



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

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**September 1969**

**GENERAL ASSEMBLY**  
**OFFICIAL RECORDS : TWENTY-FOURTH SESSION**  
**SUPPLEMENT No. 1A (A/7601/Add.1)**

**UNITED NATIONS**



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*New York, 1969*

#### 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. During the past twelve months, the deterioration of the international situation, which I noted in the introduction to the annual report last year, has continued. In the Middle East, the year has been marked by rising tension, and the level of conflict in the area has never been higher since June 1967. So far as the tragic situation in Nigeria is concerned, while the most recent developments have given rise to a feeling of hope, the tremendous suffering of the civilian population and the loss of life and property have evoked universal concern. In regard to Viet-Nam I can, however, see signs of some improvement. It is true that the Paris talks have not produced any conclusive results so far, but the very fact that all the parties involved in the conflict are engaged in these discussions is a most important step in the right direction. The situation in Cyprus has improved steadily in terms of a return to normal conditions of civilian life and the leaders of the two communities are continuing their talks. Basic issues, however, still await solution.

2. In the field of disarmament, progress is indeed very limited; further, there is the frightening prospect of a new arms race in the field of nuclear weapons, involving anti-missile defence systems and missiles with multiple warheads. The recent report prepared with the assistance of consultant experts on chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons and the effects of their possible use, and the attention given to this problem by the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, lead me to hope that at the forthcoming session of the General Assembly some consensus may be reached on the future approach of the international community to this question. I am also gratified by the interest being displayed at the same Conference on the question of ensuring that the sea-bed and the ocean floor should be used exclusively for peaceful purposes.

3. I have referred in past years to the chronic problems of colonialism and *apartheid* which have persisted in southern Africa in defiance of the United Nations. These problems have continued and there is no evidence of the political will to solve them on the part of those in a position to make such a contribution. The same is true of the difficult questions of Rhodesia and Namibia.

4. In recent years I have on a number of occasions touched upon the question of public information activity in support of the various aims and functions of the United Nations. I have noted the increasing importance placed by individual United Nations organs and bodies upon securing stronger information support for their particular areas of concern. As I have said before, this increased interest in, and appreciation of, public information as an essential component of the substantive activities of the United Nations—be they political, economic, social or humanitarian—is most welcome.

5. In response to various requests originating with diverse United Nations organs and bodies, a series of assessments and reports on information problems and possibilities, such as those presented to the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions, the Preparatory Committee for the Second United Nations Development Decade and the Trade and Development Board, have recently been issued. I am both hopeful and confident that these related reports will provide an opportunity for a major rethinking of the problem of United Nations information activities as a whole and of the organizational structure as well as the material and manpower resources required for the pursuit of such activities in the context of present-day needs and possibilities. I hope that this rethinking and reinvigorating of the information activity will not be long delayed. For my part, I have already taken a number of steps in the direction of strengthening United Nations information activities and increasing the output in all fields. Thus, for example, I have authorized the establishment of a Centre for Economic and Social Information within the United Nations Office of Public Information, made up of a group of professionals with specialized training in the economic and social fields and in the techniques of information relating to these needs. This Centre, which is presently financed for the most part through voluntary funds, will, I hope, play an important part in providing the necessary information support for the Second United Nations Development Decade.

6. Similarly, arrangements have been made for increased co-ordination between the Office of Public Information and the relevant substantive departments with respect to information relating to the political fields of United Nations endeavour. Consequently, an increased effort and better directed information policy can be anticipated in endeavours such as the elimination of *apartheid* and racism, decolonization and the promotion of human rights.

7. In offering these general remarks, I think it useful to restate and reaffirm two basic propositions which have guided and inspired all United Nations information activity since it was first organized under the authority of General Assembly resolution 13 (I) of 1946: United Nations information activity must be as universal, factual and objective as possible on all matters—political as well as economic and social; further, the formulation and execution of information policy must be vested, subject to the general authority of the principal organs of the United Nations, in the Secretary-General and, under him, in the Assistant Secretary-General in charge of the Office of Public Information.

8. As is evident, each of these two basic principles derives from and supports the other. By its very nature and purpose, United Nations information activity has, in terms of subject-matter, to encompass all the diverse and yet interrelated fields of United Nations

endeavour and, in terms of dissemination, it must comprehend all geographical regions of the world. This requirement, in turn, makes the centralization of policy direction and operational control established by the General Assembly twenty-three years ago in the interest, at once, of ensuring economy in operations and uniformity in policy.

9. The Organization's financial situation remains precarious and its ability to meet the payroll and other current expenses rests on borrowings from trust and special accounts in the custody and control of the Secretary-General. In respect of the regular budget as at 30 June 1969, current liabilities (accounts payable, sundry credits and amounts due to trust, special accounts and surplus account) exceeded current assets (cash, investments, deferred charges, accounts receivable and amounts due from trust funds) by \$5.8 million. At the same date, \$39.5 million had been advanced from the Working Capital Fund, and \$14.3 million of the voluntary contributions in the United Nations Special Account had been utilized, to finance regular budgetary expenditures. There was, therefore, a cumulative shortfall of \$59.6 million in contributions received in relation to expenditures incurred as at 30 June 1969. Unliquidated obligations at the same date totalled \$13.3 million.

10. While there was some temporary improvement in the situation in July, as the result of the receipt during that month of some \$28 million of assessed contributions to the regular budget, it may be anticipated that the situation will deteriorate during the balance of the year and again become critical before the end of 1969.

11. Unpaid assessed contributions to the regular budget totalled some \$130 million as of 30 June 1969. Of this amount, \$26.7 million is attributable to the position taken by some Members of not paying for the parts of the regular budget assessments covering the cost of servicing United Nations bonds and the costs of certain activities which they consider illegally included in the regular budget; the balance of \$103.3 million represents delayed payments by Members. On the basis of the pattern of past payments, it is estimated that \$22.3 million of the balance of \$103.3 million is likely to remain unpaid at the end of 1969.

12. The financial situation in respect of the Special Account for the United Nations Emergency Force and the *Ad Hoc* Account for the United Nations Operation in the Congo remains a matter of serious concern. As at 30 June 1969, unpaid assessments to these accounts, which must be considered as virtually uncollectable, totalled \$132.7 million, of which \$50.6 million related to the United Nations Emergency Force and \$82.1 million to the United Nations Operation in the Congo. Amounts owed to Governments which provided contingents and logistical support to the two peace-keeping forces at the same date totalled, respectively, \$20.1 million and \$10.0 million, although \$5.9 and \$0.2 million of the voluntary contributions in the United Nations Special Account had been utilized to reduce the indebtedness in the accounts. Additional net liabilities and unliquidated obligations in the two accounts amounted, respectively, to \$5.5 million and \$3.2 million. As there are no cash balances or investments in these accounts at this time, except for the equivalent of \$1.8 million in unconvertible Congolese zaires, it is not pos-

sible to pay any of the balances due Governments which so generously responded to the Organization's request that they provide contingents and logistical support to the peace-keeping forces.

13. Voluntary contributions and interest credited thereon to the United Nations Special Account increased by \$0.4 million during the first half of 1969, thus bringing the total amount credited to this account to \$20.4 million. There is no indication that additional substantial pledges and payments may be forthcoming in the near future to help the Organization out of its present financial difficulties.

14. The financial situation in respect of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus is also of most serious concern for, unless additional pledges are received, it is estimated that the deficit in that account as at 15 December 1969 will be approximately \$10.8 million.

15. In the field of economic and social development, considerable effort is being devoted to the formulation of the goals and targets of the Second United Nations Development Decade. This is a natural pre-occupation not only of the Economic and Social Council, but also of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. I believe that we are now well organized to take up the tasks of the Second United Nations Development Decade with the family of institutions developed within the United Nations, such as the United Nations Development Programme, the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, the United Nations Industrial Development Organization, the United Nations Children's Fund and the United Nations Institute for Training and Research and also, of course, the family of agencies constituting the United Nations system.

16. The beginning of the Second United Nations Development Decade coincides with the twenty-fifth year of the Organization. As the General Assembly considers questions related to the objectives and strategies for the Second Development Decade, it would be encouraging if there were a greater degree of optimism and enthusiasm consistent with the signal successes that have attended the efforts of the Organization, particularly as a multinational instrument for promoting economic and social development. While the developing countries increasingly turn to the United Nations for assistance in their development efforts, we have witnessed, in recent years, a growing reluctance on the part of the more affluent Members to provide financial support to the Organization on a scale in keeping with the increased magnitude and complexity of its tasks, especially those in the economic, social and human rights fields.

17. Recognition of the ever-increasing divergence between decisions taken by programme-formulating bodies and the resources voted for implementing these decisions has not been lacking. Starting with General Assembly resolution 1797 (XVII) on an integrated programme and budget policy, several recommendations on this subject have been made by the Economic and Social Council, the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions and the General Assembly itself. Following the recommendations of the *Ad Hoc* Committee of Experts to Examine the Finances of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies, the Economic and Social Council has called

upon its subsidiary bodies to draw up "long-range programmes of work containing clear indications of priority among the various projects" and entrusted its Committee for Programme and Co-ordination with programme review and co-ordination functions covering the full range of activities in the economic, social and human rights fields. Furthermore, the General Assembly requested the Secretary-General to draw up a planning estimate for the second succeeding budget year, for consideration at the time it takes decisions on the level of appropriations for the first budget year.

18. Side by side, improvements in the process of budget preparations have been introduced through the work of the internal budget review groups, and a survey of manpower utilization and deployment aimed at improving the efficiency and effectiveness of the Secretariat has been started, pursuant to the recommendations of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions.

19. While these various measures, designed, on the one hand, to secure improvements in programme formulation and budget preparation and, on the other, to enhance the efficiency of the Secretariat, are to be welcomed, it is essential that the review and reorganization processes should not impede the necessary growth of the Organization, in keeping with its responsibilities. Nor should they imperil on-going programmes of proved value or the initiation of new programmes which could be of direct benefit in areas which call for international action.

20. Inasmuch as the preparation of the budget is no more than an attempt to reflect in financial terms the level of resources regarded as necessary to undertake the tasks entrusted to the Organization, it would seem inappropriate to try to control growth in programmes through limitations on the level of the budget. The emphasis should rather be on improving the programme formulations processes, on establishing concrete objectives for United Nations action and on translating these into long-term and medium-term programmes for which, in turn, budgetary provisions can be made.

21. In raising these broad policy issues, I am aware of the fact that, for the immediate future, my attitude towards the budget cannot ignore the concern voiced by some Member Governments at its growth in recent years (a growth which in large part is attributable to the creation of new machinery in the fields of trade and industry) and the call for a survey of manpower utilization and deployment. In drawing up my budget proposals for 1970, I have, therefore, limited myself to seeking a lump-sum credit to permit me to augment resources in critical areas so that proved priority programmes might not be adversely affected. I have imposed this discipline on the Secretariat in the expectation that the survey of manpower utilization and deployment currently under way would have covered the major part of the Secretariat by the end of 1970, and that I would then have a better basis for presenting to the General Assembly at its twenty-fifth session any necessary revisions in the budget of 1971, or for reflecting the results of the survey in the initial budget for 1972. I am confident that the General Assembly will view with favour any requests for increased resources that I might be constrained to present in order to undertake in the interval new and urgent pro-

grammes that may be called for by decisions taken by the competent organs. I have in mind, in this connexion, the new areas for international action that have emerged in recent years, such as questions related to the peaceful uses of the sea-bed and the ocean floor, co-operation in outer space, chemical and bacteriological warfare, problems of the human environment and population.

22. Elsewhere in this introduction reference is made to the global problems of economic and social development in the context of the Second United Nations Development Decade. The problems of the human environment and population have just been mentioned. I am particularly gratified at the attention that has been paid, during recent years, to the problems of human environment—the earth we tread, the air we breathe, the water we drink. I hope that prospective international action in this field may result in the improvement of the human environment in those countries where pollution has already become a serious problem. I hope that the developing countries may benefit from the experience of the advanced countries and learn to take preventive action when developing their own resources.

23. I have been greatly encouraged by the increasing attention being paid to problems of population growth in recent years by the competent bodies. I am also deeply gratified by the response to my appeal for contributions to a trust fund, established under the auspices of the United Nations, to finance an enlarged programme of population activities. I have every hope that this fund, which will be administered on my behalf by the Administrator of the United Nations Development Programme, will receive vastly augmented resources on a continuing basis in the years ahead. If this hope is realized, the United Nations and its family of institutions and agencies can make a significant contribution to the alleviation of the problems caused by the rapid growth of population, and help interested countries in developing programmes which may contribute to the reduction of their rates of growth and thus bring about an improvement of the quality of life of individuals and families.

24. In the introduction to the annual report last year, I referred to the consensus reached by the Working Group of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations to study, as a first model in its programme of work, the military observer operations established or authorized by the Security Council, and noted that it represented a hopeful sign of willingness on all sides to consider new departures as a means of moving towards a solution of the various aspects of the question of peace-keeping operations.

25. The Working Group, which has met almost continuously since the end of March this year, has devoted its efforts to drawing up comprehensive guidelines for United Nations military observer operations established or authorized by the Security Council. Although the Working Group has made considerable progress in its task, there are still differing views on some important issues. This is not surprising, of course, if we realize that positions which have been maintained and defended over a period of several years cannot be expected to be changed overnight. In view, however, of the expressed desire on all sides to reach agreement on the remaining issues, it is my hope that

a consensus would soon be reached on workable arrangements concerning military observer operations established or authorized by the Security Council, including questions of management and financing. It is also to be hoped that progress would be made in due course on the second model dealing with military contingents.

## II. Disarmament

26. In the field of disarmament the past year has seen little progress. Indeed, some of the momentum and promise of previous years seems to have been lost. The world is standing at what may be regarded in the perspective of history as one of the decisive moments in the grim challenge of the nuclear arms race. It is accordingly most disquieting to see that the solution of the problems of preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons, both horizontally and vertically, is still hanging in the balance. The testing of nuclear weapons continues apace. Global military expenditures continue to mount at an alarming rate. Most dangerous of all, the world seems threatened by an uncontrollable escalation of the nuclear arms race.

27. Hopes for progress towards halting the nuclear arms race were raised when, on 1 July 1968, the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons was opened for signature, and, on the same day, it was announced that the Governments of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America had agreed "to enter in the nearest future into bilateral discussions on the limitation and reduction of both offensive strategic nuclear weapons delivery systems and systems of defence against ballistic missiles". Since then, however, only very limited progress has been made. The Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, designed to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons to non-nuclear States, remains unsigned by a number of States which are potential nuclear Powers; it has been ratified by one of the three nuclear signatories (the other two have not yet finished their procedures of ratification) and by less than one half of the other forty States required for its entry into force. As regards the interrelated problem of preventing the further qualitative and quantitative proliferation of nuclear weapons and delivery systems among the nuclear Powers themselves, the continuing negotiations have not brought any concrete results so far. Despite resolution D of the Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States, which was convened on 29 August 1968 in Geneva, and General Assembly resolution 2456 D (XXIII) of 20 December 1968, calling for the early commencement of the bilateral talks for the limitation and reduction of strategic nuclear arms, at the time of writing the parties had not yet found it possible to announce the date for the opening of the talks.

28. Far from making progress towards limiting and reducing the threat of nuclear weapons, the world seems poised on the verge of a massive new escalation in the field of nuclear weaponry. Plans being discussed at present for anti-missile defensive systems and for missiles with multiple warheads generate a renewed sense of fear, insecurity and frustration. The product of the awful alphabet and arithmetic of ABMs (anti-ballistic missiles) and MIRVs (multiple independently-targetable re-entry vehicles) can only be the acceleration of what has been described as the "mad momentum" of the nuclear arms race. The development of such new

weapons would greatly magnify and complicate the problems of verification and control of any measures to halt the nuclear arms race. The notion of "superiority" in such a race is an illusion, as that notion can only lead to an endless competition in which each side steps up its nuclear capabilities in an effort to match, or exceed, the other side until the race ends in unmitigated disaster for all. As the spiral of the nuclear arms race goes up, the spiral of security goes down.

29. On the other hand the opportunities, as well as the need, for halting the nuclear arms race have never been greater than at the present time. There now exists a rough balance between the Soviet Union and the United States where each is capable of virtually destroying the other and neither is capable, if nuclear war should ever break out, of preventing or escaping the holocaust. The present situation of relative stability could disappear, even if only temporarily, if new generations of nuclear weapons systems were developed and deployed. This upsetting of the balance, or "destabilization", would create unknown temptations and pressures and greatly increase the danger of possible miscalculation. Hence there may never be a better time to put a stop to the nuclear arms race, nor a more favorable opportunity to take advantage of the possibilities. I have never been able to understand why, given this rough balance, the major nuclear Powers could not assume the calculable and manageable risks of freezing that balance and then reducing it to lower and safer levels, rather than assume the incalculable and unmanageable risks of pursuing a race which may end in disaster for all mankind. Surely, every conceivable national security interest would be protected and even enhanced by agreeing to preserve the balance at progressively reduced levels.

30. I accordingly appeal to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America to begin immediately their bilateral talks to limit and reduce offensive and defensive strategic nuclear weapons. In the meantime, pending progress in these talks, it would be helpful if they stopped all further work on the development of new offensive and defensive strategic systems, whether by agreement or by a unilateral moratorium declared by both sides. Little or nothing would be lost by postponing decisions to embark on the development and deployment of new nuclear weapon systems in order to explore thoroughly the possibilities of agreement: a very great deal might be lost by failure or refusal to do so. I am sure that the peoples of the world would breathe a sigh of relief if the Governments of these two States were to avoid taking any decisions which might prove to be irreversible and which might further escalate the nuclear arms race. Such a pause for reflection and the exercise of restraint while the bilateral talks were being undertaken might well become a historic decision which would be a blessing for all mankind.

31. Inseparably linked to the question of a freeze or limitation of strategic nuclear weapons development is the ending of underground nuclear weapon tests. As long ago as November 1962, the General Assembly, in resolution 1762 A (XVII), explicitly condemned all nuclear weapon tests and asked that they cease immediately and not later than 1 January 1963. The partial tests ban treaty of 5 August 1963, which prohibited tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water, contained a promise to seek the ending

also of underground tests. Thus far, that promise remains unfulfilled.

32. A number of constructive proposals have been put forward to halt or limit underground nuclear tests. A draft of a comprehensive test ban treaty that would ban all underground nuclear tests has been submitted to the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament. A proposal has been put forward for a treaty to ban underground tests beginning with a threshold ban of explosions above 4.75 on the seismic scale, which would be progressively lowered as the technology and instrumentation for the detection and identification of tests continue to improve. Still another proposal suggests a ban on underground explosions above the 4.75 magnitude, with a moratorium on explosions below this threshold. Proposals have also been made for encouraging, improving and better organizing international co-operation for the exchange of seismic data and information as a means of reducing the problems of verification and thus facilitating an underground test ban. In order to avoid the long-standing difficulties of on-site inspection, proposals have also been made for verification-by-challenge which would seem to provide a relatively easy system for handling suspicions or complaints of possible evasions. All these proposals merit the most careful consideration in order to make some advance from the present impasse.

33. Additional testing of nuclear weapons can be required only for the further sophistication of existing nuclear weapons or for the development of new weapon systems in the nuclear arms race. The several proposals made for controlling or stopping these tests would seem to provide ample possibilities for doing so in safety. The non-nuclear Powers would appear to regard the attitude of the nuclear Powers to the halting of nuclear tests as an earnest indication of their good intentions to abide by article VI of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, whereby they undertook "to pursue negotiations in good faith on effective measures relating to cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date and to nuclear disarmament".

34. I would venture to address a renewed appeal to the nuclear Powers, in the spirit of the General Assembly resolution of 1963, to end all nuclear tests. I would hope that they would once again review their positions with a view to suspending underground tests, pending progress in the bilateral missile talks.

35. At the same time, I would appeal to all countries to sign and ratify the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons at the earliest possible date.

36. In September 1968, the non-nuclear Powers, imbued with a desire to improve their security by preventing both the horizontal and vertical proliferation of nuclear weapons and to improve their economies by the fullest utilization of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes, held the Conference of Non-Nuclear Weapon States in Geneva. That Conference adopted a number of resolutions which were considered by the General Assembly at its twenty-third session. The Assembly, in its turn, adopted resolutions 2456 A and C (XXIII) requesting the Secretary-General to prepare three reports in regard to these matters for the consideration of the Assembly at its twenty-fourth session—first a comprehensive report on the progress achieved in implementing resolution 2456 A (XXIII) on the Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States; second, a report pre-

pared by a group of experts on all possible contributions of nuclear technology to the economic and scientific advancement of the developing countries; and third, a report on the establishment, within the framework of the International Atomic Energy Agency, of an international service for nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes, under appropriate international control. I am hopeful that these reports will help to promote the fulfilment of some of the aspirations of the non-nuclear-weapon States.

37. In pursuance of General Assembly resolution 2454 A (XXIII) of 20 December 1968, I have also prepared a report, with the assistance of consultant experts, entitled *Chemical and Bacteriological (Biological) Weapons and the Effects of Their Possible Use*, which has been submitted to the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament, to the Security Council, as well as to the General Assembly. The report has already been the subject of considerable discussion, and a number of proposals have been made in the Eighteen-Nation Committee for dealing further with the threat posed by chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons, including an appeal to all States to sign and ratify the Protocol for the Prohibition of the Use in War of Asphyxiating, Poisonous or Other Gases, and of Bacteriological Methods of Warfare, signed at Geneva on 17 June 1925, and a draft convention to prevent the development, production and stockpiling of biological weapons. I am confident that the report and the various proposals on this important subject will lead to specific decisions at the forthcoming session of the General Assembly that will facilitate political and legal action to eliminate these inhuman and barbarous weapons of war.

38. The Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament has also devoted considerable attention to the prevention of an arms race on the sea-bed and the ocean floor. Separate draft treaties were presented by the USSR for the demilitarization of that environment and, by the United States, for its denuclearization and the banning of weapons of mass destruction. A number of proposals were made by other countries for finding compromises between the positions set forth in the two draft treaties. At the time of writing, the Committee is continuing its intensive efforts to produce an agreed draft treaty. The forthcoming session of the General Assembly will no doubt wish to give full attention to this problem in an attempt to agree on a text acceptable to all. A treaty that would prevent the spread of the arms race to the sea-bed and ocean floor would mark another important step forward in this field.

39. In what has been on the whole a less productive year for disarmament, there has been one ray of light. The Treaty of Tlatelco has been ratified by the requisite number of countries and the Agency for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America has now been established. I was glad to be able to address, on 2 September in Mexico City, the first session of the General Conference of the Agency. It is a matter of profound satisfaction that the structure of this project, to which the General Assembly first gave its support in 1963 by resolution 1911 (XVIII), has now been formally constituted. It is my hope that, pursuant to the General Assembly resolutions in that regard, additional signatures and ratifications of the Treaty and of its Additional Protocol II will soon be forthcoming to ensure that none of the States of that

area will manufacture or acquire nuclear weapons and that the nuclear-weapon Powers will not station, deploy, use or threaten to use such weapons against any of the States in the nuclear-weapon-free zone. The continuing efforts and the steady progress made by the States of Latin America, which have now come to fruition, are deserving of the highest admiration and praise. They have given an exemplary demonstration of what can be achieved, given the moral commitment, careful planning and persistence. They have successfully taken a first important step towards disarmament and the expansion of peaceful uses of nuclear energy, and have given the world some novel ideas in the field of control. I am hopeful that the system established by the Treaty of Tlatelolco will provide a model for other nuclear-weapon-free zones as well as for additional measures of global disarmament.

40. In a report which I presented to the General Assembly in 1962 on the economic and social consequences of disarmament, it was estimated by a group of experts that the total of world expenditures for military purposes had reached the astronomical figure of about \$120,000 million per year. That report was made in the same year that the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament began its work. Now, seven years later, despite the continuing and very great efforts of the members of the Committee, it is estimated that the world expenditure for armaments is almost \$200,000 million per year. Even allowing for the increase in the price level, this inflation of military expenditure is both startling and depressing. During the same period, a number of important successes were achieved by the Committee or were influenced by its efforts. These include the partial test ban treaty of 5 August 1963, the Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies of 1967 and the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons of 1968. It is true that all these treaties were related to "non-armament" or of "preventive disarmament" rather than to disarmament in the sense of the actual reduction of armaments. Nevertheless, each of these treaties was rightly considered as an outstanding achievement in its time. At the same time, however, stockpiles of both nuclear and conventional armaments were steadily increasing both in numbers and in death-dealing capacity. Thus, despite the successes achieved in the decade of the sixties, the armaments race and military expenditures have mounted at an accelerated rate. The diversion of enormous resources and energy, both human and physical, from peaceful economic and social pursuits to unproductive and uneconomic military purposes was an important factor in the failure to make greater progress in the advancement of the developing countries during the First United Nations Development Decade.

41. The world now stands at a most critical crossroads. It can pursue the arms race at a terrible price to the security and progress of the peoples of the world, or it can move ahead towards the goal of general and complete disarmament, a goal that was set in 1959 by a unanimous decision of the General Assembly on the eve of the decade of the 1960s. If it should choose the latter road, the security, the economic well-being and the progress not only of the developing countries, but also of the developed countries and of the entire world, would be tremendously enhanced.

42. I would accordingly propose that the Members of the United Nations decide to dedicate the decade

of the 1970s, which has already been designated as the Second United Nations Development Decade, as a Disarmament Decade. I would hope that the members of the General Assembly could establish a specific programme and time-table for dealing with all aspects of the problem of arms control and disarmament. Useful guidelines already exist in the provisional agenda, adopted on 15 August 1968 by the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament, and in resolution C adopted by the Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States in September 1968.

43. A concerted and concentrated effort during this Disarmament Decade to limit and reduce nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction, to reduce conventional weapons and to deal with all the related problems of disarmament and security, could produce concrete, measurable progress towards general and complete disarmament by the end of the decade of the seventies.

44. In the new decade, an enlarged Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament, which henceforth will be known as the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, will be grappling with the problems of arms limitation and disarmament with the benefit of the fresh approaches brought by the new members. It is hoped that the bilateral missile talks will be under way and that their early success will open new vistas for progress.

45. In this connexion, I would regard it of the highest importance that serious attempts be made to associate in one way or another all five nuclear Powers with the negotiations for disarmament. The full participation of all the nuclear Powers in all efforts to contain the nuclear arms race and to reduce and eliminate armaments would be not only beneficial, but indeed indispensable for a full measure of success.

46. The nations of the world have what may be a last opportunity to mobilize their energies and resources, supported by the public opinion of all the peoples of the world, and to tackle anew the complicated but not insuperable problems of disarmament. I am confident that, given sufficient dedication, the political will and the requisite planning of specific objectives, they can succeed.

### III. Outer space and the sea-bed

47. The year under review has been a momentous one in the exploration of outer space. With the historic event of man's landing on the Moon, he has taken a gigantic step towards the conquest of outer space and has taken upon himself the task of mastering the newly expanded horizons. I strongly hope that the words "we came in peace for all mankind", which are inscribed on the commemorative plaque that rests upon the moon's surface, are an indication of a will to move forward together in the exploration of outer space in a spirit of true international co-operation.

48. The United Nations, which has urged in a number of General Assembly resolutions that the exploration and use of outer space be for the benefit of all mankind, has continued its efforts to foster international co-operation and collaboration in this field.

49. It was on this basis that the United Nations took the initiative to convene an international conference so that wide and full participation of all States could be ensured. It may be recalled that this Conference, which was held at Vienna in August 1968,

pointed to the importance of practical applications of space exploration and the opportunities available for co-operation in this field. The Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space at its last session took further steps to follow up the work of the Conference, and the Scientific and Technical Sub-Committee recommended at its last session the establishment of a channel within the Secretariat to promote practical applications of space technology and to aid Member States seeking information and assistance in this field. It is hoped that, in this manner, the United Nations machinery will continue to play a vital role in ensuring that practical benefits of space exploration will be available to all nations.

50. Increasing attention is being given to the provision of educational and training facilities, particularly for the developing countries, through bilateral and multi-lateral arrangements. In this regard, the United Nations has continued its sponsorship of the Thumba Equatorial Sounding Rocket Launching Station in India, a project designed both to meet the needs of peaceful space research and to provide developing countries with opportunities for practical training and participation.

51. A similar project has been set up by the Government of Argentina and the General Assembly has endorsed a recommendation of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space that the Secretary-General should send a group of scientists to visit the Mar Chiquita station, an Argentine project, in order to advise the Committee on the eligibility of the support for United Nations sponsorship. The group will visit Argentina very shortly. These are indications that now, as the second decade of space exploration begins, many nations of the world are aware of their stake in this new activity of mankind and are eager to benefit from the developments in this field.

52. In this connexion, I am particularly pleased to note the work of the specialized agencies, in particular the International Telecommunications Union, the World Meteorological Organization and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, which are already engaged in important operational, co-operative projects on an international level.

53. While the accomplishments in the exploration of outer space are making us aware of the benefits to be derived for the economic and social well-being of man, we are also being made aware of the complex problems which space exploration may bring. If we are to benefit from this new environment and not allow it to become an area of tension and conflict, it is most vital that through international co-operation we seek to ensure that the developments in this area shall take place in an orderly and peaceful manner.

54. The United Nations has taken important strides in that direction within the past few years. The Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, including the Moon and other Celestial Bodies, as well as the Agreement on the Rescue of Astronauts, the Return of Astronauts and the Return of Objects Launched into Outer Space, which were unanimously acclaimed by the General Assembly, have now come into effect. The Legal Sub-Committee of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space has for many years devoted its attention to the elaboration of an international agreement on liability for damage caused by objects launched into outer space, which I hope will be finalized in the

near future. Discussions within the Legal Sub-Committee have covered many other areas which lend themselves to legal regulation.

55. In addition, the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space has established a Working Group on Direct Broadcast Satellites which has concluded its preliminary work in studying the technical feasibility as well as the social, cultural and legal implications of such developments. The report of the Working Group will be before the General Assembly at this session. I am also pleased to note that the International Telecommunications Union has convened a conference in June 1971 to study and allocate frequencies for all space services and to take the necessary action to meet the need for co-ordinated frequency planning.

56. In these ways the international community has endeavoured, within the United Nations system, to ensure that exploration of outer space will take place in a peaceful and orderly manner. I am hopeful that the positive trend that has developed in the United Nations in the peaceful uses of outer space will continue to be strengthened.

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57. A relatively new field of concern to the United Nations, but one in which activity promises to develop over the years, is that of the peaceful uses of the sea-bed and the ocean floor beyond the limits of present national jurisdiction. The continuing importance attached by Member States to the problems relating to the reservation of these areas for peaceful purposes and the use of their resources in the interest of mankind was shown by the establishment at the General Assembly's twenty-third session, without any dissenting vote, of a standing committee to continue the work of the *Ad Hoc* Committee established at the previous session.

58. There was general agreement that there did exist an area of the sea-bed and the ocean floor beyond the limits of national jurisdiction which was properly an area for international co-operation. However, it was generally recognized that to proceed effectively in this direction would require a substantial measure of agreement and further study to elaborate the legal principles and norms to promote international co-operation in the exploration and use of the area, as well as a study of the economic and other requirements that such a régime for the area should satisfy in order to protect the interests of humanity as a whole.

59. In another resolution adopted at the twenty-third session, the General Assembly requested the Secretary-General to undertake a study on the question of establishing, in due time, appropriate international machinery for the promotion of the exploration and exploitation of the resources of this area, and the use of these resources in the interests of mankind, irrespective of the geographical location of States, and taking into special consideration the interests and needs of the developing countries. A report on this study has been submitted to the new Committee and this will be one of the subjects dealt with in the Committee's report to the Assembly.

60. The General Assembly also recognized the dangers of pollution which might arise from exploitation of the sea-bed and called for a study which is being undertaken by the United Nations in co-operation with the specialized agencies and organizations involved.

61. Throughout its discussions and in the resolutions adopted, the General Assembly emphasized the importance of close co-operation between the United Nations and the specialized agencies and other international organizations working in this field so as to avoid duplication and overlapping. This was the case, in particular, with reference to the concept of an international decade of ocean exploration to be undertaken within the framework of a long-term and expanded programme of oceanographic research and exploration. It is clear to me that such co-operation will become an increasingly important factor in the efforts of the international community to make constructive use of this extensive new area. The ability of the United Nations system to ensure that exploration and exploitation of the resources of the sea result in benefit to mankind will greatly depend upon the success of such co-operation.

#### IV. The Middle East and Cyprus

62. During the past six months there has been a marked deterioration of the situation in the Middle East. This period has seen the highest level of armed conflict in the area since the June 1967 war. Although the extent of such violence has been greater in the Suez Canal sector, in the sense of the frequency of exchanges of heavy fire by both sides, there have been various kinds of recurrent breaches of the cease-fire in all sectors of the Middle East conflict. War actually is being waged throughout the area, short only of battles between large bodies of troops. Patrol and guerrilla activity have become common, as have raids and counter-raids by land and at times by air or sea, bombardments of suspected centres of guerrilla activity and explosive charges on roads and in civilian structures. This is a pattern of activity which recently, in part at least, has extended to the Israel-Lebanon sector—an area that had been relatively quiet. In the Suez Canal sector, in particular, the increased use of armed force has taken place despite the cease-fire called for by the Security Council, repeated warnings by the Secretary-General and the ceaseless efforts of United Nations military observers to maintain the cease-fire. Indeed, I have twice in recent months taken the unusual step of submitting special reports to the Security Council (on 21 April and 5 July 1969) warning the Council of the almost complete breakdown of its cease-fire in the Suez Canal sector and the virtual resumption of war there, despite the unceasing and valiant efforts of the United Nations military observers, who are exposed to great danger, to maintain the cease-fire.

63. There can be no doubt that this constant resort to force is to a considerable extent connected with the present impasse in the search for a peaceful settlement and the absence of an early prospect for the implementation of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967. The hopes for such a settlement, which were widely prevalent after the unanimous adoption by the Security Council of this resolution, have thus far been unfulfilled in spite of nearly two years of effort by the United Nations and other parties.

64. This continuing situation is, first of all, a disaster for the Middle Eastern countries directly involved. It is a grim reflection of the state of affairs in the Middle East that, despite all the activities of Governments, of the United Nations and of various individuals, the prospect of even a first step towards a peaceful settlement now still seems remote, and the emotional climate for progress towards peace is no more favourable than ever.

65. This situation also creates, to a considerable extent, a crisis of effectiveness for the United Nations and for its Members. Developments in the Middle East, particularly since June 1967, have posed acutely the challenging problem of how States Members of the United Nations can fulfil the obligation to ensure that decisions of the Security Council and the General Assembly will be respected and given due effect. In the ultimate sense, this can be achieved only by the sovereign Members themselves.

66. For twenty-two years, the Middle East has presented the United Nations with its greatest opportunity as well as its sternest challenge. It is noteworthy that, within the United Nations at least, all the parties to the conflict have stated on numerous occasions that they seek peace. The Security Council's unanimous resolution of 22 November 1967 provided a possible basis upon which this desire for peace could have begun to be realized, although it soon became all too clear that widely divergent interpretations of its meaning and practical applications prevailed among the parties who had accepted it.

67. Ambassador Gunnar Jarring, my Special Representative in the Middle East, is universally respected and trusted and he has made, and continues to make, persistent efforts to achieve at least a first step towards a settlement. However, experience has painfully demonstrated that in these efforts Ambassador Jarring has found himself acting largely on his own with little or no effective support from other sources in the sense of helpful guidance and backing on the resolution of specific issues. I do not accept the narrow interpretation of the role of Ambassador Jarring, as my Special Representative in the Middle East, as being exclusively or even primarily to bring the parties together around a common negotiating table. There can be no question that this would be highly desirable, if it could be done. On the other hand, it cannot be said positively at this juncture that it can be done. If, however, it cannot be done immediately, it is not to be concluded that there is nothing else for Ambassador Jarring to do. There is more than one procedural route to peace. Ambassador Jarring has also the function of seeking to bring the positions of the parties together by such means and efforts as he may find possible. In my view, the parties have the duty to co-operate with him in this respect and to provide him with all information concerning their positions and demands necessary for the conduct of fruitful discussions, exchanges and negotiations.

68. In addition to the efforts of the Security Council and of Ambassador Jarring, in recent months four permanent members of the Security Council, on the initiative of their Governments, have engaged in consultation in an attempt to strengthen Ambassador Jarring's hand in his quest for a solution to the problem. This is a development which should have been greeted universally as an encouraging and auspicious step.

69. Despite all these efforts, the rising tide of violence in the Middle East creates still further bitterness and hatred and widens the gulf between Arab and Jew. The severe damage by fire on 21 August to the Al Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem, whatever may have been its origin, has also served to increase bitterness and tension in the area. Deep emotions, as well as vital interests, are factors to be reckoned with in dealing with the Middle East problem. In some other conflict situations, however, where such emotions and interests have been

heavily involved, the international community has been able to assist in restoring quiet and moving along the road to peaceful settlement when the parties to the conflict have been willing to co-operate with it in some degree towards this end. A will to attain peace by the parties themselves is the decisive factor. In the Middle East, regrettably, international assistance in finding a settlement has thus far not met with an adequate response of this kind. Instead, violent exchanges, the building up of armaments of all kinds, propaganda and a constant exchange of recriminations prevail.

70. In a situation as grave as this, attempts to assign blame or responsibility to this or that party or the exchange of recriminations for past actions or present policies can only be counter-productive. If a way out of the existing impasse and this deeply ominous state of affairs is to be found, the crux of the problem must be attacked. It is, certainly, the right of every State to exercise control over its own territory, free from alien occupation. Every State is equally entitled to enjoy the right to exist within recognized boundaries which are secure from attack or threat of attack. But, before it is possible to have fruitful discussions on this and related problems, it is indispensable to have some idea of the location of the future boundaries. This relates most directly to the question of the termination of occupation and how these boundaries are to be made secure. It seems to me that the only hope of breaking out of the present impasse must lie in a determined effort to overcome these basic obstacles.

71. What is now at stake is the future of the whole Middle East area and everyone in it. This sombre fact alone should discourage any tendency towards either too much bargaining over substance or bickering over procedure. The issues, admittedly, are extremely vital to the parties. But, given the alternative, can any issue be more vital than peace? It is no exaggeration to say that, failing some early progress towards a settlement, there is a very real danger that this great and historic region, the cradle of civilization and of three world religions, will recede steadily into a new dark age of violence, disruption and destruction. The words of my predecessor, in the context of another international crisis, are relevant to the present Middle East situation. On 24 October 1960, Dag Hammarskjöld said, "no matter how deep the shadows may be, how sharp the conflicts, how tense the mistrust reflected in what is said and done in our world of today as reflected in this Hall and in this house, we are not permitted to forget that we have too much in common, too great a sharing of interests and too much that we might lose together, for ourselves and for succeeding generations, ever to weaken in our efforts to surmount the difficulties and not to turn the simple human values, which are our common heritage, into the firm foundation on which we may unite our strength and live together in peace". It seems clear enough to me that no one of the parties to the Middle East conflict, no matter what temporary military or other superiority it may enjoy at any given time, can hope in the long run to emerge as the victor from the struggle now under way.

72. Moreover, the Middle East conflict is now being extended far beyond the area itself in some ways that are irresponsible and indefensible. No political end, however worthy it may seem to its proponents, can justify means such as the hijacking of commercial passenger aircraft or terrorism against civilians. This trend, if unchecked, could introduce the conditions of the jungle

in considerable and important areas of human activity. All Governments have an overriding, long-term, common interest in protecting and preserving the framework of peaceful international communications and the simple rules of responsible behaviour on which human society is necessarily based. Only sovereign Governments can take the indispensable measures to this end.

73. There are many innocent and helpless victims of the situation in the Middle East. I feel impelled to mention in particular one very large group for which the United Nations has specific responsibility and concerning which it has taken firm decisions in principle—the Palestine refugees and the persons displaced by the 1967 hostilities. The reports of the Commissioner-General of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East and some of my own recent communications to Member States give a comprehensive view of the task which faces the Agency and of its critically meagre resources in dealing with this huge task. Until there is some new and more hopeful turn of events in the Middle East, it is essential that the General Assembly take urgent and effective action to reinforce the Agency and to give it the resources needed to provide for even the minimum requirements of the refugees and the persons displaced by the 1967 war. It bears emphasis and reiteration that the problem of the Palestine refugees, which has persisted now for a score of years, should be regarded as one of the most pressing and urgent of all international problems demanding solution.

74. I share the widely-held concern for the plight of another, smaller group of helpless persons. Although I have no direct means of knowing exactly the conditions of life of the small Jewish minorities in certain Arab States, it is clear that, in some cases at least, these minorities would be better off elsewhere and that the countries in which they now live would also be better off, given the prevailing circumstances, if the departure of those who would wish to leave could be sanctioned and arranged, since their continued presence is a source of both internal and international tension. I hope very much, therefore, that it may soon be possible to find sensible ways of solving this largely humanitarian problem. The approach to the situation can be based only on humanitarian considerations and the lessening of tension in the area, since these Jewish people, being citizens of the countries in which they live, are under the exclusive jurisdiction of the Governments of those countries.

75. For all these reasons, therefore, the continuation of the struggle in the Middle East is a prospect which all of the Members of the United Nations should contemplate with the utmost concern and for which the United Nations itself inescapably bears a heavy responsibility. It is imperative and urgent that some way be found to reverse the present trend towards catastrophe.

76. The situation in Cyprus has continued to improve slowly but steadily from the point of view of the return to normal conditions of civilian life. This is in good measure attributable to the tireless efforts of the United Nations Peace-keeping Operation, now in its sixth year on the island.

77. Hopes for a lasting settlement continue to be centred on the intercommunal talks which have been going on for well over a year between two prominent leaders of the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities, Mr. G. Clerides and Mr. R. Denktash. The limited extent of the progress achieved so far in these

talks is a cause for growing concern. In March 1969, I expressed to the parties directly involved in Cyprus, as well as to the Governments of Turkey and Greece, my hope that a determined effort would be made by the parties to expedite the talks. There has, however, been no indication so far of significant progress on the fundamental issues which separate the two sides, particularly the problem of local government. This is not to imply that an impasse has been reached, which would be very serious indeed since the talks constitute the only hope, at present, for progress in the search for a solution.

78. It is obvious that a solution of the basic issues requires more than a willingness to engage in talks or even to agree on procedural points, though these are, of course, indispensable prerequisites. The clear precondition for progress on the basic issues is a willingness on the part of both parties to make the concessions necessary for a lasting peace.

79. I pointed out in my aide-mémoire of 26 March 1969 that the passage of too much time may hamper rather than facilitate a settlement. Time, in my opinion, is not on the side of a successful resolution of the problems of the island. More than five and a half years have now passed since the violent disturbances which abruptly and almost completely cut off communications between the two communities in Cyprus. In those five and a half years, a new generation of Greek and Turkish Cypriots has been growing up who hardly know each other at all except in hostility. It stands to reason that members of this generation will have far greater difficulty in finding a basis for living in peace with each other than those of the older generation now searching for a solution. I must therefore again urge the parties to consider earnestly and with a broad concern for the future the difficult and perhaps even painful decisions that are now urgently required of them. The good offices of the Secretary-General, directly or through my Special Representative, continue of course to be available to the parties.

80. The lack of substantial progress in the intercommunal talks inevitably raises the question of the future of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus. The strength of the Force has been considerably reduced in the past year. At present, its numerical strength is only slightly more than half its original size of five years ago. Recently the question of further reduction in the strength of the Force, and particularly in its cost, has been raised in some quarters. I am naturally concerned with the continuing costs of the Force, especially since, in the nature of the financing arrangements prescribed by the Security Council, the financial burden is most unequally and inequitably distributed among Governments.

81. Obviously, the most desirable solution would be a degree of progress in the intercommunal talks which would make the presence of the Force in the island no longer necessary. Meanwhile a major factor in considering further reductions in the strength of the Force is the continued existence of direct armed confrontations between the two communities in Cyprus, particularly in Nicosia. I am taking all possible measures to ensure that the costs of the Force are reduced to as low a level as possible commensurate with maintaining its minimum essential effectiveness. To that end, I have appointed a Secretariat team which, in consultation with my Special Representative and the Force Commander, will make an on-the-spot review of the organization and operation of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force and submit to me its report, with recommendations, later this year.

## V. Economic and social development

82. In sharp contrast with many troublesome developments that have taken place since the last session of the General Assembly, there was one felicitous and momentous event for peoples everywhere. When man first set foot on the moon, he turned into reality a dream long cherished by mankind. The moon landing, which highlights the tremendous progress of science, involved the utilization of a vast and highly complex array of talents and resources, concentrated in a gigantic common effort to reach a given target by a given date. Computers obviously facilitated this impressive technological achievement, but we should not forget that alongside the technical inputs that went into these amazing machines were those basic ingredients that no machine can generate or duplicate by itself—man's imagination, faith and will to grasp the unattainable.

83. If it is possible for man to open up new frontiers in outer space, it should be all the more feasible for him to confront and eliminate the problems which affect the two thirds of humanity whose present levels of nutrition, housing, education and income make life on earth for them nothing more than a constant struggle for bare subsistence. If the challenge of these growing disparities is not met in the coming decades, with the help of science and technology and the active support of all nations and peoples, we all run the risk, whether rich or poor, of losing not only the benefits of the progress already achieved, but also the values we hold most dear.

84. The collective experimentation and experience of the United Nations during twenty-five years has brought into sharp focus the fact that development is the long slow road to peace. In making a general assessment, I must regretfully report disappointingly slow progress in the amelioration of basic world conditions which would encourage maximum economic and social development. In the preparatory work for the Second United Nations Development Decade, we are modestly attempting to define some of the most urgent priorities. In spite of progress made in the discussions of the Preparatory Committee for the Second United Nations Development Decade and the Economic and Social Council, there is evidence, on a smaller scale, of the difficulty of reaching agreements on priorities within a relatively limited number of sectors of the United Nations family of organizations.

85. In order to bridge the widening development gap, there must be a sincere willingness on the part of the international community to do so. No doubt we have the capability of solving the development problem. What seems to be lacking is a sufficient sense of urgency. As I have repeatedly pointed out, the time is long overdue for the Members of the United Nations to subordinate their political differences in an all-out effort to achieve equitable world development before the problems grow to such dangerous proportions that we will no longer have the capacity to control and to solve them. I welcome the efforts made by the Centre for Economic and Social Information and the decision of the Preparatory Committee to inform and involve public opinion as widely as possible regarding the economic and social activities of the United Nations and the goals of the Second Development Decade.

86. In the context of its economic and social development efforts, the United Nations has become increasingly preoccupied with the transfer of operative technology to the developing countries as a key to closing the ever-widening technological gap. In view of the magnitude and complexity of the problem, it is quite clear that the United Nations machinery for this purpose needs considerable streamlining and strengthening. I suspect that the United Nations membership may not yet be fully aware of the magnitude of the efforts which will be required to achieve this goal.

87. New discoveries, new machines and tools developed through modern science and technology are radically changing the familiar and traditional patterns of society all over the world. In some industrialized countries, a social phenomenon—referred to by some observers as “a crisis of civilization”—has been building up in the wake of the rapid pace of contemporary social change. This “crisis” is vividly reflected in the dissatisfaction of youth with the “establishment”. The United Nations is showing growing sensitivity to the importance of building active support for the Organization among the younger generation, which obviously has a very deep concern for the serious problems confronting the world. Since tomorrow’s leaders will come from the generation of today’s students, we must make every possible effort to involve these idealistic young people usefully and wisely in world-wide development efforts.

88. As our human horizons widen, man is at last becoming aware of the extent of the damage caused to his environment by uncontrolled use of the earth’s resources. The harmful effects of ill-considered policies are now of great concern in the industrialized parts of the world. The United Nations family of organizations, so active in the development of natural resources and in the industrialization of the developing countries, has a grave responsibility to encourage these countries to prevent from the outset the undesirable consequences of a much desired and necessary development. The developing countries, fortunately, can avoid the dangers which the industrialized countries must now correct at a very great cost. In approaching the future exploitation of the resources of the sea-bed, the world community has another opportunity of formulating wise conservation policies.

89. The problem of the human environment requires sustained efforts at the international as well as the national level. It is of world-wide concern and deserves world-wide attention. I welcome the recent decision taken by the Economic and Social Council to convene a conference on the Human Environment in 1972, for which the Government of Sweden will serve as host. The preparatory work itself and a preliminary conference in 1971 within a European framework will add to the great benefits which, I am confident, both developed and developing countries will derive for the protection and improvement of the human environment.

90. The “population explosion” increases the urgency for a rational use of the earth’s surface and increased attention to physical planning. The recent steps taken in family planning programmes are very encouraging indeed, and most of the countries which have a high population growth are now conscious of the magnitude of the challenge, in terms of educational facilities, youth problems and employment. We should keep in mind

that policies and measures to moderate population growth should be regarded as part of national plans for economic and social development. We cannot expect very rapid progress in a field so intimately linked to long-standing psychological and intellectual attitudes. During the general debate at the summer session of the Economic and Social Council, the magnitude of the challenge was stressed impressively, while at the same time some prudence was suggested in the approach to solutions. I agree that generalization in this field is hazardous and that problems should be considered country by country and region by region. The regional economic commissions are accordingly expected to play an increasing role in this field.

91. In the past I have often stated that I would welcome every step to reinforce the role of the regional economic commissions as part of a policy of decentralization between Headquarters and the regions. I note with satisfaction the recent resolutions adopted by the Economic and Social Council in this respect, as well as those adopted by the Economic Commission for Africa at its tenth anniversary session. I believe that the move towards decentralization of the economic and social activities of the United Nations will, in the long run, be rewarding. I am, however, aware of the need to avoid duplication of regional and central functions in order to enable both the commissions and Headquarters to play more effective roles in the common effort to accelerate economic and social development, particularly in the developing countries. Each of the commissions should do its best to cope with the specific problems arising in its geographical area, to apply available resources to the most pressing needs of the region and to emphasize the programmes of greatest relevance to the development of their member States. It is understandable that the commissions should wish to devote most of their resources to operational activities, and to rationalize their work programmes to this end: this is part of a more general trend, perceptible over recent years, for the United Nations system to move towards such activities. However, certain activities of a normative character are also important. For instance, I believe that the discussions held in Amsterdam early this year on the proper role and conditions of foreign investment are of great interest to the international community and will result in benefits for both developed and developing countries.

92. Increasing preoccupation with budgetary policy is evident on the threshold of the Second United Nations Development Decade, lest the considerable potentialities of the Organization be prevented from being fully utilized for lack of the appropriate machinery. Even with insistence on economy and elimination of waste, it seems essential to the success of international action in the years to come that a more rational process of decision-making be established. Only in this way will membership be induced to engage in a policy of controlled expansion, which is the only acceptable one in the economic and social fields. Such a policy would naturally be based on the recommendations made some years ago by the *Ad Hoc* Committee of Experts to Examine the Finances of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies—recommendations which are still to be implemented—namely, the adoption of a programme performance budgeting system, a greater role of the Secretary-General in submitting programmes

and projects in the light of less detailed legislative texts, and the adoption of a two-year budget cycle.

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93. Economic and social development—and the profound transformations it requires—is primarily the responsibility of the developing countries themselves. During the past two decades, many developing countries have taken great strides towards more self-sustained and better balanced economic and social growth. But unless there are soon some significant changes in international trade and aid, even those countries may see their internal endeavours and sacrifices considerably frustrated. Developing countries cannot be expected to accept forever the role of producers and exporters of food-stuffs and raw materials only, particularly since the prices they are receiving from the industrial centres for many of these goods continue to deteriorate in comparison to the increasingly higher costs they must pay for manufactures such as machinery.

94. For the development process to forge ahead, essential imports must be increased and capital investment must be augmented. Already approximately four fifths of the investments being made today in the Third World are generated by the developing countries themselves. But a substantial portion of the remaining balance of capital they need must be in convertible currencies, which developing countries can only obtain through either greater export earnings or greater financial assistance. Although technical assistance can help appreciably, the fundamental form of external co-operation which developing countries want and need from the developed nations is expanded and improved trade and aid possibilities so that they can earn their own way to progress. The more they are able to advance in this direction, the more likely they are to buy from the industrial centres, the broader is the trade between them and the narrower will become the gap at present dividing the poor and the rich nations, thus lessening the dangers to world peace and stability.

95. The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development has a vital role to play in helping to solve the inherently complex problems of international trade. There are many difficulties in reconciling conflicting interests and positions. While some situations have economic and even political roots deeply entrenched in the historic past, others are of very recent vintage. For example, many peoples in the developing world who acquired political sovereignty some time ago cannot yet fully exercise their economic rights, let alone satisfy their economic needs and aspirations, because of external factors and trading practices over which they still have little or no control. In some cases, it is modern science and technology—and the uneven distribution of their benefits—which are posing grave dilemmas to the developing nations. Wide disparities in the levels of development and in the economic and social systems of different countries increase the difficulty of finding generally satisfactory solutions to these problems.

96. The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, which has over 130 member countries and whose meetings are normally attended by all major international organizations working in the economic field, has made possible for the first time a truly general

review and assessment of global trade. It provides clarification of the principal problems that must be solved in order to promote further expansion of trade in all parts of the world. While the Conference is capable of improvement, it represents the only possible approach to finding satisfactory compromises capable of solving the world's trade problems to the benefit of all nations. Within the framework of the Conference, the developing countries have an opportunity of articulating a more or less common position so that trade discussions and negotiations can be realistically undertaken with the industrialized countries, which tend to co-ordinate their positions and actions through such associations as the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.

97. Until existing imbalances are redressed, occasions for "confrontation" between the rich and the poor are still somewhat inevitable in the proceedings of the Conference. It is the political overtones of these North-South confrontations at Geneva in 1964 and at New Delhi in 1968 that seem to have attracted public attention, whereas the limited, but none the less positive, gains made and agreements registered unfortunately tend to be underestimated or even ignored.

98. Given adequate understanding and backing by all its membership, I am confident of the ability of the Conference to discharge fully the functions that devolve upon it as the central organ of the United Nations system in the field of trade and development. Through its permanent machinery, the Trade and Development Board and its subsidiary specialized bodies, the Conference can continue building the necessary spans for a solid bridge of trade and international co-operation across the turbulent waters which separate the few who prosper from the many who barely subsist. It is essential to have concerted determination to complete the job so that an ever-growing number of buyers and sellers, producers and consumers can benefit from its two-way traffic.

99. No one questions the difficulties involved, but even a pontoon bridge is better than no bridge at all. Decisive progress can and will be made if, as in the case of the International Sugar Agreement concluded last year under the auspices of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, at least the main parties concerned have a sincere readiness and political will to arrive at an agreement. Multinationally negotiated trading arrangements require vision and statesmanship, especially on the part of the economically more powerful countries, that go beyond mere bargaining to defend short-term interests. While the rights of nations—like those of human beings—are considered equal and also entail reciprocal obligations, much could be gained by all if due allowances were to be made by the stronger for the weaker without unduly mortgaging their future. In this connexion, it is encouraging to see that serious efforts are now under way to bring closer to fruition the important agreement, already reached in principle at New Delhi, to establish a system of general, non-reciprocal and non-discriminatory tariff preferences in favour of the exports of developing countries in the markets of the industrial nations. This may well become a key supporting pillar for the bridge of trade and understanding.

100. Another test of the division, statesmanship and enlightened self-interest of the developed countries will be their readiness to fulfill their commitment to increase

transfers of external financial assistance to the developing countries until they are equivalent to at least one per cent of their own gross national product. Only a praiseworthy handful of developed countries have thus far reached this goal or have officially set themselves a target date for achieving it. However, while other industrial nations may not find it possible to provide larger amounts of public loans to developing countries in the immediate future, they should be willing and able to implement quickly the improved terms and conditions for aid recommended by the Development Assistance Committee of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development and agree also to facilitate the readjustment by the developing countries of their current heavy indebtedness obligations.

101. With a view to completing its contribution to the over-all strategy for development within the Second United Nations Development Decade, the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development is engaged in a thorough introspective review by all its membership of what has been done and still remains to be done within its field of competence. Broad, complex and often controversial as are the issues the Conference must deal with, it would have been surprising if some difficulties had not been encountered in defining objectives, targets and the concrete measures designed to achieve them during the next ten years. Circumstantial problems of a political or economic nature may sometimes explain, though not necessarily justify, the hesitation or even unwillingness of certain countries to assign higher priorities and greater resources to these efforts or to undertake firm commitments. It is essential to arrive at an effective mixture of boldness and realism capable of inspiring the peoples—including the younger generation—of the developed and the developing countries alike with the will to participate in a common endeavour.

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102. The activities of the United Nations family of organizations in the field of industrialization have developed further during the year and the United Nations Industrial Development Organization is fulfilling increasingly its co-ordinating role in this field. The Industrial Development Board, at its third session, gave particular attention to the co-ordination of United Nations activities in the field of industrialization, particularly with regard to an action programme during the Second United Nations Development Decade. During the Decade, the United Nations Industrial Development Organization will give priority to the follow-up and implementation, by the developing countries, of the industrial growth targets set for the Decade and to the provision of all possible assistance to these countries to meet these targets. It envisages high-level consultations with national authorities in order to ascertain their progress in achieving the targets and to advise Governments, on a continuing basis and at their request, on measures to develop their potential domestic and external resources for industrialization within the countries' goals of over-all social and economic development.

103. During the year, the United Nations Industrial Development Organization entered into a number of bilateral agreements for co-operation with the regional economic commissions, the United Nations Economic and Social Office in Beirut and the specialized agencies most concerned with industrial development. In particu-

lar, the agreement signed in Geneva on 9 July 1969 with the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations provides for co-operation in planning agricultural and industrial development, in developing production of industrial inputs in agriculture and joint implementation of projects in agro-based industries. The agreement established the necessary intersecretariat machinery for its implementation. Similar intersecretariat machinery established last year between the International Labour Organisation and the United Nations Industrial Development Organization is now fully operative and has proved highly effective. Such agreements provide a basis for further development of long-range co-operative action programmes with the specialized agencies and the regional economic commissions. Not only do they avoid overlap and duplication, but they also ensure efficient utilization, for the benefit of the developing countries, of the resources for industrial development available to the United Nations family.

104. The Industrial Development Board, at its third session, adopted resolutions requesting the Governing Council of the United Nations Development Programme to increase the number of industrial field advisers from the United Nations Industrial Development Organization and to ensure the continuing financing of the Special Industrial Services type of operations. I am glad to report that the Governing Council responded favourably. The arrangements, about to be concluded, will increase the effectiveness of the operational programme of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization by ensuring wider direct contacts with the developing countries through the use of resident representatives of the United Nations Development Programme and by providing for the continuity of the Special Industrial Services type of field activities.

105. The establishment of national committees for the United Nations Industrial Development Organization was recommended in 1967 by the International Symposium on Industrial Development. Composed of representatives of public authorities and of local industry and finance, the committees are to act as advisory bodies to their respective Governments. I am glad to report that, as of 31 July 1969, thirty-three countries have established such committees or assigned the functions of national committees to various existing bodies within their Governments.

106. During the year, the United Nations Industrial Development Organization has also developed co-operation with the regional development banks in Latin America, Africa and Asia, as well as with regional groupings of developing countries, which are increasingly active, not only in the political field, but also in harmonizing the economic and social development efforts of their member countries.

107. The programme of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization is predominantly operational and responds essentially to requests from the developing countries. In implementing current and future operations, it has increasingly utilized staff and other resources available at its headquarters in Vienna, which I had the opportunity of visiting last year. I would like to note with appreciation the interest and generous support that the Government of Austria has continued to extend in providing the temporary headquarters and in the establishment of the permanent building. I am also pleased to note that, in spite of the

difficulties inherent in the establishment of a new organization and the inevitable dislocations resulting from the move from New York to Vienna, the organization has been fully operative. I am confident that it will develop further into a most effective member of the United Nations family.

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108. There has been a visible trend in recent years to place additional emphasis on operational activities within the United Nations system. Since its creation ten years ago, the United Nations Development Programme has demonstrated that men, nations and international agencies can co-operate in forging a global partnership to overcome hunger, poverty, disease and illiteracy. As we enter the Second United Nations Development Decade, I look forward to a significant growth in its activities and in the support which is voluntarily pledged to enable the Programme to carry out its mandate.

109. Last year alone, the United Nations Development Programme was responsible for putting at the service of over 130 developing countries and territories the expertise of more than 8,000 specialists in virtually every aspect of economic and social development. They came from 102 countries with but two purposes: first, to help nations to advance their priority development objectives; and second, to increase and broaden the technical capabilities of their counterparts so that they could progressively eliminate the need for outside help.

110. This vast exchange of knowledge and technology was supplemented by the training abroad and at home of nationals of developing countries. Between 1951 and 1968, more than 50,000 key personnel of the developing countries were provided the opportunity to improve their skills through advanced study abroad. Many are now leaders in their countries. Meanwhile, in the past ten years no less than 300,000 additional personnel of the developing countries have been trained in national and regional institutes supported by the Programme. This substantial strengthening of human resources was paralleled by no less significant contributions by the Programme to infrastructure and natural resources development.

111. Since 1959, the Governing Council of the United Nations Development Programme and of its predecessors has committed nearly \$1,700 million for pre-investment and technical assistance undertakings. This commitment is more than matched by the value of services, plants and cash which the developing countries concerned have themselves similarly committed to the projects over the period of their duration. The remarkable degree of common agreement on priorities, of joint planning and of mutual obligations for implementation which this represents is characteristic of the partnership between Governments and UNDP. The programme of UNDP has helped to mobilize over \$3,000 million of local and external investment. As a result of work accomplished, considerably more investment is on the horizon.

112. The United Nations Capital Development Fund has not yet become a significant source of financial transfers to the developing countries, owing primarily to the limited resources thus far placed at its disposal. The Governing Council, acting under provisional arrangements agreed upon by the General Assembly, con-

sidered a report of the Administrator concerning the possibilities of utilizing what resources are available. The operations under the Fund will necessarily be limited until the industrialized countries show a willingness to participate in it.

113. Enormous steps have been taken in recent years to integrate Programme activities and to streamline procedures so that more speedy and effective responses can be made to the evolving needs of the developing countries. Several factors are responsible for this: wisely "open-ended" legislation by the General Assembly, creative decisions by the Governing Council, dynamic administration and the willing collaboration of the United Nations family of organizations in an over-all strategy which focuses on the exigencies of government efforts to achieve balanced economic growth and social advance.

114. The rationality and results of these concepts and actions have appealed to the major donor countries as well as to the developing countries. Voluntary contributions to this world-wide co-operative effort have therefore grown in the past ten years from \$55 million in 1959 to approximately \$200 million for the current year of 1969. It is most disappointing, however, that this growth in financial contributions to the Programme has slackened. While pledges increased at an annual average rate of 13 per cent over the past decade, the increase for 1969 over 1968 was only 7 per cent, and that in a period of steeply rising costs and growing needs.

115. The volume of assistance requested of the United Nations Development Programme by the developing countries is increasing by some 20 per cent a year. These requests are based partly on the demonstrated effectiveness of the Programme's assistance in traditional areas of activity, and also on more sophisticated and more costly—and much more efficient—types of development support, as indispensable study steps are completed and lead to more directly productive phases of work. At the same time, increased resources are required not only to speed the implementation of spectacular discoveries such as miracle rice, wheat and corn, but to carry out further basic research in areas such as improved food crop varieties.

116. There is general agreement that the flow of resources from the more advanced to the developing countries should be doubled by 1975. This clearly calls for a doubling of pre-investment and technical co-operation activities. All evidence justifies my estimate in 1965 that the United Nations Development Programme requires and could effectively use by 1970 annual resources at a level of \$350 million. While it is disappointing that this level is not likely to be reached next year, I join the Administrator in appealing to Governments to announce at least a 25 per cent increase in total contributions so that the Pledging Conference on 9 October 1969 may provide \$250 million for 1970. This is a challenge to statesmen for, while that amount is relatively small compared to the expenditures of Governments of the industrialized nations—and is much less than one tenth of one per cent of the increase in *per capita* income in those countries last year—it could do enormous good: first, development would be promoted; second, the integration of our United Nations system would be strengthened; and third, human solidarity, for which all generations of the people of the world yearn, would be enhanced.

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117. Of crucial importance for increasing the rate of economic growth and improving the quality of life in developing countries is the priority which these countries give to protecting children and adolescents and preparing them for life. There are approximately 1,000 million children under fifteen years of age living in the developing countries. Over 700 million of these children live in countries currently receiving aid from the United Nations Children's Fund and their number is growing by 2.5 per cent annually. Approximately 412 million are in countries with a gross national product per inhabitant of less than \$100 annually. Mortality rates for infants and young children are high. Malnutrition is widespread and retards growth, in severe cases, permanently. Many start school, but only about one fifth of the children of primary school age actually finish this level of education. Young people are thus ill prepared to face adult occupations, a situation which is greatly aggravated by the high rate of unemployment typical of the youth age group, particularly in urban areas.

118. The United Nations Children's Fund is helping 115 developing countries and territories to meet these needs. Some of the achievements are indicated by the following figures: over 280 million children have been vaccinated against tuberculosis; almost 23 million have been treated for yaws, and over one million for leprosy. Last year, 32 million children were protected against malaria.

119. When we look at the impact on the permanent infrastructure in the countries concerned, we find that the Fund has helped to equip some 40,000 health centres and sub-centres, some 39,000 teacher-training and practice-teaching schools and over 470 training centres for welfare workers. About 30 per cent of the Fund's aid is spent on strengthening national training schemes and more than 430,000 persons have received stipends from the Fund for training within their own countries.

120. These figures, impressive as they are, do not however indicate the increasingly important role of the United Nations Children's Fund in the long-range economic and social activities of the United Nations system of organizations in the context of the Second United Nations Development Decade. As a result of the Fund's assistance, greater account is being taken of children and youth in national development programmes, increased national resources are being devoted to the priority problems of children and youth, and these resources are being used more effectively. Each government ministry—health, education, agriculture, social welfare, community development and labour—is encouraged by the Fund not only to give serious attention to its own work for children, but, in addition, to have close links with other government ministries in which joint or complementary programmes can be developed. In a number of countries, this type of comprehensive approach is laying the basis for a national policy for children and youth as an integral part of national development programmes.

121. The humanitarian concern which gave the work of the Fund its initial impetus continues. The Fund remains alert and responsive to the emergency needs of children and mothers, as evidenced by its aid to mothers and children on both sides of the conflicts in Nigeria and in Viet-Nam.

122. To carry out its role more effectively, however, it is evident that the United Nations Children's Fund

needs substantially increased resources. The Fund is hoping to reach an income of \$50 million by 1970. This amount, however, is seriously out of proportion to its task in the international family of agencies. Many practical project proposals are delayed because of a lack of external aid. The Executive Director of the Fund is convinced that there is an effective demand for at least twice the volume of the kinds of aid currently being provided. I agree with the Executive Directors that the Fund could administer this with relatively little strain for the United Nations system as a whole, and with no basic change in the present methods of co-ordination with the technical agencies which work so well.

123. I very much hope that the appeal made by the Economic and Social Council at its forty-seventh session to member Governments and other donors that they make every effort to increase their contributions to the Fund will meet with a generous response. There is no doubt that the world could easily afford to channel \$100 million through the one United Nations organization specifically concerned with children.

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124. The United Nations Institute for Training and Research has expanded its activities and has a number of accomplishments to its credit during its fourth year of operation. The Institute's assistance to the Organization, as well as its reputation in the academic world and elsewhere, continues to grow.

125. Training programmes in diplomacy and international co-operation have been remodeled and expanded. In the training of personnel in the United Nations system, the Institute is providing initiative and assistance, especially where joint or co-ordinated action is required. At a colloquium organized by the Institute, twenty-five senior officials from seventeen organizations discussed common problems and possible solutions. A study on the feasibility of a United Nations staff college is being undertaken in co-operation with other member organizations of the United Nations family.

126. The Institute has provided substantial studies in the areas of the "brain drain", the transfer of technology and the evaluation of technical assistance, which have formed the basis of my reports to the Economic and Social Council and to the General Assembly. Three major research studies by the Institute's staff have been published: *Criteria and methods of evaluation*, which concerns United Nations development assistance; *Status and problems of very small States and territories*; and *Wider acceptance of multilateral treaties*. A book on multinational public enterprises with particular reference to integration in Latin America is also being published.

127. In order that the Institute may have an adequate financial base on which to perform the functions assigned to it and in order that it may develop its potential to the full, I add my whole-hearted support to the endorsement the General Assembly has given to the Executive Director in his efforts to raise more funds. Most of the present pledges to the Institute were made for a period ending this year, and it is necessary to seek a renewal of those pledges. Governments have been invited by the Executive Director to make pledges

covering, if possible, a period of five years. I strongly urge those Members of the Organization which have not yet done so to support the Institute, and those which have already contributed to make fresh pledges and to increase their financial support.

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128. More clearly than ever before, it is being realized that the major tasks which the United Nations has embarked upon in the economic, social and human rights fields—tasks that open up great new perspectives for the welfare of mankind—require the intensive and well co-ordinated efforts of the entire United Nations system and are indeed unlikely to succeed without them. At the same time, certain stresses and strains in the fabric of that system have become apparent and doubts have been expressed as to the adequacy of co-ordination in certain fields. It is not surprising, therefore, that much consideration has recently been given to the broad questions of interagency machinery and relationships and to the arrangements for ensuring that the combined resources of the United Nations system are used to the best advantage. Several high-level inquiries into aspects of this question are under way and their findings are keenly awaited. Of particular interest are the general review by the Enlarged Committee for Programme and Co-ordination, the “capacity study” being carried out by the United Nations Development Programme and the study undertaken by the Pearson Commission under the aegis of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

129. The Enlarged Committee for Programme and Co-ordination will hold its final series of meetings later this month, and the General Assembly is to receive its recommendations and report during the present session. Some of these recommendations have already been adopted, while others, including one that deals with the future intergovernmental machinery for co-ordination and programme review and evaluation, are far advanced in preparation.

130. The regular intergovernmental organs for co-ordination—the Committee for Programme and Co-ordination and the Economic and Social Council’s Co-ordination Committee—have continued to look into the possibilities of improving interagency co-operation, and they are now being aided in this difficult task by much of what the Joint Inspection Unit is doing. This unit has of course a very broad mandate, and the nature and extent of its ties with the organs already active in this area have to be, and in fact are, being worked out. Indeed, I am gratified by the harmonious way in which the older organs and the Joint Inspection Unit are beginning to reinforce one another in the field of interagency co-ordination.

131. As Chairman of the Administrative Committee on Co-ordination, I should like also to draw attention to the action that this body is taking with a view to strengthening interagency co-operation and also its own co-operation with the intergovernmental organs of the United Nations system and, more especially, with the Economic and Social Council. Each of the major aspects of the Committee’s work—which includes the execution of requests by the Economic and Social Council and the General Assembly, as well as serving as the point of contact, consultation and co-operation for the United Nations system at the top executive level—must of course be taken into careful account. Furthermore, the

essential characteristics of the Committee and the principles on which its influence and usefulness are based must be fully safeguarded. Among those characteristics and principles, I would mention three as being perhaps of particular importance: first, the direct participation of the executive heads themselves in the meetings and activities of the Committee; secondly, the leadership which has been entrusted to the United Nations and must be exercised by it; and thirdly, the Committee’s essentially consultative character. There can be no question of the imposition of decisions by the Committee on any of its members, and it would be fatal to use the Committee as a means of pressure on the United Nations or a particular agency. Nor should it be forgotten that the members of the Committee participate by virtue of decisions of their respective governing organs and that the Committee’s reports are received and discussed by those organs, thus constituting a continuing link between the different parts of the United Nations system. The special interagency character of the Committee is indeed a condition of the influence which the Committee is able to exercise, in co-operation with and under the general guidance of the Economic and Social Council.

132. As I told the Council in July, I attach as much importance to conserving that influence and to maintaining a climate of mutual confidence among the members of the Administrative Committee on Co-ordination as I do to strengthening the intergovernmental fabric for co-ordination throughout the United Nations system. A strengthened Committee is indeed indispensable if the United Nations system is to make its due contribution during the Second United Nations Development Decade towards realizing the economic and social objectives of the Charter. It can easily be strengthened, but it is vulnerable and could as easily be weakened—and it would be impossible to replace. The Committee depends for its effectiveness very largely and directly on understanding, encouragement and support by the States Members of the United Nations and the members of the specialized agencies and, above all, of the Economic and Social Council and the General Assembly.

## VI. Human rights

133. Events during the International Year for Human Rights, which ended on 31 December 1968, brought out more clearly than ever before the contrast between signs of cruel disregard for human rights in a number of places and mankind’s increasingly noticeable concern for positive and rapid achievements which would enable all members of the human community to enjoy the spiritual and material benefits which have become more easily attainable through recent progress in education and technology.

134. By its rapidly expanding programme in the field of human rights, the United Nations has displayed its willingness and its readiness to contribute actively to the betterment of human society where every man and woman would be shown respect by public authorities and where all human beings would be effectively helped to realize their full potential.

135. In a number of carefully elaborated international instruments, the Organization has proposed to all nations standards of conduct in relation to their citizens with which the world community expects them to comply or which it hopes they will gradually achieve.

136. During the past year, the list of United Nations humanitarian conventions which are now in force and part of international law has grown significantly. January 1969 saw the fulfilment of the hope which I expressed last year regarding the coming into effect of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. At the present time, thirty-seven Members of the United Nations have agreed to be legally bound by its provisions. I welcome the information that other Member States are completing the procedures which will lead to their ratification of, or accession to, this important international instrument.

137. The entry into force of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and the consequent bringing into existence of comprehensive international machinery for carrying out its provisions, ranging from reports by States Parties to fact-finding and conciliation procedures, reflects another significant trend of United Nations activities in this field of major concern. This trend corresponds to what I believe is the present wish and hope of world public opinion—that the Organization should contribute even more significantly to the achievement and application by those concerned of human rights standards which the United Nations has itself proclaimed. Member States and United Nations organs are aware of these aspirations, and efforts are being made by these organs to find ways of adapting their functions so that they may better assist in the alleviation and eventual disappearance of situations where the exercise of human rights is in serious jeopardy. New procedures are envisaged and, on the initiative of the Commission on Human Rights, investigations have been undertaken into the most flagrant abuses resulting from the policies of *apartheid* and into the respect for human rights of civilian populations in territories occupied as a result of the armed conflict in the Middle East.

138. The first five ratifications of the two International Covenants on Human Rights and the first two of the Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights have now been deposited; the Covenants have been signed by more than forty States. It is hoped that ratification will now proceed at a faster pace. The entire character of the United Nations programme and the weight of its contribution to the protection of human rights will change when a sufficient number of countries have become parties to the Covenants, both because of the scope and binding effect of their substantive provisions and because of the measures of implementation for which they provide. All work programmes of the Organization in the economic and social field as well as those of the specialized agencies will acquire a firmer legal basis and, as I have previously stated, in particular at the International Conference on Human Rights held at Teheran in 1968, the possibility of achieving the purposes of the Organization in maintaining international peace and security will be considerably enhanced.

139. While the United Nations Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenants enunciate the basic United Nations concepts of human rights, other instruments, such as the very important International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, contain more specific provisions in various fields that are of concern to the Organization. The Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of

Minorities, the Commission on Human Rights, the Commission on the Status of Women, the Economic and Social Council and the General Assembly through its Third Committee, each within the area of its responsibilities, endeavour to complete and to improve the system as the need arises. The adoption by the General Assembly at its twenty-third session of the Convention on the Non-Applicability of Statutory Limitations to War Crimes and Crimes against Humanity deserves special mention. The “legislative programme” for the future extends to such questions as the elimination of religious intolerance and freedom of information.

140. In order to ensure that our preoccupations and concepts do not remain static, we at the United Nations must always take into account contemporary world-wide concerns and developments. The International Conference on Human Rights held at Teheran during the International Year for Human Rights, while stressing the importance of governmental and international action in the fields of pressing current concern, also drew the attention of the Organization to a number of important emerging problems. At its twenty-third session, the General Assembly gave effect to the proposals of the Conference both in general terms and by approving the initiation of studies on a number of specific problems. Three new areas of attention are of particular interest.

141. The mounting preoccupation with the suffering of peoples affected by armed conflicts, whether international or internal, gave rise to requests for new studies to be undertaken in co-operation with the International Red Cross and other organizations. It is the hope that such efforts will lead to stricter application of existing international humanitarian conventions which have been widely ratified, to the elaboration of additional instruments which would take into account the ominous developments of modern methods of warfare, and to the formulation of other practical steps which might alleviate the sufferings of those persons—prisoners, the wounded, non-combatants or combatants—who are the innocent victims of military operations. A long-term study has also been initiated of the effects of recent developments in science and technology—particularly in the fields of electronics, biology and medicine—on the respect for human rights and the dignity of the individual, particularly as regards his right to privacy and his physical and moral integrity.

142. The question of the education and the greater involvement of the younger generation in the formulation and general application of United Nations principles on human rights has been given special attention by the responsible organs of the United Nations and of the specialized agencies concerned in a co-ordinated and constructive effort.

143. There is now a general realization that concern for the “human factor” should inspire and penetrate all activities of our Organization, whether they deal with political disputes affecting large populations or with the economic and social development of all mankind. Very properly, the Commission on Human Rights and the Economic and Social Council have recalled that, in the United Nations conception, the final objective of development is to ensure the dignity of all human beings—the simultaneous and joint enjoyment of all civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights.

144. The International Year for Human Rights led to greatly increased understanding all over the world

of United Nations concepts of human rights and provided an important stimulant for constructive action. The third decade of activity since the proclamation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948 should be a decisive period for strengthening the action of the United Nations, its specialized agencies and the regional organizations in assisting Governments to fulfil their responsibilities and duties towards all their citizens.

### VII. *Apartheid*

145. In the tenth year since the tragic event at Sharpeville led the Security Council to recognize the danger to peace resulting from the policies of *apartheid* of the Government of the Republic of South Africa and to call for an abandonment of that policy, there has again been little progress towards a solution.

146. United Nations organs have continued to give active consideration to the question. The General Assembly, which again emphasized the need for a solution of the situation, in order to eliminate the grave threat to peace in southern Africa as a whole, requested the Security Council to consider effective measures and adopted various recommendations to promote international action against *apartheid*. The Special Committee on the Policies of *Apartheid* of the Government of the Republic of South Africa has continued its efforts to publicize the situation and promote an international campaign against *apartheid*. The Economic and Social Council and the Commission on Human Rights and its subsidiary bodies have dealt with gross violations of human rights in South Africa.

147. The Government of South Africa, however, has remained intransigent and has in fact intensified its efforts to entrench the system of racial discrimination, in defiance of appeals by the international community that it abandon its racial policy and seek a new course consistent with its obligations under the United Nations Charter. Further discriminatory measures have been enacted during the past year. Harassment of opponents of *apartheid*, in violation of the principles of the rule of law, has continued. United Nations organs have expressed grave concern over reports of ill treatment of political prisoners and the deaths of persons detained under arbitrary laws.

148. Moreover, the South African Government has proceeded with the imposition of *apartheid* in Namibia in defiance of resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. It has been the main source of support for the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia and a source of encouragement to the Government of Portugal in their defiance of the resolutions of competent United Nations bodies. These aspects will be dealt with in greater detail in the section on decolonization. It is clear that the policies and actions of the South African Government have increasingly become the crucial element in the grave situation in southern Africa as a whole.

149. Earnest consideration should be given to ways and means of improving the effectiveness of the United Nations in concerting international efforts towards a solution of this situation so as to avert the incalculable dangers inherent in its continuation.

150. On the one hand, during the many years that the United Nations has considered this matter, there

has emerged a wide consensus that the policies of *apartheid* are abhorrent and that they are inconsistent with the obligations of a Member State under the Charter; that the situation resulting from these policies constitutes a grave danger to international peace and security; that a solution must be sought by securing the abandonment of the policies of *apartheid* and the release of the opponents of *apartheid* from imprisonment and arbitrary repressive measures, and the holding of consultations among all the people of South Africa to determine a new course which would ensure human rights and fundamental freedoms to all, irrespective of race, colour or creed; and that the people of South Africa deserve sympathy and appropriate assistance in their legitimate struggle for the achievement of human rights and fundamental freedoms. On the basis of this wide consensus, United Nations organs have made numerous decisions and recommendations.

151. On the other hand, there remains a lack of agreement on further effective measures which require, in particular, the full co-operation of the main trading partners of South Africa, including some permanent members of the Security Council.

152. I reiterate my earnest hope that progress, under United Nations auspices, will soon be made towards meaningful and effective measures to persuade the South African Government to abandon its policy of racial discrimination and to satisfy the yearning of the people of South Africa for equality and justice. I also consider it essential to secure the full and effective implementation of measures already decided upon by the competent United Nations organs.

153. In this connexion, I wish first to draw attention to the solemn appeals by the Security Council in 1963 and 1964 that all States cease the sale and shipment to South Africa of arms, ammunition of all types, military vehicles, and equipment and materials for the manufacture and maintenance of arms and ammunition.

154. Member States and world public opinion will need to exert more vigorous efforts in pursuance of resolutions, adopted by unanimous or overwhelming votes, for the liberation of all persons subjected to repression for their opposition to *apartheid*. The enactment of increasingly arbitrary legislation to suppress the legitimate protest against racial discrimination and the ruthless and vengeful actions against the leaders of movements opposed to *apartheid* have been a source of increasing concern to United Nations organs. Such measures are not only unjust and deplorable, but aggravate tension and tend to exclude the possibility of peaceful change in South Africa.

155. The United Nations has been providing humanitarian and educational assistance to the prisoners and their families and to other victims of the policies of *apartheid* under two programmes financed by voluntary contributions from States and the public—the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa and the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa. While these programmes have received substantial contributions, the number of contributing States has remained rather small. I very much hope that a larger number of States will consider generous contributions to these programmes, and thereby demonstrate the growing concern of the international community for the plight of the victims of racial discrimination.

156. In order to promote more energetic international action, the General Assembly and other organs have stressed increasingly the need for wider dissemination of information to the people of South Africa and to the people of the world on the situation in South Africa, its wider dangers, and the efforts of the United Nations towards a peaceful solution. In this connexion, I wish to emphasize, as I did last year, that an effective programme of information must derive from and depend upon an effective programme of substantive action. Moreover, while information activity of the United Nations on this matter should be purposeful and imaginative, it is essential that it must be based on objective and authoritative information on the situation resulting from the policies of *apartheid* in South Africa, the deliberations and decisions of all United Nations organs concerned and the consensus in the Organization.

157. Pursuant to decisions of the organs concerned, the United Nations Secretariat has already taken a number of steps in this respect, and further steps towards sustained activity are under consideration. I trust that, in this effort to create an accurately informed world public opinion, the indispensable co-operation of Member States, information media and non-governmental organizations will be forthcoming.

158. Finally, I would point to the need for greater co-ordination and concentration in the activities of United Nations organs and specialized agencies with regard to this question. The Economic and Social Council has decided to consider this matter further at its forty-eighth session. It is to be hoped that consideration will be given by the various organs concerned and by Member States to appropriate means of ensuring that United Nations activities will be better co-ordinated in order to provide maximum assistance to the people of South Africa in their legitimate strivings and to promote sustained and vigorous international action towards a just and peaceful solution.

### VIII. Decolonization

159. The past year has been mainly one of continuing disappointment and frustration in the field of decolonization. There has been some progress, notably the accession to independence of Equatorial Guinea following a referendum and election under United Nations supervision, and the conclusion of an agreement between Spain and Morocco which terminated the colonial status of Ifni. It is, none the less, a matter of deep regret that, despite nearly nine years of continuing endeavour on the part of the United Nations, the goals set forth in the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples are still far from early realization.

160. While there were limited constitutional advances during the year in a number of smaller dependent Territories, the fact remains that, apart from the two instances mentioned, there has been no significant movement towards the peaceful resolution, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, of the remaining major problems of decolonization.

161. In the introduction to my last annual report, I referred to the colonial situation in southern Africa as representing the most conspicuous mass violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms and observed that the collective determination of the United Nations to put an end to colonialism in that part of the world

seemed to have met a solid wall of defiance. I must regretfully add that events during the past year have reinforced my views. Indeed in southern Africa millions of dependent peoples are still denied their most fundamental rights. The authorities in power in this region continue to pursue repressive and retrogressive policies in conflict with the basic objectives of the Charter, the principles enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the numerous decisions of the Security Council and the General Assembly. Such a situation presents a most serious challenge to the collective will and, indeed, to the very authority of the United Nations. The close and urgent attention which the competent organs of the United Nations, including the Security Council, have given to the colonial problems in southern Africa during the past year emphasizes the increasing gravity of the situation resulting from the frustration of the legitimate aspirations of those peoples. To meet this challenge effectively requires a full and co-operative effort on the part of all Member States.

162. With regard to Namibia, a Territory and people for which the United Nations has assumed a direct responsibility, the Government of South Africa remains adamant in its refusal to recognize or give effect to the resolutions whereby the General Assembly terminated the Mandate and established the United Nations Council for Namibia to administer the Territory until independence. That Government has continued not only to reject these and subsequent resolutions of the General Assembly concerning Namibia, but it has also refused to comply with Security Council resolutions calling for its immediate withdrawal from the Territory and for the release and repatriation of Namibians illegally tried and convicted under retroactive legislation.

163. Maintaining its intransigent attitude, the Government of South Africa has persisted in frustrating the efforts of the United Nations Council for Namibia to carry out the principal tasks assigned to it, and, in further defiance of the decisions of the United Nations, as well as of world public opinion, it has enacted new legislation aimed at destroying the unity and territorial integrity of Namibia and applying to that Territory its own policies of *apartheid*, including the creation of separate racial "homelands". More recently, the Government of South Africa has placed on trial a fresh group of Namibians on charges under the retroactive "Terrorism Act" despite the condemnation of such action voiced earlier by the Security Council, the General Assembly and the overwhelming majority of States Members of the United Nations.

164. In Southern Rhodesia, the illegal régime which usurped power in November 1965 has continued to defy the administering Power and the international community. It has engaged in further provocative acts of suppression aimed at consolidating its racist policies, including the introduction of a so-called new constitution designed to perpetuate the domination of the African majority by the white settler minority. These ominous developments in the Territory further aggravate the existing threat to international peace and security in southern Africa and call for a positive response from both the administering Power and the United Nations. As far as the United Nations is concerned, the so-called new constitution can have no validity whatsoever and can in no way affect the responsibility of the administering Power for the Territory.

165. It is a matter of deep regret that the sanctions imposed on the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia by the Security Council have not as yet had the desired result of bringing down that régime. Now, as before, the primary responsibility for this impasse rests with the Governments of South Africa and Portugal which, in defiance of the decisions of the Security Council, have continued to maintain close economic, trade and other relations with the illegal régime and to accord transit and other facilities through territories under their control for trade between Southern Rhodesia and its overseas principals. I should like to express the hope that the Governments of both South Africa and Portugal would be persuaded to abandon their present policies and co-operate with the United Nations in the implementation of the relevant resolutions on Southern Rhodesia. Pending further action by the administering Power and the United Nations with a view to finding a solution to the problem which would enable the people of Southern Rhodesia to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination and independence, I also wish to appeal to all States that are complying with the sanctions to exercise greater vigilance to interrupt the flow of covert trade, as well as to States concerned to take more stringent measures to prevent their nationals and their registered ships and aircraft from engaging in activities in contravention of resolutions of the Security Council. In this connexion, I would like to commend the fine work of the Security Council's committee on sanctions against Southern Rhodesia.

166. When the question of territories under Portuguese administration was discussed by the General Assembly at its twenty-third session, it was hoped by many that the new Government in Portugal might reconsider its policy towards those Territories and recognize the right of the inhabitants to self-determination and independence. Regrettably, the ensuing months have brought no change in this direction. Continuing military operations by the Portuguese Government in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea, called Portuguese Guinea, once more led to a violation of the territorial integrity of an African State. In July 1969, the Security Council, gravely concerned that incidents of this nature were endangering international peace and security, once again called upon Portugal to desist from such acts.

167. It is clearly not sufficient that the Government of Portugal should be working, as it claims, towards increasing autonomy for the Territories under its administration within the constitutional framework of the Portuguese State and seeking to improve the peoples' welfare. Its continual denial to those peoples of their fundamental right to self-determination and independence in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter remains the crucial obstacle to peace in southern Africa and exacerbates the grave situation prevailing in that region. It is to be hoped that, during the year ahead, the international community will make a concerted, clear and unequivocal effort to persuade the Government of Portugal to take the historic step which will open the door to freedom and independence to the peoples of the Territories under its administration.

168. In the meantime, I have been encouraged to note that further international measures have been taken to increase humanitarian assistance to refugees from Territories under Portuguese administration. I trust that such measures will be continued and intensified.

169. Different in magnitude, although not in kind, the problems of the remaining dependent Territories have continued to occupy the General Assembly and, particularly, the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. That there are still, nearly nine years after the adoption of that historic Declaration, a large number of Territories whose peoples have not yet attained the prescribed goals is due not so much to the refusal of the administering Powers to accept their responsibilities under the Charter as to a lack of that co-operation which would hasten the pace of decolonization. As many Member States pointed out during the twenty-third session of the General Assembly, the remaining problems of decolonization are precisely those which are most difficult to solve; many of the Territories which are still dependent present peculiar difficulties owing to their small size, their paucity of human and natural resources and, in some cases, their geographical isolation. As a result, differences of opinion have arisen between the competent United Nations organs and the administering Powers concerning the measures, modalities and timing to be applied in each particular case.

170. It is not surprising that the administering Powers, in view of their intimate knowledge of problems peculiar to each of the Territories which they administer, attach great importance to realism and balance in the decisions of the United Nations concerning those Territories. It is equally understandable that other Member States, sharing the general desire to hasten the process of decolonization, view this attitude with impatience. Yet it is my belief that the two concerns are not mutually exclusive. If the competent organs of the United Nations had access to more adequate and first-hand information regarding conditions in those dependent Territories as well as the views and aspirations of their peoples, both of these concerns could undoubtedly be met to a greater degree. It is with that objective in mind that the Special Committee has consistently and continuously urged the development of a more positive approach by the administering Powers to the sending of visiting missions.

171. It is precisely because the problems of many of the remaining dependent Territories are complex and difficult that it is desirable that the United Nations and, where appropriate, the international institutions associated with it, should play a more active role in helping to solve those problems. An example of what can be achieved through close co-operation between the administering Powers and the United Nations was the fruitful operation conducted last year, at the request of the Government of Spain, by a United Nations mission in Equatorial Guinea, which enabled that Territory to accede to independence as a single entity, and later to full membership in the United Nations.

172. There remains, as I mentioned last year, a special category of problems relating to Territories which are the subject of conflicting claims to sovereignty or which are of particular interest to some Governments by reason of geographical, historical or other circumstances. In respect of such Territories, the General Assembly and the Special Committee have sought, within the framework of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, to make recommendations which would help to reconcile divergent claims and interests. Here, too, the United

Nations can play an important role in helping to achieve the objectives laid down in the Declaration, but only if it receives the full co-operation of the Governments concerned.

173. In view of the magnitude and difficulty of the tasks which remain, it is my earnest hope that all Member States, and especially those directly concerned, will redouble their endeavours in a final concerted effort to achieve the goals set out in the Declaration.

### IX. Other questions

174. One of the most important steps forward in the codification and progressive development of international law by the United Nations was taken this year at the second session of the United Nations Conference on the Law of Treaties, held in Vienna from 9 April to 22 May 1969. The Conference, at which 110 States were represented, adopted the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties, consisting of eighty-five articles covering such topics as the conclusion and entry into force of treaties, reservations, application and interpretation, and invalidity and termination. The opening of the Convention for signature and ratification was the culmination of twenty years of work on the subject in the International Law Commission, the General Assembly and the Conference, which held its first session in 1968. Though the Convention provides that it applies only to treaties concluded by States Parties to it after its entry into force, many representatives at the Conference said that the provisions, most of which were adopted unanimously or by very large majorities, embodied existing law. It therefore seems likely that the formulations laid down will be widely accepted in practice even before the entry into force of the Convention. As treaties now provide most of the legal framework of international relations, and as the customary rules governing them are frequently unclear and subject to dispute, the clarification of those rules in a convention is a contribution to the aim laid down in the United Nations Charter "to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties . . . can be maintained".

175. At the time of the writing of this introduction, the fifth session of the Special Committee on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States is being held at United Nations Headquarters. Since 1964, the Committee has been engaged in elaborating upon seven of the basic principles of international law enshrined in the Charter. These principles relate to the prohibition of the threat or use of force, the pacific settlement of disputes, non-intervention, sovereign equality, equal rights and self-determination, and the duties of States to co-operate with one another and to fulfil in good faith the obligations assumed by them in accordance with the Charter. From their mere enumeration, it is clear that these principles lie at the very heart of present-day international relations and their elaboration in a generally acceptable form will be a great step forward in the growth and progressive development of international law. Given their vital character, it is only natural that the elucidation of the principles is a difficult and time-consuming task. Since 1964, however, progress has been made on reaching points of agreement on nearly every principle, and I very much hope that, as a result of the endeavours of the Special Committee, it will be possible for the General Assembly, at its twenty-

fifth anniversary session next year, to adopt unanimously a declaration on the principles. This anniversary would be a particularly fitting occasion for the Assembly to adopt such an important declaration in discharge of its responsibilities under Article 13, paragraph 1, of the Charter for encouraging the progressive development of international law and its codification.

176. One aspect of the work of the Secretary-General perhaps merits special comment in this disturbed period when both Governments and the United Nations are frequently frustrated in their efforts to find solutions to difficult problems. I refer to the wide range of informal and confidential activity sometimes covered by the broad term "good offices". This activity covers a great variety of subject-matter and constitutes a considerable part of the workload of the Secretary-General, but it is my impression that its nature and possibilities are sometimes not very well understood. In fact, very often there is no public knowledge at all of specific activities of this kind.

177. It is natural that Governments, when faced with delicate problems which urgently demand solution, should ask the Secretary-General for such help as he personally may be able to give through discreet approaches to the other party or parties concerned. The Secretary-General himself, in the very nature of his position and responsibilities, on occasion also takes initiatives in an attempt to promote a satisfactory solution to a difficult or dangerous problem, which, unless solved, might deteriorate to the point where peace and security would be threatened or which, while not involving issues of peace and security, might prevent the maintenance of good relations between States.

178. The nature of the Secretary-General's good offices, their limitations and the conditions in which he may hope to achieve results are perhaps less well understood. The kind of problem involved is invariably delicate and difficult and usually involves the prestige and public position of the Governments concerned. If a way out is to be found, it must, therefore, be through mutual confidence, mutual respect and absolute discretion. Any hint that an action of the Secretary-General might serve to score political points for one party or another, or, indeed, that credit might be claimed publicly on his behalf for this or that development, would almost invariably and instantly render his efforts useless. Any public pressure on him would usually have the same result, and any publicity at all for what he is doing is likely to have a severely adverse effect on his efforts. Thus, it is often the case that while the Secretary-General is working privately with the parties in an attempt to resolve a delicate situation, he is criticized publicly for inaction or even for lack of interest.

179. I mention this particular aspect of the matter solely with the thought in mind that a better general understanding of the good offices function may serve to enhance its effectiveness in the future.

180. In this connexion, I should also mention a separate question which has been raised in regard to the competence of the Secretary-General to use his good offices without in each case specific authorization from an organ of the United Nations.

181. My own views on the role of the Secretary-General in matters affecting peace and security and on the existing practice concerning good offices were re-

flected in my statement to the Security Council prior to its adoption on 2 December 1966 of resolution 229 (1966) recommending my appointment for a second term of office. On that occasion I said:

“The Secretary-General takes note of the observations made by the Security Council and recognizes the validity of the reasons it has advanced in requesting him to continue to serve the Organization for another full term. He notes with particular appreciation that, for its part, the Security Council respects his position and his action in bringing to the notice of the Organization basic issues confronting it, and disturbing developments in many parts of the world. He hopes that the close attention being given to these issues and developments will serve to strengthen the Organization by the co-operative effort of the entire membership, and promote the cause of world peace and progress. It is in this hope that the Secretary-General accedes to the appeal addressed to him by the Security Council.”

182. It is a matter of course that the Secretary-General will keep the Security Council informed, as appropriate, of developments in questions of which it is seized, and that these may on occasion include questions in which he is exercising his good offices either at the request of the Council itself or of the parties concerned.

183. The Charter, unlike the Covenant of the League of Nations, foresaw, in Article 99, that the Secretary-General would have a political role to play. This was recognized, and elaborated upon by the Preparatory Commission which stated in section 2, chapter 8, of its report:

“The Secretary-General may have an important role to play as a mediator and as an informal adviser of many Governments, and will undoubtedly be called upon from time to time, in the exercise of his administrative duties, to take decisions which may justly be called political. Under Article 99 of the Charter, moreover, he has been given a quite special right which goes beyond any power previously accorded to the head of an international organization, viz: to bring to the attention of the Security Council any matter (not merely any dispute or situation) which, in his opinion, may threaten the maintenance of international peace and security. It is impossible to foresee how this Article will be applied; but the responsibility it confers upon the Secretary-General will require the exercise of the highest qualities of political judgement, tact and integrity.”

By its resolution 13 (I), adopted unanimously on 13 February 1946, the General Assembly transmitted the foregoing section to the Secretary-General for his guidance.

184. It should also be recalled that, under Article 33, paragraph 1, of the Charter, the parties to any dispute, the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, have a duty first of all to seek a solution by negotiation, inquiry or mediation. If the parties request or agree to receive the help of the Secretary-General in performing their duty under the Charter to seek a solution, the Secretary-General is clearly competent to assist them.

185. Against this background, I have come to the clear conclusion that I am competent, under the Charter, to use my good offices.

186. I may add that my views regarding my competence in this matter, and the practice followed in this regard, must have been generally accepted by the Members of the United Nations, since many of them, when the occasion has arisen, have availed themselves of my good offices. In each such case, the Secretary-General's decision on whether to exercise his good offices must, of course, depend upon his own judgement as to whether his action would be appropriate, useful and, above all, not counterproductive.

187. Both in 1967 and last year, in the introduction to the annual report, I drew attention to the problem of “micro-States”. I am very glad that the question was discussed at length in the Security Council towards the end of August and that the Council decided to refer this question to a Committee of Experts comprising all the members of the Council, for further consideration. I shall await the Committee's conclusion with the greatest interest.

188. In recent months, I have been greatly distressed at the number of incidents involving hijacking of planes and their diversion to unauthorized destinations. In the introduction to the annual report last year, I referred to this problem with regard to one specific example and I expressed the fear that if hijacking incidents were not checked they could easily lead to widespread disruption of air travel.

189. I have been in close contact with the International Civil Aviation Organization, and also the International Air Transport Association, in connexion with this problem. I am glad that the Council of the International Civil Aviation Organization has established a committee of eleven member States to recommend specific preventive measures or procedures to stop hijacking. I believe it is a most important principle that no State or person should derive any advantage from the criminal act of hijacking; otherwise there would be only encouragement for this reprehensible act. I sincerely hope that the committee of the International Civil Aviation Organization will be able to come forward with concrete recommendations and that these recommendations will be universally accepted.

190. Hijacking is serious enough when it is conducted for the benefit of individuals; but when it projects itself into the political field and is perpetrated as an instrument of political action or reprisal, it becomes even more reprehensible. It would therefore be extremely desirable if, even before the Committee produces its recommendations, all member States could take action to ensure that the safety of international air travel is not jeopardized by the irresponsible acts of misguided individuals or organizations.

191. The news of the outbreak of hostilities between El Salvador and Honduras on 14 July 1969 was received at the United Nations with shock and disbelief. Two States, in a region where international peace had not been disturbed for a long time, had taken the fateful step of trying to resolve, by military means, the differences existing between them. Both Governments had brought the dispute to the Organization of American States while keeping the Security Council informed of developments.

192. The Organization of American States, acting with speed and determination, made every effort to bring the conflict to an end, first through the Council of the Organization, acting as an organ of consulta-

tion and then through the Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs under the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance. Important resolutions were adopted by these two organs, and through their implementation it was possible to stop the fighting and restore the military situation to that which had prevailed prior to the hostilities.

193. On 15 July 1969, I addressed separate and identical messages to the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of El Salvador and Honduras, appealing urgently for the immediate cessation of acts of force and the initiation of negotiations without delay.

194. It is a matter of gratification that the Governments of El Salvador and Honduras complied with the decisions of the Organization of American States, thus bringing to a quick end the hostilities which, although brief, left in their wake a grievous toll in loss of life and property. While the fighting has been halted, there are underlying problems between the two countries which should also be tackled with a sense of urgency in order to avoid a recurrence of conflict in the future. It is my earnest hope that the Governments of the two countries will show the statesmanship demanded by the circumstances and move towards a peaceful and lasting solution to their difficulties. In particular, I call upon them to avoid any damage to the promising structure of the Central American Common Market, in which we all place great hope for the progress of the region.

195. Year after year, I have drawn attention to the need for the United Nations to make progress towards universality of membership as soon as possible. I cannot help feeling that—to give only one example—more successful efforts towards the solution of the difficult problem of Viet-Nam could have been made within the Organization if all the parties concerned had been represented in it. The same is true of the problem of disarmament and especially non-proliferation of nuclear weapons: so long as one member of the "nuclear club" is not represented in the Organization, it is unrealistic to expect progress in this field. Some international incidents in the Far East might have been defused more effectively if a dialogue could have been initiated at United Nations Headquarters with the representatives of those who are now absent for one reason or another. The same remarks would apply in the case of the divided countries, as I pointed out in the introduction to the annual report last year. I feel that somehow this problem should be resolved in the near future in the interest of the greater effectiveness of the United Nations.

196. In recent months I have given much thought to the establishment of an international university. The idea occurred to me because my attention was drawn to the work being done by individuals to establish institutions of learning with an international character. I also have in mind some institutions of research and training which were established under international auspices and which have had considerable success in promoting economic development. I feel that the time has come when serious thought may be given to the establishment of a United Nations university, truly international in character and devoted to the Charter objectives of peace and progress. Such an institution may be staffed with professors coming from many countries and may include in its student body young men and women from many nations and cultures.

Working and living together in an international atmosphere, these students from various parts of the world would be better able to understand one another. Even in their formative years they would be able to break down the barriers between nations and cultures, which create only misunderstanding and mistrust.

197. The primary objective of the international university would thus be to promote international understanding both at the political and cultural levels. I feel that such a scheme could be the legitimate concern of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, which would be responsible for working out the details, selecting a board of trustees for the university and appointing as its head a scholar of international renown. The location of the university should be in a country noted for its spirit of tolerance and freedom of thought. I very much hope that the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization might find it possible to develop this idea further and eventually bring it to fruition.

## X. Concluding observations

198. It is clear to me that in the light of the above observations, I can report very little progress in the world at large towards the goals of the United Nations Charter—to maintain international peace and security, develop friendly relations among nations and achieve international co-operation. Furthermore I have a strong feeling that time is running out. This is true as much in regard to international peace and security, including disarmament, as it is true for economic and social development. I hope that in the coming months, when the United Nations will celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the establishment of the Organization, there will be some progress in these fields, because I believe that this would be the most fitting manner in which to celebrate the anniversary.

199. In the period under review, I have already noted some encouraging signs in regard to the problem of Viet-Nam. I do not believe it would be useful for me to comment on the situation in Viet-Nam since the parties are in contact with each other in Paris. I believe that such talks between the parties involved is essential for working out a solution to this problem. I must also point out that, despite these contacts, the war is continuing with consequent loss of life and property, although reportedly at a reduced level. I would very much hope that before long there might be a further de-escalation of the fighting and that the people of Viet-Nam might be enabled to resolve their differences by themselves without outside interference. It is also important, in view of the many lost opportunities of the past, that every opening that might present itself in the future should be seized and the fullest advantage derived from it in moving towards de-escalation and a final settlement.

200. I commented at length on the situation in Czechoslovakia in the introduction to the annual report last year. I have followed subsequent developments with close attention and have also been in touch with the Government. I refrain from public comment on the question at this stage, as I believe it will not serve any useful purpose.

201. So far as West Irian is concerned, it is a matter of public knowledge that the "act of free choice"

was recently completed. The eight regional assemblies, whose membership was enlarged for the purpose, were consulted from 14 July to 2 August 1969, and decided in favour of West Irian remaining with the Republic of Indonesia. I have already proposed this item for inclusion in the agenda of the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly. The Assembly will also have before it my report on this question, as well as those of the Government of Indonesia and my representative, Mr. Fernando Ortiz-Sanz.

202. As a result of the difficulties which arose between the Governments of Equatorial Guinea and Spain at the beginning of this year, I designated Mr. Marcial Tamayo, a senior official of the Organization, as my representative in Equatorial Guinea. His task was to assist in the solution of the problems between Equatorial Guinea and Spain, and to co-operate with the parties in order to reduce the tension which had already developed in the relations between the two countries. Accompanied by a small staff, my representative arrived in Equatorial Guinea on 10 March 1969.

203. By 9 April, when my representative left Equatorial Guinea, the situation had improved considerably and the two countries had agreed on a number of important points affecting their relations.

204. This was an instance when it was possible to assist a newly independent country in settling, before it was too late, some of its pressing international problems with the former administering Power.

205. I am deeply distressed that the fratricidal and tragic conflict in Nigeria is continuing, with its mounting toll of death, destruction and starvation. My concern has been exclusively with the humanitarian aspects of this conflict, for reasons which I have explained publicly on several occasions. I strongly feel that it should be possible, notwithstanding all the political and other difficulties, for the humanitarian activities of the United Nations family to continue and for the flow of supplies to the stricken areas to be maintained. Only a few days ago, addressing the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity in Addis Ababa, I invoked "the most fundamental humanitarian principles" to this end. I do hope that larger shipments of relief supplies will be made available, and that those persons in positions of responsibility and authority will facilitate the movement of these supplies. On the political side, I continue to feel that the right course is to leave the political aspects of the Nigerian problem to the Organization of African Unity for solution. As I observed recently, I have been impressed by the statesmanlike and imaginative initiatives taken at the recent conference in Addis Ababa. I hope that these initiatives will be followed by wise and conciliatory action on the part of both parties so that a just and fair settlement of the issues which

have occasioned this tragic war may be achieved by peaceful means.

206. "The situation in the North of Ireland" was brought to my attention by the Foreign Minister of the Republic of Ireland at the same time that the matter was brought before the Security Council. I have also been in contact with the Government of the United Kingdom in connexion with this matter. However, as the question appears as an item on the draft agenda of the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly, I do not wish to comment further on it.

207. In the introduction to my annual report last year, I suggested that the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations might be celebrated in 1970 "with due solemnity", and I am very glad indeed that this suggestion was found acceptable by the General Assembly which, at its twenty-third session, established a Preparatory Committee for this purpose. I have been keeping in close touch with the deliberations of the Preparatory Committee and its officers, and I wish to express my appreciation to them for the many forward-looking initiatives which, I understand, the Committee will be recommending to the General Assembly at its twenty-fourth session. I feel very strongly that the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary should not be ceremonial, but substantive. All organs of the United Nations should, in my view, make a special effort to reach specific agreement on such major issues before the world Organization as development, peace-keeping, disarmament, decolonization and friendly relations among nations.

208. As I have noted elsewhere, the twenty-fifth anniversary will coincide with the inauguration of the Second United Nations Development Decade. The beginning of the decade is also being celebrated as International Education Year, and I am very glad that the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization will mount a special effort in 1970 for an attack on the problem of mass illiteracy and ignorance. I have suggested elsewhere that the 1970s might also be declared the Disarmament Decade. The year 1970 is also the tenth anniversary of the adoption by the General Assembly of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. With so many constructive avenues open to it, I hope that in the coming months the Organization may make great strides towards the agreed theme of the twenty-fifth anniversary—Peace and progress.



(Signed) U THANT  
Secretary-General

15 September 1969.



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