

THE U. N.: Problems Over Goa, Congo and Finances Create New Crisis for World Organization

By THOMAS J. HAMILTON

Special to The New York Times.

UNITED NATIONS, N. Y., Dec. 23—At the moment when it has brought its membership to a record-breaking total of 104, the United Nations faces perhaps its gravest crisis. There is widespread belief that the organization faces serious difficulties unless it can solve these three complex problems with which it is now confronted: (1) the Congo issue; (2) the Goa aftermath; (3) the financial difficulties.

I. CONGO

The Congo problem raises the basic question whether the United Nations, which by definition is a forum for widely varying ideologies and political views, can fix a coherent political policy in such chaotic conditions as those in the Congo.

Misgivings over the ultimate outcome of the United Nations intervention in the Congo have been revised by uncertainty as to whether Moise Tshombe, the mercurial President of Katanga, will carry out his agreement to accept the orders of the central Government.

Thus there were quite different reactions among the members to the latest United Nations offensive against Katanga, which forced Mr. Tshombe to negotiate with the central Government.

At the beginning the United States was strongly in favor of the offensive against Katanga, and furnished air transports on a large scale, while Britain and the Soviet Union gave grudging support.

Both the United States and Britain started urging a cease-fire, however, when it appeared that the United Nations was on the point of crushing Mr. Tshombe's forces outright. On Friday the Soviet Union responded to the cease-fire which preceded the agreement between Mr. Tshombe and Premier Adoula of the central Government with an angry charge that the cease-fire was the result of American pressures on the United Nations. The delegates of rank-and-file members are divided on the issue, with most Western Europeans supporting Mr. Tshombe, or at least opposing the use of force to coerce him, and most African and Asian members supporting the offensive.

Thant's Responsibility

Acting Secretary General Thant, as did his predecessor, Dag Hammarskjöld, holds a very important position in this tangle of forces. Most of the responsibility for interpreting and carrying out the Security Council's vague Congo resolutions rests upon the Acting Secretary General.

As far as the ultimate solution of the Congo problem is concerned, reliable authorities say that Mr. Thant has already decided to start withdrawing the United Nations force from the Congo next July if a definite success has not been achieved by that time.

In any case, it is the view of many delegates that the political, military and financial responsibilities assumed in the Congo were beyond the strength of the United Nations. Certainly

it is to be expected that a less extensive operation will be ordered if a similar problem should confront the organization in the future.

II. GOA

The failure of the United Nations to adopt a resolution on India's seizure of Goa raises the question whether the anti-colonial members, in Adlai E. Stevenson's words, are to "rewrite the Charter to sanction the use of force when it suits one's own purposes."

The United States and other Western members continue to deplore the failure of the United Nations to make even a pro-forma protest against India's seizure of Goa.

V. K. Krishna Menon, the

Nations Charter that all disputes be settled by peaceful means.

There are mixed views on whether the forebodings expressed by Mr. Stevenson are fully justified, but the question of the use of force in colonial disputes is obviously a grave problem for the United Nations.

III. FINANCES

The problem of financing the United Nations forces in the Congo and in the Gaza Strip, has forced the General Assembly to take the humiliating step of authorizing a \$200,000,000 bond issue to cover the mounting deficit.

If, as is generally expected, the United States buys something like half of the \$200,000,000 United Nations bond issue, the financial day of reckoning can be postponed another year.

To a large extent the near-bankruptcy of the United Nations results from disagreements among its members over policy.

However, some delegates are also concerned over the widespread failure of the rank-and-file members to pay their assessments even though they have expressed no opposition to the policy that produced the items.

Out of all these problems arises the basic question raised by Mr. Stevenson, whether the United Nations will prove incapable of preventing the use of force, and will therefore go the way of the League of Nations.

Students of the organization can cite certain common factors, including the unwillingness of members to pay their assessments to the League in the last unhappy years before Hitler invaded Poland. The more optimistic authorities emphasize that there has been no collapse of United Nations author-

Indian Minister of Defense, who came to the United Nations after organizing the attack on Goa, summed up the Indian argument with the statement that Portugal was the "aggressor" because "colonialism is permanent aggression."

The Western powers dropped the idea of appealing to the General Assembly, after the Soviet veto in the Security Council, in the belief that the pro-India position taken in the Council by the United Arab Republic, Liberia and Ceylon was supported by the African-Asian group as a whole.

Certain sources believe that other factors, including the desire in both Washington and London not to press India too hard, played a part in the failure to go to the Assembly.

It can be expected that the Soviet veto would prevent the Security Council from doing anything if, for instance, Indonesia should copy the Indian example, and invade Netherlands New Guinea.

Bloc Vote

Most delegates believe that the extremist anti-colonial powers in the General Assembly can muster one-third plus one of the votes—the equivalent of the Soviet veto in the Security Council—and thus block an Assembly decision on such issues. In that case the United Nations would be paralyzed.

Colonialism is coming to an end so fast that perhaps only 80,000,000 people are left in the non-self-governing and trust territories of the world. On this basis, some delegates believe that there is no reason to worry about wholesale violations of the commitment in the United

ity to match the collapse of the League's authority after the failure of sanctions against Italy when Mussolini attacked Ethiopia.

In no quarter, however, is there an attempt to deny that with the Soviet veto blocking action in the Security Council, and the Asian and African group imposing what amounts to a veto on some issues in the General Assembly, the Western powers have lost their original dominating position.

Defeats for West

On some issues, as happened fairly often in recent sessions of the General Assembly, an ad hoc alliance between the Soviet Union and the Asian and African states inflicted crushing defeats on the West.

It is the general impression that the United Nations has become a nuisance to France and several other Western European states and does not arouse much

enthusiasm in Latin America.

However, it is generally felt that it is in the interests of both the United States and the Soviet Union to keep the United Nations going. The Asian and African states are the most enthusiastic supporters of the organization.

For these reasons, it is generally felt the organization's continued existence is not in doubt.

There is uncertainty, however, about its continued effectiveness if the present trend continues. Some delegates see a possibility that the Western powers will take less interest in the United Nations and bring fewer issues before it.

The general belief is that the United Nations will get over its present slump, once the three acute problems now disturbing the organization are surmounted, and will go on to assume the great role for which it was designed.