to grapple, and certainly no reasonable person could have expected quick or miraculous solutions. I do not find it surprising, although it is disappointing, that despite Ambassador Jarring's unceasing efforts the promise of the 22 November resolution has not yet been fulfilled in any significant degree. The basic situation in the Middle East in relation even to the beginnings of a settlement remains much the same as it was eight months ago. Until now, the one clear point of agreement among all concerned has been that Ambassador Jarring should continue his efforts.

49. This, certainly, is a personal tribute to Ambassador Jarring, and it may be hoped that it is also an expression of a genuine desire of the parties to find a peaceful solution. There is implicit in the Middle East situation, of course, a very great urgency about achieving a peaceful settlement. No one is more sensitive to this than Ambassador Jarring himself. In the interest of peace, the United Nations cannot tolerate an indefinite lack of progress towards a peaceful settlement in the Middle East.

50. Ambassador Jarring's efforts to promote agreement among the parties to the Middle East dispute have been impeded by the disagreement among them thus far on the procedure to be employed in taking up the substantive questions. One party has insisted upon "direct negotiations" by which is meant, apparently, a face-to-face confrontation of the two sides; the other side has rejected, initially at any rate, the direct procedure, but has been willing to carry on substantive talks concerning the implementation of the resolution indirectly, with Ambassador Jarring as the intermediary. All of his efforts will be unavailing unless he is able to carry on some form of dialogue with the two sides involving matters of substance. Such a dialogue cannot be fruitful if it is substantive on one side but only procedural on the other.

51. The key to a peaceful settlement of issues dividing States and peoples which lead to armed conflict, or threaten to do so, is negotiation. It is often difficult, owing to political and other circumstances, to bring the parties involved in a conflict to the negotiating table, and there is no certainty that, once they are there, agreement can be reached within any reasonable period of time.

52. Negotiations may be undertaken in different ways. There is no fixed formula controlling them. A workable procedure in one set of circumstances may be quite impractical and unsuitable in another. The right road, obviously, is that which will lead to fruitful negotiations, whether direct or indirect. It would seem to me that as a general rule the emphasis should be on the results rather than on the procedure.

53. As this text is being written, three different sets of peace negotiations are under way, each differing from the others in the procedure being followed. These are the preliminary talks in Paris on Viet-Nam, the talks between leaders of the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities in Cyprus and the talks on the Middle East being undertaken by Ambassador Jarring.

54. These talks differ from each other in the extent of the initiatives taken by the parties involved, or by a third party, in bringing them about, in their direct or indirect nature, and in the extent of assistance given to the parties by a third party as the negotiations pro-

ceed. It will be recalled that the successful talks between India and Pakistan at Tashkent in January 1966 were arranged through the good offices of the Soviet Union, whose representatives assisted the two parties in the talks. In this regard, it may also be recalled that the negotiations at Rhodes in 1949, which led to the general armistice agreements between the four Arab States and Israel, were arranged by the United Nations. At Rhodes negotiations as such were basically indirect, the respective parties being brought together in meetings under the chairmanship of the Acting Mediator to formalize agreements reached by indirect talks through him.

55. It is often said, in the Security Council and elsewhere, by parties to conflicts that, while the United Nations has achieved a measure of success in keeping the peace in areas of conflict, it has failed or is failing in its duty to resolve the political problems at the root of these conflicts. Those who hold such views tend to overlook the simple fact that the primary responsibility for peaceful settlement of conflicts must inevitably rest with the parties themselves and that without their co-operation and effort no peace mission of the United Nations, however skilfully conducted or strongly supported, can hope to succeed. On the other hand, given that co-operation, the United Nations can be of inestimable assistance. This is nowhere truer than in the Middle East.

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56. After four years of tension and conflict, during which the situation in Cyprus was kept under control in no small measure by the efforts of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force, a number of developments of unusual significance and promise have occurred on the island during the past several months. The armed clashes at Ayios Theodoros and Kophinou in November 1967 had brought the intercommunal confrontation to an explosive state and had for a time even threatened to disrupt international peace in the eastern Mediterranean. Wiser counsels prevailed, however, and as a result of intensive diplomatic efforts, including three appeals that I addressed to the parties, the danger of war receded and an accommodation was arrived at whereby Greek and Turkish armed personnel in excess of the respective national contingents would be withdrawn from Cyprus.

57. There has ensued, since the beginning of 1968, a steady relaxation of tension marked by increasing contacts between Greek and Turkish Cypriots, a very significant reduction in shooting and other intercommunal incidents, and a large-scale effort by the Government to return the country to normality by eliminating economic restrictions and granting full freedom of movement to the Turkish Cypriots.

58. In this improved atmosphere, my Special Representative has been able to arrange for direct intercommunal talks, the first serious contacts of this kind in four and a half years. These talks, which began in early June of this year, have so far been encouraging. Of course, many difficulties remain to be overcome and the participants in the talks and other leaders in both communities will have to continue to display statesmanship, forbearance and mutual understanding of the highest order if lasting and sound results are to be achieved. In full realization of the difficulties, however, it is possible to say that in Cyprus there would now seem to be some real promise of progress towards a settlement.

59. The United Nations Peace-keeping Force will, of course, do everything possible within its terms of reference to assist the parties in promoting a return to full normality, and the good offices of the Secretary-General, either directly or through my Special Representative, continue to be available to the parties in the effort to achieve a peaceful settlement of the Cyprus problem.

60. I feel obliged, nevertheless, to warn the parties involved in the Cyprus dispute of the need to move with speed towards a solution of the problem, for the financial situation in connexion with the Force has continued to deteriorate and the deficit for this operation now stands at a figure of approximately \$13,586,000. In my periodic reports to the Security Council on the operation in Cyprus, I have repeatedly underscored the unsatisfactory method decided upon by the Security Council for the financing of the Force, but no remedial action has yet been taken. I feel bound, therefore, again to give warning, and particularly to the parties to the Cyprus dispute, that the United Nations Peace-keeping Force cannot, in these circumstances, be maintained much longer on the island, and that the time is fast approaching when drastic action—even including the withdrawal of the Force—may have to be taken.

V. Economic and social development

61. The advancement of the preliminary work for the second development decade has offered an opportunity for a useful soul-searching exercise with regard to the achievements as well as the disappointments of the first United Nations Development Decade now nearing its close. Certainly most of the key problems facing the world community are not substantially different from those which were described in the early sixties: the food-population equation, education, transfer of science and technology, mobilization of financial resources, foreign exchange and general strategy of development. However, short-comings and imbalances have been more clearly identified and in many of these areas it is obvious that changes are beginning to take place; in some cases, there has even been a breakthrough.

62. A large proportion of the world's population is still subjected to an inadequate and unacceptable standard of living, and the present rate of growth of the gross domestic product of too many developing countries does not offer particular grounds for optimism. Such a situation amply justifies the concerted efforts which are now being planned within the framework of the second United Nations Development Decade.

63. The Economic and Social Council, at its recent session in Geneva, took the necessary steps to expedite the preliminary work and to intensify national and international efforts to formulate a dynamic international policy for the seventies. In the course of the discussions, a number of valuable suggestions were made with a view to improving the over-simplified framework established in the early sixties, drawing up a more diversified set of assumptions, and developing a mechanism which would measure progress and point out short-comings during the implementation phase. Steps must also be taken to keep the public abreast of the aims and objectives and of the problems encountered during this period. At a time when interest in United Nations activities and in the concept of collective responsibility for economic development has appeared to be vacillating it is all the more important to

associate not only Governments, but also public opinion with the preparation and, later on, with the implementation of a strategy for the next decade.

64. Many United Nations bodies will, in the near future, have the second Development Decade on their agenda. In fact, current efforts may well be a landmark in interagency co-operation, with a number of organizations uniting their efforts as they have never done before to harmonize their views in a technically complex manner.

65. At this stage, I should like to stress the importance of the role to be played by the regional economic commissions in the implementation of a global strategy as embodied in the objectives of the second Development Decade.

66. In the past year, the regional economic commissions have again shown their effectiveness as indispensable arms of the United Nations in its economic and social development efforts, particularly with respect to the developing countries. I believe that we are now on the verge of a new stage of administrative decentralization. The commissions, which are in close touch with local conditions and are aware of current needs, will serve as centres of initiative and will facilitate the implementation of United Nations policies. It may well prove easier, at the regional level, to achieve a proper combination of policy-making and operational activities. The three commissions covering the developing countries—the Economic Commission for Africa, the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East and the Economic Commission for Latin America—paid special attention to promoting programmes which would accelerate the economic and social progress of the poorer and least developed countries. The question of the most appropriate forms of external assistance has to be studied in depth. The United Nations Development Programme could contribute in the search for ways of giving some priority to the needs of the least developed countries.

67. That might form part of the capacity study which is being undertaken by the Programme and which I have welcomed as an effort to reassess the performance of the United Nations system in a large sector of its technical co-operation and pre-investment activities. There might also be a case for using, to this end and as a matter of priority, the resources of the Capital Development Fund.

68. The Capital Development Fund's first year has been disappointing. The level of resources, as provided by the first Pledging Conference, did not permit the Administrator of the United Nations Development Programme to begin the operations of the Fund. A second Pledging Conference is to be convened on 18 October 1968 and the Economic and Social Council, at its recent session in Geneva, expressed the hope—which I share—that Governments of Member States will take the necessary steps to participate in the Conference.

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69. Record wheat crops and unparalleled yields of rice and maize during the last year prompted predictions that the race between food and population could be won. Some experts now believe that the underdeveloped world is on the verge of an agricultural revolution that may prove decisive for mankind and they cite developments in farming practices and in

human attitudes as harbingers of that revolution. Still, the population problem remains a major source of anxiety for it has to be viewed in a much wider context than the food population equation. Associated with that problem are those of education, employment and the provision of numerous essential services. The question of population growth has only recently emerged as critical and urgent and, in spite of the many problems which still remain, a new thinking has developed in this respect in many parts of the world. The unanimous adoption by the General Assembly on 17 December 1966 of resolution 2211 (XXI) on population growth and economic development marked a turning-point in that there was recognition of the gravity of population problems and the necessity for accelerated action to implement the expanded programme recommended by the Population Commission. The Governments of some twenty developing countries have already decided to adopt policies and measures to moderate population growth, and a number of other developing countries are contemplating the adoption of similar policies. Most national family planning programmes are integral parts of the national plan for economic and social development.

70. The process of transformation of the traditional attitude towards the family will, however, be slow and the obstacles will not be overcome in a short time. We have only established the first milestone on a long road and it is with this in mind that we should continue to build up the United Nations population programme at the instigation of Member States. I have been gratified by the contributions made so far to the Trust Fund for Population Activities, which I decided to set up in July 1967. I hope that more resources will be made available in order to promote a further strengthening of United Nations assistance in this field, especially at the regional and local levels, which an increasing number of Governments would welcome.

71. Even if the most optimistic predictions about a decline in the rate of population increase should be realized and even if the most hopeful predictions of a significant increase in food production should come true, millions of people would continue to suffer from malnutrition. This is so partly because of the continued inadequacy of the supply of protein. Fortunately, more and more attention is being paid to the protein problem in the developing countries, where it is becoming increasingly apparent that inadequate protein consumption involves the risk of impeding development. In many countries, population growth will continue to be rapid, and rapid population growth necessarily brings about increases in the younger age groups. It is there that the protein problem is gravest: protein deficiency in pregnant women, infants and pre-school children causes physical stunting and, in all likelihood, mental retardation that cannot be reversed. The concerted attack on the protein problem involves, on the one hand, soundly designed policies and programmes in research and development, in agricultural production and in industrial processing and manufacture. On the other hand, it requires effective distribution by means of which changes in food habits and food consumption patterns can be achieved, as well as improved education in nutrition for medical and other technical personnel and also for the public at large. These findings were submitted to the General Assembly last year and the Assembly requested that information be gathered from Governments. The documentation received shows

that while some Governments are aware of and are beginning to tackle the protein problem in their countries, other Governments are unable to take the required action and deal with all the complexities involved. Also, it is becoming clear that more rapid progress in dealing with the protein problem at the national and international levels can only be achieved when that problem becomes the continuing concern of the policy and executive decision-making bodies at the highest level and when scientific and technical bodies are not expected to carry responsibility in isolation, away from the mainstream of over-all development and modernization activities. With a considerable body of scientific and technical information on protein already available, there is a critical need for strong political support to ensure an integration of managerial, economic, social and scientific considerations. It may now be timely to search for a new approach to the protein problem, which would involve a catalytic role for the United Nations, a means for stimulating more vigorous action by Governments, and an intensification of the efforts of the various organizations in the United Nations family.

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72. I firmly believe that the strengthening of our economic programme will not be achieved to the desired extent if we do not take steps to improve our programme and budgeting procedures. It is with this in mind that I have, in response to Economic and Social Council resolutions and to the recommendations of the *Ad Hoc* Committee of Experts to Examine the Finances of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies, taken a number of steps in the last three years with a view to facilitating the development of an integrated system of long-term planning, programme formulation and budget presentation. Since 1966, I have submitted annually to the Committee for Programme and Co-ordination a report on the work programme and budgetary requirements of the United Nations in the economic, social and human rights fields.

73. This report consists of a general review of the work programme in these fields covering expenditures for the preceding year, authorized expenditures for the current year and my proposals for the forthcoming year. In separate addenda to it, detailed information is provided on the work programme in the different main fields of activity, including lists of projects and the staff resources required for their execution expressed in man-months, descriptions of major projects and summaries of the activities of the major organizational units engaged in work in the economic and social fields. These efforts to provide a closer link between the processes of programme formulation and budget preparation may be expected to contribute further in overcoming the existing dichotomy. I look towards closer co-ordination between the Committee for Programme and Co-ordination and the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions, which should be possible to achieve through appropriate adjustments in the calendar of meetings,

74. Significant modifications in the form of the United Nations budget were introduced in 1967 and summarized in my foreword to the budget estimates for 1968. Further refinements are being introduced in the 1969 budget estimates which will link the information in the budget document directly to the report

on the work programme provided to the Committee for Programme and Co-ordination and to the Council. An internal review group composed of senior officials of the Office of the Controller and of the Department of Economic and Social Affairs was established early in 1968. The group has dealt with the programme as a whole, including activities financed from extra-budgetary resources, and has taken the first steps to apply techniques of programme and performance budgeting in assessing the net minimum increase in resources which would be required to meet the demands of the Secretariat during the coming year as they emerge from the decisions of the programme-formulating bodies. It is hoped that the work of this group, which has been of great help to me, will also prove of assistance both to the Committee for Programme and Co-ordination and to the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions.

75. Further integration of the planning, programming and budgetary processes called for in Economic and Social Council resolution 1275 (XLIII) and General Assembly resolution 2370 (XXII) will require further work both in the Secretariat and in the Committee for Programme and Co-ordination towards an integrated system which would increase the effectiveness of the Organization's contribution to the second Development Decade by offering a more rational approach to the determination of objectives and by providing an opportunity for choosing alternative courses of action and selecting specific programmes capable of fulfilling these objectives.

76. The past year has witnessed an increase, in both range and depth, in co-operation among the organizations making up the United Nations system. The Administrative Committee on Co-ordination has had an important role in much of this activity, by providing the framework for the necessary consultations and action, by facilitating contacts between the organizations concerned and by stimulating their thinking. In the fields of population and agricultural education, the bases for new co-operative relationships have been laid; the same is true of two other rapidly expanding fields of international action—development and utilization of the resources of the sea and industrial development—where some uncertainty as to competence and even some inter-agency friction had been apparent a year ago. Further steps have been taken towards establishing adequate machinery and techniques for evaluating field operations. At the request of the Enlarged Committee for Programme and Co-ordination, an extensive documentation, including a draft review of the entire range of economic and social activities of the United Nations family, a draft handbook of criteria and procedures for obtaining United Nations assistance for economic and social development, and annotations to a lengthy series of issues to which the Enlarged Committee intends to devote special attention, has been prepared by the United Nations Secretariat in consultation with the staffs of the agencies and programmes concerned. I trust that this material will help advance the general review which the Committee is undertaking in pursuance of General Assembly resolution 2188 (XXI).

77. The growing importance of the periodic meetings of the Executive Secretaries of the regional economic commissions under the chairmanship of the Under-Secretary-General for Economic and Social Affairs deserves special mention. The recommendation of the General Assembly, in resolution 1823 (XVII), that the Secretary-General should continue to convene the meet-

ings of Executive Secretaries seems fully justified. These meetings have developed into a vital machinery, not only for the co-ordination of United Nations economic and social activities in the framework of a more balanced functional decentralization between the Department of Economic and Social Affairs and the regional economic commissions, but also for achieving greater effectiveness in the co-operation among them and other United Nations bodies, particularly the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, the United Nations, the International Labour Organisation and the United Nations Development Programme with the participation, as appropriate, of such other agencies as the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, the International Labour Organisation and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. Such an instrument for strengthening co-ordination and co-operation is essential if concerted programmes and action are to take adequately into account the necessary role of the regional bodies in many fields of economic and social activities.

78. As regards co-ordination in the administrative and budgetary fields, efforts in the past year have been directed largely to the implementation of the recommendations of the *Ad Hoc* Committee of Experts to Examine the Finances of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies. Much has already been done by agencies individually and collectively through inter-agency consultation. The Joint Inspection Unit has been set up, and its members have established relations with the Administrative Committee on Co-ordination and are in close contact with the administration of each agency. I am confident that, while acting in complete independence, they will be able to make a significant contribution to the solution of many problems, not only those of the United Nations itself and of individual agencies but also those of an interagency character. A Computer Users' Committee has been set up to ensure the optimum use among United Nations organizations of computer facilities at Geneva and to develop interorganizational co-ordination and co-operation in matters of general concern regarding computers.

79. This year's joint meetings of the Administrative Committee on Co-ordination, the Enlarged Committee for Programme and Co-ordination and the officers of the Economic and Social Council, held at Bucharest early in July on the invitation of the Government of Romania, concentrated on some of the most important issues coming before the Council's summer session, including the preparations for the next Development Decade, the development and utilization of human resources, and the implementation of the requests addressed to specialized agencies and other international institutions related to the United Nations under General Assembly resolution 2311 (XXII) on decolonization questions. These meetings again contributed significantly, I believe, to fuller understanding and co-operation among, on the one hand, the executive heads of United Nations organizations and programmes and, on the other, senior governmental representatives associated with the work of the Council.

80. Such encouraging results have been widely recognized. At the same time, I detect a sense of concern in many quarters at the growth in the number of bodies and programmes which have been established primarily for co-ordination purposes or in which co-ordination activities play an important and increasing role, in the time and the documentation required to service them, and in the complexities and even duplica-

tion which they involve. It is true that the increase in the activities of the United Nations family calls, as a corollary, for ever closer co-ordination and more extensive co-ordination arrangements if the efforts of the different organizations are to be directed towards common goals and available resources used to the best effect. Moreover, these co-ordination activities represent, in large part, the kind of critical self-examination in which any healthy institution must be constantly engaged.

81. Failure to co-operate and a lack of co-ordination among the United Nations organizations at this stage would be wasteful and could even be disastrous. At the same time, to devote too much time and effort to studying, discussing and writing about actual or potential co-ordination issues could be counter-productive and I cannot conceal my fear that some of the current activities involve such dangers.

82. With this in mind, I am inviting the Administrative Committee on Co-ordination carefully to review and scrutinize the working of our interagency arrangements at the Secretariat level, with a view to streamlining the machinery and eliminating all unnecessary meetings and documentation. It would, I believe, be most helpful and encouraging to the entire United Nations family if the General Assembly and other United Nations intergovernmental organs with responsibilities for co-ordination were to find it possible to undertake a corresponding scrutiny of arrangements for co-ordination at their level.

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83. An essential part of the role of the United Nations in world affairs is to sustain all attempts to close the widening gap between rich and poor, particularly by means of action in the field of trade and development. The world community, however, still appears unwilling to take the resolute steps required to translate into practical measures the lofty aims set forth by the first United Nations Conference on Trade and Development in 1964. This was perhaps the most striking feature of the second session of the Conference at New Delhi earlier this year, when a major opportunity for advancing these aims was lost.

84. The concerted effort necessary for any effective attack on the problems of under-development did not prove possible at New Delhi. Hence, the achievements of the second session of the Conference were very limited. Its proceedings and decisions suggest that the political will to work towards concerted action, which constitutes the mainspring of international economic co-operation, was lacking. The purposeful, constructive and sustained process of negotiation—in the broad sense of this term—did not, therefore, take place, and the urge for action, so apparent during the preparations for the Conference, was lost in the complexities of a heavy, inadequate institutional machinery.

85. The failure to agree on clearly defined convergent measures for implementation by developed and developing countries, the pressing need for which I referred to in the introduction to my report of last year, is particularly regrettable in that the Conference was thus unable to make any significant contribution towards the formulation of a global strategy for development. The effectiveness and influence of the United Nations may be significantly lessened if the second Development Decade is not based on the concept that

development is a complex and manifold process and that action on one of its fronts depends upon parallel action on the others. This, I believe, is the essence of global strategy, and, at this new threshold of human history, it is of singular importance that Governments should strive to achieve the most effective use of resources towards that end.

86. In this context, it is distressing to note the competing claims of military expenses of staggering proportions on the resources available in developed countries, which could be the source of much of the financial assistance required, as well as in those countries that are themselves in urgent need of assistance. All these countries seem to have lost sight of the fact that they would make a truly constructive contribution to their own security and to the reduction of the basic causes of unrest and insecurity by working towards the elimination of poverty and want in the world. Members of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development may recall that at the first session of the Conference they agreed that due attention should be paid to the trade aspects of programmes for disarmament. I am convinced that a well conceived, adequately prepared and effectively implemented strategy for development would hasten the day when countries might reduce their armaments and that the net savings accruing therefrom would represent many times the cost of existing programmes of development.

87. The experience of the last few years and of its second session has led the Conference to engage in a process of critical self-examination. Individual Governments as well as the secretariat have recently devoted much thought to institutional reform. It is worth recalling in this connexion that the Conference was envisaged from its inception not only as a forum within which Governments would frame trade and development principles and policies, but also as a mechanism intended to give practical effect to such policies. Since the creation of the Conference, however, the lag between general aims and objectives voiced in debate and their translation into practical forms of action has been a most disheartening feature of the organization and one that has given rise to increasing bitterness and frustration. This is a situation that requires urgent attention as any delay, at this stage, in the implementation of dynamic economic and social policies might cause further deterioration in the plight of many millions. The Conference, which embodies many of their hopes and rightful aspirations, must cease to be used and—what is equally important—cease to be considered as merely or predominantly a deliberative body; it must harness trade in the cause of development and forge agreements to this effect.

88. The Trade and Development Board will no doubt give most serious consideration to the evident need to strengthen the operational role of the Conference and prevent unnecessary overlapping and duplication of the efforts of other organizations. One source of additional strength would be to recognize the importance for developing countries of technical co-operation in the trade field by including the Conference in the group of agencies that participate in the United Nations Development Programme. Another aspect that deserves careful consideration concerns the ability of the Conference to exercise fully the functions that devolve upon it as the central organ of the United Nations system in the field of trade and development and to act promptly, vigorously and wisely on specific matters affecting the interests of its membership. In this regard,

a thorough streamlining of procedures and methods of work may be called for, bearing in mind the need to strike a balance between careful examination and expeditious action.

89. The dispersal of resources and efforts that inevitably ensues from the fact that the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade are carrying out parallel programmes of work in a number of fields has been mitigated to a certain extent in the last year by the creation, by the two bodies, of the International Trade Centre. But the Centre must not stand as an isolated example; given the necessary instructions, the Conference and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade can and should pursue further opportunities for joint or concerted action, especially in relation to the assistance they both provide to developing countries.

90. The founding of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development was motivated by concepts far more lasting than the present circumstances and institutional deficiencies. But no matter how right its principles and how practical its machinery, its ultimate success will depend upon the extent of the support given to these principles and the use made of this machinery by its member Governments.

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91. The mobilization of national efforts and resources in the promotion of industrial development reflects the recognition by the developing countries of the strategic importance of industrialization in the development process and their awareness of the urgency of this problem. The prospects opened up by the application of science and technology encourage the aspirations of those nations which hope to reduce by means of industrialization the disparity between the levels of living of the economically advanced nations and their own. The awareness of the need to promote industrialization is associated to an increasing extent with an awareness of the magnitude of the problems to be solved.

92. The establishment by the General Assembly of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization as an autonomous body was in response to the need for an appropriate instrument intended to intensify international efforts for industrial development, particularly in under-developed countries. This organization's efforts have been directed towards advising the developing countries on policies and measures to establish and expand their industrial capacity and providing them assistance in the various fields relating to industrialization. The United Nations Industrial Development Organization can provide the stimulus, encourage the initiative and assist in various ways the industrial development of the developing countries; but the primary task will always remain with the Governments concerned, if their efforts are to yield results commensurate with the dimension and urgency of the industrial development problem.

93. It was to be expected that the creation of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization would call for a series of adjustments in the working programmes and relations with other organizations in fields closely related to industry.

94. The co-ordination of efforts by all United Nations bodies remains an essential requirement that was stressed by the Industrial Development Board at its second session. Bilateral discussions with a number

of specialized agencies have already led to a wide measure of co-operation, including the development of joint programmes.

95. Parallel efforts are in progress with respect to the regional economic commissions, particularly as regards future programmes. Some of the industrial field advisers, who will be located at the seats of the regional economic commissions, will serve as an additional link in this common effort. The organization's efforts are directed towards a harmonization of national and regional approaches to industrialization, which it considers as two complementary aspects.

96. One important area of activity of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization in the next few years will be the formulation of a world industrial development strategy for the 1970s. Foremost in this respect will be co-operation with the regional economic commissions and the specialized agencies in the establishment of a co-ordinated approach to the planning of the second Development Decade. This applies particularly in the case of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations. In its basic approach, the United Nations Industrial Development Organization has always remained conscious of the fallacy of considering agricultural and industrial development as alternative paths of development that put separate and competing claims on the resources of the developing countries. It has considered the two as complementary and mutually supporting elements of the development process.

97. The International Symposium on Industrial Development and the Industrial Promotion Service, held concurrently in Athens from 29 November to 19 December, provided an excellent opportunity for establishing a much needed and fruitful dialogue between the Governments of developed and developing countries, and also between the representatives of industry and related sectors. These contacts covered a wide range of topics related to the various aspects of the process of industrialization in the developing countries. The exchanges of views and informal contacts made between the interested parties contributed greatly towards the establishment of closer co-operation and better mutual understanding.

98. The last year also saw the establishment of the headquarters of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization in Vienna. The organization was fortunate in having the fullest co-operation of the federal and city authorities. Vienna is rapidly acquiring an international status as the headquarters of major international agencies and the site of important United Nations meetings and conferences.

99. In line with the recommendations of the International Symposium and of the Industrial Development Board, the secretariat of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization has continued to seek close relations not only with Governments and officials of the industrialized countries, but also with industrial, business and financial communities. The knowledge and experience gained from these contacts will serve as a valuable tool in meeting the problems arising in the process of industrialization. Through such efforts, it is hoped that the United Nations Industrial Development Organization will become an effective instrument for the exchange of industrial technology to help the developing countries.

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100. The current Development Decade has registered significant steps towards the creation of an integrated United Nations family approach to technical and pre-investment assistance. The focus of this is the United Nations Development Programme, which is a partnership of virtually the entire United Nations system of organizations. The Programme is dedicated to one objective—increasing the development power of low-income countries.

101. Governments of rich and poor countries alike have steadily increased the Programme's resources. As a consequence, its expenditures for projects have risen from \$26 million in 1959 to an estimated \$176 million in the current year.

102. Meanwhile, the recipient Governments themselves have contributed substantially towards the cost of projects assisted by the Programme. In 1959, this amounted to about \$13 million, whereas in 1968 it is expected to come close to \$200 million. Yet the impact has been even greater.

103. The quantitative change has presented difficulties. It has also permitted qualitative improvements. The approach remains one of attacking specific problems, national or regional. But the problems currently being faced are more fundamental. In addition, they can now be encountered to a more adequate degree, both individually and as part of a complex pattern.

104. With the Programme's assistance going beyond a marginal span in more and more situations and in a growing number of countries, the Governments of those countries are associated with the Programme and the participating agencies on an increasingly intensive scale, ranging all the way from planning and commitment by both parties of essential resources to attain agreed objectives, through close collaboration with participating and executing agencies in implementation, to assistance in mobilizing investment and other essential follow-up measures after direct project support has been completed.

105. Much of the joint national and international community effort is being devoted to bridging pre-investment gaps. Many major studies for the utilization and conservation of natural resources have already produced dramatic results, thus providing one mark of the practical orientation of assistance under the United Nations Development Programme. But this work consists of more than surveys and feasibility examinations. Every project in this field involves the training of local personnel and thereby an extension of the capacity of the country to undertake—on its own—further such studies, and to put them to productive use.

106. Similarly, the local research laboratories, experimental stations, demonstration and dissemination institutions, which have been established and expanded with the Programme's assistance, are at the same time augmenting the availability of scientific knowledge and the capacities of technical services in the developing nations for its application. These activities are helping to bring developing countries and their people into the mainstream of modern technology. In the process, this is improving, increasing and diversifying production in agriculture and industry, while also strengthening public services.

107. The Programme's concept of technical and pre-investment assistance has emphasized the human factor. The Programme is devoting nearly 40 per cent of its expenditures to education and training. This may be the investment of its resources which will bring the

highest return, for development means change—in knowledge, values, methods, organization and in investment—and people are the agents of change.

108. Improvements worked out between Governments and the Programme in the goals, design and trust of Programme-supported projects have necessarily called for increased inter-ministerial co-operation as well as for intensified collaboration among agencies of the United Nations family. Frequently, they have also inevitably involved closer integration with other external assistance in attaining national development objectives. Here, as in harmonizing the assistance of the United Nations family of organizations, the Resident Representatives have performed increasingly useful roles. They are, indeed, serving as consulting architects of development.

109. Thus, the Programme is not only working well in the new environment of awakening perceptions and energies in the developing countries, but it is also an increasingly effective instrument of our nascent new world society. By their participation in the Programme, most of the countries that exist today are demonstrating their recognition of the technical and economic interdependence of all nations.

110. It is in this context of the Programme's proven merit and vast potential that I renew my plea to participating Governments to increase steadily their contributions to the Programme. All evidence confirms that the target of \$350 million in contributions for 1970, which I proposed earlier, remains modest in relation to needs for assistance under the United Nations Development Programme, manageable in respect of effective international administration, and completely feasible in terms of ability to pay.

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111. The importance of human resources development, in contrast to material resources development, is now widely recognized. But there is still a tendency to think of human resources development in the more limited sense of meeting the manpower needs of the modern State. This is a much too narrow approach. Some 40 per cent of the population in the developing countries is under fifteen years of age. The majority of these young people are ill-fed, have had little or no modern medical attention and are unschooled or inadequately schooled. It is unrealistic to expect that by some miracle these people, on reaching the age of eighteen or thereabouts, will be transformed into active and intelligent members of their communities—or even be able to absorb a high level of training, if offered. Consequently, much more attention must be given to the huge task of preparing the young for life from the earliest possible moment.

112. The United Nations Children's Fund, in co-operation with the United Nations and the specialized agencies concerned, has for some time been devoting the greater part of its resources to this task. The aid given is practical and consists primarily of supplies, equipment and the financing of local costs, largely for training. The approach is pragmatic and is geared to country priorities; about 50 per cent of its funds are devoted to the field of health, about 28 per cent to education and most of the balance to nutrition and child welfare. In each of these areas, in-country training of the instructors and personnel needed to run the services is an important element, which is being in-

creasingly appreciated by countries as essential to their development. The Fund can, of course, hope to play no more than a catalytic role, but even this requires substantial financing. Its resources have been increasing, but not fast enough to keep pace with country requests.

113. The role for which the Fund is perhaps better known—that of providing world-wide emergency aid to mothers and children—has in the past year required additional efforts, and these efforts are continuing. In addition, and acting on the basis of its purely humanitarian mandate and through the channel of the International Committee of the Red Cross, the Fund has been providing what aid it could to Nigeria—mainly high-protein food, drugs, medical supplies, some key personnel and, most recently, a helicopter operation.

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114. Now in its third year of existence, the United Nations Institute for Training and Research is already making a valuable contribution to the United Nations in both training and research. Through a variety of programmes, designed to meet both urgent and long-term needs of the world Organization and of the developing countries, the Institute is training agents for development and for multilateral diplomacy; conducting high-level seminars on problems of international law and co-operation; undertaking research studies of direct relevance to the role of the United Nations in the political, economic and social fields. Some of the early fruits of its research activities are almost ready for publication; they are now being “scrutinized” by panels of distinguished scholars and statesmen. The Institute is well on the way to becoming, in the words of the eminent Chairman of its Board of Trustees, a magnet for persons of recognized intellectual eminence. There is just one thing that it lacks—adequate finances to enable it to continue with even more effectiveness its role as the central organ for training and research in the United Nations system.

VI. Human rights

115. The year 1968 was proclaimed by the General Assembly as the International Year for Human Rights with the special purpose of initiating a world-wide review, at governmental and non-governmental levels, of the progress which has been achieved since the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, of assessing the methods followed and of outlining relevant programmes for future action.

116. Reports already received indicate positive and encouraging response to the Assembly's appeal for “intensified efforts and undertakings in the field of human rights” during the Year, from Member and other States, the specialized agencies, regional organizations and many non-governmental organizations concerned with the protection of human rights. Meaningful initiatives such as those to review and extend the scope of existing legislation, to study practices, to examine local compliance with United Nations standards and to utilize educational methods and information media to keep alive interest in matters of human rights are being taken or planned in each of the regions of the world. It may be said therefore that the twentieth anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is being commemorated by focusing the attention of the world on the importance which the United Nations attaches to respect for human dignity.

117. The United Nations International Conference on Human Rights held at Teheran brought fruitful results and encouraging expressions of faith from the eighty-four Governments represented. Against a background of current world divisions and unresolved situations, in which military or political contingencies seriously affect the conditions of life of many human beings, the Conference succeeded in stating in the Proclamation of Teheran its unanimous approval of a number of basic assertions and purposes. These pronouncements and resolutions, which will come before the General Assembly and other competent organs of the United Nations, include a solid confirmation of the basic value of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as a common understanding of the peoples of the world concerning the inalienable and inviolable rights of all members of the human family and the solemn proclamation that the Universal Declaration constitutes “an obligation for the members of the international community”. The principles and commitments contained in other United Nations instruments, in particular the International Covenants on Human Rights, the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, were reaffirmed, and repeated calls were made to hasten the ratifications required to bring into force those of the instruments which are in treaty form. Stress was laid on the necessity of eliminating in our time all forms of discrimination already prohibited by the United Nations Charter and particularly racial discrimination; nazism, neo-nazism, racism and especially *apartheid* were once again strongly condemned and an energetic, urgent and systematic role is recommended for the United Nations and its agencies in their elimination. The human miseries resulting from armed conflict were deplored. Accent was placed on compliance with, and better application of, internationally agreed legal standards during internal as well as international conflicts and on the necessity of revising existing conventions with a view to a better protection of civilians, prisoners and combatants, as well as the prohibition and limitation of the use of certain particularly inhumane methods and means of warfare. Considerable stress was laid on the need for effective action to bring about the advancement of and equal opportunities for women in modern society, with appropriate United Nations assistance. The indivisible link between the realization of economic, social and cultural rights and the achievement of civil and political rights was reaffirmed, and the importance of the preparation of a global strategy for development by the United Nations and of effective steps towards disarmament was underlined.

118. The Conference drew attention to the relationship between population growth and human rights. It pointed to the detrimental effects of the present rapid rate of population growth in some areas of the world on the possibilities of rapidly achieving adequate standards of living, thereby impairing the full realization of human rights, and asserted that, while the protection of the family and of the child must remain the concern of the international community, parents have a basic human right to determine freely and responsibly the number and spacing of their children.

119. The Conference recognized the vast prospects for economic, social and cultural progress brought about by scientific discoveries and their technological applications; it was aware, however, that these developments

might entail complex ethical and legal problems with respect to human rights. It felt that appropriate studies should be undertaken by the organizations in the United Nations family, particularly as regards respect for privacy and the protection of man's physical and intellectual integrity, progress in biology, medicine and bio-chemistry, the use of electronics and recording techniques and, more generally, the balance which should be established between scientific and technological progress and the intellectual, spiritual, cultural and moral advancement of humanity.

120. Many other decisions and approaches of the Teheran Conference deserve to be specifically noted, including insistence on the genuine recognition of freedom of expression, freedom of conscience and of religion, the importance of effective and general access to courts of law, and the protection of the rights of detainees as well as the right to participate in the political, economic, cultural and social life of one's country.

121. However, the trend of discussions at the International Conference on Human Rights pointed once again to the challenge presented to the United Nations and its Member States by the problem of "implementation". Full recognition was repeatedly given at the Conference and elsewhere during the International Year for Human Rights to United Nations achievements in elaborating and defining world-wide standards of respect for human rights appropriate to the aspirations of the international community. I had occasion to stress in my previous reports the importance of this norm-setting work of the Organization in the defence of human rights both by itself and in relation to the other purposes of the United Nations: the maintenance of international peace and security, the promotion of a harmonious economic and social development of humanity, and the formulation of the international law of the future. None the less, addressing the Conference, I said: "The ultimate objective of United Nations efforts must obviously be the implementation of the standards at the levels where they can be enjoyed and exercised by the people concerned."

122. This obvious truth, however, raises a number of questions. Having been elaborated after strenuous and sometimes prolonged efforts by duly designated governmental representatives, based on detailed studies and the work of competent experts, are United Nations standards for human rights sufficiently well known? Are Governments paying sufficient attention to United Nations recommendations to make these international commitments, where appropriate, part of the law of their lands and the basis of administrative and judiciary action? Are these standards being given sufficient consideration in specific situations when other pressures appear, whether political or military, economic or social?

123. The answers to these questions are fortunately far from completely negative. Calling at the Teheran Conference for a stock-taking of United Nations programmes and activities for the promotion of human rights, I had, however, to observe:

"On the one hand, there is the remarkable effort of the international community to define common aspirations on a world-wide and regional basis. On the other hand, it is clear that, in spite of the greater awareness and demand for the respect of the individual, serious violations of human rights, including resort to violence and terror, continue to occur in a number of places and these are made known and publicized more than ever before."

124. There is no doubt that stronger support can be given by Governments to United Nations efforts in this essential field. This support may manifest itself in many ways: by designating or assigning to United Nations deliberative bodies and seminars on questions of human rights, as many Governments do, specially qualified persons enjoying great moral authority in their countries; and by encouraging more widespread publicity for United Nations achievements and activities by governmental agencies or by private information media.

125. Obviously this support may best be expressed by hastening the processes of signing and ratifying United Nations instruments relating to human rights which, as I have already pointed out, are the outcome of negotiations and, in most cases, unanimous votes of duly instructed governmental representatives. Results in this regard are not encouraging and so far the International Year for Human Rights has brought little improvement.

126. The reasons for these delays should, perhaps, be studied and special efforts may have to be made to accelerate the pace of ratification. The reasons for the present situation might include an exaggerated sensitivity to any form of international accountability and a misunderstanding of the role of United Nations agencies which, experience has shown, strive much more to encourage and conciliate than to allocate blame. Last year I pointed to the fact that ratifying international covenants and conventions on human rights is a true sign of devotion to international solidarity and a concrete contribution to efforts to attain the objectives of the Charter, even for those countries which may believe that it is not necessary for them to become parties to United Nations instruments because they already have adequate national guarantees.

127. Given special attention by Member States in the coming months, the important Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination which has already been ratified or acceded to by twenty States could easily obtain the seven ratifications or accessions necessary to bring it into force. This would enable the United Nations usefully to contribute to the solution of one of the most vital problems of our times and set up the first conventional set of implementation methods with regard to human rights within the United Nations system. I also note with concern the fact that the International Covenants on Human Rights of December 1966, although signed by nearly thirty States, have been ratified by none in spite of the encouragement given at the last session of the General Assembly by a unanimous vote of 112 Members.

128. Still, it is the practical application of the standards proclaimed in United Nations instruments by those in positions of authority which is the ultimate test. In the past year United Nations organs and conferences found it necessary to express themselves forcefully with reference to specific situations indicating insufficient concern for the rights of the individual, the persistence of the policy of *apartheid* in southern Africa being one example. The need for the international community, represented by the United Nations, to state its serious preoccupation with situations implying disrespect for human rights may be almost irresistible, but more and more clearly heard is the demand of world public opinion that the Organization play a more active role in helping to bring remedies and alleviate human suffering in spite of all existing obstacles.

129. It is also worth noting that the Teheran Conference and subsequently the Economic and Social

Council showed awareness of the current aspirations of large sectors of the young generation. Both the Conference and the Council recognized youth's special sensitiveness to infringements of human rights as well as the desire of the young "to have their full share in the establishment of major humanitarian demands of our century". They also recognized that in the rapidly changing conditions of the contemporary world it is essential better to understand new ways of thinking and the outlook of peoples in the stand they take towards the rights of man. They stressed the need of extending to youth an education in the spirit of the most noble humanitarian ideals of humanity and the importance of harnessing youth's enthusiasm and energy for world-wide economic and social development and for the promotion of human rights. They recommended, therefore, that Governments and also the United Nations, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and other international agencies should study the question of the education of youth all over the world with a view to developing its personality and strengthening its respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, and they stressed the importance of interesting and involving youth in both national life and international co-operation.

130. Irrespective of any judgements as to methods used in recent months by youth leaders and youth organizations in many parts of the world to express their views, it must be recognized that those who belong to the younger generations and whose future must be the concern of all, give voice, sometimes confusedly but always forcefully, to their criticism of the difficulties encountered by our societies in adjusting to what appear to them as the ineluctable demands of our times in regard to respect for the rights of the human personality. They consider, often rightly, that solutions could and should be found. In a world of plenty, or one capable of the achievement of plenty, they cannot understand or accept what appears to them as an acceptance of unworthy situations or attitudes of passiveness or cynicism.

131. Most of youth's aspirations towards a better world are in no way opposed to those consistently expressed by United Nations organs, and the Organization could only benefit from providing a channel through which these deeply felt concerns can be better understood and studied, and constructive confrontations between spokesmen of the various generations harmoniously conducted. The results may hopefully lead not only to better understanding and greater co-operation between generations, but to fruitful developments in democratic processes.

VII. Apartheid

132. The situation resulting from the unresolved question of the policies of *apartheid* of the Government of the Republic of South Africa has, in the past year, become more serious than ever. For the South African Government has not only continued to enforce its policies with more determination in South Africa but it has also been attempting to consolidate and extend the influence of its racial philosophy in neighbouring territories, notably Namibia and Southern Rhodesia.

133. The South African Government, in defiance of the resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly, has enacted new legislation aimed at the consolidation of racial separation and segregation and the repression of the opponents of its policies. Some of the new measures seem to indicate clearly that the

Republic of South Africa is definitely moving towards the exclusion of any possibility of peaceful change of the system of government and the achievement of political, economic and social equality by its non-white majority.

134. In face of this unyielding position, the leaders of the oppressed majority have stated their conviction that they have no means of restoring their rights but by armed struggle. It appears that an armed conflict is already in progress in Southern Rhodesia, where a number of encounters with security forces of South Africa and of the illegal régime of Ian Smith have been reported lately. There is no denying that by pursuing more aggressively its policies of *apartheid* and through collusion with the Salisbury régime, the South African Government has set not only South Africa but the whole of southern Africa on a collision course. The danger of such collision in the area is all the more real since it has been reported that South African officials have accused the nearby independent States of the Republic of Zambia and the United Republic of Tanzania of having provided assistance to the so-called terrorists. Furthermore, by continuing to occupy Namibia in flagrant violation of the international status of the territory and by openly intervening in Southern Rhodesia, South Africa has directed a serious challenge to the authority of the United Nations.

135. The Security Council had not considered the question of *apartheid* since 18 June 1964; nor has it found it possible, as requested by the General Assembly at its twenty-second session, to resume consideration of the question with a view to ensuring the full implementation of the relevant resolutions and the adoption of more effective measures to secure an end to the policies of *apartheid*.

136. After considering the matter at its twenty-second session, the General Assembly placed emphasis on the need for appropriate measures to be taken by the Member States to facilitate more effective action, under the auspices of the United Nations, to secure the elimination of *apartheid*. It also stressed the need for effective measures to be taken by the United Nations, the specialized agencies and non-governmental organizations to ensure the widest dissemination of information on the evils of *apartheid* and on the efforts of the international community to secure its elimination.

137. The General Assembly also requested the Special Committee on the Policies of *Apartheid* of the Government of the Republic of South Africa to intensify its efforts to promote an international campaign against *apartheid* and, to this end, authorized it to hold during the International Year for Human Rights a special session away from Headquarters. Pursuant to this request, the Special Committee held a series of meetings in Europe during which it consulted with Governments, movements representing the oppressed people of South Africa, anti-*apartheid* movements, other non-governmental organizations concerned with the situation in South Africa and a number of experts on South African problems, on ways and means of promoting the international campaign against *apartheid*. In the report which it will submit to the General Assembly, at its twenty-third session, and to the Security Council, the Special Committee will make appropriate recommendations based on proposals that have been submitted to it.

138. The humanitarian programmes instituted under General Assembly resolutions to assist the victims of racial discrimination have continued to function nor-

mally, thanks to the generous contributions from Member States.

139. Although the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa received substantial contributions in 1968, the number of contributing Member States is still very small.

140. The General Assembly, upon my recommendation, decided at its twenty-second session to integrate the special educational and training programmes for South West Africa and for Territories under Portuguese administration and the educational and training programme for South Africans. It also decided to include in the programme assistance to persons from Southern Rhodesia, provided that that was done only in so far as it did not interfere with existing United Nations schemes for educational assistance for such persons and that it was done with due regard to Security Council resolutions relating to non-recognition of the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia.

141. I appeal to Member States to provide in larger measure financial support to these humanitarian programmes through which the international community can show its determination to alleviate the plight of the victims of racial discrimination.

142. As requested by the General Assembly, the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination was commemorated this year in solidarity with the oppressed people of South Africa. The International Day was observed collectively by Member States at United Nations Headquarters and individually in a great number of Member States either through the Governments or non-governmental organizations. The occasion was appropriately used to promote public awareness of the evils of *apartheid* and support for international action.

143. The reports of the Special Rapporteur appointed under resolution 7 (XXIII) of the Commission on Human Rights to survey past United Nations efforts to eliminate the policies and practices of *apartheid* and to study, *inter alia*, the legislation and practices in South Africa, the reports of the *Ad Hoc* Working Group of Experts established under resolution 2 (XXIII) of the Commission on Human Rights to investigate the treatment of prisoners, detainees or persons in police custody in South Africa and the allegations of infringements of trade union rights in South Africa and also the consideration of these reports by the Commission on Human Rights, by the International Conference on Human Rights held in Teheran from 22 April to 13 May 1968, and by the Economic and Social Council at its forty-fourth session, testify to the many efforts of the United Nations to deal with the situation in South Africa.

144. As I have pointed out, the latest developments in South Africa and in southern Africa seem to indicate that the danger of violent conflict in South Africa and in southern Africa in general, resulting from the policies and practices of *apartheid* of the Government of the Republic of South Africa, should not be discounted or minimized. In my view, action should be taken without delay, in accordance with relevant resolutions adopted by the Security Council and the General Assembly.

145. In this connexion, the General Assembly at its last session emphasized the responsibility of those States, particularly the major trading partners of South Africa which, through their political, economic and military collaboration with the Government of that

country, were encouraging it to persist in its racial policies. The Assembly requested them to take urgent steps towards disengagement from South Africa and to take all appropriate measures to facilitate more effective action, under the auspices of the United Nations, to secure the elimination of *apartheid*. The effectiveness of the United Nations in facing the grave South African challenge and in staving off the violence and counter-violence that are threatening the peace and security of the whole of the African continent, and indeed of the world, will depend upon the determination of the Member States concerned to face their responsibility and also upon the willingness of the members of the Security Council to resume consideration of the matter and upon their ability to reach an agreement on meaningful effective measures.

VIII. Decolonization

146. In the introduction to my last annual report, I recalled the continued endeavours of the United Nations in the field of decolonization and outlined the serious and difficult problems which called for the close and urgent attention of the competent organs of the Organization.

147. During the intervening period, Southern Yemen, the territory formerly known as Aden, followed by Nauru, Mauritius and Swaziland, acceded to independence; Equatorial Guinea is expected to attain the same status within the next few months. Furthermore, constitutional advance has taken place in certain of the smaller dependent Territories. Even so, it is a matter of deep regret that nearly eight years after the adoption of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, there has been no significant movement towards peaceful resolution, in accordance with the Charter, of the remaining major colonial questions. The reason for this state of affairs is to be found not in a lack of concern or effort on the part of the United Nations, but principally in the non-compliance by certain administering Powers with the relevant United Nations resolutions and in the reluctance of some other Powers to extend their full co-operation to the Organization in the application of effective solutions to the outstanding problems.

148. Of these problems, those currently plaguing the southern part of Africa are in a class by themselves, for they represent the most conspicuous mass violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms. As I have observed elsewhere, the collective determination of the United Nations to put an end to colonialism seems to have met a solid wall of defiance in that part of the world.

149. With regard to Namibia, the Government of South Africa has continued its refusal to give effect to the resolutions by which the General Assembly terminated the Mandate, brought the Territory under the direct responsibility of the United Nations and established the United Nations Council for Namibia to administer the Territory until its independence. South Africa has also refused to relinquish its control over the Territory and has frustrated the efforts of the Council to carry out the tasks assigned to it. That Government's disregard of United Nations decisions relating to the Territory as well as of world public opinion was further illustrated by its arrest, trial and conviction, under retroactive legislation, of a considerable number of Namibians. The negative and

intransigent attitude of the South African Government was again demonstrated by its obstruction of the Council's efforts in April of this year to proceed to Namibia in order to take up the functions assigned to it in the Territory by the General Assembly. In pursuit of its policies of *apartheid*, the South African Government, on 6 June 1968, enacted legislation designed to further the setting up of Bantustans in South West Africa. It has also initiated repressive measures of forcible settlement in segregated areas.

150. As the General Assembly has pointed out in its appeals to the States concerned, a measure of responsibility for the present serious situation must be borne by those States whose continued political, military and economic collaboration with the South African Government has had the effect of encouraging that Government to defy the authority of the United Nations and to impede the attainment of independence by Namibia. It is obvious, nevertheless, that meaningful progress towards the objectives laid down in the relevant United Nations decisions depends essentially upon the willingness and ability of the Security Council to bring effective pressure to bear on the South African Government to abandon its present course and abide by the relevant resolutions so as to enable the Council to perform its functions.

151. The question of Southern Rhodesia has also given cause for increasing concern. Two and a half years have passed since the unilateral declaration of independence by the illegal minority régime in Southern Rhodesia, and over eighteen months have elapsed since the Security Council determined that the situation in the Territory constituted a threat to international peace and security. Yet neither the action taken by the Government of the United Kingdom nor the diplomatic and other sanctions applied in varying degrees by other Governments in response to the relevant United Nations resolutions have led to the speedy amelioration which the international community had been encouraged to expect. Not content with flouting the authority of the United Kingdom Government by proceeding with the execution of a number of African nationalists, the illegal régime has, with South Africa's assistance, resorted to suppressive military operations and has pursued the application of policies of separate racial development, including plans for creating a façade of African participation in its activities. These developments represent a further challenge to the general desire for rapid advance in the Territory towards majority rule and a just society free of discrimination. While the Security Council's decision in May 1968 to impose extensive mandatory sanctions against the illegal régime by no means detracts from the responsibility of the United Kingdom Government, as the administering Power, to restore constitutional rule in the Territory, it is imperative that all Governments, including in particular the Governments of Portugal and South Africa, should comply with that decision so as to pave the way for the attainment of the Declaration's objectives.

152. As regards the Territories under Portuguese administration, it is a matter of deep regret that yet another year has passed without progress in the implementation of the pertinent United Nations resolutions. In violation of the principles of the Charter, the Portuguese Government has continued to deny the people of these Territories the right to self-determination and independence and has maintained its policy of political and economic integration of the Territories

with Portugal. The intensification of military operations by that Government in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea, called Portuguese Guinea, has aggravated a situation which in 1965 the Security Council considered a serious disturbance to international peace and security. Concerted international action has been limited mainly to efforts at withholding assistance which would enable the Portuguese Government to continue its suppression of the people of the Territories and at providing humanitarian assistance to refugees therefrom. Not only is there a need to increase these efforts, but further international measures are required, in my view, to assist the peoples of these Territories to attain their goal of freedom and independence and to make the Portuguese Government a willing partner in this undertaking.

153. The colonial problems to which I have referred are different in magnitude, if not in kind, from those affecting most of the other remaining dependent Territories. With regard to these Territories, the administering Powers, far from forswearing their obligations under the Charter, have agreed and undertaken to give effect to the principle of self-determination as well as to their pledge to ensure the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the people. Yet there is considerable misgiving among the majority of Member States as to the modalities, emphasis and pace adopted by the administering Power concerned in the decolonization of these Territories. Furthermore, as I have previously indicated, their compliance with specific recommendations on these Territories by the General Assembly and the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples has, on the whole, been less than full.

154. Equally, their attitudes for the most part have been either negative or qualified when the question has arisen of permitting access to the Territories by United Nations visiting groups. These attitudes, by denying to the United Nations a most important source of information on the political, economic and social situation in these Territories and on the views, wishes and aspirations of the peoples, serve to impede the search for concrete solutions to the problems of the Territories in question; many of them are, indeed, afflicted by peculiar difficulties arising from their small size and population, their limited natural resources and sometimes their geographical isolation. It is my belief that the development by the administering Powers of a positive approach to the question of visiting groups would contribute as much to the adoption of decisions which would take full account of their demand for realism and balance as to the attainment of the objectives laid down in the Charter and the Declaration, to which administering and non-administering Powers alike subscribe.

155. The emphasis which the competent United Nations bodies place on the value of visiting groups reflects the conviction widely held among Member States that the Organization, including, as appropriate, international institutions associated with it, should play an increasingly active role in assisting the emergence of colonial peoples from dependence to independence. It was in this spirit that the General Assembly, at its twenty-second session, requested me, in consultation with the administering Power and the Special Committee, to ensure the presence of the United Nations in Equatorial Guinea for the supervision of the forth-

coming general elections and to participate in all other measures leading towards the independence of the Territory. I am confident that the mission which, in consultation with the Government of Spain and the Special Committee, I was able to appoint and dispatch to Equatorial Guinea in August of this year will play a constructive part in enabling the Territory to accede to independence as a single entity in conditions of peace and harmony.

156. Another category of problems deserving careful attention relates to Territories which are the subject either of conflicting claims to sovereignty or of special interest to some Governments by reason of geographical, historical or other circumstances. While the General Assembly and the Special Committee have affirmed that the Declaration is fully applicable to such Territories, their recommendations have taken into consideration the special features of each, with a view to facilitating the resolution of the divergent claims or interests through mutual accommodation and goodwill. I am certain that these bodies will consider and make further recommendations which will help the Governments concerned in resolving the problems to which I have alluded within the context of the Declaration.

157. In a year that has been proclaimed as International Year for Human Rights, I think it is appropriate to recall that, in the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the General Assembly declared:

"The subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation constitutes a denial of fundamental human rights, is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations and is an impediment to the promotion of world peace and co-operation."

It also declared:

"Immediate steps shall be taken . . . in all . . . territories which have not yet attained independence, to transfer all powers to the peoples . . . 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."

158. It is my earnest hope that, aware of the hope and inspiration that dependent peoples everywhere derived from the adoption of the Declaration, all Member States, in particular the administering Powers, will in a spirit of constructive co-operation do their utmost to assist those peoples to realize their legitimate aspirations to freedom and emancipation.

IX. Public information

159. In the introduction to the last two annual reports on the work of the Organization, I thought it useful to outline certain concepts and considerations governing the organization and conduct of information activity, both national and international, in support of the aims and objectives of the United Nations. Last year, I indicated that I would submit to the General Assembly at its twenty-third session a fuller report on the information activities of the United Nations itself, both in the fields of economic and social development, as viewed in the context of the development decades, and in the areas of the world Organization's political preoccupations and responsibilities.

160. The appointment of a new Assistant Secretary-General to head the Office of Public Information, combined with certain unforeseen circumstances, makes it

necessary to defer the submission of this review and reappraisal of United Nations information activities, and of the recommendations consequent upon them, to the General Assembly at its twenty-fourth session. Meanwhile, however, I feel I might usefully submit for the consideration of Member States certain broad lines of thought which I judge to be of importance to the work of the Organization and with which I think there will be general agreement.

161. It is satisfying to note that, in recent years, there has been an increasing recognition of the value of public information as an adjunct of the substantive activities of the Organization, coupled with an increasing demand, both by major organs of the United Nations and by subsidiary bodies, for wider publicity through all media. The formal recognition of the need for increased information activity is particularly to be welcomed in relation to those specific areas of United Nations concern where, by unanimous or near-unanimous vote, the membership has decided to set up certain immediate and well-defined objectives of high priority. Prominent among these, of course, are—in the economic and social field—the national and international mobilization of resources, energies and skills for attaining the minimum goals set for the present United Nations Development Decade by the General Assembly and those that will be established for the decade to follow. Similarly, among the objectives calling for immediate and decisive action in the political field are decolonization; the uprooting of the philosophy and practice of *apartheid* in South Africa, or wherever else it may spring forth under whatever name; and the establishment of human rights everywhere.

162. Viewed against the urgency implicit in these collective objectives—whether situated in the area defined as purely economic and social or that regarded as being political in character—it is difficult to over-emphasize the importance of public information. A large, sustained, co-ordinated and sharply focused information effort, both national and international, is indispensable if achievements are to match intentions, if means are to be married to ends and if reality is not to lag dangerously behind proclaimed goals.

163. However, I believe it useful at the same time to bear in mind certain parallel considerations that are necessary to put the role of public information vis-à-vis the United Nations into a proper and meaningful perspective.

164. First, I think it is necessary to restate that the primary responsibility as well as the main burden of informing the peoples of the world about the aims and objectives of the United Nations rests with national Governments and with national media of information, official and non-official. This necessity derives, first, of course, from the constitutional division of labour between national and international information services, as defined by the General Assembly itself in its resolution 13 (I) of 1946. But it also has its roots in practical considerations. The task of informing the world's peoples is too large and too complicated by considerations of varying socio-political interests and cultural patterns for an international information service itself to achieve unaided. It is the national information outlets—news media, non-governmental organizations and educational institutions, etc.—which have both the required facility as well as the agreed responsibility to carry to their own peoples in their own idioms the story of the evolving activities and preoccupations of

the world Organization. They have also the capacity, necessarily denied to international organizations, of editorial assessment, interpretation and persuasion which are, in most instances, essential ingredients of effective information activity.

165. I feel it necessary, therefore, to draw attention once again to the suggestions and recommendations I have already submitted to Member States, at the request of the Economic and Social Council, for improving their own national information efforts on behalf of the activities and purposes of the United Nations.

166. This primary responsibility of national information outlets, of course, does not in any way derogate from the supportive function of the information activity conducted by and on behalf of the United Nations itself. Practical experience over the past twenty years and more has revealed and emphasized the extent to which national information activity depends, not only for its effectiveness but often for its very existence, upon the support and encouragement it receives from the United Nations Office of Public Information. This international information service constitutes the indispensable infrastructure, as it were, of all national information activity, both in terms of providing them the necessary raw materials as well as the basic motivations and stimulus. Consequently, I think the time has come for Member States to take the fiscal as well as functional decisions necessary to give to the United Nations Office of Public Information not only the mandate but also the means and resources to perform adequately the tasks that rest upon it. A fully equipped office of public information, acting for and on behalf of the United Nations, is not only needed but is irreplaceable if the message of the United Nations is to reach across national frontiers and ideological divisions.

167. Last, though perhaps most important, I believe it necessary to recognize, not only the inherent possibilities, but also the built-in limitations of all information activity in support of the United Nations, whether conducted on its behalf individually by Member States or collectively by the Organization itself through its own resources. Information is a means to an end and cannot be an end in itself. While an active and purposeful programme of public information is of cardinal importance in supporting the work, deliberations and decisions of the United Nations, it is upon this work and upon these deliberations and decisions that will ultimately depend the success or failure of the Organization. The mere multiplication of information output, or the mere intensification of the use of the means and the media communication—whether of the traditional varieties or pertaining to the newer realms of technology—cannot by itself lead to success where substantive action is lacking or its actual implementation is deficient or defective. And this is true equally in the fields of economic and social endeavour and of political purpose. While information can and must support meaningful and purposive substantive activity, it cannot supplant it. In the last analysis, therefore, it must be recognized that an effective programme of public information must derive from and depend upon an effective programme of substantive action.

X. Other questions

168. In my concluding observations last year I drew attention to "the urgent need for States to have wider

recourse, in their relations with other States, to the various means for the pacific settlement of disputes". In this context I drew attention to the availability of the International Court of Justice, as a principal organ of the United Nations, for the settlement of legal disputes. This year the Court has, for the first time, presented a report to the General Assembly. I believe that it would be to the common interest of the United Nations if the General Assembly and the other principal organs of the United Nations, in addition to the Member States, were to utilize more fully the machinery of the Court in dealing with problems which are capable of solution by legal and judicial processes.

169. In the same context, I recommended last year that a modest beginning might be made to test the value of holding periodic meetings of the Security Council at which its members might be represented by a member of the Government or by some specially designated representative. So far, there has been no follow-up on this suggestion. I would like to suggest that, as an alternative, it would be useful to take advantage of the presence of the Foreign Ministers of France, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and the United States during the coming session of the General Assembly to arrange for them to meet and discuss common problems. So far as the agenda for such a meeting is concerned, this could be left to the Foreign Ministers, or a provisional agenda could be prepared by the Secretary-General. Hopefully a meeting of the Foreign Ministers could lead to a meeting of the Heads of State and Government of the four major Powers. I feel that some such initiative is needed at the present time to counteract the serious setback to the *détente* in East-West relations that has resulted from recent events. A special effort of this kind may also prove useful in identifying some major issues with regard to which, despite present adverse circumstances, big-Power agreement may be possible.

170. Situations continue to arise in which Governments find it useful to request the good offices of the Secretary-General in seeking to resolve outstanding problems between them. One such example was the recent hijacking of an Israeli airliner, which was taken to Algiers on 23 July. For many weeks, I exercised my good offices in an attempt to secure the release of those passengers and members of the crew of the aircraft still detained in Algiers, and of the aircraft itself. In doing so, I was mindful of the recent increase in hijacking incidents and of the danger that this trend, if not checked, could easily lead to widespread disruption of international air travel with all the attendant risks involved. If this disturbing trend is to be discouraged, as it must be, it is essential that two principles be universally observed, namely, that international law and order, as an essential condition of the freedom and safety of air travel, must be preserved, and, secondly, that no one may derive gain or advantage from the lawless act of hijacking an aircraft. It is a matter for gratification that the Governments of Israel and Algeria heeded my appeal for restraint during this most trying period. It is also appreciated that in the interest of international law and morality the Algerian authorities finally resolved the problem by the release of the aircraft and its occupants.

171. I should like to reiterate that it is desirable and, indeed, necessary for the United Nations to achieve universality of membership as soon as possible and I regret that there has not been a greater interest in solving this problem. It is obvious to me that inas-

much as one of the members of the "nuclear club" stands outside the world Organization it is difficult to make progress on major issues of disarmament, for example, without achieving this universality. The problem of the divided countries is also one that requires attention. In regard to some of these countries, at any rate, the political obstacles may not be insuperable, while there will be obvious advantages in admitting them to membership and enabling them to take part in the work of the Organization and in making a contribution to the solution of outstanding problems.

172. I drew attention last year to the problem of the "micro-States". I can well understand the reluctance of the principal organs of the United Nations to grapple with this problem, but I believe it is a problem that does require urgent attention. The question has been considered by many scholars and also by the United Nations Institute for Training and Research. It seems to me that several of the objectives which micro-States hope to achieve by membership in the United Nations could be gained by some other form of association with the Organization, such as the status of observers. In this connexion, I should like to reiterate the suggestion that I made last year that the question of observer status in general, and the criteria for such status, require consideration by the General Assembly so that the present institutional arrangements, which are based solely on practice, could be put on a firm legal footing.

173. In 1969, the International Labour Organisation will be completing its first half-century of continuous effort to build the foundation of peace in social justice for the common man throughout the world. In the tradition of the International Labour Organisation, its commemoration of the event will look to the future rather than to the past, with the major immediate emphasis being placed on a world employment programme designed in the spirit of the second Development Decade to mobilize human resources to meet human need. The Director-General of the International Labour Organisation has informed me of his desire, which I endorse, to mark the half-century of that organization's co-operation with the League of Nations and the United Nations by forging an ever-closer partnership in the building of peace through social justice. I am confident that in the course of the anniversary year all of the appropriate organs of the United Nations will welcome full discussion of how this can best be achieved.

XI. Concluding observations

174. In the period under review, I regret to have to report that little progress, if any, has been recorded towards the growth of international order based on law and justice. On the contrary, there has been a serious decline in the standards of international ethics and morality, with States relying increasingly on force and violence as a means of resolving their international differences. This tendency to return to force as a means of national policy strikes at the very basis of the United Nations; just settlement is sacrificed to superior might, and international tensions are consequently heightened. If this trend is not reversed, and if the principle of non-intervention in the free destiny of nations is not re-established, the future of international peace and security itself is indeed a very dark one.

175. The prevailing pessimism concerning the international situation, and the recent serious and distressing developments in Europe should not be used as reasons for delaying the search for peace in Viet-Nam. Indeed, the problem of Viet-Nam, complex enough in itself, has often been made more intractable by the impact of the conflicting interests of the major world Powers.

176. For example, there are many people who see the Viet-Nam war as an ideological struggle. But is it not true that such a concept is only concealing the reality of a nationalist struggle which has somehow become the stake in a world-wide strategic rivalry? Only the powerful motivation of nationalism could explain the extraordinary resilience of the Viet-Nameese on all sides during this agonizing war. For the larger Powers interested in the conflict, various particular interests may be affected by its outcome. But, for the Viet-Nameese, their own identity, their own survival as a nation is threatened by the prolongation of the fighting. I submit that the time is overdue for a political de-escalation regarding Viet-Nam. All should strive now to isolate this conflict from adverse international influences which in the past have caused so many opportunities to pass, and to let the Viet-Nameese themselves deal with their own problems. I am convinced that after all the sufferings which their own past differences have caused, all Viet-Nameese must realize that their energies and their great talents should now be turned towards healing their divisions and towards the reconstruction and modernization of both North and South Viet-Nam. The people of Viet-Nam, in conditions of peace, have a great role to play in South-East Asia as a stabilizing influence in a new co-operative effort among countries of the region, irrespective of their political systems.

177. Again and again, I have consistently advocated a military de-escalation by all sides, starting with a complete cessation of the bombing and all other acts of war against North Viet-Nam. I am fully aware of the objections which are raised against this essential first step. Undoubtedly, there are risks for all sides which engage in such a difficult negotiation. In my view, it is for the side which is militarily more powerful to take the initiative. I reiterate my personal conviction that a cessation of the bombing would set in motion positive steps which can eventually lead to a peaceful settlement in South-East Asia in accordance with the Geneva Agreements of 1954.

178. In this connexion, I would recall one or two important aspects of these Agreements. In the Final Declaration of the Geneva Conference, the Powers agreed on a number of principles for a future political settlement for what had been French Indo-China. Among such principles, article 6 clearly stipulated that "the military demarcation line is provisional and should not in any way be interpreted as constituting a political or territorial boundary". However, the political machinery for the reunification, namely, the elections projected for July 1956, failed to materialize. This is one of the main problems which will no doubt receive the attention of the negotiators, even though it appears from the programmes of all the interested parties, including the National Front for the Liberation of South Viet-Nam, that the unification of the two parts will involve a long process of adjustment to be decided by degrees when the situation is more settled.

179. There is another principle included in the 1954 Declaration which now should clearly constitute

the basis of a settlement. This is the neutralization of the entire Indo-Chinese peninsula, including all of Viet-Nam. To become a source of stability in the whole region, this neutrality should be accepted and, preferably, guaranteed by all the larger Powers.

180. There is widespread disappointment at the apparent lack of progress of the preliminary conversations between the North Viet-Nameese and United States delegations which have been taking place in Paris since early May. Even though it was clear from the beginning that these talks would be difficult and that meanwhile the fighting would continue, both parties must be aware that the usefulness of the Paris talks might be jeopardized if attention were to be concentrated on the conduct of military operations. One would at least hope that, by opening these first direct contacts, the interested Governments have clearly signified that they know peace will not be brought about by military means or military escalation. Indeed, I hope I am right in thinking that, by persevering in these peace discussions, the interested Governments are showing their desire to cling to the only serious sign of common will and hope for peace that exists. If this is true, then, despite the discouraging developments of this ominous year, all will not have been lost. In my view, it would be a fatal error to underestimate the unique opportunity which the Paris talks represent in themselves, an opportunity which should be fully utilized by the parties concerned in taking the decisions that are required to move ahead.

181. As Secretary-General of the United Nations, I have consistently—indeed, necessarily—deplored any and every resort to force as a means of settling international differences since such action is in contravention of the Charter of the United Nations and results in a set-back to the establishment of a world order based on the rule of law rather than military power. It follows therefore that I deplored the action of the Soviet Union and four of its Warsaw Pact allies in sending their armed forces into Czechoslovakia in late August 1968. Even though at the time only unofficial information about events in Czechoslovakia was available to me, I issued a statement to the effect that I deplored the use of force anywhere to settle international problems, as contravening the United Nations Charter. I characterized the developments in Czechoslovakia as another serious blow to those concepts of international order and morality which constitute the very basis of the entire structure of the United Nations and which are at the same time the prime objectives which the United Nations has been persistently striving to achieve throughout the more than twenty-two years of its existence. The same morning I also strongly appealed to the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, through its Permanent Representative to the United Nations, to exercise the utmost restraint in its relations with the Government and people of Czechoslovakia, who have been showing for some time a genuine desire to fashion their own future without outside interference from any quarter.

182. I feared at the time of this action, and my fear continues, that there would be a number of consequences which could have a seriously adverse effect upon international relations. Of these, I may mention a few.

183. The East-West *détente*, which seemed to me to be showing signs of re-invigoration in recent months and to which I had attached very great importance,

would suffer a severe reversal similar to that which has resulted from the Viet-Nam war.

184. There would be a renewed intensification of the cold war, taking the world back to the worst days of the cold war in the early fifties.

185. Regional defence alliances would find new justification and support, with greater reliance being placed on the outmoded and dangerous concept of international stability through military blocs.

186. The "hard liners" and the "hawks" in many countries would derive from the experience of Czechoslovakia encouragement and nourishment for their position that there should be no attempt at coexistence or accommodation with the socialist countries; and the voices of liberalism and progressive thought in many parts of the world would be muted.

187. The action in Czechoslovakia was one of overwhelming military force undertaken by one of the two super-Powers, assisted by four of its allies, in respect of a small State which was, in fact, a loyal member of its own bloc. The repercussions of this act of sheer military power were felt around the world and engendered a feeling of dismay, uneasiness and insecurity.

188. In the situation in which Czechoslovakia found itself, the United Nations afforded a unique opportunity to its Government to present its case to the world in the forum of the Security Council. Subsequently, as is known, the Government of Czechoslovakia requested that this matter should no longer be considered by the Security Council and should be removed from its agenda.

189. It is, certainly, a frightening commentary on the ominous state of world affairs that one super-State or the other can become exercised to the point of resorting to military action because of the liberalization of a régime in a small country like Czechoslovakia or because of an internal upheaval in another small State, such as the Dominican Republic. In both cases, the action taken was regarded by those who took it as necessary self-protection without any thought of territorial acquisition. In the case of Czechoslovakia, the parties directly concerned seem to have reached an agreement on the phased withdrawal of the foreign troops. I would very much hope that this agreement would be implemented as expeditiously as possible. Such action would be in the interest of mutual goodwill and also of international peace and security.

190. It is, however, a dismal outlook for the small and militarily weak States of the world—as the overwhelming majority of States are—if they can hope to control their own affairs only in so far as they do nothing to displease a powerful neighbour.

191. It seems to me that now, more than ever, there is need for that will for peace and the matching strength and courage in action which alone can enable Governments to exercise the restraint in word, policy and deed necessary to prevent a mounting spiral of fear and danger.

192. In this regard, I have in mind certain attitudes and policies which, I think, could prevent an irreparable rupture in East-West relations and thus revive hope among men.

193. There should be an avoidance of the all too obvious temptation to use the events in Czechoslovakia as grounds for an intensified build-up of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons. Such a course would only

compound the madness of the existing nuclear arms race. The only reason which could induce either the Soviet Union and its allies, or the Western Powers, to attack the other would be a pervading fear by one side of a pre-emptive strike by the other. This fear is fed by, and grows proportionately with, the increase in the offensive military power of the two super-States. It is, clearly, the build-up of excessive military power beyond any reasonable demands of defence which has become the most ominous threat to world peace.

194. I also believe that it would help to reduce tension if both the NATO and Warsaw Pact Powers would refrain from using Czechoslovakia as a reason for a military build-up to the point that it becomes a positive, offensive threat rather than a strictly defensive posture.

195. A constructive and most helpful action in these perilous times would be the strengthening of the peace-building and peace-keeping capability of the United Nations system. Conversely, military alliances must gradually give way to a global concept of international security and international progress. This will require an intensified effort to reach the minds and hearts of all men with the irrefutable message that war is not only folly and madness, but that mankind's future depends upon its abolition. There is a need, now more imperative than ever before, for world-wide education towards international understanding and peaceful coexistence.

196. The world badly needs an end to the outmoded but dangerous tactic of trying to cope with the problem of the sixties by the strong-arm methods common to the thirties. It is high time for the great military Powers to realize that the present superior military force on which they rely so heavily and are prone to use so freely, is in itself a grave and ever-present danger. Used injudiciously, it also saps the most valuable asset of any nation, its moral authority. Instead of maintaining the policy of reliance on their own military power and the unceasing build-up of arms for their national security, they should take those steps which they alone can effectively take to reduce international tension through progressive disarmament in regard to both nuclear and conventional weapons. At the same time, the major Powers should realize that it is as much in their interest as it is in the interest of the smaller Powers for all Member States to abide faithfully by the provisions of the Charter, and to use the United Nations as their chosen instrument to maintain peace and to achieve a just and stable world order.

197. In reality, the two super-Powers hold the master-key to peace in the world. Little wars, or wars by little States, can be contained so long as the super-Powers do not pose a threat of the big, the nuclear, the ultimate war.

198. In the final analysis, there can be no solid foundation for peace in the world so long as the super-Powers insist on taking unilateral military action whenever they claim to see a threat to their security. Why should they also not bring their fears and complaints about threats to their security to the Security Council, as they regularly demand that less powerful States do? In the Cuban missile crisis this course proved helpful, and it could prove equally useful in other cases where big-Power interests and peace are both directly involved.

199. As I had occasion to state on 13 September 1968 to the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity meeting in Algiers, the resolutions adopted by that organization concerning the conflict in Nigeria are the basis for my attitude and approach to this problem. I also expressed to that Assembly my earnest hope that, pursuant to the efforts of the Organization of African Unity, in particular its six-member Consultative Committee under whose auspices useful preliminary talks recently took place at Niamey and Addis Ababa, fruitful negotiations may take place leading to a just solution which would guarantee the security of all the people of Nigeria.

200. In the resolution approved in Algiers by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government, the Organization of African Unity took note of the report on Nigeria submitted by the Consultative Committee, called upon the secessionist leaders to co-operate with the federal authority with a view to restoring peace and unity in Nigeria, recommended to the Federal Military Government in Nigeria, if preceding conditions are fulfilled, to proclaim a general amnesty and to co-operate with the Organization of African Unity with a view to ensuring the personal security of all Nigerians without distinction until mutual confidence is restored, and called again upon all parties concerned to co-operate with a view to ensuring the rapid delivery of humanitarian relief aid to all those who are in need of it. It also called upon all States Members of the United Nations and members of the Organization of African Unity to abstain from any action which might jeopardize the unity, territorial integrity and peace of Nigeria. It further invited the Consultative Committee, in which it renewed its confidence, to pursue its efforts with a view to implementing the resolutions adopted at Kinshasa and Algiers. I sincerely trust that this resolution may serve as a framework to bring about the restoration of peace and with it the end to this tragic fratricidal conflict.

201. The activities of the United Nations family regarding the conflict in Nigeria have been of an exclusively humanitarian nature. Deeply disturbed about the plight of the population in the war-affected areas of Nigeria, I indicated on 13 July 1968 to General Yakubu Gowon, Head of the Federal Military Government of Nigeria, that the humanitarian organs of the United Nations were ready to make their contribution to meet the urgent needs of civilian victims of the hostilities and I also stated my willingness to send a representative to Lagos immediately to discuss the modalities of this humanitarian task. On 29 July General Gowon confirmed his acceptance of my offer to send a representative and, consequently, on 1 August I appointed Mr. Nils-Goran Gussing as my representative to assist in the relief and humanitarian activities for the civilian victims of the hostilities. After consultations in New York and Geneva, Mr. Gussing arrived in Lagos on 17 August. In the meantime, Mr. Henry R. Labouisse, Executive-Director of the United Nations Children's Fund, had been in Nigeria, had travelled extensively in many of the areas where the population, especially children, were in dire need of supplies and had made arrangements for the assistance which the Fund has been providing to the affected population.

202. For the purpose of co-ordinating efforts and thus undertaking the most effective action, it was agreed

by a number of organizations, both governmental and private, that all the humanitarian aid to the victims of the Nigerian conflict would be channelled through the International Committee of the Red Cross. This arrangement, which includes the relief activities of the United Nations, mainly those of the United Nations Children's Fund, still stands.

203. More recently, in response to a request from the Federal Government that I appoint an observer to visit the war-affected areas in Nigeria, on 18 September I designated Mr. Gussing for this purpose. This additional responsibility will be undertaken by Mr. Gussing within the framework of his mandate as my representative on humanitarian activities in Nigeria. His task is to see for himself the situation of the population in those areas, to make an assessment of the relief needs there, to recommend ways and means of expediting the distribution of relief supplies and to report directly to me.

204. It is regrettable that the efforts to speed up the distribution of supplies to the distressed areas have been hampered by difficulties arising from the conduct of the military operations by both sides. There is no question that there is great need for larger shipments of relief supplies, but the immediate and greater problem is to secure a fuller co-operation on the part of those bearing responsibility in the areas of the conflict as regards facilities for the movement and distribution of supplies.

205. I am well aware that this document must make gloomy reading. I do not believe, however, that a facile optimism would be justified under present international conditions. At the same time, I feel that it is not enough to bemoan the past; we must also renew our efforts to promote the cause of international understanding and rededicate ourselves to the principles of international order and morality set out in the Charter. It seems to me that such an occasion for rededication will present itself to all Member States as we approach the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations. I believe that Member States would wish to celebrate this occasion with due solemnity and I should like to suggest that, very early in the twenty-third session, the President of the General Assembly may, after due consultations, appoint a Committee of Member States with a request to them to submit their report for consideration by the Assembly before the close of the present session. I hope that the Assembly will be able to adopt recommendations which will make it possible to celebrate, in a most fitting manner, the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations.



(Signed) U THANT
Secretary-General

24 September 1968

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