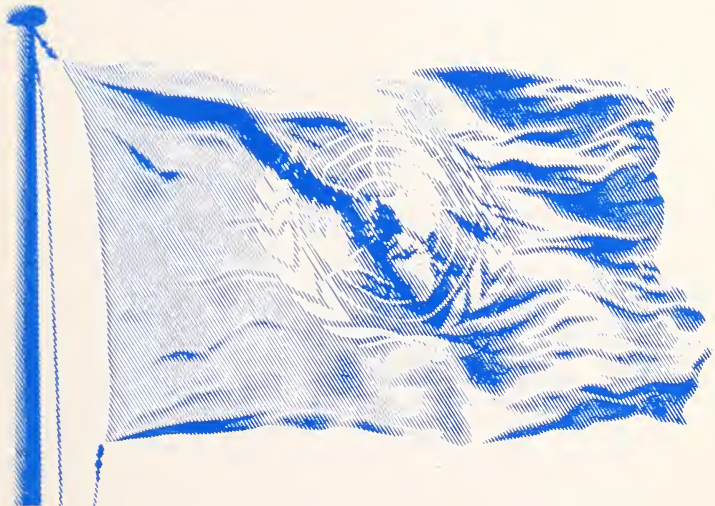




United States Department of State

United States Participation in the UN

Report by the President
to the Congress
for the year 1985





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DEPARTMENT OF STATE PUBLICATION 9494

Bureau of International Organization Affairs

Released October 1986



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Acronyms and Short Forms

AID	U.S. Agency for International Development
ACABQ	Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions
ACC	Administrative Committee on Coordination
Committee of 24	Special Committee on the Situation with Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples
CD	Committee on Disarmament
CIEC	Conference on International Economic Cooperation
CSCE	Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe
EC	European Communities
ECA	Economic Commission for Africa
ECE	Economic Commission for Europe
ECLA	Economic Commission for Latin America
ECOSOC	Economic and Social Council
ECWA	Economic Commission for Western Asia
ESCAP	Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
GATT	General Agreement on Traffic and Trade
G-77	Group of 77
HHS	U.S. Department of Health and Human Services
IAEA	International Atomic Energy Agency
IBRD	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
ICAO	International Civil Aviation Organization
IDA	International Development Association
IFC	International Finance Corporation
ILO	International Labor Organization
IMCO	Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization
IMF	International Monetary Fund
ITU	International Telecommunication Union
NASA	U.S. National Aeronautics and Space Administration
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
OAS	Organization of American States
OAU	Organization of African Unity
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
OPEC	Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries

PLO	Palestine Liberation Organization
SWAPO	South West Africa People's Organization
UNCITRAL	UN Commission of International Trade Law
UNCTAD	UN Conference on Trade and Development
UNDC	UN Disarmament Commission
UNDOF	UN Disengagement Observer Force
UNDP	UN Development Program
UNEF	UN Emergency Force
UNEP	UN Environment Program
UNESCO	UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNFICYP	UN Force in Cyprus
UNHCR	Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	UN Children's Fund
UNIDO	UN Industrial Development Organization
UNIFIL	UN Interim Force in Lebanon
UNITAR	UN Institute for Training and Research
UNRWA	UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East
UNSCEAR	UN Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation
UPU	Universal Postal Union
WFP	World Food Program
WHO	World Health Organization
WIPO	World Intellectual Property Organization
WMO	World Meteorological Organization

Part I

Political and Security Affairs

Since the United Nations was founded in 1945, its main purpose has been the promotion of international peace and security. This remains the centerpiece of the UN system.

SECURITY COUNCIL

The Charter gives the Security Council and the General Assembly authority to consider threats to the peace. Primary responsibility for maintaining international peace and security rests with the Security Council. The Charter authorizes the Council to act to achieve peaceful settlement of disputes (Chapter VI) and to deal with threats to the peace, breaches of the peace, and acts of aggression (Chapter VII). The Council can only make recommendations for actions on matters raised under Chapter VI. In areas covered by Chapter VII, however, it may take decisions—including imposition of collective political, economic, and military sanctions—which, in theory at least, are binding on all Member States.

The 15-member Council functions continuously, meeting as necessary. The Charter gives a special role to the five Permanent Members—China, France, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, and the United States. A negative vote by a Permanent Member constitutes a veto of any substantive Council action, in the event that such action (usually a draft resolution) receives at least nine positive votes. Council decisions on procedural matters require nine or more positive votes for adoption. They cannot be vetoed, but in these cases the Council usually operates by consensus.

The other 10 Council members are elected by the General Assembly; by tradition, they represent regional blocs. These 10 members serve overlapping 2-year terms; 5 members are elected each year. The five members for the 1985–86 term are: Australia, Denmark, Madagascar, Thailand, and Trinidad and Tobago; for the

1986-87 term: Bulgaria, Congo, Ghana, United Arab Emirates, and Venezuela.

The Council has created several UN peacekeeping and peace-monitoring operations to help carry out its responsibilities. Five such units existed in 1985: the UN Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP); the UN Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF) in the Golan Heights between Israel and Syria; the UN Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL), stationed in southern Lebanon; the UN Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO), located in Israel and other Middle East countries; and the UN Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP). These operations were launched and deployed with the consent of the Council and the governments directly concerned; that consent remains the basis for their existence. In 1978 the Council also authorized creation of a UN Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG) to help the Special Representative of the Secretary-General ensure the early independence of Namibia through free and fair elections. Though composition of UNTAG has been agreed upon, its formation awaits final agreement on a Namibia settlement in accordance with Security Council Resolution 435 (1978).

The Security Council held 74 meetings in 1985, compared to 57 in 1984. Most of these meetings concerned Southern Africa, the Middle East, and Nicaragua. The Council passed 21 resolutions (1984 total: 14); 16 were adopted unanimously. The United States voted for 18 of these resolutions and abstained on 3. In terms of peacekeeping forces, the Council passed resolutions which renewed UNIFIL twice (April 17, October 17), UNDOF twice (May 21, November 21), and UNFICYP twice (June 14, December 12). The United States supported all extensions of these mandates. Neither UNTSO nor UNMOGIP requires periodic renewal by the Council.

The Council took three important decisions concerning the problem of terrorism: it adopted a resolution condemning hostage taking and authorized Presidential statements on behalf of the Council condemning the *Achille Lauro* hijacking and the bombing at the Rome and Vienna airports.

Nine vetoes were cast in the Council in 1985. Seven of these were by the United States: three on Nicaragua, one each on South Africa, Namibia, Israel, and Lebanon. The United Kingdom joined the United States in vetoing resolutions on Namibia and South Africa.

The Council was convened 11 times on African issues, 9 involving complaints against South Africa and 2 involving Namibia. The Council adopted nine resolutions on South Africa, on one of

which the United States abstained. The United States and United Kingdom vetoed a proposed amendment to one of these resolutions. The meetings on Namibia considered two resolutions, one of which was vetoed by the United States and the United Kingdom. The Council President also issued two statements calling on South Africa not to execute a member of the African National Congress convicted of committing a terrorist act.

Council consideration of the Iran-Iraq war focused on three areas: treatment of prisoners of war, attacks on civilian areas, and the use of chemical weapons. The United States supported statements by the Council President on these matters. On other Middle Eastern issues, the United States vetoed resolutions on Israeli practices on Jerusalem's Temple Mount and on southern Lebanon; abstained on a resolution on the Israeli raid on PLO headquarters in Tunis; and supported a statement of concern by the Council President on the rising tide of violence in Lebanon.

Six Council meetings were held to consider Nicaraguan complaints against the United States. The United States vetoed three paragraphs of a Nicaraguan draft resolution, the remainder of which was then unanimously adopted.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Except for the anomalous situation of the Delegation of South Africa, whose credentials have not been accepted since 1970, all UN Member States are currently represented in the General Assembly. The Assembly meets annually from mid-September to late December. After 3 weeks of general debate, the work of the Assembly takes place in seven main committees and in plenary. Political issues are handled in several forums: arms control and disarmament in the First Committee, broad political issues in the Special Political Committee and the plenary, human rights in the Third Committee, and dependent territories and decolonization questions in the Fourth Committee.

The 40th General Assembly convened on September 17, and was suspended on December 18. President Reagan addressed the plenary on October 24, the third year in a row that he has spoken to the fall session of the General Assembly. Of the 353 resolutions and decisions adopted by the Assembly during its 40th session, the United States joined consensus on 198, abstained on 37, did not participate on 3, and cast yes or no votes on 115. The Assembly passed 201 resolutions by vote.

A major goal of the United States at the 40th General Assembly was to combat the practice of name-calling, i.e., gratuitous

slurs on the United States in Assembly resolutions. Through parliamentary maneuvers and lobbying, the United States was able to defeat some texts and induce sponsors to withdraw others. In the plenary Assembly, in nine votes requested by the United States on passages containing explicit or implicit name-calling, the United States succeeded in having six pejorative references deleted.

Middle Eastern and southern African issues again dominated the political agenda of the 40th General Assembly. The United States supported plenary decisions to reject by a record margin the challenge to Israeli credentials and reaffirm strong resolutions on Afghanistan and Cambodia. There was no plenary discussion of Puerto Rico or Micronesia. The body of disarmament resolutions was mixed, but the United States was pleased with passage of its resolutions on chemical-weapons use and on the importance of compliance with arms control agreements. Consideration of Antarctica saw a breakdown of the consensus practice that had prevailed for several years. Joined by many countries from all regional groups, including all of the Antarctic Treaty Consultative Parties, the United States declined to participate in voting on three unacceptable resolutions.

On the Middle East, the Assembly adopted by large margins 17 resolutions: 3 dealing with the general situation in the region, 4 on the question of Palestine, 7 on Israeli practices in the occupied territories, and 1 each on the 1981 Israeli raid on the Iraqi reactor, the proposed Israeli project to build a canal between the Mediterranean Sea and Dead Sea, and cooperation between the United Nations and Arab League. With the exception of the resolution on the canal, the United States voted against or abstained on all resolutions, chiefly because their lack of balance and their strident tone did not promote the quest for a just and lasting peace in the region.

The Assembly also adopted 11 resolutions on UNRWA, the UN relief operation for Palestinian refugees in the Middle East. The United States cosponsored one of these texts, which expressed concern for the continued plight of the Palestinian refugees and called for increased contributions to UNRWA and the return of UNRWA Headquarters from Vienna to the Mideast as soon as practicable. In all, the United States voted for two of the texts, joined consensus on two others, and voted "no" on the other UNRWA resolutions.

The Assembly adopted 15 resolutions on southern Africa, 9 under the item, "Policies of Apartheid of the Government of South Africa." While restating firm opposition to apartheid in

any form, the United States abstained on or voted against eight of these resolutions because of their extreme confrontational tone. It joined the consensus in favor of the ninth resolution. In line with its standard practice as a member of the Namibia Contact Group, the United States abstained on the six resolutions involving Namibia.

On items concerning Cambodia and Afghanistan, the United States joined record General Assembly majorities in adopting resolutions seeking to end Vietnam's occupation of Cambodia and the Soviet Union's occupation of Afghanistan. In 1985 there was no challenge to the credentials of Democratic Kampuchea.

In the Fourth Committee, the United States achieved its objectives of blocking any General Assembly initiatives on Puerto Rico or Micronesia. The Committee and the plenary approved noncontentious resolutions on American Samoa, the U.S. Virgin Islands, and Guam.

Arms control and disarmament once again generated the largest number of resolutions in the 40th General Assembly. The First Committee handled most of this work, examining a record 72 resolutions, all of which were adopted in plenary. The United States participated actively in these deliberations, mobilizing support successfully for its initiatives on chemical-weapons use and compliance with international agreements.

The 40th General Assembly resumed April 28, 1986, to take up the matter of the current financial crisis of the United Nations. On May 9, 1986, the Assembly decided without a vote to request the Secretary-General to proceed according to the proposals conveyed in his report on the subject.

PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT

Middle East

SECURITY COUNCIL CONSIDERATION

Situation in the Occupied Territories

The Security Council had only one occasion in 1985 to deal with the territories occupied by Israel since 1967. In September the Israeli High Court of Justice considered appeals by several Palestinians whom the Israeli Government was seeking to deport from the West Bank. The proposed deportations, along with Israeli detention and demolition policies in the West Bank became the subject of four PLO letters of complaint to the Security Council. The letters alleged a variety of repressive actions by Israel, including "a massive campaign of detention." The Israelis respond-

ed with a letter listing ten Israeli civilians murdered in the previous year by "PLO attacks," as well as other acts of terrorism inside and outside of Israel claimed by the PLO. The Indian Delegation, speaking on behalf of the Non-Aligned Group on the Council, pressed for informal UNSC consultations on the subject.

During informal consultations on September 6, the Indians unexpectedly introduced the text of a proposed UNSC Presidential statement sharply criticizing Israel for "repressive measures" on the West Bank and Gaza. The statement, *inter alia*, called on Israel immediately to stop these measures, including "curfews, detentions and forceful deportation," and to release all detainees. It also called upon Israel to "abide scrupulously by the provisions of the Geneva Convention relative to the protection of civilian persons in time of war."

China, Egypt, Thailand, and the U.S.S.R. gave full support to the draft, while France "viewed it sympathetically" but joined other delegations in calling for a delay in any action. Speaking for the United States, Ambassador Herbert Okun declared that the draft statement was one-sided and that "it would be partial and lacking in objectivity to address only one aspect of a cycle of violence." He reaffirmed U.S. concern about the incidents of violence in the West Bank and Gaza, but contended that Israeli detention measures "should be viewed in the context of other actions, including armed attacks and killings." He concluded that the proposed text would not be a constructive approach to solving the problems of the area and would not be "a wise use of the President's or the Council's time and prestige."

Informal consultations continued for several days, with no progress toward a consensus statement. In discussions on September 9, Ambassador Okun reiterated U.S. opposition to the Indian draft, saying that the Council "should be very careful that our actions not exacerbate an already volatile situation" and arguing that a statement "runs the risk of diverting attention from the main problems of the region and in this way could delay their resolution." Several Council members deplored the U.S. opposition to the statement, and the Soviets implicitly equated Israel with Nazi Germany. Ambassador Okun rejected the Soviet charge and said that the draft remained one-sided and would endanger the peace process. Faced with U.S. refusal to join consensus on the statement, the Indians said they would consult further with members of the Council, effectively giving up the initiative for a Presidential statement.

Following this failure, the Arab Group asked for a formal Security Council meeting for September 12. Qatar, the PLO, India,

and—more moderately—Egypt, criticized Israel’s “repressive measures” on the West Bank. Israel called the entire debate a diversion from the Middle East’s real problems and defended its policies as a minimum response to terrorism. A draft resolution was circulated deploring “repressive measures taken by Israel . . . against the civilian Palestinian population” in the West Bank and Gaza and otherwise generally following the text of the previously proposed Presidential statement.

After several hours of further debate September 13, the United States vetoed the resolution, in a vote of 10 to 1 (U.S.), with 4 abstentions. In his explanation of vote, Ambassador Vernon Walters stated that the United States cannot support a resolution “which singles out for condemnation the detention and other policies of Israel on the West Bank and Gaza without equally condemning and calling for a halt to acts of terror against Israeli civilians and officials in the West Bank and Gaza which have provoked this policy.” While reaffirming that the United States considered administrative detention and deportation to be inconsistent with the Fourth Geneva Convention, he contended that one-sided resolutions “encourage the spiral of violence and retaliation by hardening the attitudes of all parties.” Walters also rejected charges that the United States was hostile toward Palestinians, pointing out that the United States was the largest contributor to the United Nations Relief and Works Agency in Palestine (UNRWA) that helps Palestinian refugees, and noted also that little consideration was being given to “many others . . . in Central Asia and in Southeast Asia who live under foreign military occupation.”

Lebanon

The Security Council acted on three occasions in 1985 to consider problems arising in Lebanon. The first case, dealing with problems related to the Israeli withdrawal from southern Lebanon, ended with a draft resolution vetoed by the United States. The other two instances were a UNSC Presidential statement and a unanimously adopted resolution asking for an end to violent incidents in Beirut.

Southern Lebanon, February–March. A number of incidents of violence that marred the Israeli military withdrawal from southern Lebanon early in the year resulted in an exchange of complaint letters by the Governments of Lebanon and Israel to the Security Council. In a March 4 letter, following up several earlier letters, the Lebanese accused Israel of demolishing the village of Maarakah near Tyre, including blowing up a mosque with

“as many as 200 people inside.” The Israelis rejected these charges in a March 6 letter, denying that any Israeli forces were in the village at the time of the incident. The letter also claimed that Israeli Defense Forces had acted to prevent further terrorism by discovering a large cache of weapons, “enough to equip a sizable military unit.”

The Council met on February 28 and again March 7-12 to debate the question. The Lebanese tabled a draft resolution March 11 that condemned “Israeli practices and measures against the civilian population in southern Lebanon” which Lebanon declared were “in violation of the rules and principles of international law, in particular the provisions of the Geneva Convention.” The resolution also called upon the Secretary-General to establish a fact-finding mission to report back on Israeli practices in southern Lebanon.

The United States attempted to dissuade the Lebanese from proceeding with their resolution and to opt instead for a consensus statement by the Council which would deal more realistically with the situation in Lebanon by urging restraint, an end to violence, recognition of the application of the Fourth Geneva Convention to southern Lebanon, and restoration of Lebanon’s sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity. Lebanon, however, insisted on pressing forward with a resolution, which was vetoed March 12 in a vote of 11 to 1 (U.S.), with 3 abstentions. In her explanation of vote, Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick reaffirmed U.S. willingness to join in a consensus statement, but contended that the proposed resolution was one-sided and did not accord Israel fair treatment. Citing the resolution as an example of the “persistent hostility to Israel which is repeatedly manifested in this body,” she stated that the United States “cannot acquiesce in this resolution because we do not believe an unbalanced resolution will end the agony of Lebanon.”

Beirut Violence, May. A rising tide of violence in Beirut prompted the Security Council to issue a Presidential statement May 24 to appeal for “all concerned to make every possible effort to put an end to violence involving the civilian population.” The statement also reaffirmed the need to respect the sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity of Lebanon.

The Presidential statement was followed May 31 by a unanimous Security Council resolution expressing “deep concern at the heavy cost in human lives and material destruction affecting the civilian population of Lebanon,” and calling on all parties to “take the necessary measures to alleviate the suffering from acts of violence.” (Resolution 564) It particularly asked for facilitation

of the work of UNRWA and the Red Cross, and for an end of the violence in and around Palestinian refugee camps. Speaking for the United States, Ambassador Jose Sorzano welcomed the expression of concern by the Council and urged once again that "all foreign troops leave Lebanon and that the Lebanese be allowed to take steps to restore unity to their country."

Israeli Attack on PLO Headquarters in Tunisia

On the morning of October 1, the Israeli Air Force bombed PLO facilities near Tunis in response to the murder of three Israeli citizens in Larnaca, Cyprus, by Palestinian terrorists a few days before. The Tunisians asked for an immediate Security Council meeting to consider the attack. The Council met from October 2-4 and heard the representatives of a large number of UN members. Virtually all of the speakers vigorously condemned the Israeli action, which the Israeli Ambassador defended as a legitimate retaliation to terrorist attacks. Ambassador Walters did not speak during debate except to reply to intemperate remarks by Cuba and Libya impugning U.S. opposition to terrorism. He noted that "from states like Libya and Cuba we accept no lessons on international conduct, nor do we permit them to determine our foreign policy."

On October 4, the Tunisians tabled a draft resolution which, *inter alia*, "condemned vigorously the act of armed aggression carried out by Israel," demanded that Israel refrain "from perpetrating such acts of aggression or from the threat to do so," and "considered that Tunisia has the right to appropriate reparations." The resolution was adopted 14 to 0, with 1 (U.S.) abstention. (Resolution 573) In his explanation of our abstention, Ambassador Walters stated that the United States could not support the resolution, despite our "deep and abiding friendship for the Government and people of Tunisia" because it disproportionately placed blame for "this latest round in the rising spiral of violence" only on Israel, "while not also holding at fault those responsible for the terrorist attacks which provoked it." He stressed that the United States could not vote for a resolution which failed adequately to identify and address terrorism as the "real threat all civilized peoples are facing. . . . It is terrorism which is the cause of the pattern [of violence], not responses to terrorist acts. . . . We recognize and strongly support the principle that a state subjected to continuing terrorist attacks may respond with appropriate use of force to defend against further attacks. . . . It is the collective responsibility of sovereign states to see that terrorism

enjoys no sanctuary, no safehaven, and that those who practice it have no immunity from the responses their acts warrant.”

For further information on this issue, please see section of this publication on the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO), page 239.

Situation in the Middle East

India, on behalf of the Non-Aligned Group, requested a Security Council meeting to discuss “the situation in the Middle East, including the question of Palestine.” The Council duly met October 9-11. Speakers from a number of countries were critical of Israel and of the United States, declaring Israeli “intransigence” the main obstacle to peace in the region. A consistent theme of the speakers was the need for an international conference to resolve the Arab-Israeli conflict. Ambassador Walters expressed relief on the end of the hijacking of the *Achille Lauro*, tinged with sadness at the murder of passenger Leon Klinghoffer. He quoted Secretary Shultz that “terrorism is a great threat to all of us and it must be dealt with and stopped.” He declared that “the terrorist has put himself beyond the pale of civilized humanity. . . . Every terrorist attack is an attack on the world community. Every justification offered for terrorism undermines the rule of law. Every concession to the terrorist diminishes our humanity.” The United States opposed a resolution endorsing an international conference and in the absence of any likelihood of reaching a consensus, the debate adjourned *sine die* on October 11.

UN Disengagement Observer Force

Continuing the routine procedure of previous years, the Security Council unanimously renewed the 6-month mandate for the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF) without debate on the two occasions that the issue came up in 1985. This peacekeeping force operates on the Golan Heights between Israeli and Syrian forces.

UNDOF Renewal, May 21. The Council unanimously adopted a resolution extending the mandate for 6 months. (Resolution 563) The resolution was identical in form and language to the UNDOF resolutions of recent years. Also identical to past practice was a statement delivered after the vote by the President of the Council, which endorsed a comment in the Secretary-General’s latest UNDOF report—a comment regularly included in these reports—calling the situation in the Middle East “potentially dangerous,”

despite the calm in the Israeli-Syrian sector, as long as a comprehensive Middle East settlement is not reached.

UNDOF Renewal, November 21. The Security Council followed exactly the same procedure as before (see above) to renew the mandate for another 6 months. The text of the resolution did not differ except for updating references from earlier UNDOF renewal resolutions, and the vote was again unanimous. (Resolution 576)

UN Interim Force in Lebanon

The attention of the Security Council was drawn to the peace-keeping functions of UNIFIL on two occasions in 1985, in each case because the UNIFIL mandate then in force would soon run out. The Council decided both times to extend the mandate for a further 6 months.

UNIFIL Renewal, April. The Security Council renewed the UNIFIL mandate on April 17 by a vote of 13 (U.S.) to 0, with 2 abstentions (the U.S.S.R. and Bulgaria). (Resolution 561) Except for updating references to previous resolutions, the resolution was identical to the one that preceded it. (Resolution 549) Several speakers voiced concern over UNIFIL's effectiveness, while the Soviet Union and Lebanon were sharply critical of Israel. The Israeli Representative noted that Israel will not depend on others to secure its frontiers. Speaking for the United States, Ambassador Richard Schifter stated that UNIFIL's "present restricted role is both inappropriate and unsatisfactory."

UNIFIL Renewal, October. By an identical vote, the Council renewed UNIFIL's mandate again on October 17. (Resolution 575) The resolution was virtually identical to that of April (see above). Several speakers criticized Israel for setting up a "security zone" in southern Lebanon and called for UNIFIL's deployment to the Israel-Lebanon border. Ambassador Walters rebutted Soviet criticism of the United States for "not calling Israel to order," stating that "those who wish to tell others how to support Council decisions should at least pay their fair share of the costs of supporting UNIFIL." (The Soviet Union withholds from its assessed contributions its pro rata share of UNIFIL's costs.)

GENERAL ASSEMBLY CONSIDERATION

Israeli Credentials

As in the past several years, there was a challenge at the 40th UNGA to the credentials of Israel, though in this instance the challenge was led by Arab group countries rather than by Iran. On October 16 the Arab group moved that the routine reso-

lution before the UNGA Plenary that accepted the report of the Credentials Committee be amended by adding the words "except with regard to the credentials of Israel." The Swedish Representative, speaking on behalf of the five Nordic countries, moved formally under Rule 74 of the General Assembly's rules of procedure that no action be taken on the Arab amendment. (This motion repeated Nordic actions of the previous 3 years on this issue.) Immediately put to a vote, the motion was adopted 80 (U.S.) to 41, with 20 abstentions. Having thus disposed of this challenge, the Assembly accepted the first report of the Credentials Committee without a vote.

Situation in the Middle East

The Assembly debated the annual agenda item titled "The Situation in the Middle East" in four plenary sessions on December 5 and 6, followed by a fifth session on December 16 at which the three draft resolutions submitted under this topic were adopted. The United States voted against two of them and abstained on one.

The first draft resolution was sponsored by 20 states. It contained a mixture of caustically worded provisions against Israel and in favor of the standard Arab position in the Arab-Israeli dispute. One operative paragraph sharply criticized "the agreements on strategic cooperation between the United States of America and Israel signed on 30 November 1981, and the continued supply of modern arms and material to Israel, augmented by substantial economic aid, including the recently concluded Agreement on the Establishment of a Free Trade Area between the two Governments"; specifically, the resolution asserted, the agreements "have encouraged Israel to pursue its aggressive and expansionist policies . . . and would have adverse effects on efforts for the establishment of a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East and would threaten the security of the region." Another operative paragraph reaffirmed the Assembly's support for convening of an international peace conference on the Middle East under UN auspices. U.S. diplomats lobbied extensively against this draft prior to voting, both in New York and in the capitals of various governments. The text was adopted by a vote of 98 to 19 (U.S.), with 31 abstentions. (Resolution 40/168A) Joining the United States in voting against the resolution were a number of Western countries and Israel; the abstentions came from various regions. Eleven countries, also from different regions, were absent from the voting.

Just before the above vote, a separate ballot was taken at the request of the United States on the provision that the U.S. found most objectionable, i.e., the operative paragraph referring to the agreement between the United States and Israel. The paragraph was retained by a vote of 64 to 33 (U.S.), with 41 abstentions. Although the paragraph was retained there was less support for it than the previous year. The negative votes and abstentions, which included all countries of the Western group, most Latin American States and several African nations exceeded the affirmative votes.

The second draft resolution was introduced by 26 states, largely the same as those that sponsored the first text. Concentrating heavily but not exclusively on the situation in the Golan Heights, it contained another set of sharply anti-Israeli strictures. Israel's actions in the Golan area were held to be both illegal and "a continuing threat to international peace and security." Two paragraphs, one preambular and the other in the operative section, reiterated the charge that Israel "is not a peace-loving Member State." Several operative paragraphs called on states and international bodies to cease dealing with Israel. U.S. diplomats lobbied against this highly objectionable draft prior to the Assembly voting, both in New York and in a number of capitals. Nevertheless, the Assembly plenary adopted it by a vote of 86 to 23 (U.S.), with 37 abstentions. (Resolution 40/168B) On this resolution 13 states did not participate in the voting. This was a low level of support for a General Assembly resolution on an Arab-Israeli subject. The negative votes and abstentions came from the Western states and a spectrum of other governments representing various regions, especially Latin America.

The third draft resolution in this series, this one dealing with Jerusalem, was sponsored by 28 states, essentially the same group that introduced the other two texts. The first operative paragraph reiterated that "Israel's decision to impose its laws, jurisdiction and administration on the Holy City of Jerusalem is illegal and therefore null and void." The second operative paragraph deplored the transfer by some governments of their diplomatic missions to Jerusalem. This measure was adopted by 137 to 2, with 11 (U.S.) abstentions. (Resolution 40/168C) The two negative votes were cast by Israel and Costa Rica. Several Latin American and African States abstained along with the United States. Nineteen states absent themselves from the voting.

Ambassador Okun, speaking before the vote on December 16, noted that "the repeated and futile condemnations, deplorings, demands and other rhetorical posturings" of these resolutions "do nothing to resolve the question of the territories now occupied by Israel or to meet the legitimate needs of the Palestinian people."

Indeed, by placing the entire blame on Israel, "they tend to widen rather than to reconcile the differences among the parties [to the Arab-Israeli dispute], thus making peace . . . even more difficult to achieve."

On specifics, Ambassador Okun said that the United States would vote against Resolution 40/168A because its "particularly repugnant" paragraph criticizing U.S.-Israeli relations was "an unwarranted interference in the internal affairs and decision-making of the United States, totally outside the jurisdiction of the General Assembly." The criticism was also wrong in substance since "strong U.S. relations with Israel and with other states in the region are essential to the pursuit of peace."

Ambassador Okun continued that we would vote against Resolution 40/168B, despite our support of Security Council Resolution 497 on the Golan Heights, because its declaration that Israel was "not a peace-loving Member State" is "another polemic which does not advance peace and is not consistent with Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338." He concluded by rejecting the resolution's "pernicious charges . . . which are grossly improper and purport to engage the General Assembly in matters which, under the UN Charter, are expressly and necessarily reserved to the Security Council."

On Resolution 40/168C, Ambassador Okun noted that "it is long-standing United States policy that the status of Jerusalem can only be determined through negotiations among the parties concerned in the framework of an overall peace settlement." Because we "believe that repeated resolutions on the question serve no useful purpose," the United States abstained.

Question of Palestine

In four plenary meetings on December 3 and 4, the General Assembly considered the agenda item titled "Question of Palestine," another topic carried over from previous years. On December 12, four resolutions were introduced by 16 states, mostly non-aligned. They were all adopted over negative votes by the United States.

The first resolution endorsed the efforts of the General Assembly's Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, a body that the United States has consistently opposed as serving the partisan political aims of the Palestine Liberation Organization. The resolution was adopted by a vote of 128 to 2 (U.S.), with 22 abstentions. (Resolution 40/96A)

The second resolution in this series dealt mainly with the Secretariat's Division for Palestinian Rights, another body op-

posed by the United States on grounds of partisanship favoring the Palestine Liberation Organization. This text, expressing appreciation and support for the Division's work, was adopted by a vote of 129 to 3 (U.S.), with 17 abstentions. (Resolution 40/96B)

The third text mandated the Secretariat's Department of Public Information to cooperate with the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People in various publicity activities relating to Palestine, including the issuance of material "on Israel's violation of the human rights of the Arab inhabitants of the occupied territories." It was adopted by a vote of 131 to 3 (U.S.), with 18 abstentions. (Resolution 40/96C)

The fourth resolution dealt exclusively with the proposal to convene an international peace conference on the Middle East under UN auspices. It endorsed the proposal and directly criticized the "continued negative position" of the Governments of the United States and Israel with regard to the Secretary-General's earlier queries about the conference plan. It also contained a new paragraph finding Israel guilty of "acts of terrorism . . . against the Palestinian people and the Arab nation." The United States lobbied against this text in New York and in the capitals of various countries. The resolution was nevertheless adopted by a vote of 107 to 3 (U.S.), with 41 abstentions. (Resolution 40/96D)

The last of the above resolutions, immediately before it was adopted, underwent separate votes on four of its paragraphs. The preambular and operative paragraphs criticizing U.S. opposition to an international conference were adopted respectively by 84 to 22 (U.S.), with 29 abstentions and 89 to 22 (U.S.), with 33 abstentions. West European governments were prominent among those joining us in voting against this "name-calling" paragraph aimed specifically against our policy. The separate vote on the paragraph accusing Israel of terrorism was 79 to 33 (U.S.), with 32 abstentions. Most West European States voted against this paragraph. Finally, the separate vote on the paragraph specifically endorsing an international conference was adopted by a vote of 111 to 6 (U.S.), with 29 abstentions.

Speaking before the vote on December 12, Ambassador Okun said that the United States had "one overriding criterion in deciding its position on UN General Assembly resolutions pertaining to the Arab-Israeli conflict: do they advance or retard efforts toward peace?" He contended that these four resolutions were "unbalanced, unfair and unpromising" and "their partisan rhetoric only contributes to putting off the day when the parties to the conflict can sit down together to reach a mutually acceptable resolution of their differences." The United States, he continued, had to vote against Resolutions 40/96A, B, and C because of the inherent and

blatant biases of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People and the Division for Palestinian Rights of the Secretariat. The activities of these two bodies, "in addition to being costly, invariably propagate partial, partisan views of the Palestine issue."

On Resolution 40/96D, Ambassador Okun indicated that, while the United States "understands the importance of a supportive international context for efforts to bring peace to the region, . . . an international conference as envisaged by this resolution would neither yield a constructive examination of the Middle East question nor contribute to the urgent task of finding a lasting solution to the Palestinian problem. . . . such a conference would be an ideological and propaganda exercise directed against the state of Israel and would serve only those nations who feel they benefit from a continuation or an increase in tensions of the region." Ambassador Okun then reaffirmed the United States position that "there is but one route to peace which can provide positive results, . . . the process begun at Camp David in 1978."

Ambassador Okun went on to state that the United States finds "totally unacceptable the critical references in this resolution to American opposition to an international conference and its call upon us to reconsider our position. We find this intrusion on U.S. Government policy decisions extremely inappropriate in a UN resolution and harmful to peace efforts." Equally unacceptable was the description in this resolution of Israel as guilty of terrorist acts, "which equates the Government of Israel with the perpetrators of the vicious acts of terrorism which have so tragically marked the Middle East." He concluded by inviting the parties to the conflict "to take up the challenge for peace and to resolve in direct negotiations among themselves the issues involved in this longstanding dispute."

Israeli Practices in the Occupied Territories

As in previous years, the Special Political Committee of the General Assembly was assigned the annually recurring agenda item titled "Report of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories." Debate took place in 10 sessions of the Special Political Committee between October 29 and November 8, at the close of which seven draft resolutions were approved and forwarded to the plenary with a recommendation that they be adopted. All but the first of these were sponsored by the same group of 13 states. The Special Political Committee's consideration of these texts proceeded as follows:

—The first draft resolution, on the subject of Ziyad Abu Ein and other prisoners held by Israel who were “arbitrarily detained and/or imprisoned as a result of their struggle for self-determination,” was sponsored by 28 states. The resolution demanded the immediate release of these prisoners. The draft was approved by 77 to 2 (U.S.), with 29 abstentions, a marked reduction in affirmative votes from the previous year due to a new paragraph which implied across-the-board condoning of violence committed in the name of self-determination.

—Another draft resolution reaffirmed the applicability of the Fourth Geneva Convention to the territories occupied by Israel since 1967 and condemned Israel’s unwillingness to acknowledge its applicability. The United States requested a separate vote on the operative paragraph that merely affirmed the Convention’s applicability, and voted in favor of the paragraph. It was approved by a vote of 117 (U.S.) to 1, with 2 abstentions. The draft as a whole was approved by a vote of 114 to 1, with 5 (U.S.) abstentions.

—A draft resolution deploring Israeli actions “designed to change the legal status, geographical nature and demographic composition” of the occupied territories, especially Israel’s settlements policy, was approved by a vote of 118 to 1, with 2 (U.S.) abstentions.

—The next draft resolution condemned a large number of alleged policies and practices of Israel in the occupied territories. Citing the Fourth Geneva Convention, the draft declared in its sixth operative paragraph “that Israel’s grave breaches of that Convention are war crimes and an affront to humanity.” A separate vote on the sixth operative paragraph upheld that language by 79 to 18 (U.S.), with 23 abstentions. Many Western States joined the United States and Israel in opposing this offensive provision. There was also a separate vote on a new paragraph to this resolution which called upon Israel to reopen a Roman Catholic hospice in east Jerusalem which it had closed for reasons of sanitation. This paragraph was adopted 117 to 1, with 3 (U.S.) abstentions. The draft resolution as a whole was then approved 90 to 3 (U.S.), with 27 abstentions. Israel and Mongolia (by mistake) joined the United States in this vote; most of those who had voted against the sixth operative paragraph abstained this time.

—Another draft resolution demanded that Israel rescind its 1980 measures expelling the mayors of Hebron and Nablus. This year’s resolution contained a new paragraph condemning Israel for “its persistent refusal to comply with the relevant UNSC and UNGA resolutions.” This paragraph was adopted by a separate vote of 98 to 2 (U.S.), with 22 abstentions. The resolution as a

whole passed 106 to 1, with 14 (U.S.) abstentions, a sharp increase in abstentions from last year, due mostly to the inclusion of the new paragraph.

—The draft resolution dealing with the Golan Heights declared, *inter alia*, that Israel's measures that "purport to alter the character and legal status of the Syrian Golan Heights are null and void and constitute a flagrant violation of international law." This draft was approved in Committee by 114 to 1, with 6 (U.S.) abstentions.

—The final draft resolution condemned alleged Israeli practices and policies against Palestinian students and educational institutions, including what it called "the policy of opening fire on defenseless students, causing many casualties." This paragraph was adopted by a separate vote of 84 to 2 (U.S.), with 34 abstentions. The resolution as a whole was adopted by 92 to 2, with 26 abstentions.

These seven draft resolutions were considered by the plenary Assembly on December 16, and were all adopted on that date.

The specific votes were as follows:

—The resolution on Ziyad Abu Ein and other prisoners was adopted by a vote of 95 to 2 (U.S.), with 37 abstentions. (Resolution 40/161 A)

—The resolution on the Fourth Geneva Convention was adopted by 137 votes to 1, with 6 (U.S.) abstentions. (Resolution 40/161B) Immediately before this vote, the United States repeated the request it had made in the Special Political Committee for separate vote on the provision that affirmed the Convention's applicability to the occupied territories. This provision was again upheld 139 (U.S.) to 1 (Israel), with 4 abstentions.

—The resolution on Israel's settlements policy and similar activities was adopted by a vote of 138 to 1 with 6 (U.S.) abstentions. (Resolution 40/161 C)

—The resolution condemning a large number of alleged policies and practices of Israel was approved by 109 to 2 (U.S.), with 34 abstentions. (Resolution 40/161 D) Immediately before this vote, a separate vote was again taken on the offensive sixth operative paragraph (Israel's War Crimes), and the Special Political Committee's earlier endorsement of this language was upheld by 85 votes to 19 (U.S.), with 37 abstentions. The pattern of broad Western opposition to this provision was repeated. The separate vote in the Special Political Committee on the paragraph of the resolution on the closing of the hospice in Jerusalem was also repeated, passing 136 to 1, with 3 (U.S.) abstentions.

—The resolution on the expulsion of the Palestinian notables passed by a vote of 126 to 1, with 19 (U.S.) abstentions. (Resolution 40/161 E) A separate vote was again held on the new paragraph criticizing Israel for failure to comply with previous resolutions; it passed by 110 votes to 2 (U.S.), with 33 abstentions.

—The resolution concerning the Golan Heights was adopted by 136 votes to 1, with 10 (U.S.) abstentions. (Resolution 40/161 F)

—The resolution condemning alleged oppression against Palestinian students and educational institutions was adopted by a vote of 112 to 2 (U.S.), with 32 abstentions. (Resolution 40/161 G) The paragraph accusing Israel of opening fire on students was again put to a separate vote, passing 96 to 2 (U.S.), with 45 abstentions.

U.S. Representative Robert Immerman, speaking in the Special Political Committee after the votes, explained the U.S. position on the draft resolutions. He stated that the resolutions, as in the past, were likely to “make progress toward peace more difficult because they are one-sided. . . . Resolutions which contain inflammatory rhetoric and unjustified allegations delay the day when the parties to the conflict sit down together for the direct negotiations” without which “peace will never come.” Moreover, he continued, “these resolutions fail to recognize positive steps taken by the Government of Israel during the past year to improve the quality of Palestinian life in the occupied territories.”

On specifics, Mr. Immerman stated that the United States had:

—voted against the Abu Ein resolution not merely because of its unjustified condemnation of a single party to a dispute, but also because “it appears to us to implicitly condone violence. . . . We cannot support the effort made in this resolution to excuse acts of terrorism that have already claimed so many innocent victims.”

—abstained on the resolution on the Fourth Geneva Convention because “we believe it to be another instance whereby condemnation of Israel retards rather than promotes a solution to the problems at issue.” He noted, however, that as in the past, we had supported the paragraph of the resolution reaffirming the applicability of the Convention to the territories occupied by Israel since 1967.

—abstained on the resolution on Israeli settlements because “it diverts attention from the basic question of whether Israeli settlements in the occupied territories advance or hinder a just and lasting peace” and distracts “by unproductive legal debate from the real task of promoting peace through negotiations.”

—voted against the resolution on Israeli policies and practices because “such unbalanced resolutions serve only to widen differences and inflame an already embittered situation.” We had abstained on the paragraph on the Roman Catholic hospice because it “lacks due regard for the fact that the hospice was and remains the property of the Austrian Catholic Church, whose long-held desire to return it to its original function as a pilgrims’ hostel was one of the factors in the decision to close the hospice.”

—abstained on the resolution on the Palestinian notables “because it does not contain any reference to the factors that contributed to the deportation of the individuals in question.” Mr. Immerman noted, however, that “the United States believes that the deportations were contrary to the Fourth Geneva Convention and that the deportees should be allowed to return.”

—abstained on the Golan Heights resolution because it went far beyond Security Council Resolution 497 of 1981, which the United States supports and which “declares the Israeli decision to impose its laws, jurisdiction, and administration in the Golan Heights null and void and without international legal effect.”

—voted against the resolution on Palestinian students because of “its broad condemnatory language and inflammatory nature . . . which seek to condemn indiscriminately and without regard to the facts or actual policies.”

Armed Israeli Aggression Against Iraqi Nuclear Installations

Carried over from previous years, an agenda item concerning the June 1981 Israeli raid on Iraq’s nuclear reactor near Baghdad was considered by the General Assembly in plenary session November 1. The issue had been dealt with in September by the International Atomic Energy Agency General Conference in Vienna (see separate section on the IAEA). Iraq sought to reopen the issue by introducing a resolution that condemned Israel. The resolution, sponsored by 23 states, passed by 88 to 13 (U.S.), with 39 abstentions—a substantial decrease from the previous year’s vote of 106 in favor and 2 (U.S.) against. (Resolution 40/6) An Iranian amendment to the resolution strongly condemning “all military attacks on all nuclear installations dedicated to peaceful purposes, including the military attacks by Israel on the nuclear facility of Iraq,” passed by 79 to 2 (U.S.), with 50 abstentions.

Speaking before the vote, Ambassador Okun stated that the United States would vote against this resolution because “we strongly believe that the issue it purports to address was decisively resolved by the International Atomic Energy Agency General Conference in September, after four years of difficult and pains-

taking negotiations. . . . Seeking to reopen this issue flouts the clear intention of the majority of the membership of the International Atomic Energy Agency. The United States considers this issue closed and views the draft before us as an unfortunate attempt to reopen it.”

Canal Linking the Mediterranean Sea and the Dead Sea

For the fifth consecutive year, the General Assembly agenda included an item titled “Israel’s Decision to Build a Canal Linking the Mediterranean Sea to the Dead Sea.” As in the past, it was assigned to the Special Political Committee, which considered it between December 2 and 6. Jordan introduced a draft resolution, sponsored by 17 countries, that implicitly acknowledged Israeli Government statements that it had ceased consideration of the canal project and disbanded the office dealing with it. This year’s resolution did not ask that the issue be automatically placed on next year’s UNGA agenda, but instead decided “to resume consideration of this item in case activities by Israel relating to the said canal are resumed.” The resolution was adopted by the Special Political Committee, December 6, by a vote of 118 (U.S.) to 1 (Israel), with no abstentions. U.S. Representative Robert Immerman noted for the record that U.S. support for the resolution “does not in any way alter its opposition to previous resolutions on this subject.” He added, however, that “we see the current resolution as a significant and positive step towards resolving a difficult problem.” The resolution was adopted by the full plenary without a vote on December 16. (Resolution 40/166)

Cooperation Between the United Nations and the League of Arab States

Yemen introduced, October 25, the traditional resolution designed to encourage cooperation between the United Nations and the Arab League. As the year before, the United States voted against the resolution, which passed by 133 to 2 (U.S., Israel), with 2 abstentions. (Resolution 40/5) In a statement after the vote, U.S. Representative Immerman stated that the United States had to vote against a resolution that included a paragraph endorsing previous resolutions that were “totally inconsistent with, and in fact opposed to, many of the fundamental policies of the United States Government.” He also noted concern that the resolution’s required financial expenditures be absorbed within existing resources.

Cooperation Between the United Nations and the Organization of the Islamic Conference

The United States, October 15, joined consensus on the traditional UNGA resolution encouraging cooperation between the United Nations and the Organization of the Islamic Conference. (Resolution 40/4)

UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East

The votes on UNRWA in the Special Political Committee on November 15 were similar to the votes in 1984. Eleven resolutions were presented and all eleven were adopted.

The first resolution, L.16, sponsored by the United States, expressed support for the Agency and urged all nations to contribute generously. In introducing this resolution, U.S. Ambassador Okun noted the humanitarian role of UNRWA and urged other countries to provide sustained support for UNRWA programs. The Committee approved the resolution by a vote of 123 (U.S.) to 0, with 1 abstention (Israel).

Resolution L.17, on the Working Group on UNRWA Financing, and L.18, endorsing the efforts of the UNRWA Commissioner General, were adopted by consensus. Resolution L.19, which dealt with the higher education of Palestinian refugees, passed by a vote of 126 (U.S.) to 0, with 1 abstention (Israel).

Resolution L.20, which demanded that Israel stop resettling Palestinian refugees in the Gaza Strip, passed with a vote of 126 to 2 (U.S.), with 0 abstentions. The vote on Resolution L.21, which asked the Commissioner General to resume ration distribution to refugees, was 105 to 19 (US), with 3 abstentions. The vote on Resolution L.22, which rejected any preconditions or restrictions on the return of refugees, was 106 to 2 (US), with 19 abstentions. Resolution L.23, which dealt with the compensation of refugees for property owned in Israel, passed 103 to 2 (US), with 23 abstentions.

The United States requested a separate vote on preambular paragraph 7 of Resolution L.24, which described alleged acts of violence in the Occupied Territories. The vote was 91 to 17 (US), with 18 abstention. The vote on Resolution L.24 as a whole was 96 to 2 (US), with 28 abstentions. Resolution L.25, which called on Israel to refrain from any action leading to the resettlement of refugees in the West Bank, passed by a vote of 126 to 2 (US), with 0 abstentions. Finally, Resolution L.26, which called for the estab-

lishment of a proposed University of Jerusalem, was adopted by a vote of 126 to 2 (US), with 0 abstentions.

Conflict Between Iran and Iraq

The Secretary-General remained active in 1985 in efforts to reduce the horrors of the warfare between Iran and Iraq. After visiting the two countries early in the year, he issued a report on April 12 which concluded that "there exists a real basis for pursuing efforts" toward peace and expressed his personal commitment to do so. UN activities in 1985 focused on three areas: treatment of prisoners of war, attacks on civilian areas, and the use of chemical weapons.

SECURITY COUNCIL CONSIDERATION

Prisoners of War

On February 19, the Secretary-General released an extensive report on the treatment of prisoners in the Iran-Iraq war. He expressed his "dismay and concern that the Third Geneva Convention on the treatment of prisoners of war is not being fulfilled by either Iraq or Iran." The report was particularly critical of physical violence by camp guards against POW's in Iraq and psychological duress experienced by POW's in Iran. The Secretary-General urged both governments to cease using the suffering of prisoners of war for purposes of political propaganda. On February 25, the Iraqi Representative to the UN Human Rights Commission in Geneva stated that his government was willing to accept all the recommendations contained in the Secretary-General's report. In a series of consultative meetings in early March, the Security Council attempted unsuccessfully to reach agreement on a resolution endorsing the Secretary-General's report.

Attacks on Civilian Areas

On January 17, the Secretary General circulated the report of a UN team that visited Iran, January 7-8, to investigate Iranian charges that Iraq had bombed three civilian population centers. The report concluded that two of the bombed villages appeared to be nonmilitary targets, but that the third village was close to a military installation and thus may not have been the intended target.

On March 6, the President of the Security Council, with the agreement of the other Council members, issued a statement following reports that Iran and Iraq were preparing to attack civil-

ian centers. The statement "appealed to both governments to exercise restraint and to continue to honor their understandings to the Secretary-General, made last June, not to attack civilian targets." The Secretary-General sent messages the same day to the presidents of Iran and Iraq expressing his dismay and alarm at reports of attacks which had resulted in civilian casualties. He called upon both sides "to continue to uphold the international obligations which they have undertaken on 12 June 1984" to refrain from deliberate military attacks on purely civilian population centers.

The President of the Security Council on March 15 issued a statement on behalf of the Council which expressed deep concern over renewed hostilities. The statement emphasized "the urgent necessity for a cessation of hostilities, commencing with the implementation of the moratorium on attacks against purely civilian population centers."

On June 17, the Secretary-General issued a statement welcoming Iraq's decision to place a 2-week moratorium on attacks on cities and appealing to both sides to halt attacks as a step toward a just settlement. He reiterated his readiness to assist in any way the two sides considered appropriate. At the beginning of July, however, the Secretary-General released a statement that expressed dismay for Iraq's resumption of attacks on civilian centers. He noted that "such attacks . . . will again bring death and suffering to innocent civilians who have already suffered too much for too long." He called upon the parties "to respond to efforts to attain a just and honorable resolution of this long and destructive conflict."

Chemical Weapons

The Secretary-General issued a statement March 26 condemning recurrence of the use of chemical weapons, calling for a ceasefire and vowing to continue his mediation efforts. He expressed concern about attacks on civilian centers and unarmed merchant shipping. Threats to civil aviation were also a concern. The Secretary-General dispatched a medical specialist to examine Iranian patients hospitalized in Europe, "allegedly as a result of the use of [chemical] weapons" in order to obtain "authoritative and independent opinion on the information coming from the hospital centers concerned." In a report written April 8, the specialist concluded that chemical weapons had been used against Iranian troops during March 1985.

On April 25, the President of the Security Council issued a statement which declared that the members of the Council "are

appalled that chemical weapons have been used against Iranian soldiers during the month of March 1985. . . . They strongly condemned renewed use of chemical weapons in the conflict and any possible future use of such weapons.”

GENERAL ASSEMBLY CONSIDERATION

In the 37th-39th General Assemblies, an item titled “Consequences of the Prolongation of the Armed Conflict Between Iran and Iraq” was inscribed on the agenda at Iraq’s request. A resolution was adopted under this item in the 37th General Assembly, but the 38th and 39th General Assemblies suspended their sessions without addressing the subject. The 39th General Assembly decided to carry over this item to the agenda of the 40th General Assembly. Again, however, the topic was not raised during the Assembly’s regular deliberations. It was decided to keep the item on the agenda for consideration at the 41st Session.

Afghanistan

Following the pattern of previous years, the 40th General Assembly passed, by a record majority, a resolution calling for a political solution to the Afghanistan problem, including the complete withdrawal of foreign troops. This was the seventh session of the General Assembly since the December 1979 Soviet invasion of Afghanistan to adopt such a resolution. Introduced by Pakistan and cosponsored by 45 other states, the resolution was adopted on November 13 by a vote of 122 (U.S.) to 19, with 14 abstentions, a net addition of three affirmative votes over the previous year. Prior to the vote, 51 states spoke in the Assembly debate which extended over 3 days. (Resolution 40/12)

The resolution, entitled “The Situation in Afghanistan and its Implications for International Peace and Security,” was a duplicate of the resolution adopted at the 39th General Assembly and once again outlined four major elements for an Afghanistan settlement: (1) withdrawal of foreign troops, (2) restoration of an independent and nonaligned Afghanistan, (3) the right of self-determination for the Afghan people, and (4) the right of Afghan refugees to return with safety and honor. The resolution also called on the Secretary-General to continue to seek a political solution based on these principles.

Speaking for the United States, Ambassador Vernon A. Walters decried the brutality of the Soviet invasion. He stated:

Unable to pacify or control the countryside, the Soviets—with clinical precision—have, in some areas, resorted to tactics aimed at depopulating the land. Over three and one half million refugees—more than the population of many members of this organization and one fourth of Afghanistan's prewar population—have fled the country. Migratory genocide is how one historian has described it. High altitude saturation bombings, the willful destruction of crops and livestock, widespread use of anti-personnel mines, civilian reprisals and gruesome violations of fundamental human rights and decency have been and continue to be perpetrated against the Afghan civilian population. These are not tall tales or propaganda but rather a genuine human tragedy.

Praising the courage and resolve of the Afghan resistance, Ambassador Walters said:

What the Soviet Union has failed to realize—and of course refuses to acknowledge—is that the will of a people united in a national liberation struggle cannot be broken by force of arms. Nowhere in the world is this will stronger or more generalized than in Afghanistan. Nowhere is the simple moral issue of what is right and what is criminally wrong more starkly defined.

Ambassador Walters noted that “no country—large or small—can be indifferent to the fate of the Afghans.” Reiterating U.S. support for a negotiated settlement, he said:

The United States is prepared to guarantee a comprehensive and balanced settlement in Afghanistan, consistent with the General Assembly's resolutions and predicated on the complete withdrawal of Soviet forces in a fixed and reasonable length of time. We support and applaud the efforts of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative to find a just and viable settlement that protects the legitimate security interests of all parties. Considerable progress has been made toward this end. The key outstanding issue remains the establishment of a timetable for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. Without agreement on withdrawal, no solution is possible, and no guarantees can be given.

Cambodia

CREDENTIALS AT THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

The United Nations began dealing with the Cambodian issue in the wake of Vietnam's invasion of that country in 1978. In 1985, for the third consecutive year, Hanoi chose not to challenge the credentials of Democratic Kampuchea (the coalition government of the Cambodian resistance). In past Assemblies, Vietnam's challenges to the Democratic Kampuchean seat consistently met with overwhelming defeat in the plenary. The report of the Credentials Committee, which accepted Democratic Kampuchea's credentials among others, was adopted by consensus on October 16.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY CONSIDERATION

Each year since the Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia, the General Assembly has passed by huge majorities a resolution calling for the total withdrawal of foreign forces, self-determination for the Khmer people, and aid to Khmer refugees. The resolution is introduced each year by members of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), comprised of Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Thailand, and Singapore. This year, the resolution on the situation in Cambodia had 58 cosponsors. It was adopted on November 5, after 2 days of debate, by a record vote of 114 (U.S.) to 21, with 16 abstentions, a net gain of 4 affirmative votes over last year. (Resolution 40/7) It reaffirmed resolutions of the previous 6 years and called for their implementation and reiterated the conviction that: “. . . the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea, the restoration and preservation of its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, the right of the Kampuchean people to determine their own destiny and the commitment by all states to non-interference and non-intervention in the internal affairs of Cambodia are the principal components of any just and lasting resolution of the Kampuchean problem.”

The resolution also termed the Declaration of the International Conference on Kampuchea, held at UN headquarters in July 1981, “the negotiating framework for a comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean problem.”

Speaking for the United States, Ambassador Vernon A. Walters stated that in defiance of numerous General Assembly resolutions, “. . . Vietnam, aided and abetted by the U.S.S.R., continues its illegal occupation of Cambodia and flouts the will of the international community.” He added:

The regime installed in Phnom Penh by Hanoi clearly does not represent the Cambodian people, and Hanoi's pretensions that it does so have been repeatedly rejected by the people of Cambodia and by its neighbors. The UN General Assembly has so decisively rejected the claim of Vietnam's client to the Cambodian seat that in recent years even Vietnam has not seen fit to mount an active challenge. The Phnom Penh regime is maintained in power solely by the force of ten Vietnamese divisions, and its “independence” is nothing more than a thin veil for Vietnamese colonization and exploitation.

Detailing the brutal nature of Hanoi's invasion and occupation of Cambodia, Ambassador Walters stated:

Vietnam's growing oppression of the Cambodian people has further strengthened the appeal of the nationalist organizations led by HRH Prince Norodom Sihanouk and former Prime Minister H.E. Son Sann. Vietnam has claimed that it remains in Cambodia to prevent the return of the Khmer Rouge. This claim masks the true intent of Hanoi, which is to present the world with

the false choice of supporting its puppet regime or the Khmer Rouge, while ignoring the democratic forces seeking to allow the Cambodian people to rule themselves.

In recent years, Vietnam has introduced an item for debate in the General Assembly entitled "Peace, Stability, and Cooperation in Southeast Asia," which deals with regional security concerns but avoids directly addressing the Cambodian problem. The debate generally is perfunctory; the United States does not participate. Because it has been unable to attract broad support, Vietnam has never submitted a resolution on this topic. However, the Assembly again routinely decided to include the item in the provisional agenda of the 41st Session, as it has done at previous sessions.

South African Policies of Apartheid and Related Issues

SECURITY COUNCIL CONSIDERATION

In 1985, the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) met 19 times to consider questions relating to South Africa. It adopted nine resolutions on the subject. Furthermore, in the name of the Council, the UNSC President issued four statements, two urging clemency for a South African condemned to death, one expressing concern over a speech by South African President Botha, and one deploring violence in that country. Seven of the nine resolutions were sponsored by the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) members of the Council: Burkina Faso, Egypt, India, Madagascar, Peru, and Trinidad and Tobago.

Situation in South Africa

On March 2, on behalf of the African Group in the United Nations, Egypt requested an urgent meeting of the UNSC to consider the situation in South Africa resulting from the deaths of black South Africans demonstrating against their forced removal from their homes at the Crossroads squatter camp. Twenty-four speakers participated in the debate, which took place in sessions on March 8 and 12. Responding to the harsh criticism of most speakers against his government's internal policies, South African Permanent Representative von Schirnding attacked India, Ethiopia, Nigeria, Mexico, and Brazil by name for their "double standards" in dealing with squatters. In his explanation of vote, the U.S. Representative, Warren Clark, Jr., called on South Africa to

“move forward with all possible haste on the reforms it has outlined” and expressed reservations over language in the resolution prejudging the judicial process in South Africa. The resolution, sponsored by the NAM members of the Council, was adopted unanimously on March 12, eliciting a strong public protest from the South African Government, which objected to the “edict-like decision of UNSC” and to its interference in South Africa’s internal affairs. (Resolution 560)

In informal consultations on March 21, the President of the Security Council called members’ attention to the shootings in South Africa that same day, the 24th anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre. On March 22, the President issued a statement, cleared in advance by the full Council, deploring the fact that South African police “opened fire on innocent people proceeding to a funeral, killing and wounding scores of them.” Three days later South African Permanent Representative von Schirnding presented the facts of the shootings from a South African Government perspective and noted that State President Botha had appointed a commission to investigate the incident and submit a report.

In July, at the request of France, South Africa was back before the Security Council. The French Government was seeking, in the resolution that Denmark and it sponsored, a series of voluntary measures against South Africa, including the suspension or prohibition of various commercial ties with South Africa such as new investment, export loan guarantees, and nuclear sales contracts.

The debate, opening on July 25 and ending the following day, saw 27 speakers address the Council in three separate meetings. Nearly all speakers condemned apartheid to a greater or lesser degree as the main cause of strife and discord in South Africa and the region. The South African Permanent Representative attacked France for ignoring its own state of emergency in New Caledonia. The resolution passed by a vote of 13 to 0, with 2 abstentions (U.S., U.K.). (Resolution 569)

In explanation of our abstention, Warren Clark pointed out that greater isolation of South Africa would lead to “more bloodshed, increased autarky of the South African economy, a curtailment of external influence to effect change and, in the end, to greater suffering for the very people we are trying to help.” Mr. Clark reaffirmed the administration’s determination to maintain its policy of constructive engagement and called for talks among all factions within South Africa.

On August 21, the Council met and approved by consensus a statement on the situation in South Africa. The statement was in

large measure prompted by a major speech that South African State President Botha delivered on August 15. The Security Council statement, expressing "grave concern over the latest pronouncements of the President of the Pretoria regime," satisfied U.S. requirements by calling for concrete action on South Africa instead of merely dismissing Botha's speech out of hand. It also avoided mentioning sanctions, mandatory or voluntary.

South African Attacks on Angola

The Security Council took up Angolan complaints against South Africa on four separate occasions. The first was precipitated by an incident on May 21, when a government patrol in the northern Angolan province of Cabinda surprised a group of nine armed men who, it was later established, formed part of a South African commando team. In the ensuing skirmish, six of the nine escaped, two were killed and one captured.

On June 13, the Angolan Permanent Representative called for an urgent meeting of the Council to deal with "the threat to regional peace and security" posed by this act on the part of the South African Defense Force. The 1-day debate on June 20 saw 28 speakers take the floor, for the most part to denounce South Africa's violation of Angola's borders and to urge the United States to take measures against South Africa for putting American lives and property in jeopardy. (Cabinda is the site of major U.S.-owned petroleum installations, and it is generally assumed that the commando team was seeking to sabotage this property.) The Angolan Permanent Representative accused South Africa of "seeking to damage Angola's excellent economic relations with the United States." The South African Permanent Representative's statement focused on accusations against Angola for providing a safe-haven for African National Congress (ANC) "terrorists."

In his explanation of the U.S. vote, Warren Clark deplored cross-border violence and stated that South African military activities inside Angola "run directly contrary to the goals and objectives of the United States," although he took exception to the use of the term "occupation forces" to describe any continued South African presence in Angola.

The draft resolution that was introduced by the NAM members of the Council condemned South Africa's aggression against Angola and its use of Namibia as a springboard for the attacks. It further noted that Angola was entitled to compensation for damages suffered. The resolution was adopted unanimously. (Resolution 567)

On September 20, the Security Council met to consider a draft resolution condemning South Africa for a mid-September raid into Angola. Only eight speakers addressed the Council, with the Angolan Permanent Representative leading the way by accusing South Africa of directing its attack not at SWAPO (the principal Namibian political and insurgent movement), but rather at the Angolan armed forces then advancing on the headquarters of UNITA (Angolan insurgent movement) at Jamba. The South African Permanent Representative strongly criticized Angola's dependence on Soviet and Cuban support.

The United States had publicly stated that since South Africa's presence in Namibia is illegal, "we are not sympathetic to South African assertions of any right to conduct military expeditions into Angola" (even though the United States held to the view that states have a right to defend themselves in response to armed attack or the imminent threat of attack). Ambassador Walters, in his explanation of vote, reiterated U.S. support for the territorial integrity of Angola and called on South Africa to halt acts of aggression. The resolution, sponsored by the NAM members of the Council, called for compensation to Angola for damages resulting from the South African attack. A UN Commission of Investigation was called for to assess damages resulting from the raid. The resolution was adopted unanimously, although in a separate vote, the United States abstained on operative paragraph 5 of the resolution, which called on states to strengthen the defense capabilities of the Front Line states. (Resolution 571)

On October 3, at the request of Angola, the Council began debate on further South African cross-border operations carried out in Angola. Nineteen speakers, including SWAPO and the ANC, addressed the Council, all of them critical of the incursions of the South African Defense Force (SADF). The South Africans circulated a resolution to counter the one sponsored by the NAM members of the Council, but it was never officially tabled. During four meetings over 3 days, a consensus draft emerged. As on a similar provision in Resolution 571, the United States abstained on operative paragraph 6, which requested UN Member States to "extend all necessary assistance to the People's Republic of Angola in order to strengthen its defense capability." In his explanation of vote, Ambassador Walters underscored the administration's conviction that the introduction of more weapons into the area would result in an escalation of violence. The resolution passed unanimously. (Resolution 574)

Finally on December 6, at the conclusion of a single meeting, the Council unanimously adopted a Non-Aligned-sponsored resolution endorsing the report of the UN Commission of Investiga-

tion—mandated by UNSC Resolution 571—that went to Angola to assess the damages from South Africa's mid-September raid. Only six speakers addressed the Council. Egypt, India, Burundi, and Angola condemned South Africa for failing to pay compensation to Angola for damages resulting from the raid. India called for mandatory sanctions against South Africa. In his explanation of vote, Ambassador Okun noted that the United States could not support any request for assistance to strengthen the military structure of Angola. On a separate vote, the United States abstained on operative paragraph 6 which urged Member States to provide such assistance. (Resolution 577)

Attack on Botswana

One day later, on June 21, the Council reconvened and held two meetings on South Africa's June 14 attack on alleged ANC members residing in Gaborone, Botswana. Twelve people died in the raid and six were injured; two Botswana citizens were among the dead. The United States was quick to condemn the raid publicly. In his statement to the Council, Warren Clark called the attack "a particularly deplorable violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Botswana;" he lauded Botswana's declared policy, reiterated earlier in the UNSC debate by Botswana Foreign Minister Chiepe, of seeking peaceful coexistence with its neighbors. The South African Permanent Representative charged that Botswana had failed to prevent the ANC from establishing a military presence in that country and reiterated that South Africa would "take whatever action is necessary to eliminate terrorist elements." Of the 26 speakers, all but the South African were strongly critical of the raid. The resolution, sponsored by the Non-Aligned Members of the Council, passed unanimously. It called for compensation to Botswana and asked the Secretary-General to send a mission to Botswana to assess damages. (Resolution 568)

Pursuant to UNSC Resolution 568, the Council met once on September 30 to consider the report submitted to it by the Secretary-General's mission to Botswana. Only Botswana and Madagascar (for the Non-Aligned Members of the Council) spoke. Calling the attack unjust, the Botswana Permanent Representative demanded compensation. The Madagascar Permanent Representative called for endorsement of the so-called Farah report and noted that Botswana had provided assurances it would continue to honor its obligations under the pertinent refugee conventions. The resolution, sponsored by the Non-Aligned Members of the Council, called on South Africa, "to pay full and adequate com-

pensation to Botswana for the damage to life and property resulting from its act of aggression." It was adopted unanimously. (Resolution 572)

Death Sentence on Moloise

On August 20, acting with the unanimous consent of Council members, the UNSC President issued a statement urging the South African Government not to execute Malesela Benjamin Moloise, a black South African condemned to death for allegedly murdering a policeman. In January 1984, the Council had passed Resolution 547 calling for clemency for Moloise. The August 1985 statement noted that "the carrying out of the execution, apart from being a direct defiance of . . . Resolution 547, will result in further deterioration of an already extremely grave situation."

A similar statement was issued by the Council President, again with the unanimous consent of the members, on October 17. The two statements had no effect. Moloise was executed on October 18.

South African Attack on Lesotho

On December 30, the Council held two meetings, at the request of the Lesotho Permanent Representative, to consider the matter of a December 19 raid in the Lesotho capital of Maseru in which nine people were killed, including three nationals of Lesotho. South Africa, while admitting that the perpetrators of the act came from South Africa, denied any responsibility for it. Among the 14 speakers, Lesotho Foreign Minister Makhele made the major address, describing the attack as the work of an SADF assassination squad. The South African Permanent Representative rejected Makhele's charges and accused Maseru of turning down South African proposals on monitoring the border. Ambassador Okun, delivering the U.S. statement, deplored the killings and called on the South African Government to open an investigation into the matter and bring the guilty parties to justice. The resolution, sponsored by the Non-Aligned Members of the Council, passed unanimously. (Resolution 580)

GENERAL ASSEMBLY CONSIDERATION

The General Assembly considered the question of "Policies of Apartheid of the South African Government" at eight meetings between October 28 and 31; voting on nine resolutions took place on December 10. The issue was dealt with in the plenary without prior reference to a main committee. The General Assembly had

before it the report of the Special Committee Against Apartheid,* as well as the report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention Against Apartheid in Sports.**

On October 28, before the general debate was opened to UN members, Bishop Desmond Tutu was invited to address the Special Political Committee in the General Assembly Hall. During the debate, 101 speakers participated, an increase of 11 from the 1984 session. Without exception, all speakers condemned South Africa's policy of apartheid. Many emphasized the violation of human rights, spreading violence in South Africa, and the irony that apartheid persists in the year when the United Nations celebrates its 40th anniversary. Many speakers supported mandatory economic sanctions and endorsed the draft Convention Against Apartheid in Sports. Twenty-four speakers specifically condemned the U.S. policy of constructive engagement.

Ambassador Walters spoke for the United States in the debate on October 30. He emphasized the U.S. view that apartheid is wrong, and stated, "The question has never been whether apartheid should end—all of us recognize that it is doomed. The question is how to end it while realizing the democratic aspirations of South Africa's people." Referring to President Reagan's Executive Order of September 9, Walters said the measures in that Order "commit the United States to sustaining a strong presence in South Africa as a basis from which to exert influence for change." Stating that U.S. policy emphasizes programs to better the life of South Africans rather than "destructive punitive sanctions, arms, and more violence," Walters continued, "We take this approach because we Americans are builders, not destroyers. Our government is actively pressing for democratic, peaceful change in South Africa. . . . We want our every link with South Africa to be dedicated to the purpose of bringing constructive influence to bear on that country. In other words, we are striving to utilize every instrument of peaceful change in South Africa to the benefit of our common cause: the end of apartheid and the creation of a political process in which all South Africans can participate freely."

*The Special Committee Against Apartheid was established in 1962 as the Special Committee on the Policies of the Government of the Republic of South Africa. The 18 members in 1985 were: Algeria, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Guinea, Haiti, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Malaysia, Nepal, Nigeria, Peru, Philippines, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Trinidad and Tobago, and Ukrainian S.S.R. No Western members sit on the Committee.

**The *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention Against Apartheid in Sports consists of the 18 members of the Special Committee as well as Barbados, Canada, Congo, Jamaica, Tanzania, and Yugoslavia.

The General Assembly vote on the nine resolutions on "South Africa's Policy of Apartheid" was taken December 10.

The first resolution entitled "Comprehensive Sanctions Against the Racist Regime of South Africa," was introduced by Nigeria as Chairman of the Special Committee Against Apartheid, joined by 47 other sponsors. The resolution expresses concern over continued violence within South Africa, aggression against South Africa's neighbor states and its occupation of Namibia, and reaffirms the conviction that comprehensive and mandatory sanctions are the "most appropriate and effective and peaceful means" to assist South Africans. In its operative paragraphs, the resolution calls for mandatory Chapter VII sanctions, including a ban on all trade; an oil embargo; the prohibition on loans, credits, and investment in South Africa; and a reinforcing of the arms embargo. The policy of constructive engagement is also condemned. Explaining the U.S. vote against the resolution, Ambassador Patricia Byrne stated that the United States opposed mandatory economic sanctions because they tend to harden positions and make peaceful and negotiated resolution more difficult. She also reaffirmed the U.S. belief that constructive engagement has contributed directly to the limited improvement in the lot of black South Africans. The resolution was adopted by a vote of 128 to 18 (U.S.), with 14 abstentions. (Resolution 40/64 A)

The second resolution, "Concerted International Action for the Elimination of Apartheid," was introduced by Denmark, along with 18 other sponsors, including all the Nordic countries. It demands that the South African Government undertake a number of steps to dismantle apartheid, including lifting the state of emergency, releasing political prisoners, ending the homelands policy, permitting free organization of unions, and withdrawing troops from Angola. The resolution also urges the Security Council to consider the adoption of mandatory sanctions against South Africa and to take steps to enforce the arms embargo. The United States also voted against this resolution because of its call for mandatory sanctions. The resolution was adopted by a vote of 149 to 4 (U.S.), with 4 abstentions. (Resolution 40/64 I)

The resolution entitled "Situation in South Africa and Assistance to the Liberation Movements" was introduced by Nigeria as Chairman of the Special Committee Against Apartheid, joined by 59 other sponsors. The resolution calls on South Africa to release political prisoners, lift the state of emergency, withdraw from Angola, and cease cross-border raids, among other actions. The resolution further calls on the United Nations to continue adequate financial provision in the budget for assistance to South African liberation groups, and requests the Security Council to take

necessary measures "in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter" to avert further tension and conflict. The call for Chapter VII sanctions caused the United States to vote against the resolution, which was adopted by a vote of 128 to 8 (U.S.), with 18 abstentions. (Resolution 40/64 B)

A fourth resolution, "World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa," was introduced by Nigeria as Chairman of the Special Committee Against Apartheid, with 51 cosponsors. This resolution calls for the organization of a conference on sanctions, to be sponsored by the Committee Against Apartheid, in cooperation with the Organization of African Unity and the Non-Aligned Movement, and requests the Secretary-General and all UN agencies to assist and cooperate in organizing the conference. Ambassador Byrne stated the view of the United States that such a conference would focus on the goal of mandatory sanctions and on criticism of the United States and other Security Council members for opposing them, for these reasons, the United States would vote against the resolution, which was adopted by a vote of 137 to 6 (U.S.), with 10 abstentions. (Resolution 40/64 C)

A resolution entitled "Public Information and Public Action Against Apartheid" was introduced by India, speaking for 61 other sponsors. The resolution urges the United Nations and its Department of Public Information to publicize the evils of apartheid, and equally urges all governments, media organizations, and others to cooperate with the United Nations to disseminate this information and intensify the campaign for the release of political prisoners. The United States abstained on this resolution, "because we do not believe that states' reactions to apartheid—however hateful the system may be—should be mandated by this body." The resolution passed by a vote of 150 to 0, with 5 abstentions (U.S.). (Resolution 40/64 D)

Sudan, joined by 48 other sponsors, introduced a resolution entitled "Relations between Israel and South Africa," which asserts that "increasing collaboration" between Israel and South Africa, particularly in the military and nuclear fields, is hindering international action against apartheid. The resolution calls on Israel to desist from all collaboration with South Africa and on all governments with influence on Israel to persuade it to heed the admonition. The United States voted against the resolution because it unjustly singled out one state when many other countries also cooperate with South Africa, particularly on trade. The resolution passed by a vote of 102 to 20 (U.S.), with 30 abstentions. (Resolution 40/64 E.)

A resolution entitled "Programme of Work of the Special Committee Against Apartheid," was introduced by Burundi, with 47 other sponsors. The resolution commends the work of the Special Committee, authorizes it to continue to organize conferences and to undertake other projects, and makes a special allocation of \$500,000 to the Special Committee from the UN regular budget for special projects to be decided by the Committee. The United States voted against the resolution, both because it commends the work of a committee advocating mandatory sanctions and because, as Ambassador Byrne said, it is undesirable to allocate a half-million dollars in a period of financial austerity "to promote the goal, no matter how laudable, of campaigns against apartheid." By a vote of 141 to 2 (U.S.), with 12 abstentions the resolution passed. (Resolution 40/64 F)

Barbados, in its capacity as Chairman of the *Ad Hoc* Committee Against Apartheid in Sports, along with 59 cosponsors, introduced a resolution entitled 'International Convention Against Apartheid in Sports,' which urges the adoption, signing, and ratification of the draft convention annexed to the resolution. Announcing the intention of the U.S. Delegation to abstain on this resolution, Ambassador Byrne stated, "We cannot vote in favor of a resolution that urges states to adopt legal measures contrary to our own laws," such as those guaranteeing freedom of travel. Moreover, the U.S. Government does not have authority over the decisions of American sports organizations in the United States which are organized and funded by private citizens. The resolution was adopted by a vote of 125 to 0, with 24 abstentions (U.S.). (Resolution 40/64 G)

The ninth resolution, "The United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa," was introduced by Finland, joined by 44 other sponsors. The resolution commends the trustees of the Fund for their administration of assistance to persons persecuted under apartheid and to refugees from the system, and calls for continued and increased contributions. The United States joined the consensus by which the resolution was adopted. (Resolution 40/64 H)

Comorian Island of Mayotte

The question of the Comorian Island of Mayotte has been included in the General Assembly's agenda since 1976. The dispute between France and the Federal Islamic Republic of the Comoros centers on the status of the Island of Mayotte, whose largely Christian population in referenda in 1974 and 1976 indicated a

preference to remain a part of France rather than associate with the other, predominantly Muslim, Comoros Islands which gained independence in 1975.

At the 40th General Assembly the Mayotte question was considered in plenary December 9. Following speeches by several delegations, a vote was taken on a draft resolution which reaffirmed the sovereignty of the Comoros over Mayotte, called for the "translation into practice" of the willingness expressed by the French President to seek a just solution, and urged France to open negotiations with the Comoros with a view toward returning Mayotte to the islands. The resolution, similar to the previous year's resolution, was adopted by a vote of 117 to 1, with 22 abstentions (U.S.). (Resolution 40/62)

Hostage Taking

On December 18, the Security Council unanimously adopted a U.S.-initiated resolution on hostage taking. The resolution was jointly sponsored by Australia, Great Britain, Denmark, Egypt, France, Peru, Trinidad and Tobago, and the United States. This was the first resolution the Council adopted on this issue. Although the Soviets did not cosponsor the resolution, they supported it and participated in the negotiations that led to its adoption.

The resolution, as adopted without debate, condemns all hostage taking and abduction and calls for the immediate safe release of hostages "wherever and by whomever they are being held." In addition, the resolution affirms the obligation of all states where hostages are being held to take all appropriate measures to secure their release and to prevent any future abductions; calls on all states to become party to existing international accords against hostage taking, crimes against diplomats, and offenses against civil aviation; and urges the further development of international cooperation in devising measures to facilitate the prevention, prosecution, and punishment of all acts of hostage taking and abduction as manifestation of international terrorism.

Immediately after the Security Council meeting, Ambassador Walters remarked that the adoption of the hostage-taking resolution was a "historic step, almost without precedent in the entire 40 years of the United Nations." He stressed that the Security Council decision was a reflection of the world community's abhorrence of criminal acts such as hostage taking. He added that he hoped the decision of the Security Council "bodes well for improved cooperation between and among states, an essential condi-

tion for combatting terrorism." Finally, he reiterated that the hostage taking resolution reinforced the Council's October 9 statement on terrorism and the December 9 General Assembly resolution condemning all acts of terrorism.

Falkland Islands/Malvinas Question

Title to the Falkland Islands (Malvinas) has been a matter of protracted dispute. The islands, which lie 250 miles off the southern tip of Argentina, have been held by the United Kingdom since 1833. Argentina maintains that the islands are Argentine territory according to a Spanish claim it inherited prior to the time the United Kingdom took possession. The dispute was further exacerbated in 1982 by a war involving the two countries which began with an invasion of the Falklands by Argentina. Although Argentina has never declared an end to the 1982 hostilities, both countries have professed their desire to normalize relations and have directed their energies toward a peaceful settlement of the dispute. The United Kingdom has stated that it is open to discussion with Argentina, but maintains that the question of sovereignty is not negotiable. Instead, the United Kingdom has sought negotiations aimed at agreement on the inhabitants' right to self-determination. Argentina declares that it is prepared to negotiate with the United Kingdom but that sovereignty must remain on the agenda.

On November 27, by a vote of 107 (Argentina, U.S.) to 4 (U.K.), with 41 abstentions, the General Assembly adopted a resolution that generally resembled the previous year's but with a notable omission: for the first time there was no direct reference to the contentious question of sovereignty. The resolution noted the interest of both parties in normalizing their relations, and it called upon both governments to "initiate negotiations with a view to find the means to resolve peacefully and definitively the problems pending between both countries, including all aspects on the future of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas), in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations." (Resolution 40/21)

The United Kingdom proposed two amendments to the draft resolution, in order to add two provisions which would have reaffirmed the right to self-determination of peoples in general, and of the Falkland Islanders in particular. Both amendments were defeated, by votes of 38 (U.K.) to 60 (Argentina), with 43 (U.S.) abstentions, and 36 (U.K.) to 57 (Argentina), with 47 (U.S.) abstentions, respectively.

In explaining its opposition to the resolution, the U.K. Representative stated that the draft resolution was not a "neutral" text, but rather that it reflected Argentina's position. He further stated that the Argentine position as reflected in the resolution was unchanged, and that if the United Kingdom accepted it, Argentina could infer that the United Kingdom was willing to negotiate sovereignty, which it was not. He stressed that self-determination was a basic right of the Falkland Islanders and a fundamental principle of the UN Charter.

Situation in Central America

SECURITY COUNCIL CONSIDERATION

At its 2,580th meeting on May 10, the Security Council considered a Nicaraguan-sponsored draft resolution that "regretted" the U.S. economic trade embargo against Nicaragua. The draft resolution also called on all states to refrain from action that would destabilize or coerce another state; reaffirmed the right of Nicaragua and other states to freely determine their own political, economic, and social systems free from outside interference and subversion; reaffirmed support for the Contadora Group and urged it to intensify its efforts for peace in Central America; called on all states to refrain from actions which impede Contadora efforts; called on the United States and Nicaragua to resume the Manzanillo dialogue; and requested the Secretary-General to keep the Council abreast of developments in implementation of the resolution.

U.S. Ambassador Jose Sorzano addressed the Council in response to allegations by several speakers that U.S. economic sanctions against Nicaragua violated principles of the UN and OAS Charters. In his statement, Ambassador Sorzano asserted that there is "nothing in the Charter of the UN that prevents a state from exercising its right to terminate trade." He noted further that U.S. actions were consistent with measures in the OAS Charter. Ambassador Sorzano also categorically denied allegations by the Soviet Representative that the United States was violating international accords by interfering in the domestic affairs of states, especially in the affairs of its neighboring countries.

The United States successfully invoked a rarely used procedure that allows for separate votes on individual paragraphs of a resolution. Thereupon, the United States vetoed the eighth preambular paragraph and the first and second operative paragraphs, which deal with the U.S. trade embargo and other alleged

coercive economic measures. The United States also abstained on the sixth operative paragraph, which called for the resumption of bilateral talks between the United States and Nicaragua. The draft resolution, as amended, was adopted unanimously as Resolution 562 (1985).

Between December 10 and 12, the Security Council considered a complaint by Nicaragua that elements of the Nicaraguan resistance had shot down a Nicaraguan Air Force helicopter with an anti-aircraft missile on December 2. The debate ended with no resolution or presidential statement being considered.

In a statement by the Nicaraguan Representative, the U.S. Congress was charged with defying fundamental norms of international relations by approving millions of dollars of aid to the Nicaraguan insurgents. Rejecting the Nicaraguan charges, Ambassador Walters said it was Nicaragua's massive military buildup that was threatening stability in the region. He also called on Nicaragua to initiate dialogue with its domestic opponents in a move toward national reconciliation and reaffirmed U.S. support of the Contadora peace process.

Several speakers addressed the Security Council throughout the debate in varying degrees of hostility toward the United States. Deputy U.S. Permanent Representative Herbert S. Okun ended debate on December 12 by exercising the right of reply to Nicaragua, Cuba, Vietnam, Iran, and Zimbabwe. Stressing the importance of national reconciliation through direct dialogue as a fundamental principle of the Contadora process, Ambassador Okun emphasized that the war going on in Nicaragua "is unlikely to end until the rulers in Managua stop trying to blame outside forces for the domestic opposition to their rule and, instead, come to terms with their own people." He criticized the Nicaraguan Representative for spreading false charges that the United States had provided the SAM-7 missiles to the Nicaraguan resistance.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY CONSIDERATION

The General Assembly considered the "Situation in Central America" between November 22 and 27. Common themes of the debate were support for the Contadora process, calls for resumption of bilateral U.S.-Nicaragua talks, emphasis on the economic and social causes and regional nature of the conflict, and criticism of U.S. "interventionism."

On November 22, Ambassador Walters presented the U.S. address. Stating that peace and stability in Central America are of vital interest to the United States, Ambassador Walters maintained that the region is "a critical testing ground for whether

the future will belong to the advocates of peaceful change and democracy or to revolutionary violence and totalitarianism." He noted that El Salvador, Honduras, Guatemala, and Costa Rica had made considerable progress toward achieving democracy, while Nicaragua had continued its trend toward totalitarianism. On Nicaragua, he maintained that the "root source of conflict is the political repression of this would-be totalitarian regime, which desires to contaminate its neighbors." He stressed the importance of dialogue in resolving conflicts, and said that commitments made in the Contadora Document of Objectives of 1983 "obliged states experiencing insurgencies to create mechanisms for dialogue with opposition groups." Nicaragua had accepted this, he said, along with the principle that national reconciliation through dialogue and elections is fundamental to the Contadora process. Ambassador Walters upheld the U.S. view that Contadora offers the best hope for peace in Central America, and said that the United States has consistently backed social, economic, and political reform in Central America.

The Contadora Group (Colombia, Mexico, Panama, Venezuela) and Contadora Support Group (Argentina, Brazil, Peru, Uruguay) tabled a resolution that, *inter alia*, reaffirmed the inalienable right of all peoples to decide on their own form of government and to choose their own economic, political, and social system free from outside intervention and coercion; reiterated the need for Central American governments to express their will through a set of simultaneous actions within the framework of the Contadora process; called on the the Central American States to pursue democratic, representative, and pluralistic systems and to promote acts of national reconciliation; urged the states of the region to refrain from acts that have potential to impede the Contadora process; urged the United States and Nicaragua to resume the Manzanillo talks; and requested the Secretary-General to keep the General Assembly informed of the Central American situation.

El Salvador, Honduras, and Costa Rica introduced a separate draft resolution on the "Situation in Central America," indicating disagreement between those Central American countries and the Contadora countries over the specific content of any final resolution. In the absence of consensus on a Central America resolution, the General Assembly ended debate on December 12 without taking action on either draft.

On December 17, the General Assembly adopted, by a vote of 91 to 6 (U.S.), with 49 abstentions, a Nicaraguan-sponsored resolution initiated in the Second Committee that "regrets" the U.S.

trade embargo. Ambassador Walters gave the U.S. explanation of vote. He said bilateral trade matters should not be considered in the General Assembly, and said that "an honest consideration of the American trade embargo against Nicaragua must recognize that it responds to Nicaraguan aggression against its neighbors as well as against its own people." He also contended that adoption of this resolution would not help the Contadora process because "by cooperating uncritically with the Sandinista regime here in the GA, member states would be giving tacit support to Nicaraguan attempts to abandon the Contadora process."

Cyprus

Little formal action on Cyprus occurred at the United Nations in 1985, but the Secretary-General continued to use his good offices to bring the parties together.

On June 14 and December 12 the Security Council renewed the mandate of the UN Peacekeeping Forces in Cyprus (UNFICYP), each time for an additional 6 months. (Resolutions 565 (1985) and 578 (1985)) On each occasion the Turkish-Cypriot side informed the Council that it could not accept the terms of the resolutions but would continue to cooperate with UNFICYP on the same basis as the previous year.

In the meantime, the Secretary-General continued his personal initiative. The culmination of separate talks held by his representatives with the two sides was a summit meeting in New York on January 17 between Republic of Cyprus President Kyprianou and Turkish-Cypriot leader Denktash. The two leaders were unable to agree on elements of an institutional arrangement, forcing a break in the discussions. The Secretary-General resumed his activities in the spring, but elections in the Turkish-Cypriot community and in the Republic of Cyprus forced a further postponement. In November, UN officials met again with representatives of the two communities and hope for progress revived.

Throughout the year various U.S. officials met with many Cypriot, Turkish, and Greek officials to underline continuing U.S. determination to promote a peaceful and enduring solution to the Cyprus question. In all instances, the United States urged flexibility. There was no General Assembly action on Cyprus during the 40th Session.

DISARMAMENT AND ARMS CONTROL

UN Disarmament Commission

The UN Disarmament Commission (UNDC) is a subsidiary organ of the UN General Assembly and is universal in membership. The UNDC is a deliberative body that may make recommendations on issues of disarmament to the UNGA, which adopts resolutions—in contrast to the CD, a multilateral negotiating forum. Like the Geneva-based CD, the UNDC operates on the principle of consensus. The UNDC meets every spring in New York for approximately 4 weeks and deliberates on subjects assigned to it by resolutions of the UNGA. In 1985, the UNDC met at UN Headquarters in New York from May 6–31, under the chairmanship of Ambassador Ahmad (Pakistan). In order to facilitate the development of specific recommendations, the Commission conducts most of its work through “working groups” established at the outset of each session. In 1985, three working groups were established to address the subject of (I) reduction of military budgets, (II) the question of South Africa’s nuclear capability, and (III) the UN Role in Disarmament. Issues under the agenda item on nuclear and conventional disarmament were discussed in a contact group of the UNDC’s Committee of the Whole. The two remaining agenda items—curbing the naval arms race, and Declaration of the 1980s as the Second Disarmament Decade—were discussed in plenary meetings.

In the working group on reduction of military budgets, the United States continued to advocate the submission by all states of complete military data as a step to promote the goals of realistic comparison and verification, which, in turn, would enhance mutual confidence among participating states. In the Commission’s continued work on this matter, fundamental differences in positions remained, and it was unable to reach agreement on a concrete set of recommendations. Prospects for success would be enhanced if all states would accept the principle of transparency of military data.

Debate in Working Group II on the question of South Africa’s nuclear capability, continued to be deadlocked over the issue of facts versus speculation regarding South Africa’s nuclear potential.

Working Group III dealt with a new agenda item—the UN role in disarmament—resulting from an initiative by Cameroon and supported by many states. (Resolution 39/151G) Discussions were based on Cameroon’s proposals for far reaching organizational and procedural changes in the UN machinery dealing with dis-

armament issues. The detailed views of the U.S. Government on this subject were submitted to the UN Secretary-General on 14 May 1985 (A/CN.10/69/ADD.3). In this document, the United States, *inter alia*, emphasizes the importance of adherence to the UN Charter, especially Article 2(4), and the need for streamlining UN activities in the field of disarmament. Following preliminary discussions in this group, the chairman submitted a working paper with topics for appropriate recommendations to be examined by the UNDC at its 1986 session.

The new item of curbing the naval arms race was introduced in the 1985 UNDC agenda by Bulgaria. From the outset, Western States expressed serious reservations about this issue. The United States is opposed to the Bulgarian initiative as unbalanced since it focuses on constraints on naval forces in isolation, excluding other military forces. Given the controversial nature of this item, discussions in plenary failed to produce a consensus. Consequently, the UNDC referred the question to the 40th UNGA.

Another new item inscribed on the Commission's agenda was the review of the Declaration of the 1980's as the Second Disarmament Decade.

A midterm review of the Declaration was required in the resolution by which the Assembly declared the 1980's as the Second Disarmament Decade. Most delegations expressed disappointment at the lack of any progress in the priority areas set forth in the Declaration. The Commission was able to adopt by consensus a text which restated the objectives, principles and priorities of the Declaration and called upon all states to reaffirm their commitment to the Declaration.

Although the contact group to address questions relating to agenda item four on nuclear and conventional disarmament identified some areas of convergence, it was unable to reach consensus on a complete set of recommendations. The contact group recommended that the UNDC continue its work on this agenda item at its 1986 session.

The report of the UNDC was submitted to the 40th UNGA where a resolution on it (40/152 F) was adopted without a vote. The resolution, *inter alia*, noted that the UNDC had yet to conclude consideration of some items on its agenda; requested the Commission to continue its work according to its mandate, and to make every effort to achieve specific recommendations at its next substantive session in 1986. The resolution also requested the UN Secretary-General to transmit to the UNDC the report of the Conference on Disarmament, together with all the official records of the 40th session of the UNGA relating to disarmament matters, and to render all necessary assistance to the UNDC.

Conference on Disarmament

The Conference on Disarmament (CD), known until 1984 as the Committee on Disarmament, is the principal forum established by the international community for the negotiation of multilateral arms control and disarmament agreements. It has 40 members,* including the five nuclear-weapon states. The Committee evolved from the smaller Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, which met from 1969 to 1978, and the earlier Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee (ENDC), which existed from 1961 to 1969. The ENDC, in turn, was an outgrowth of a 10-nation committee and of previous, less-formal, consultative groups involving mainly the major powers.

The CD is an autonomous body with its own rules of procedure. It is, however, linked to the United Nations through a personal representative of the Secretary-General who serves as Secretary-General of the Conference. The United Nations also provides administrative support to the Conference through the regular UN budget. The Conference reports annually on its activities to the General Assembly, and resolutions adopted by the Assembly frequently request the Conference to consider specific disarmament matters.

The CD meets each year in a two-part session. In 1985, the Conference was in session February 5–April 23 and June 11–August 30. The U.S. Representative to the Conference was Ambassador Donald Lowitz, who headed a delegation of officials drawn from the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency; the Departments of State, Defense, and Energy; and the Office of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

During its 1985 session, the Conference held 48 formal plenary meetings and 29 informal meetings. The Conference's rules of procedure provide that nonmember states may, on request, submit papers and make statements at formal plenary meetings, as well as at meetings of subsidiary bodies of the Conference. Accordingly, during 1985, a number of nonmember states also participated in various Conference activities.

The Conference addressed a wide range of disarmament issues during 1985. Those items receiving the most attention were:

*The Conference members are: Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Canada, China, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, Ethiopia, France, German Democratic Republic, Federal Republic of Germany, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Italy, Japan, Kenya, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Netherlands, Nigeria, Pakistan, Peru, Poland, Romania, Sri Lanka, Sweden, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, United States, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, and Zaire.

chemical weapons; outer space arms control; nuclear test ban; nuclear disarmament and the prevention of nuclear war, including all related matters; new weapons of mass destruction and radiological weapons; and a comprehensive program of disarmament.

As in the past, the Conference formed *ad hoc* committees (known prior to 1984 as “*ad hoc* working groups”) to deal with some of the specific issues. Four such *ad hoc* committees were re-established from the 1984 session. These were the committees on chemical weapons, radiological weapons, security assurances to non-nuclear-weapon states, and on the development of a comprehensive program of disarmament. A new committee was established to deal with outer space arms control issues.

Of particular interest during the 1985 session were the continuing and intensive efforts to negotiate a comprehensive ban on chemical weapons. This work has assumed even greater relevance in view of the increased concerns about the use and spread of chemical weapons. In the CW negotiations, the continued U.S. commitment to the achievement of a comprehensive ban on chemical weapons was supported by further efforts leading, for the first time, to a comprehensive negotiating text—albeit with many bracketed portions and incomplete sections—to serve as the basis of further work.

AD HOC COMMITTEES

Chemical Weapons

The Conference’s *Ad Hoc* Committee on Chemical Weapons continued the work of its 1984 session during a brief session held during January prior to the convening of the 1985 session of the Conference on Disarmament. In February 1985, the Conference decided to reestablish the Chemical Weapons Committee with, *inter alia*, a mandate, to “continue the full and complete process of negotiations, developing and working out the convention, except for its final drafting, taking into account all existing proposals and drafts as well as future initiatives with a view to giving the Conference a possibility to achieve an agreement as soon as possible.”

The work of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Chemical Weapons was carried out primarily in three working groups, which dealt with, respectively, the following sets of issues: (a) scope, definitions, nonproduction of chemical weapons in the chemical industry permitted activities; (b) elimination of stocks and production facilities; and (c) compliance. In addition, issues related to a prohibition of use of chemical weapons and military use of herbicides were dealt with in open-ended consultations. The results of the

Committee's work included preliminary formulations of some provisions of the future Convention, which were annexed to the final report. The final report recommended, *inter alia*, that this comprehensive text be used as a basis for further negotiation and drafting of the Convention, and that the 1985 CW work resume in informal consultations prior to a further Committee session in January of 1986. The report called for work on a chemical weapons ban in the 1986 CD session on the same basis as in 1985, and for the *Ad Hoc* Committee to be reestablished before the end of the second week of that session.

Outer Space Arms Control

The Conference considered this issue and for the first time established an *ad hoc* committee under this agenda item. Lengthy and detailed consideration of various proposals for a mandate for such a committee, which followed previous efforts in 1983 and 1984, took place during the first part of the session. On March 29, delegations were able to reach consensus on a mandate as follows:

In the exercise of its responsibilities as the multilateral disarmament negotiating forum in accordance with paragraph 120 of the Final Document of the first special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, the Conference on Disarmament decides to establish an *ad hoc* committee under item 5 of its agenda entitled "Prevention of an Arms Race in Outer Space."

The Conference requests the *ad hoc* committee, in discharging that responsibility, to examine, as a first step at this stage, through substantive and general consideration, issues relevant to the prevention of an arms race in outer space.

The *ad hoc* committee will take into account all existing agreements, existing proposals and future initiatives and report on the progress of its work to the Conference on Disarmament before the end of its 1985 session.

During the second part of the session, the *Ad Hoc* Committee met 20 times, and carried out an initial examination of outer space issues relevant in a multilateral arms control context. A large portion of this work focused on an assessment of the current legal regime governing the outer space environment. The United States participated fully in the Committee's discussions. Thus far, however, the United States has not identified any new measures in this area as appropriate for multilateral negotiations.

Radiological Weapons

The *Ad Hoc* Committee on Radiological Weapons was reestablished in 1985 and continued its substantive examination both of issues involved with a ban on radiological weapons, and of questions relating to prohibition of attacks against nuclear facilities.

Differences over the relationships between these two subjects were also discussed, but no conclusions were reached. The Committee's report recommended that the Conference reestablish the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Radiological Weapons at the beginning of its 1986 session.

Comprehensive Program of Disarmament

The *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Comprehensive Program of Disarmament held 25 meetings in 1985, operating under a mandate established in 1984 to continue to elaborate the program. In adopting its report to the Conference, the *Ad Hoc* Committee expressed its intention to complete its work on the program in 1986 in order that the CD might submit the program to the 41st Session of the General Assembly.

Negative Security Assurances

The *Ad Hoc* Committee, reestablished each year of the CD since 1979 to consider international arrangements to assure the non-nuclear-weapon states against the use, or threat of use, of nuclear weapons against them, was reestablished once again late during the 1985 session of the CD. It met only three times.

The five nuclear-weapon states have offered unilateral assurances to the non-nuclear-weapon states, and the U.S. assurance, first offered in 1978, has been since reaffirmed and stands as a reliable statement of U.S. policy. However, the conference has made little progress on the question of international arrangements. The *Ad Hoc* Committee recommended to the conference that "ways and means should continue to be explored to overcome the difficulties encountered . . ." and "generally agreed that the Conference on Disarmament should keep this item under active consideration at the 1986 session . . ."

Other Issues

In addition to the work of the *ad hoc* committees, the conference addressed a number of other issues, including the following.

Nuclear Test Ban

As is customary, the agenda item on "nuclear test ban" was considered in plenary. In addition, efforts were made to find a basis to continue work on this item in an *ad hoc* committee of the conference. While no delegation opposed the reestablishment of such a body, which has not met since 1983, there was no agree-

ment on what its mandate should be; thus a committee was not established.

There were several proposals on the table in this regard. The United States was a cosponsor of a proposal, first put forward in 1984 by a number of Western States (CD/521), that such a committee be established to resume its substantive examination of specific issues relating to a nuclear test ban, including the issues of scope, verification, and compliance. In 1985, the United States also joined other Western States in proposing a detailed program of work for a committee (CD/621), under the mandate proposed in CD/521. Proposals made by others called for immediate negotiation of a nuclear test ban. The United States and others argued that the conference had not completed the work commenced in the previous *ad hoc* Working Group in 1982 and 1983, and that that work should be completed prior to considering changing the focus of the CD's efforts.

The Conference's *Ad Hoc* Group of Scientific Experts to Consider International Cooperative Measures to Detect and Identify Seismic Events met twice during 1985, and worked on the preparation of a report on the Technical Test which took place under its sponsorship late in 1984. The test was a lengthy exercise of methods to exchange and process on a global basis large amounts of seismic data, as envisioned for monitoring the underground environment under a future test ban. The *ad hoc* group anticipates submitting its report on the technical test in 1986.

In addition, the United States participated with a large number of other states in a workshop sponsored by Norway on seismological verification of a comprehensive nuclear test ban. The workshop was held in Oslo, Norway, June 4-7.

Prevention of Nuclear War, Including All Related Matters

This subject was first included on the CD's agenda in 1983, as part of the nuclear disarmament agenda item. In 1984 the CD decided to accord it a separate place on the agenda. A wide range of views were expressed in plenary consideration of this issue. In addition, a number of informal consultations were held to determine how the Conference might best further treat this item. While all members agreed upon the importance of the question, issues that had plagued the CD's substantive consideration of this item at the 1983 and 1984 sessions persisted. There was thus no agreement on procedures for structured examination of the issue.

Membership

In 1983 the conference accepted in principle a limited expansion in its membership. This expansion will not exceed four states. A number of nonmember countries have submitted requests for membership, as follows: Norway, Finland, Austria, Turkey, Senegal, Bangladesh, Spain, Viet Nam, Ireland, Tunisia, Ecuador, Cameroon, and Greece. Consultations on expanding CD membership were held in 1984 and again in 1985, but no decision has been taken. The CD agreed to intensify its consultations during its 1986 session "with a view to taking a positive decision . . ."

General Assembly

Although the UN Charter adopted in 1945 gave no immediate priority to disarmament, it envisaged a system of regulation that would ensure "the least diversion for armaments of the world's human and economic resources."

The advent of nuclear weapons came only weeks after the signing of the UN Charter, and provided immediate impetus to concepts of arms limitation and disarmament. In fact, the first resolution of the first meeting of the General Assembly (January 24, 1946) was entitled, "The Establishment of a Commission to Deal with the Problems Raised by the Discovery of Atomic Energy," and called upon the Commission to make specific proposals for "the elimination from national armaments of atomic weapons and of all other major weapons adaptable to mass destruction."

Since the early years of the United Nations, great-power disagreement has severely hampered efforts to promote arms control and disarmament within the UN system. However, the United Nations has undertaken continuing efforts to develop organizational machinery that can effectively address disarmament issues.

In mid-October of each year, the First Committee of the General Assembly convenes to consider arms control and disarmament issues. The Committee holds general debates, adopts resolutions regarding issues on its agenda, and forwards them to the General Assembly for further action.

During its 1985 session, the Committee adopted a total of 72 resolutions, all related in some way to the goal of disarmament. These resolutions addressed such subjects as recognition of established treaty regimes and the need for their universalization, establishment of studies to investigate current disarmament ques-

tions, consideration of relevant reports prepared for General Assembly consideration, adoption of institutional and/or symbolic measures to encourage progress, and identification of specific disarmament goals for the international community.

Examples of the first category are Resolutions 40/84 and 40/94 M, concerning the Convention on the Prohibition or Restrictions on the Use of Certain Conventional Weapons which May Be Deemed to Be Excessively Injurious or to Have Indiscriminate Effects, and the Third Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, respectively. Resolution 40/84 was adopted without a vote, and 40/94 M was adopted by a vote of 138 (U.S.) to 0, with 11 abstentions.

The Committee also adopted several resolutions on disarmament studies. These actions included: study on the naval arms race, adopted by a vote of 146 to 1 (U.S.), with 3 abstentions, 40/94 F; nuclear-weapon-free zones, adopted without a vote, 40/94 B; conventional disarmament, adopted without a vote, 40/94 C; economic and social consequences of the arms race, adopted 139 to 1 (U.S.), with 7 abstentions, 40/150; and comprehensive study on the concepts of security, adopted without a vote, 40/94 E. U.S. unwillingness to support such studies often reflects the U.S. policy of restraining growth in the UN budget. The United States also has substantive objections to some studies, such as that on the naval arms race, which we considered unbalanced, and nuclear winter.

Several resolutions were also adopted by the Committee intended to encourage international disarmament measures by focusing attention on the general questions involved, or on the institutional mechanisms available to the world community. These resolutions addressed such issues as: conventional disarmament on a regional scale (Resolution 40/94 A), adopted by a vote of 128 (U.S.) to 0, with 8 abstentions; convening of a Third Special Session on Disarmament (Resolution 40/151 I), adopted without a vote; a review of the Second Disarmament Decade (Resolution 40/152 L), adopted without a vote; role of the United Nations in disarmament (Resolution 40/94 O), adopted without a vote; convening, under proper conditions, a World Disarmament Conference (Resolution 40/154), adopted without a vote.

PREVENTION OF NUCLEAR WAR

Since 1981, nonaligned countries have proposed resolutions in the General Assembly expressing the urgent need to take steps to prevent nuclear war and calling on the Conference on Disarmament to begin negotiations to that end. In 1984, the resolution asked countries to submit views on the subject which were later

published by the Secretary-General. On November 3, Argentina and 25 other states tabled a similar resolution (39/148 P.) in the First Committee. It requested the Conference on Disarmament to create an *ad hoc* committee to negotiate measures to prevent nuclear war.

As at the 39th General Assembly, a group of nine Western countries, led by the Federal Republic of Germany, introduced a resolution containing Western views entitled, "Prevention of War in the Nuclear Age" in the First Committee. While reaffirming the urgency of reducing the threat of nuclear war, the resolution also pointed to the need to remove "the danger of war at any level of hostility" and emphasized the value of concrete arms-control agreements and confidence-building measures. It rejected strategic doctrines aimed at achieving military superiority, and declared that nuclear war cannot be won, and that conventional war may involve the risk of escalation to nuclear war. Although no hostile amendments were tabled, its sponsors did not put that draft to a vote, in order to avoid conflict with the nonaligned draft.

An Argentine resolution was approved in the First Committee on November 21 by a vote of 110 to 3 (U.S.), with 15 abstentions, and adopted in the Assembly plenary on December 16 by 136 to 3 (U.S.), with 14 abstentions. (Resolution 40/152 Q) The United States voted against this resolution because of its attempts to arrogate to the First Committee authority reserved to the Conference on Disarmament to decide its own work program, and because the resolution ignored many of the complex issues involved.

RADIOLOGICAL WEAPONS

Since 1979, the General Assembly has adopted a resolution every year supporting the negotiations of a convention to ban the development, production, stockpiling, and use of radiological weapons. It was in that year that the United States and the Soviet Union submitted a joint proposal on the major elements of such a treaty to the Conference on Disarmament. These resolutions, for the most part, have been noncontroversial and have adopted each year without a vote.

The 1985 version of the resolution on a radiological weapons convention, cosponsored by Sweden, Australia, Japan, and Czechoslovakia, was similar to its predecessors. It requested the Conference on Disarmament to continue negotiations on a treaty and noted that it should reestablish the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Radiological Weapons at the beginning of its 1986 session.

The resolution, introduced on November 6, was adopted without a vote in the First Committee on November 14, and in the plenary on December 12. (Resolution 40/94 D)

PREVENTION OF AN ARMS RACE IN OUTER SPACE

Five draft resolutions were submitted to the First Committee on the subject of outer-space arms control. As one of its major initiatives for the 40th General Assembly, the Soviet Union proposed a resolution calling for the demilitarization of space and the convening of a conference to create a world space organization "to harmonize, coordinate and unite the efforts of States in respect of peaceful space activities . . . and also to facilitate the monitoring of compliance with agreements" designed to prevent an arms race in outer space. Poland introduced a resolution calling for a study of the consequences of the militarization of outer space. China and a group of Western countries also introduced two resolutions presenting their respective positions on this issue. At their sponsors' request, no action was ultimately taken on any of these draft resolutions. The fifth resolution was introduced on November 12 by Egypt and Sri Lanka, cosponsored by 15 other countries. After having been amended to take account of some points expressed in the other drafts, it was approved by the First Committee on November 22 by a vote of 131 to 0, with 1 (U.S.) abstention, and adopted by the Assembly plenary on December 12 by a vote of 151 to 0, with 2 (U.S.) abstentions. (Resolution 40/87)

The United States objected in particular to operative paragraphs 5 and 9 of the resolution. The First Committee adopted paragraph 5 by a vote of 105 to 1 (U.S.), with 21 abstentions, and operative paragraph 9 by a vote of 118 to 1 (U.S.), with 11 abstentions. U.S. Representative Alexander Akalovsky explained U.S. opposition to these paragraphs and the subsequent U.S. abstention in the voting on the draft resolution as a whole. The United States regretted that a consensus text was not achieved. Akalovsky noted the U.S. Delegation's strong objection to some of the language in paragraph 5, which gave unwarranted recognition to aspects of the Soviet resolution, and impinged on the work of the UN Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space (COPUOS) and the Special Political Committee by dealing with peaceful uses of outer space. He also pointed out that paragraph 9 intervened in the internal consultations of the Conference on Disarmament, and was inconsistent with the Final Report of its *Ad Hoc* Committee on Outer Space.

ISRAELI NUCLEAR ARMAMENT

On November 13, Iraq introduced a resolution entitled, "Israeli nuclear armament," cosponsored by 23 Arab and Islamic nations. This resolution requested the Security Council to take urgent and effective measures to ensure that Israel complied with Security Council Resolution 487, and placed all its nuclear facilities under International Atomic Energy Agency safeguards. The resolution reiterated a request to the Security Council to investigate Israeli nuclear activities and the collaboration of other states, parties, and institutions in these activities (paragraph 4), and called on states and organizations to discontinue cooperation with Israel in the nuclear field (paragraph 5).

On November 18, the First Committee approved the draft resolution by a vote of 92 to 2 (U.S.), with 40 abstentions, and the Assembly plenary adopted it on December 12 by a vote of 101 to 2 (U.S.), with 47 abstentions. Separate votes were taken on operative paragraph 4, which was approved 85 to 23 (U.S.), with 19 abstentions, and operative paragraph 5, approved by a vote of 86 to 23 (U.S.), with 19 abstentions. (Resolution 40/93)

In explaining the U.S. vote before the First Committee, Ambassador Lowitz stated:

This draft resolution, much like those of previous years on this subject, is discriminatory. It singles out one Member State for criticism and condemnation while it patently ignores a number of other States which have neither become parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) nor placed their nuclear facilities under the safeguards system of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). The United States, whose support for the NPT and IAEA safeguards is second to none, would welcome a balanced resolution calling for all non-nuclear-weapon States which have not done so to request IAEA, pursuant to Article III A 5 of its Statute, to apply safeguards continuously to all their nuclear facilities. The application of safeguards to all peaceful nuclear activities in a State contributes significantly to increased confidence among neighboring States as well as other States regarding the peaceful nature of such activities. My government could support an approach along these lines and hopes that the sponsors of this resolution will approach this question in a more constructive way next year.

VERIFICATION AND COMPLIANCE

The United States has long maintained that arms control agreements are worthless if signatories do not live up to the obligations that they have undertaken. The United States, therefore, has placed special emphasis on effective and appropriate verification and compliance provisions in arms control agreements under negotiation and on ensuring that agreements in force are being complied with fully.

At the 40th General Assembly, Western countries introduced resolutions on both of those issues. Canada introduced a resolution on "Verification in all its aspects" in the First Committee on November 12. In its preambular paragraphs, the resolution noted some general principles of verification, e.g.:

— "Disarmament and arms limitation agreements should provide for adequate measures of verification";

— "the formal modalities of verification . . . depend upon and should be determined by the purposes, scope and nature of the agreement";

— "Verification techniques should be developed as an objective means of determining compliance with agreements"

The resolution then invited members to communicate to the Secretary-General "views and suggestions on verification principles, procedures and techniques" and requested him to prepare a report of those views. After some amendments were added, it was adopted by the First Committee on November 22 and by the plenary on December 16, in both cases without a vote. (Resolution 40/152 O)

On November 11, the United States introduced a resolution on "Compliance with arms limitation and disarmament agreements." The resolution began by noting the importance of respecting treaties and other sources of international law, taking note in particular "of the fundamental importance of full implementation and strict observance of agreements on arms limitation and disarmament if individual nations and the international community are to derive enhanced security from them." It stressed that violations of such agreements thus affected the security of parties and others and that weakening confidence in these agreements diminished their contribution to stability and further disarmament efforts and was therefore a matter of concern to the international community. The operational paragraphs of the U.S. resolution urged states to implement and comply with treaties to which they were parties and called on all Member States to give serious consideration to the implications of noncompliance. It urged members to support efforts aimed at resolving noncompliance questions and requested the Secretary-General to provide the necessary assistance.

The United States made some amendments in its original proposal in order to accommodate concerns of other Member States. As a result, when the resolution was voted on in the First Committee on November 19, it was adopted by a vote of 99 (U.S.) to 0, with 23 abstentions. On December 12, the General Assembly

plenary adopted the resolution by a vote of 131 (U.S.) to 0, with 16 abstentions. (Resolution 40/94 L)

In presenting the resolution, U.S. Representative Robinson Risner noted the purposes behind it:

The purpose is not only to encourage adherence to international law but also to call proper attention to the critical role in worldwide security of international law and, in particular, arms limitation and disarmament agreements.

Compliance is the cornerstone for any kind of agreement, be it economic, technological, environmental or whatever. Compliance, however, takes on an even greater significance in respect to agreements affecting the security of states. That is particularly true in arms limitation and disarmament agreements. There is a simple reason why this is so: in the modern age, when the world is a more intimate and interrelated community, the security of all states is affected by the record of compliance with arms-limitation and disarmament agreements. The security of parties to an agreement is diminished by any instance of non-compliance. For non-parties there is also a negative effect.

This resolution, therefore, calls upon states to implement and to comply with their agreements, to consider the consequence of failure to comply, to support efforts to resolve questions that may arise concerning compliance and, finally, to request the Secretary-General to provide member states with appropriate assistance.

We in the First Committee devote our best efforts toward our common goal of a more stable and peaceful world. While we might disagree at times on the means for pursuing that goal, we all, no doubt, look forward eagerly to the achievement of new accords that add to international security and stability. But it is not the printed words and signatures and treaty ceremonies that signify real progress in arms control and disarmament. The adoption of this resolution will strengthen the recognition that the signing of a treaty is the beginning, and not the end, of effective arms control.

BILATERAL NUCLEAR ARMS NEGOTIATIONS

The General Assembly has passed several resolutions over the years dealing with the U.S.-Soviet negotiations on strategic arms reductions. The resolutions generally have welcomed the conclusion of previous negotiations and urged the two participants to undertake further efforts in this field.

At the 39th General Assembly, a Western resolution (39/148 B.) introduced by the United Kingdom urged the United States and the U.S.S.R. "to resume, without delay or pre-conditions, bilateral nuclear-arms negotiations." The 39th UNGA also adopted a Mexican resolution calling for the merger of the INF and START negotiations and the inclusion therein of battlefield nuclear weapons. The resolution invited the United States and the Soviet Union to conduct their bilateral negotiations as a subsidiary activity of the Conference on Disarmament.

By the 40th General Assembly, the situation had changed dramatically. U.S.-Soviet nuclear and space talks were underway in Geneva, and President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev

chev were scheduled to meet there in November during the Assembly session.

Indeed, a nonaligned resolution was specifically aimed at the upcoming summit. Introduced by Yugoslavia in the First Committee on November 12, it noted U.S.-Soviet agreement to begin negotiations on space and nuclear arms, and expressed the hope that the summit would give "a decisive impetus" to those negotiations. It invited the parties to keep the General Assembly informed of the progress of the negotiations, and reaffirmed that they did not "in any way diminish the urgent need to initiate and pursue multilateral negotiations on the cessation of the nuclear-arms race and nuclear disarmament and on the prevention of an arms race in outer space." This resolution was adopted in the First Committee by a vote of 117 to 0, with 16 (U.S.) abstentions, and in the plenary on November 18, by 76 to 0, with 12 (U.S.) abstentions. (Resolution 40/18)

The United States could not accept the call for multilateral negotiations on nuclear disarmament and on outer space. In explaining the U.S. abstention, Ambassador Lowitz stated that "a unanimous expression of support and encouragement by the community of nations would no doubt (have been) welcome and heartening" to the two leaders. He emphasized that the nonaligned resolution would not have such an effect and that, instead of carrying to Geneva "common wishes for success," it demonstrated some delegations' preoccupations with "scoring points" in the First Committee. He regretted that, even when only a consensus resolution could have been of value, agreement could not be reached on language equally acceptable to all.

The United Kingdom again took the lead in drafting a resolution expressing the Western viewpoint on the bilateral talks. Introduced in the First Committee on November 7, it noted the aims of the talks as agreed to by the United States and the Soviet Union, and called on them to "spare no effort in seeking the attainment of their agreed objective." The resolution also urged the two parties "to work actively and without pre-conditions" toward achieving substantial progress in the negotiations. During discussions of the United Kingdom draft, Mexico introduced an amendment deleting the phrase, "and without pre-conditions." The amendment was approved by the First Committee on November 22 by a vote of 61 to 24 (U.S.), with 23 abstentions; the amended resolution was also adopted, 71 (U.S.) to 0, with 15 abstentions, including Mexico.

In explaining the U.S. votes following Committee action on the resolution, Ambassador Lowitz expressed strong criticism of the amendment's sponsors:

The effect of that amendment is to put the First Committee, and ultimately the General Assembly, on record as saying that efforts to advance the objective of nuclear-arms reduction and disarmament may legitimately be impeded by the imposition of pre-conditions. What is particularly striking—and also quite ironic—about the amendment is that its main initiators are precisely those who all these years have been among the most ardent and vocal proponents of absolute priority of negotiations on nuclear disarmament over any other consideration, political or military.

Parenthetically, I also note that two of the three sponsors of the amendment were unable to support the draft resolution, even though their amendment was incorporated in it. For these proponents now to advocate an approach that endorses the notion of pre-condition to progress towards deep reductions in nuclear weapons and the ultimate objective of their elimination represents a truly stunning reversal. One can only wonder if the initiators, as well as the usual majority that supported them in this move, recognize the implications of their new position, implications which are even more serious if that position is applied selectively.

Be that as it may, it is clear that this development puts an entirely different complexion on the statements and proposals calling for urgent action in the field of nuclear disarmament that the main sponsor of the amendment and a number of its supporters have made in this Committee and elsewhere. The United States cannot but take most careful note of this situation and will be mindful of it in considering and assessing any such statements and proposals in the future.

The resolution, as amended, was adopted by the plenary on December 16 by a vote of 107 (U.S.) to 0, with 40 abstentions. (Resolution 40/152 B)

NON-USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS

The 40th General Assembly, as in previous years, adopted two resolutions concerning non-use of nuclear weapons.

India introduced a resolution in the First Committee on November 11, on behalf of Romania and several neutral and non-aligned countries. The resolution, entitled "Convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons," paralleled similar resolutions introduced by India since 1978. As in earlier resolutions, this draft declared that "the use of nuclear weapons would be a violation of the Charter of the United Nations and a crime against humanity." It requested "the Conference on Disarmament to commence negotiation . . . on an international convention prohibiting the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons under any circumstances." The resolution also incorporated the text of a proposed agreement on the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons.

The United States opposed the resolution on several grounds: the UN Charter provides no basis for such a declaration; it nei-

ther prohibits the use of force in self-defense nor outlaws nuclear weapons for defense or deterrence. In many parts of the world, nuclear weapons are a central part of security arrangements that have maintained peace.

On November 20, the First Committee adopted the draft resolution by a vote of 106 to 17 (U.S.), with 5 abstentions. The General Assembly plenary adopted the resolution on December 16 by a vote of 126 to 19 (U.S.), with 7 abstentions. (Resolution 40/151 F)

On November 12, the German Democratic Republic introduced a resolution entitled "Non-use of nuclear weapons and prevention of nuclear war." It recalled the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session, which stated that all states should actively promote conditions in international relations among states in which a code of peaceful conduct could be agreed upon and which "would preclude the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons." It also requested the Conference on Disarmament to consider "the elaboration of an international instrument of a legally binding character laying down the obligation not to be the first to use nuclear weapons."

On November 20, the First Committee approved the resolution by a vote of 98 to 19 (U.S.), with 8 abstentions. On December 16, the General Assembly plenary adopted the resolution by a vote of 123 to 17 (U.S.), with 6 abstentions. (Resolution 40/152 A)

NUCLEAR FREEZE

Three proposals for a nuclear-weapons freeze were again introduced in the General Assembly in 1985.

On November 7, Mexico introduced a draft resolution entitled "Nuclear-arms freeze" in the First Committee. The resolution urged the United States and Soviet Union undertake an initial 5-year agreement on a nuclear-arms freeze, to be followed by more comprehensive accords including other nuclear-weapon states. The initial agreement outlined in the resolution would establish a comprehensive ban on testing nuclear weapons and their delivery vehicles, complete cessation of their manufacture, a prohibition on their further deployment, and the complete cessation of the production of fissionable material for weapons purposes. Finally, the resolution called upon both the United States and the Soviet Union to submit a report to the 41st General Assembly on the implementation of this resolution.

The resolution was adopted by the First Committee on November 20, by a vote of 113 to 11 (U.S.), with 6 abstentions. On December 16 the General Assembly plenary adopted the resolu-

tion by a vote of 131 to 10 (U.S.), with 8 abstentions. (Resolution 40/151 C)

India introduced another draft resolution, entitled "Freeze on nuclear weapons." The resolution called "upon all nuclear-weapon States to agree to a freeze on nuclear weapons, which would . . . provide for a simultaneous total stoppage of any further production of nuclear weapons and a complete cut-off in the production of fissionable material for weapons purposes."

The resolution was adopted by the First Committee on November 20, by a vote of 110 to 12 (U.S.), with 8 abstentions. On December 16 the General Assembly plenary adopted the resolution by a vote of 126 to 12 (U.S.), with 10 abstentions. (Resolution 40/151 E)

The Soviet Union introduced a resolution entitled "Nuclear-weapon freeze" on November 17. The resolution called upon the United States and the Soviet Union to freeze the number of their nuclear weapons on a bilateral basis, and appealed to all other nuclear-weapon states to follow suit. It reaffirmed that such a freeze would be the first step towards a reduction in nuclear weapons, with a view to their complete elimination. It also stated that "compliance with the obligation of the freeze could be verified by national technical means as well as through some additional verification measures based on cooperation."

The resolution was adopted in the First Committee on November 20 by a vote of 101 to 17 (U.S.), with 8 abstentions. On December 12 the General Assembly adopted the resolution in plenary by a vote of 120 to 17 (U.S.), with 10 abstentions. (Resolution 40/94 H)

COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN

Three draft resolutions had been introduced at the 39th General Assembly on the question of a nuclear test ban, all following on similar resolutions adopted at the 38th General Assembly. The first Resolution, 39/52, introduced by Mexico, was similar to Mexican proposals in previous years. It reiterated its appeal to the Conference on Disarmament immediately to initiate the multilateral negotiation of a treaty for the prohibition of all nuclear-weapons tests. The second Resolution, 39/53, introduced by Australia, requested the Conference on Disarmament to resume substantive work relating to a test ban, including the issues of scope, verification, and compliance, with a view to the negotiation of a treaty on the subject. Finally, Hungary introduced Resolution 39/60, which urged the Conference on Disarmament to proceed promptly to negotiations with a view to elaborating a treaty on

the prohibition of nuclear-weapons tests as a matter of the highest priority. All of these resolutions were approved by large majorities. In 1985, three resolutions were adopted following up on those of previous years, and Mexico presented a fourth.

A resolution entitled, "Cessation of All Test Explosions of Nuclear Weapons," similar to Resolution 39/52, was introduced in the First Committee by Mexico on November 8. Rather than calling for immediate negotiations in the Conference on Disarmament on a nuclear-test-ban treaty, it appealed for the establishment of a CD committee to negotiate such a treaty, and recommended the establishment of working groups on structure and scope and on compliance and verification. The First Committee adopted this resolution on November 21 by a vote of 111 to 2 (U.S.), with 25 abstentions, and the plenary followed suit on December 12 by a vote of 124 to 3 (U.S.), with 21 abstentions. (Resolution 40/80 A)

On November 8, Mexico introduced a second resolution under the same title as the first one. After recalling in its preamble the Limited Test Ban Treaty (LTBT) and the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT), as well as other international calls for measures to end the nuclear arms race, the resolution recommended that parties to the LTBT consider taking advantage of Article II (amendments) to convert it into a comprehensive nuclear test-ban treaty. This resolution was adopted in the First Committee on November 21 by a vote of 108 to 3 (U.S.), with 26 abstentions, and in the plenary on December 12 by a vote of 121 to 3 (U.S.), with 24 abstentions. (Resolution 40/80 B)

A third resolution entitled, "Implementation of General Assembly Resolution 39/60 on the Immediate Cessation and Prohibition of Nuclear-Weapon Tests," was introduced by Hungary on November 13 on behalf of 13 cosponsors. It urged "all states, and especially all nuclear-weapon states, to exert maximum efforts and exercise political will" to conclude a multilateral treaty prohibiting nuclear weapon tests. To this end, the resolution called on the Conference on Disarmament to proceed to negotiations on all aspects of the matter. In addition, the resolution welcomed the Soviet Union's nuclear-test moratorium, effective August 6, 1985, and the six-nation proposal of October 24, 1985, for a year-long suspension of nuclear testing. The draft was approved in the First Committee on November 21 by a vote of 113 to 3 (U.S.), with 26 abstentions, and in the plenary on December 12 by a vote of 120 to 3 (U.S.), with 29 abstentions. (Resolution 40/88)

On November 12, Australia and New Zealand introduced a draft resolution entitled, "Urgent Need for a Comprehensive Nu-

clear Test-Ban treaty." The draft reaffirmed that a ban on all nuclear-test explosions was "a matter of greatest importance" and expressed the conviction that it would be a vital element in halting the nuclear arms race. It urged the Conference on Disarmament to establish a committee on a nuclear test ban "to begin negotiations on a comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty" in accordance with a program of work that it set out in detail. The resolution also called for the Conference to take immediate steps to establish an international seismic monitoring network. The draft was approved in the First Committee on November 21 by a vote of 103 to 3 (U.S.), with 32 abstentions, and adopted in the plenary on December 12 by a vote of 116 to 4 (U.S.), with 29 abstentions. (Resolution 40/81)

Following the First Committee vote, U.S. Representative Lowitz stated the reasons for U.S. negative votes on the draft Mexican and Australia-New Zealand resolutions. He noted that the U.S. position on a comprehensive test ban is well known: it remains a long-term objective within the context of broad, deep, and verifiable arms reductions, expanded confidence-building measures, and substantially improved verification capabilities. He expressed confidence that progress in U.S. negotiations with the U.S.S.R. would open the way towards a comprehensive test ban.

In commenting on Resolutions 40/80 A and B, Lowitz called attention to their implications that the NPT Review Conference had reached consensus on a call for immediate negotiations on a CTB. He pointed out that no such consensus had been achieved.

NUCLEAR WINTER

During 1984, thanks to the publication of several articles on the subject, international attention focused on the possible climatic effects of nuclear war and, in particular, on the theory that a nuclear exchange could result in a significant cooling of the earth, or "nuclear winter." In response to these concerns, Mexico introduced a draft resolution in the 39th General Assembly on "nuclear winter." In the face of Western objections that the resolution assumed the outcome of studies still in progress, Mexico made some amendments, and renamed the resolution, "Climatic Effect of Nuclear War: Nuclear Winter." Because it was still unbalanced, the United States and some other Western members abstained. (Resolution 39/148 F) In accordance with this resolution, the Secretary-General issued a compilation of studies on the climatic effects of nuclear war. (Document A/40/499)

At the 40th General Assembly, Mexico introduced a follow-on resolution to its previous one. Taking note of the studies, it re-

quested the Secretary-General, aided by consultants, "to carry out a study on the climatic and potential physical effects of nuclear war, including nuclear winter, which will examine, *inter alia*, its socio-economic consequences." The study was to be considered at the 42nd session in 1987. The Mexican draft, introduced on November 8, was adopted in the First Committee on November 14 by a vote of 118 to 1 (U.S.), with 10 abstentions, and in plenary by 141 to 1 (U.S.), with 10 abstentions. (Resolution 40/152 G)

In explaining the negative U.S. vote, Ambassador Lowitz said that it did not signify that the United States considered the issue unimportant. Rather, the United States believed that properly qualified scientists and technicians should study it "shielded from emotionally and politically charged atmospherics." He thought that this would be impossible in a study such as that proposed in this resolution.

NEGATIVE SECURITY ASSURANCES

Non-nuclear-weapon states have long sought guarantees from nuclear-weapon states that, in exchange for their renunciation of nuclear arms, the nuclear-weapon states would not use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against them. These guarantees have been referred to as "negative security assurances." During the First Special Session on Disarmament in 1978, each of the five nuclear-weapon states, in an effort to meet the concerns of the non-nuclear-weapon states, issued a unilateral statement offering some form of negative security assurance. On June 12, 1978, Secretary of State Vance made the following statement on behalf of the President:

The United States will not use nuclear weapons against any non-nuclear-weapon state party to the Non-Proliferation Treaty or any comparable internationally binding commitment not to acquire nuclear explosive devices, except in the case of an attack on the United States, its territories or armed forces, or its allies, by such a state allied to a nuclear-weapon state or associated with a nuclear-weapon state in carrying out or sustaining the attack.

Since 1982, a working group has addressed the question of negative security assurances at the Conference on Disarmament. It has, however, been unable to reach agreement on effective international arrangements.

The United States is a signatory to Protocol II of the Treaty of Tlatelolco, which is intended to provide security assurances by nuclear-weapon states to members of the Latin American nuclear-weapon-free zone. While pointing out that U.S. assurances stand as a reliable and valid statement of U.S. policy, the United States

has also indicated its willingness to discuss the possibility of developing a single form of negative security assurance that would both safeguard the security requirements of each of the nuclear-weapon states and their respective allies, and meet the desires of all non-nuclear-weapon states.

On November 7, Pakistan introduced a draft resolution in the First Committee entitled "Conclusion of effective international arrangements to assure non-nuclear-weapon states against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons." The resolution reaffirmed "the urgent need to reach agreement on effective international arrangements to assure non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons." It appealed to all states to seek to reach agreement on a "common formula which could be included in an international instrument of a legally binding character."

Finally, it recommended that the Conference on Disarmament actively continue negotiations in an effort to reach an early agreement and conclude an effective international arrangement to assure non-nuclear-weapon states against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons.

The United States abstained on the Pakistani resolution, noting that the feasibility of reaching effective international arrangements depended on more than just the political will of states. On November 18, the First Committee adopted the draft resolution by a vote of 122 to 0, with 5 (U.S.) abstentions. The General Assembly plenary on December 12 adopted the resolution by a vote of 142 to 0, with 6 (U.S.) abstentions. (Resolution 40/86)

On November 11, Bulgaria introduced in the First Committee a second draft resolution entitled, "Conclusion of an international convention on the strengthening of the security of non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons." The resolution was quite similar to that introduced by Pakistan. It noted that unconditional guarantees of non-first use by all nuclear-weapon states "should constitute an integral element of a mandatory system of norms regulating the relations between the nuclear-weapon States." It also requested that the Conference on Disarmament continue its consideration of this subject and that an *Ad Hoc* Committee be reestablished in an effort to conclude an international agreement.

The Bulgarian resolution contained concepts, such as non-first use of nuclear weapons, that are not acceptable to the United States; therefore the United States voted against the resolution. The draft resolution was adopted in the First Committee on November 18, by a vote of 83 to 19 (U.S.), with 17 abstentions. On December 12, the General Assembly plenary adopted the resolu-

tion by a vote of 101 to 19 (U.S.), with 25 abstentions. (Resolution 40/85)

CUTOFF OF FISSIONABLE MATERIAL FOR WEAPONS PURPOSES

On November 13, Canada introduced in the First Committee a draft resolution entitled, "Prohibition of the production of fissionable material for weapons purposes." The resolution was similar to others introduced by Canada in previous years. It considered that the "cessation of production of fissionable material for nuclear weapons . . . would be an important measure in facilitating the prevention of the proliferation of nuclear weapons," as well as "a significant step towards halting and reversing the nuclear-arms race."

The United States abstained on this resolution because the United States does not consider it realistic to pursue such negotiations in the near term due to the extreme difficulty of verifying a cutoff in the production of such materials.

The First Committee approved the resolution on November 20 by a vote of 127 to 1, with 7 (U.S.) abstentions. On December 12, it was adopted by the General Assembly by a vote of 145 to 1, with 7 (U.S.) abstentions. (Resolution 40/94 G)

NUCLEAR-WEAPON-FREE ZONES

The concept of nuclear-weapon-free zones (NWFZs) dates back to the 1950's, and remains today a potentially effective regional approach to nonproliferation.

In explaining the U.S. position on several of the resolutions dealing with NWFZs, U.S. Representative Lowitz stated:

In general, the United States supports the concept of nuclear-weapon-free zones as a non-proliferation measure when consistent with the following criteria. The initiative for the creation of the nuclear-weapon-free zone should come from the states in the region concerned. All states whose participation is deemed important should participate in the zone. The zone arrangements should provide for adequate verification of compliance with the zone's provisions. The establishment of the zone should not disturb existing security arrangements to the detriment of regional and international security. The zone arrangements should effectively prohibit the parties to it from developing any nuclear explosive device for whatever purpose. The zone arrangements should not seek to impose restrictions on the exercise of rights recognized under international law, particularly the principle of freedom of navigation on high seas, in international air space, and in straits used for international navigation, and the right of innocent passage through territorial seas. The establishment of a zone should not affect the existing rights of its parties under international law to grant or deny transit privileges, including port calls and overflight to other states.

We believe, moreover, that an effective nuclear-weapon-free zone, negotiated and supported by states of the region, can enhance the security of those states, as well as reinforce non-proliferation goals on a regional basis.

We believe, moreover, that nuclear-weapon-free zone arrangements must effectively preclude the conduct of any nuclear explosion.

Protocol I of the Treaty of Tlatelolco

The most significant NWFZ agreement to date is the Treaty of Tlatelolco, which entered into force in 1968 and which, by means of two protocols, provides for a nuclear-weapon-free zone in Latin America. Protocol I, open to adherence by non-Latin American states which administer territory within the over 7.5 million-square-mile area, provides that these states will not store or deploy nuclear weapons within those territories. Protocol II, open to adherence by nuclear-weapon states, provides that these states will not contribute to acts involving a violation of the Treaty. The United States signed Protocol I in May 1977 and ratified it in November 1981. The United States signed Protocol II in April 1968 and ratified it in May 1971. This Treaty and Additional Protocol I, in particular, have been the subject of a series of UN resolutions urging ratification by all concerned states.

On November 8, Mexico introduced a resolution in the First Committee concerning the signature and ratification of Additional Protocol I of the Treaty of Tlatelolco. The resolution recognized that there are some territories which, in spite of not being sovereign political entities, are nevertheless in a position to receive the benefits derived from the Treaty through its Additional Protocol I, to which the states that, "de jure" or "de facto," are internationally responsible for those territories may become parties. Additionally, the resolution recalled that the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, and the United States became parties to Additional Protocol I in 1969, 1971, and 1981, respectively, and again urged France not to delay further its ratification.

On November 18, the resolution was adopted in First Committee by a vote of 126 (U.S.) to 0, with 7 abstentions. The resolution was adopted in the General Assembly on December 12, by a vote of 139 (U.S) to 0, with 7 abstentions. (Resolution 40/79)

African Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone

Since 1961, resolutions have been introduced in the First Committee calling for the designation of Africa as a nuclear-weapon-free zone. In 1985, two resolutions were introduced in the First Committee concerning the establishment of a NWFZ in Africa.

The first resolution, entitled "Implementation of the Declaration (on the Denuclearization of Africa)," was introduced by Mauritius on November 12. The resolution regretted the Disarmament Commission's inability to reach consensus on the denuclearization of Africa. Expressing "grave alarm at South Africa's possession and continued development of nuclear-weapon capability", it condemned South Africa for these actions. It demanded that South Africa submit its nuclear installations and facilities to the International Atomic Energy Agency and appealed "to all states, that have the means to do so, to monitor South Africa's research on, and development and production of nuclear weapons, and to publicize any information in that regard." Finally, it requested the Secretary-General to assist the Organization of African Unity in efforts to implement its Declaration on the Denuclearization of Africa.

The resolution was adopted in First Committee on November 18, by a vote of 130 to 0, with 5 (U.S.) abstentions. The General Assembly plenary adopted the resolution on December 12, by a vote of 148 to 0, with 6 (U.S.) abstentions. (Resolution 40/89 A)

The second resolution, entitled "Nuclear Capability of South Africa," also was introduced by Mauritius on November 12. The resolution "condemns all forms of nuclear collaboration by any State, corporation, institution or individual with the racist regime of South Africa, in particular the decision by some member States to grant licenses to several corporations in their territories to provide equipment, technical and maintenance services for nuclear installations in South Africa." It also condemns "the massive build-up of South Africa's military machine, in particular its frenzied acquisition of nuclear-weapon capability for repressive and aggressive purposes and as an instrument of blackmail." Finally, it requested the Secretary-General to follow South Africa's evolution in the nuclear field, and to report back to the 41st General Assembly on his findings.

The resolution was adopted in the First Committee on November 18, by a vote of 117 to 4 (U.S.), with 12 abstentions. The plenary adopted the resolution on December 12, by a recorded vote of 135 to 4 (U.S.), with 14 abstentions. (Resolution 40/89 B)

Middle East Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone

On November 13, Egypt introduced in the First Committee a draft resolution entitled "Establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Region of the Middle East." The resolution encouraged adherence to the Non-Proliferation Treaty as a method of promoting the establishment of such a zone in the Middle East. It

further called on all regional countries to place their nuclear activities under IAEA safeguards and, pending establishment of a zone, invited nuclear-weapon states to refrain from any action counter to the concepts of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Middle East.

On November 14, the First Committee adopted the resolution without a vote. The plenary followed suit on December 12. (Resolution 40/82)

South Asian Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone

On November 7, Pakistan introduced in the First Committee a draft resolution entitled "Establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in South Asia." As in previous years, the resolution reaffirmed the concept of such a zone and urged continued efforts toward its establishment. Additionally, the resolution requested states in the region to avoid actions contrary to this objective and called for positive actions by the nuclear-weapon states and the Secretary-General in furtherance of a nuclear-weapon-free zone.

The First Committee adopted the resolution on November 18, by a vote of 90 (U.S.) to 3, with 40 abstentions. The General Assembly adopted the resolution on December 12 by a vote of 104 (U.S.) to 3, with 41 abstentions. (Resolution 40/83)

INDIAN OCEAN ZONE OF PEACE

UNGA Resolution 28/32, which contained a Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a "zone of peace," called for the great powers to remove their naval forces and facilities from the Indian Ocean. Subsequent annual resolutions endorsed the 1971 Declaration and established an *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Indian Ocean* to consider its implementation. The U.S. has made clear from the beginning its reservations about the 1971 terms of reference for the deliberations concerning the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace.

In 1980, the United States, together with other permanent members of the Security Council and major maritime nations, accepted the invitation of littoral and hinterland states of the region to join the *Ad Hoc* Committee. Since that time, we have attempted to point out the anomaly of trying to restrict naval

*Its 48 members in 1985 were Australia, Bangladesh, Bulgaria, Canada, China, Djibouti, Egypt, Ethiopia, France, German Democratic Republic, Federal Republic of Germany, Greece, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Italy, Japan, Kenya, Liberia, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mauritius, Mozambique, Netherlands, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Poland, Romania, Seychelles, Singapore, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Tanzania, Thailand, Uganda, U.S.S.R., United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom, United States, Yemen (Aden), Yemen (Sanaa), Yugoslavia, and Zambia.

forces in the region while ignoring land-based forces, such as those of the Soviet Union now occupying Afghanistan, a hinterland state of the Indian Ocean. We also have consistently opposed the convening of a conference on the Indian Ocean until there were indications that it could be successful. As long as the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan continues and there is no agreement on the basic principles that should govern an Indian Ocean Zone of Peace, the United States believes that such a conference would be premature.

During First Committee consideration of the Indian Ocean Zone of Peace at the 38th General Assembly, the traditional consensus procedure for dealing with this item was broken when the Eastern European countries called for a roll-call vote on two operative paragraphs of the Indian Ocean resolution. The United States then made it clear that it would abstain from participation in the *Ad Hoc* Committee until the consensus procedure was reestablished. Following consultations with members, the Committee chairman stated during the July 1984 session that "all delegations have agreed that decisions in matters affecting the Indian Ocean are taken by consensus." On this understanding, the United States took its seat again and participated in *Ad Hoc* Committee meetings in 1984 and 1985.

On December 6, Sri Lanka, as chairman of the *Ad Hoc* Committee, introduced in the First Committee a draft resolution much like that of the previous year. After noting that the Committee had been unable to complete preparatory work relating to the convening of a conference, it requested the Committee to complete preparatory work during 1986 on organizational and substantive issues to enable a conference to be convened at an early date soon thereafter, but not later than 1988. It emphasized that the conference would require the active participation of the permanent members of the Security Council, the major maritime users, and the littoral and hinterland states. The resolution also requested the Committee to seek the necessary harmonization of views on remaining relevant issues. This draft resolution was approved without a vote in the First Committee on December 6, and adopted in a similar manner by the Assembly plenary on December 16. (Resolution 40/153)

WORLD DISARMAMENT CAMPAIGN

The World Disarmament Campaign is a Mexican initiative, stemming from the First Special Session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, that calls for "mobilizing world public opinion on behalf of disarmament." The United States expressed

two principal concerns when the campaign was first proposed in 1980. First, we had serious doubts that the Soviet Union and other totalitarian governments would permit any free discussion of international security or disarmament issues. Second, we noted that it was not the function of the United Nations or of governments in democratic societies to "mobilize" public opinion.

In 1982, at the Second Special Session of the General Assembly on disarmament, the United States joined in a consensus adopting a plan for a World Disarmament Campaign. The campaign would be carried out "in all regions of the world in a balanced, factual, and objective manner." The United States has made clear its expectation that the campaign would be financed out of existing funds and voluntary contributions, and not through any increase in the UN budget.

On November 7, Mexico introduced in the First Committee a draft resolution entitled "World Disarmament Campaign." The resolution regretted that many of the states with the largest military expenditures had failed to make financial contributions to the fund. It decided that there should be a fourth pledging conference for the World Disarmament Campaign at the 41st General Assembly. Finally, it requested that the Secretary-General "submit to the 41st General Assembly a report covering both the implementation of the programme of activities of the World Disarmament Campaign by the United Nations system during 1986 and the programme of activities contemplated by the system for 1987."

The resolution was adopted by the First Committee on November 15 by a vote of 125 to 0, with 11 (U.S) abstentions. The General Assembly plenary adopted the resolution on December 16 by a vote of 139 to 0, with 11 (U.S.) abstentions. (Resolution 40/151 B)

On November 11, Bulgaria introduced in the First Committee a second resolution entitled "World Disarmament Campaign: actions and activities." The resolution called upon all states to take into account the demands set forth by the main peace and disarmament movements. It directed "the Secretary-General, in implementing the programme of activities of the World Disarmament Campaign, to give wider publicity to the work of the General Assembly in the field of disarmament." Finally, it requested that "the Secretary-General report annually to the General Assembly on the implementation of the present resolution."

The resolution was adopted in the First Committee on November 15 by a vote of 99 to 0, with 33 (U.S.) abstentions. The General Assembly plenary adopted the resolution on December 16

by a vote of 114 to 0, with 34 (U.S) abstentions. (Resolution 40/151 D)

A third initiative, introduced by Czechoslovakia on November 14, was entitled, "International cooperation for disarmament." The resolution called upon "all member states to cultivate and disseminate, particularly in connection with the World Disarmament Campaign, the ideas of international cooperation for disarmament." It further called upon UNESCO "to mobilize world public opinion on behalf of disarmament." The United States maintains that it is not the function of any United Nations organization to mobilize world opinion. Such language is particularly inappropriate in the case of UNESCO, and it caused the United States to vote against the draft. The First Committee approved this resolution on November 20 by a vote of 99 to 19 (U.S.), with 8 abstentions. The plenary adopted the resolution on December 17 by 109 to 19 (U.S.), with 7 abstentions. (Resolution 40/152 I)

DISARMAMENT AND DEVELOPMENT

The first Special Session on Disarmament (SSOD-I) adopted a Nordic proposal calling for a UN study on the relationship between disarmament and development. A report was completed in 1981, and later submitted to the 37th General Assembly in 1982. At that session, Sweden sponsored Resolution 37/84, which recommended that the UN Institute for Disarmament Research undertake an investigation on the modalities for an international disarmament fund. It passed by a vote of 136 (U.S.) to 0, with 10 abstentions (Warsaw Pact countries).

The 38th General Assembly, on the initiative of President Mitterrand of France, passed Resolution 38/71 B, placing the issue on the UN Disarmament Commission's 1984 agenda, and asking it to report to the 39th General Assembly. At that session, France introduced a draft resolution to convene an international conference on the relationship between disarmament and development. The resolution, approved without a vote, established a 54-member Preparatory Committee (PrepCom) to submit recommendations on the provisional agenda and procedures of the conference. (Resolution 39/160)

The PrepCom, held in New York in August 1985, reached agreement on a provisional agenda and procedures for the conference. In light of U.S. Government skepticism about the value of the conference, the United States decided not to attend the PrepCom.

At the 40th Session of the General Assembly, France introduced a resolution noting the work of the PrepCom, and endors-

ing preparations for the conference itself. It recommended adoption by the conference of the provisional agenda and the procedures drawn up by the PrepCom; at France's invitation, it decided to hold the conference in Paris, July 15–August 2, 1986, and authorized one or two more PrepCom sessions, open to all states. This resolution, introduced in the First Committee on November 12, was adopted by that Committee on November 15, and by the UNGA plenary on December 16, in both cases without a vote. (Resolution 40/155)

Although the United States did not object to Resolution 40/155 in First Committee or plenary, substantive and financial concerns caused it to abstain on consideration of the subject in the Fifth Committee. At that time, the United States Representative said:

Mr. Chairman, the U.S. Government has two concerns about the proposed resolution. The first is budgetary, the second is substantive. We have stated time and again that we believe that new or expanded programs should be undertaken only by reducing or eliminating marginal, obsolete, lower-priority, and ineffective activities, and by achieving administrative savings so that the net effect is zero real growth. . . .

Mr. Chairman, in addition to our budget concerns, my government has broader concerns about the conference itself. No country more strongly supports arms reductions than the United States—as our arms-control proposals in Geneva will testify—and none is more committed to development than the United States. But at the same time, we have serious doubts about the connection between the two issues. The prime goal of arms limitations and reductions is to promote stability and security. These conditions can themselves create a climate conducive to development. But development is not the immediate aim of disarmament.

My government does not believe that resource transfers are the most effective means of promoting development. The adoption of sound, rational, and pragmatic economic policies by the developing countries themselves remains the key to economic development. . . .

NEW TYPES OF WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION

“Weapons of mass destruction” have long been defined as nuclear weapons, radiological weapons, chemical and biological weapons, and “any weapons developed in the future which have characteristics comparable in destructive effect.”

In 1975 the Soviet Union tabled a draft treaty in the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament (CCD), now the Conference on Disarmament (CD), to ban new weapons of mass destruction. At the same time, the Soviet Union was also the principal sponsor in the General Assembly of a resolution calling on the CCD to undertake negotiations on this treaty. In subsequent years the Soviet Union and its allies have continued to call for such negotiations in resolutions presented at both the CD and the General Assembly.

The U.S. position, shared by many of its allies, is that for an agreement to be effective and verifiable it must address specific weapons as they emerge, rather than treat unknown weapons in general terms. A treaty as proposed by the Soviet Union would be purely hortatory and would depend solely on good faith, a conceptual approach rejected by the United States and other countries.

On November 13, the Byelorussian S.S.R. introduced a draft resolution entitled, "Prohibition of the development and manufacture of new types of weapons of mass destruction and new systems of such weapons." The resolution reaffirmed "the necessity of prohibiting the development and manufacture of new types of weapons of mass destruction and new systems of such weapons." It requested the CD to keep abreast of questions concerning the prohibition of the development and manufacture of such weapons and weapon systems. It also urged all states to refrain from any action that could adversely affect efforts to prevent the emergence of these weapons or weapon systems. Finally, the resolution requested the CD to submit a report to the 41st General Assembly for its consideration.

On November 19, the resolution was adopted in the First Committee by a vote of 106 to 1 (U.S.), with 23 abstentions. The General Assembly plenary adopted the resolution on December 12 by a vote of 128 to 1 (U.S.), with 21 abstentions. (Resolution 40/90)

CHEMICAL AND BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS

At its 40th Session, the General Assembly adopted three separate resolutions on the subject of chemical and biological weapons. Reflecting widespread concern about reports of the use of such weapons, the United States introduced a draft resolution in the First Committee on November 17 that built upon Resolution 39/165 A. After noting with concern reports of the use of such weapons and indications of their emergence in an increasing number of national arsenals, the resolution reaffirmed the need for "the strict observance of existing international obligations regarding prohibitions on chemical and biological weapons" and condemned actions that contravened them. The resolution urged the Conference on Disarmament to accelerate negotiations on a chemical-weapons ban, and called on all states, pending the conclusion of a comprehensive ban, "to cooperate with efforts to prevent the use of chemical weapons."

In introducing this resolution, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Donald Lowitz, recalled the U.S.-sponsored resolution of the year before and noted the disturbing fact that, since the passage of that resolution, at least one new case of chemical-weapons

use had been confirmed. Therefore, it was important that the United Nations reaffirm the urgent need to stop using chemical weapons and the requirement to observe existing obligations. Ambassador Lowitz also drew attention to the disquieting spread of chemical-weapons capabilities, which meant "that the existing international barriers to the use of chemical and biological weapons were in danger of being further eroded," and to the increased likelihood of such use. He welcomed the concern of other states about the spread of chemical weapons and called on the General Assembly to join in recording this concern. He also hoped that passage of the resolution would help accelerate work in the Conference on Disarmament for a comprehensive ban on chemical weapons.

The U.S. draft, cosponsored by 21 other states, was approved in the First Committee on November 15 by a vote of 96 (U.S.) to 16, with 21 abstentions. The Soviet Union and most of its allies voted against this resolution both in Committee and in plenary, where it was adopted on December 12 by a vote of 112 (U.S.) to 16, with 22 abstentions. (Resolution 40/92 C)

Two other resolutions on chemical weapons that urged intensification of the negotiations in the Conference on Disarmament on a chemical-weapons ban were adopted. One introduced by the German Democratic Republic was clearly designed as an attack on the United States: it singled out one category of chemical weapons by expressing "profound concern at recent decisions on the production of binary chemical weapons" and reaffirmed its call to states to refrain specifically from the production and deployment of such weapons. The resolution was approved in the First Committee on November 15 by a vote of 81 to 13 (U.S.), with 38 abstentions, and in the plenary on December 12 by a vote of 93 to 15 (U.S.), with 41 abstentions. (Resolution 40/92 A)

A third draft resolution, introduced on November 12 by Canada and Poland, was similar to others adopted by consensus over the past several years. It urged the Conference on Disarmament to intensify negotiations on the final elaboration of a convention at the earliest possible date, and was adopted without a vote in both the First Committee (November 15) and the plenary (December 12). (Resolution 40/92 B)

REDUCTION OF MILITARY BUDGETS

The 40th General Assembly, as in previous years, adopted two resolutions concerning the reduction of military budgets.

Romania introduced a resolution in the First Committee on November 7 on behalf of several neutral, nonaligned, and West-

ern countries. The draft reaffirmed concern over increasing military expenditures and appealed to all states, pending the conclusion of agreements on the reduction of military expenditures, "to exercise self-restraint in their military expenditures with a view to reallocation of the funds thus saved to economic and social development, particularly for the benefit of developing countries." As in previous years, the resolution called on the UN Disarmament Commission to continue its efforts to agree on a set of principles that would guide the actions of states in reaching accords on the reduction of military budgets.

The First Committee approved this draft resolution on November 14 without a vote, and it was similarly adopted by the General Assembly plenary on December 12. (Resolution 40/91 A)

On November 6, Sweden introduced a second resolution co-sponsored by several other neutral/nonaligned countries. Paralleling resolutions adopted in previous Assemblies, this resolution reiterated widespread concern over the arms race and "tendencies to increase further the rate of growth of military expenditures," as well as over "the deplorable waste of human and economic resources and the potentially harmful effects on world peace and security." It emphasized the need for reductions to be carried out on a mutually agreed basis without detriment to the national security of any country. The resolution also stressed the need for more states to report their military expenditures to the United Nations, using the standardized reporting method developed by a UN Group of Experts.

On November 14, the First Committee approved this draft resolution by a vote of 96 (U.S.) to 13, with 15 abstentions, and the General Assembly plenary adopted it on December 12, by a vote of 113 (U.S.) to 13, with 15 abstentions. (Resolution 40/91 B)

INSTITUTIONAL ISSUES

The 40th General Assembly considered several initiatives on institutional issues. A draft resolution, "UN Programme of Fellowships on Disarmament," was introduced in the First Committee on November 12 by Nigeria. After noting that the program had already trained public officials from many countries, the resolution decided to expand the program to include training programs and advising services, in particular for developing countries.

The resolution was adopted by the First Committee on November 20 by a vote of 127 to 1 (U.S.) and by the Assembly plenary on December 16 by a vote of 148 to 1 (U.S.), with 1 abstention. In his explanation of vote, Ambassador Lowitz noted that al-

though the United States was a strong supporter of the program, it could not support any real increase in spending, as would be required by the additional tasks provided for in the resolution. The United States was also concerned that in future years spending could increase even more. (Resolution 40/151 H)

The United Kingdom introduced a resolution on UN disarmament studies in the First Committee on November 12. The draft reaffirmed the value of studies and invited members to comment on how they could be improved. It also requested the Advisory Board on Disarmament Studies to prepare a comprehensive report on the matter. The resolution was adopted in the First Committee on November 19 and in the General Assembly plenary on December 16—in both cases without a vote. (Resolution 40/152 K)

Another resolution of an institutional nature was introduced on November 12 by Mauritius on behalf of the African group. It provided for the establishment of a UN Regional Center for Peace and Disarmament in Africa under the auspices of the World Disarmament Campaign. The Center was to “provide upon request, substantive support for initiatives and other efforts of Member States of the African region towards the realization of measures of peace, arms limitation and disarmament in the region.” The resolution was adopted by the First Committee on November 15 and by the Assembly plenary on December 16, in both cases without a vote. (Resolution 40/151 G)

Ambassador Lowitz explained that the United States joined the consensus on this resolution with some reluctance. The United States welcomed the goals of the Center and had always favored regional approaches to arms limitation. On the other hand, he noted U. S. financial concern over the establishment of a new UN institution away from UN Headquarters. Noting the commitment to fund the Center from existing resources and voluntary contributions, he warned that the United States could not support requests in the future for funding from the regular UN budget.

On November 12, Yugoslavia introduced a resolution on the “Report of the Conference on Disarmament.” The resolution once again urged the Conference to continue or to undertake substantive negotiations on various disarmament questions that the United States did not consider appropriate for multilateral negotiation.

The resolution was approved by the First Committee on November 18 by a vote of 116 to 2 (U.S.), with 17 abstentions, and by the Assembly plenary on December 16 by a vote of 133 to 2 (U.S.), with 18 abstentions. (Resolution 40/152 M)

The final institutional initiative was a resolution introduced in the First Committee on November 12 by 10 cosponsors under the title "Report of the Disarmament Commission." It was adopted in Committee without a vote on November 14 and similarly in the Assembly plenary on December 16. (Resolution 40/152 F)

ANTARCTICA

In Resolution 38/77 of December 15, 1983, the General Assembly requested the Secretary-General to prepare a study on all aspects of Antarctica, taking into account the Antarctic Treaty system and other relevant factors. He was also to seek the views of Member States and of those conducting scientific research in Antarctica, and to request assistance from other interested states and specialized agencies, as well as from organizations with scientific or technical information on Antarctica. The resulting report, which was submitted to the General Assembly in October 1984, reviewed a range of activities related to Antarctica without making any major recommendations. On December 17, 1984, General Assembly Resolution 39/152 expressed appreciation to the Secretary-General for the study, and placed Antarctica on the provisional agenda of the 40th Session.

Consideration of Antarctica by the General Assembly at its 40th Session led to a regrettable polarization of views on the issue, with non-Antarctic Treaty members pressing for fundamental changes in the Antarctic Treaty system, and treaty parties rejecting the alleged need for significant alterations in the system. Debate in the First Committee resulted in the adoption of three resolutions by vote for the first time, contrary to the traditional consideration of Antarctica under the rule of consensus. Beyond these, Malaysia and other developing states also proposed the establishment of a UN *ad hoc* committee to consider Antarctic issues, but did not press for a vote on this issue.

Prior to the Antarctica votes in the First Committee, Australia announced on behalf of the United States and the other Antarctic Treaty Consultative Parties that they viewed the breaking of consensus on this matter with regret because consensus had formed the basis for past cooperation by the parties with non-Member States and the United Nations. Since the Consultative Parties were not prepared to accept attempts to undermine the Antarctic Treaty system, which remains open for accession by all nations, the Parties declared they would not participate in voting on Antarctica resolutions in either the First Committee or the

General Assembly plenary until consensus, the only realistic basis for United Nations consideration of the matter, was restored. Australia further stated on behalf of the Parties that they would suspend their cooperation with the United Nations on Antarctic matters until consensus was achieved again.

Three resolutions were adopted by the First Committee on December 2 and by the General Assembly plenary on December 16. The first resolution, introduced by Malaysia, requested the Secretary-General to expand his 1984 study of Antarctica to investigate the availability of information from the Consultative Parties to the United Nations regarding their respective activities in, and Treaty deliberations on Antarctica. The expanded study also should review the involvement of the relevant specialized agencies and international organizations in the Antarctica Treaty system, and determine the jurisdiction in the Southern Ocean of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea. The resolution was adopted in the First Committee by a vote of 80 to 0, with 9 abstentions and 35 (U.S.) not participating in the vote. It was adopted by the General Assembly plenary by 96 to 0, with 11 abstentions and 41 (U.S.) not participating in the vote. (Resolution 40/156 A)

The second resolution, submitted by Malaysia, stated that any exploitation of the resources of Antarctica should ensure the maintenance of international peace and security, the protection of the Antarctic environment, the nonappropriation and conservation of said resources, the international management of commercial exploitation, and the equitable distribution of its benefits as "the common heritage of mankind." The First Committee adopted this resolution by a vote of 78 to 0, with 10 abstentions and 35 (U.S.) not participating in the vote. The Assembly plenary adopted this resolution by a vote of 92 to 0, with 14 abstentions and 43 (U.S.) not participating in the vote. (Resolution 40/156 B)

The third resolution, submitted by Mauritius, called on the Consultative Parties to exclude "the racist apartheid regime of South Africa, also a Consultative Party, from their meetings at the earliest possible date." This resolution was adopted in the First Committee by a vote of 81 to 0, with 9 abstentions and 36 (U.S.) not participating in the vote, and in the Assembly plenary by a vote of 100 to 0, with 12 abstentions and 37 (U.S.) not participating in the vote. (Resolution 40/156 C)

In adopting these resolutions, the General Assembly also placed the question of Antarctica on the provisional agenda for its 41st Session.

OUTER SPACE

The 53-member Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space (COPUOS), its Scientific and Technical Subcommittee, and its Legal Subcommittee all met during 1985. The Committee was established by the General Assembly in 1958, based on a proposal presented by the United States and 19 other nations, for the purpose of promoting international cooperation in the peaceful uses of outer space. In its first 20 years of existence, it maintained an excellent record as a forum for exchanging scientific information and produced four widely accepted international conventions on outer space, including the 1967 Outer Space Treaty. In recent years, however, there had been a serious deterioration in the scientific and legal work of the Committee; debates were increasingly influenced by political factors and a tendency to involve it in disarmament and other matters which the United States and other Western States felt were fundamentally at odds with the Committee's mandate and with the consensus procedure that governs its work. By the 39th session of the General Assembly, however, the United States, in concert with other Western States, had succeeded in checking that decline, at least for the time being.

Scientific and Technical Subcommittee

On February 12, in a meeting of the Scientific and Technical Subcommittee in New York, U.S. Representative Ambassador Jose S. Sorzano outlined the approach to the Committee that the United States would take in 1985:

In the case of this committee, there might be an opportunity once again to focus on relevant and fruitful issues and avoid extraneous and polarizing debate. Paragraph 15 of Resolution 39/96 removes from the committee's agenda, "Questions relating to militarization," and invites the committee's consideration of activities consistent with its original charter to promote the peaceful uses of outer space. It could represent an important opportunity for the committee to get on with the job of promoting significant international cooperation in the peaceful uses of outer space—cooperation which will enable scientists, private industry and governments to move forward in outer space with greater speed and with even greater benefits to all nations. The United States is prepared to contribute fully to the process of restoring meaning and focus to the committee's proper role and functions. We will be interested in how other delegations approach this matter and hope that their actions reflect an interest in conducting serious business and a desire to avoid confrontational polemics. For our part, we will be prepared to work constructively with all delegations who take the committee's work seriously. But, by the same token, we cannot pretend that we are prepared to continue to participate in the work of the committee if it returns to a mode of confrontation and polemical debate.

During the same Subcommittee session, February 11-22, the United States strongly supported a proposal, introduced by Austria and ultimately accepted by other members of the Subcommittee, to take up new matters related to space medicine, progress in the geosphere-biosphere programs, and advances in space science having particular relevance to developing countries. The United States expressed the hope that this would be the first in a series of steps that Member States would take to revitalize the work of COPUOS within its proper terms of reference. Little progress was made, however, in the Subcommittee's discussion of matters already on its agenda, such as the UN program on space applications and the coordination of space activities within the UN system, questions relating to space transportation systems, the examination of the physical nature of the geostationary orbit, and the use of nuclear power sources in outer space.

Legal Subcommittee

The Legal Subcommittee held its 24th session in New York on March 18-April 4. Its agenda included consideration of the legal implications of remote sensing of the Earth from space, with the aim of formulating draft principles. In addition, the Subcommittee considered the possibility of supplementing the norms of international law on nuclear power sources in space, the definition and delimitation of outer space, and the rational and equitable use of the geostationary orbit without prejudice to the role of the International Telecommunication Union.

The Subcommittee considered the questions of nuclear power sources, the delimitation of outer space, and the use of the geostationary orbit through separate working groups, but reached no conclusions. In the area of remote sensing, some progress was recorded for the first time in many years, owing to the introduction by France of a new draft text of principles that attempted to bridge longstanding differences in several areas. The U.S. Delegation took the position that the French text was a positive contribution toward solving some problems, and that we were prepared to negotiate solutions to other problems. The U.S. objectives were to ensure that any resulting principles were fully consistent with U.S. law and policy, and involved no new obligations on either the U.S. Government or the U.S. private sector.

Outer Space Committee

COPUOS held its 28th plenary session June 17-28 in New York. The major focus of that session was a working paper introduced by the United States, Australia, Belgium, the Federal Republic of Germany, Japan, the Netherlands, Turkey, and the United Kingdom. It contained comprehensive proposals to revitalize the Committee and its Subcommittees. The proposals included: (a) establishment of an informal, open-ended working group in the Committee to review the organization and methods of work of the Committee and its two Subcommittees in order to make them as effective as possible; (b) consideration of the activities and resources of the Secretariat and review of a possible reorganization of the UN system that would facilitate the work of the Committee; (c) placing such items as advances in space life-science research, including space medicine, international cooperation in space science through geophysical and biophysical research programs, and advances in space science and applications having particular relevance to developing countries on the agenda of the Scientific and Technical Subcommittee; and (d) inclusion of a new item regarding spinoffs from outer space programs on the agenda of the 29th session. Despite expressions of interest by some Group of 77 states in various proposals, the Western working paper met with strong resistance from the Soviet Union at the Committee's annual session. Intensive informal consultations also continued on remote-sensing principles, resulting in a compromise proposal by Austria that was acceptable to the United States and other Western States. Adoption of the Austrian text by the COPUOS was prevented by the unwillingness of the Soviet bloc and groups of 77 members to commit themselves to that text at that meeting. The Austrian proposal and the Western working paper were then annexed to the Committee's report for future consideration.

General Assembly Consideration

The 40th General Assembly, on the recommendation of its Special Political Committee, adopted an omnibus resolution dealing with "International cooperation in the peaceful uses of outer space." The draft resolution was approved in Committee by consensus on December 6, then adopted in the Assembly plenary on December 16, also by consensus. The resolution is virtually identical to the one adopted at the 39th session (Resolution 39/96),

when consensus was restored to the program of work of the Outer Space Committee and its Subcommittees. (Resolution 40/162)

A major hurdle to arriving at consensus in the 40th UNGA was an attempt by the Soviet Union to have the resolution express support for its proposal for a UN conference to establish a new world space organization under the so-called condition of "non-militarization" of space. Speaking in Committee on November 22, the U.S. Representative William J. Lowell summarized the U.S. view of the Soviet proposal as follows:

We regard the proposals contained in that document as feckless and the stated assumptions underlying them as specious. In making those proposals, the authors of the document hope to project themselves as a beneficent government and thereby gain support for their disarmament initiatives. I doubt that anyone is fooled by such ploys.

Document A/40/476, dated July 11, 1985, provided the facts about contributions to the development activities of the UN system. Ninety-two percent of all development activities of the UN are provided by the Western industrialized countries, as compared with less than one percent provided by the Soviet Union and the countries of Eastern Europe. By contrast, the developing countries themselves provide approximately seven percent. Those are the facts, and Document A/40/476 is available in this Committee. The United States of America has no interest in the proposals of A/SPC/40/3 and, therefore, would not be prepared to finance them. For our part, the United States is continuing without any pre-conditions to expand its extensive program of cooperation with other states in the peaceful use of outer space. We support the long-standing role of the United Nations to encourage peaceful space activities through the COPUOS. We invite the Soviet Union to join with us in that effort.

Ultimately, the Soviet Union's proposal failed to attract serious support and was withdrawn in the final meeting of the Special Political Committee's working group on outer space, thus enabling a consensus resolution to be forwarded to the Committee for adoption. Speaking in Committee after the resolution was adopted, U.S. Representative Walter S. Viglienzzone said: "We hope that this development indicates a growing awareness that most member states of COPUOS are interested in constructive action, rather than propaganda, when dealing with the peaceful uses of space."

LAW OF THE SEA

The Third UN Conference on the Law of the Sea (LOS) convened in 1972, and completed negotiations on an LOS Treaty at its 11th and final session in the spring of 1982.

After a searching review of the draft treaty and of U.S. participation in the LOS negotiations, the administration decided to participate in the final round of negotiations and attempt to pro-

tect U.S. interests by seeking amendments to the seabed-mining section of the Draft Convention, which was fundamentally flawed. The United States was unable to obtain essential changes and therefore called for a vote on the Treaty. The vote was 130 to 4 (U.S., Turkey, Israel, and Venezuela), with 17 abstentions (principally a combination of EC countries and the Eastern European countries). The President subsequently announced on July 9, 1982, that the United States would not sign the Treaty, and it was later joined in this view by two other major seabed-mining nations—the United Kingdom and the Federal Republic of Germany.

The General Assembly adopted resolutions at its 37th, 38th, and 39th sessions that welcomed the adoption of the LOS Convention, called on all states to sign and ratify the Convention, and approved financing of the LOS Preparatory Commission from the regular UN budget. Only the United States and Turkey opposed the resolutions. On December 10, the 40th General Assembly again endorsed the LOS Convention and approved funds for the Preparatory Committee from the regular UN budget by a vote of 140 to 2 (U.S.), with 5 abstentions. (Resolution 40/63)

In an explanation of the vote U.S. Representative Robinson Risner stated in plenary on December 10:

Again, my delegation reluctantly has had to cast a negative vote on a resolution concerning the law of the sea. As we have stated in the past, the United States views the 1982 United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea as a major accomplishment in the development of international law relating to the oceans. Unfortunately, the Convention contains one part, part XI, that runs contrary to United States policy and to the policy of others who share our views concerning the future development of resources on the deep seabed. Therefore, the United States has not signed the 1982 United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea.

One of the reasons the United States is opposed to this resolution is that it continues funding from the general budget of the United Nations for the Preparatory Commission on the International Sea-Bed Authority and the International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea. As we have noted in the past, the costs of the Preparatory Commission should be borne by the nations that are party to the 1982 United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea. . . .

The United States position on the legality of exploration and exploitation of deep seabed resources under international law is well known. As we have stated many times, the United States and its nationals, like other States and their nationals, have the legal right to explore and exploit deep seabed resources. Under international law such activities are a lawful exercise of high-seas freedoms. The United States and its nationals intend to exercise these rights with reasonable regard to the interests of other States in the exercise of high-seas freedoms. These rights, which the United States and its nationals have under international law, would not be abridged or diminished should the Convention eventually enter into force.

Having said this, I wish to emphasize the United States view that the 1982 United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea has many positive aspects. The United States will continue to cooperate with the international community to ensure that the important principles enshrined in parts of the Convention, other than part XI, are widely respected.

GENERAL POLITICAL PROBLEMS

Membership

During 1985, for the first time since 1982, there were no applications for membership in the United Nations, which remains at 159.

Question of Peacekeeping

PEACEKEEPING GUIDELINES

In 1965, the General Assembly established the 33-member Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations (Peacekeeping Committee) to make recommendations concerning the financial situation.* Ever since then the Peacekeeping Committee has been responsible for carrying out a comprehensive review of peacekeeping operations, on conceptual and practical levels. The Committee's main objectives are in addition to recommendations concerning the financial situation are to draft guidelines for future peacekeeping operations, and to examine the question of practical measures to improve the effectiveness of peacekeeping operations.

The Peacekeeping Committee held one purely procedural meeting in September.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

The General Assembly's Special Political Committee considered the question of peacekeeping in three meetings, October 8-10.

On October 10, U.S. Representative John Davis Lodge told the Special Political Committee that the United States was prepared to acquiesce in the continuation of the mandate of the Peacekeeping Committee, if that was the wish of the majority of its members, notwithstanding the fact that past experience did not give grounds for optimism that that Committee would achieve great progress in the future. Although the United States had been

*Members in 1985 were: Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Canada, Denmark, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, France, German Democratic Republic, Guatemala, Hungary, India, Iraq, Italy, Japan, Mauritania, Mexico, Netherlands, Nigeria, Pakistan, Poland, Romania, Sierra Leone, Spain, Thailand, U.S.S.R., U.K., U.S., Venezuela, and Yugoslavia.

pleased to support all the resolutions that have shaped the mandate of the Peacekeeping Committee from its inception, he said, it believed the prospects for progress on questions before that Committee were brighter in other UN forums, which might be able to deal with them more effectively.

On October 9, the Chairman of the Special Political Committee introduced a draft resolution, worked out in private consultations, which renewed the mandate of the Peacekeeping Committee and called for the inclusion of a "Comprehensive Review of the whole question of peacekeeping operations in all their aspects" on the provisional agenda of the 41st Session of the General Assembly. The draft resolution was adopted without a vote by the Special Political Committee on October 10. On December 16, the General Assembly adopted the draft in the same manner. (Resolution 40/163)

Efforts Toward Strengthening the United Nations

CHARTER COMMITTEE

The Special Committee on the Charter of the United Nations and on the Strengthening of the Organization (Charter Committee) held its 10th session in New York, March 4-29. The Charter Committee operated through a working group that met in closed meetings and continued to consider the maintenance of international peace and security, the peaceful settlement of disputes, and the rationalization of UN procedures. The Charter Committee reported on its 1985 session to the 40th General Assembly via the Sixth Committee.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

In seven meetings, November 13-20, and in three meetings on November 27 and December 2 and 4, the Sixth Committee considered the report of the Charter Committee.

In the Sixth Committee on November 19, the U.S. Representative, Robert Rosenstock, noted that during its 1985 session, as in the previous year, the Charter Committee's deliberations had been conducted in a "positive atmosphere." Attributing the positive tone to a consensus mandate, he expressed confidence that it would be possible to work out another resolution governing the Charter Committee's activities which could be adopted by consensus.

Mr. Rosenstock said the United States supported the general concepts and basic approach contained in a working paper on the maintenance of peace and security sponsored by Belgium, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, Japan, New Zealand, and Spain. Although the United States understood and sympathized with the motivations behind a Romanian, Nigerian, and Philippine proposal to establish a permanent commission on good offices, mediation, and conciliation, the sponsors had failed to demonstrate that such a commission would be able to shoulder its responsibilities effectively without interfering with the prerogatives and responsibilities of existing UN organs. Applauding the introduction of a France-U.K. working paper on the rationalization of UN procedures, Mr. Rosenstock drew attention to the proliferation of General Assembly meetings and resolutions, many of them unnecessary and unpalatable, which, he pointed out, undermine respect for the effectiveness of the United Nations. Mr. Rosenstock also made it clear that the United States would consider it improper for the General Assembly to adopt a resolution that called into question and undermined the fundamental provisions of the UN Charter relating to the responsibilities and working methods of the Security Council. Such a resolution, he said, would not only engender a confrontational atmosphere resulting in a fundamental change in the nature of the Charter Committee, but also would sabotage its worthwhile efforts relating to the maintenance of peace and security.

On November 27, Libya introduced in the Sixth Committee a draft resolution, cosponsored by Iran, that requested the Charter Committee at its next session to "accord priority to the question of the maintenance of international peace and security" by, *inter alia*, examining "strengthening the role of the Security Council" through a consideration of "the adverse effects on the maintenance of international peace and security arising from the abuse of the unanimity rule (veto) of the permanent members." On December 2, the Sixth Committee approved by a recorded vote of 46 (U.S.) to 36, with 29 abstentions, a Belgian motion under Article 131 of the Rules of Procedure that the Committee should take no decision on the Libyan draft resolution.

On December 2, the Philippines introduced a draft resolution, sponsored by 38 states, that was adopted by the Sixth Committee without a vote, and which on December 11 was subsequently adopted by the General Assembly in the same manner. The resolution requested that during its 1986 session the Charter Committee devote more time to the question of international peace and security, in particular, the role of the Security Council, and continue its work on the question of peaceful settlement of disputes

between states. This should include further consideration of the proposal by Romania, Nigeria, and the Philippines for the creation of a permanent commission on good offices, mediation, and conciliation. The resolution also requested that the Secretary-General continue the preparation of a draft handbook on the peaceful settlement of disputes. (Resolution 40/78)

Strengthening International Security

On September 25, the Sixth Committee, pursuant to paragraph 8 of General Assembly Resolution 39/78, established a Subcommittee on Good Neighborliness. After four meetings (November 1, 7, 15, and 19), the Subcommittee submitted an inconclusive report. The Sixth Committee considered that report on December 2 and 3 and adopted without a vote a Romanian draft resolution on the "Development and Strengthening of Good Neighborliness between States." On December 11, the General Assembly adopted the same text without a vote. The resolution took note of the report of the Subcommittee on Good Neighborliness and urged the Sixth Committee to continue its work on the subject at its 41st Session. (Resolution 40/419)

On November 8, the General Assembly adopted without a vote a "Solemn Appeal to states in conflict to cease armed action forthwith and to settle disputes between them through negotiations, and to States Members of the United Nations to undertake to solve situations of tension and conflict and existing disputes by political means and to refrain from the threat or use of force and from any intervention in the internal affairs of other states." (Resolution 40/9) The resolution (1) invited the Security Council to act promptly in accordance with its functions under the Charter in cases of conflict and dispute by recommending appropriate procedures or methods of adjustment with a view to settling disputes between states by peaceful means, (2) reaffirmed the role of the General Assembly conferred by the Charter in the areas of peaceful settlement of disputes and the maintenance of international peace and security, and (3) encouraged the Secretary-General to play an active role within the scope of his functions under the Charter to promote efforts for the peaceful settlement of disputes and conflicts between states.

In seven meetings, December 2-6, the First Committee jointly considered items reviewing the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security (SIS), the collective security provisions of the UN Charter, and the resolution on

“Strengthening of Security and Cooperation in the Mediterranean Region.”

On December 6, by a vote of 102 to 0, with 25 (U.S.) abstentions, the Committee adopted a Yugoslavian draft resolution co-sponsored by 18 other states that noted with concern that the provisions of the SIS declaration had not been fully implemented and the UN system of collective security had not been used effectively. The resolution reaffirmed the declaration's validity and called upon states to contribute to its implementation as well as that of the system of collective security envisioned in the Charter. In explanation of the U.S. abstention, the U.S. Representative, David Loving, said the United States had abstained because the text of the resolution frequently strayed into contentious regional issues and took positions tending to prejudice the outcome of negotiations. Moreover, it blamed the deterioration of the international security climate exclusively on the superpowers, ignoring other conflicts. Mr. Loving added that the United States interpreted operative paragraph 5 of the resolution, which favors the gradual military disengagement of the great powers from various parts of the world, as a reiteration of the Committee's call for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. On December 16, the General Assembly adopted the resolution by a vote of 127 to 0, with 26 (U.S.) abstentions. (Resolution 40/158)

Also on December 6, the Committee, by a vote of 91 to 21 (U.S.), with 16 abstentions, adopted a Ghanaian resolution, co-sponsored by Malaysia, Mali, Nigeria, and Trinidad and Tobago, on the “Implementation of the collective security provisions of the Charter of the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security.” This draft resolution regretted that the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Implementation of the Collective Security Provisions of the Charter of the United Nations established by the 38th General Assembly had not been constituted, and it asked the President of the General Assembly to appoint 54 Member States, including the permanent members of the Security Council, to the *ad hoc* committee. Taking due account of the views of Member States, the *ad hoc* committee was charged to submit a progress report to the Security Council and General Assembly during its 41st Session. Mr. Loving explained that the United States had opposed the draft resolution because it considered the Special Committee on the UN Charter and on the Strengthening of the Role of the Organization to be the proper body for consideration of these matters. Proposing to establish a committee to perform activities already contemplated in the mandate of the Charter Committee, he noted, was a glaring example of profligate institutional duplication, which was not conducive to progress on the issues

and indeed could dangerously complicate it. On December 16 the General Assembly adopted the same text by a vote of 114 to 21 (U.S.), with 16 abstentions. (Resolution 40/159)

At the same session, the Committee also adopted by consensus a draft resolution, introduced by Malta and cosponsored by Algeria, Cyprus, Libya, Morocco, Romania, and Tunisia, on the Strengthening of Security and Cooperation in the Mediterranean region. The draft resolution affirmed that the security of the Mediterranean is closely linked with European security and international peace and security, and it urged all states to cooperate with the Mediterranean States in further efforts required to reduce tension and promote peace, security, and cooperation in the region. U.S. Representative Loving announced that the United States had joined in the consensus on the draft resolution despite some reservations about the text; viz., the United States did not support all previous UN resolutions on the subject cited in the resolution. He noted, moreover, that U.S. concurrence in no way implied any support for the 1984 Valletta Declaration, which the United States considered totally unacceptable. On December 16, the General Assembly adopted the draft resolution without a vote. (Resolution 40/157)

Questions Relating to Information

The Committee on Information (COI), a standing committee* of the General Assembly, is mandated to oversee UN public information activities, including those of the Department of Public Information (DPI), and to coordinate information activities of UN specialized agencies. The COI held its organizational session, March 19-21; its substantive session, its seventh, June 17-July 5, and a resumed substantive session August 29.

In each of the meetings the principal point of contention, as last year, was the refusal of the G-77 to accept a definition of a New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO) as an "evolving and continuous process." In the resumed substantive of the COI, the entire Western group either voted against or abstained on the set of recommendations tabled by the G-77. The vote was 42 to 12 (U.S.), with 2 abstentions. This was the first time the Committee has ever resorted to voting because of failure to achieve consensus.

*At its 39th Session, the General Assembly increased the membership from 67 to 69 by adding China and Mexico as new members.

The Special Political Committee (SPC) of the General Assembly considered the COI's recommendations between November 12 and December 4 under the agenda item "Questions Relating to Information."

On December 4, Yugoslavia, on behalf of the G-77, introduced two resolutions in the SPC. The first of these set the priorities of the DPI; it was adopted 96 to 15 (U.S.), with 6 abstentions. The second resolution, expressing support for a NWICO and UNESCO's efforts to promote it, was adopted 96-18 (U.S.) with 17 abstentions. Both resolutions contain definitions of a NWICO that are unacceptable to the West.

The entire Western group either voted against or abstained on the two resolutions—a significant increase in solidarity from 1984's six negative Western votes.

On December 16, both resolutions were adopted in the General Assembly Plenary by votes of 121 to 19 (U.S.), with 8 abstentions and 122 to 16 (U.S.), with 9 abstentions, a significant improvement over 1984, when the vote on comparable resolutions was 132 to 6 (U.S.), with 7 abstentions and 122 to 6 (U.S.), with 17 abstentions.

In its explanation of vote, the United States noted that the draft resolutions failed to take into account any of the major concerns of the Western Group, including the problem of defining a NWICO, and called for the implementation of COI recommendations which the Western Group opposed. The United States also opposed a paragraph calling for expanded resources for the DPI and a request that the DPI publicize alleged human rights violations in Palestine.

The United States has long been critical of some aspects of the work of the DPI, i.e., budget practices, evaluation procedures, and its special targeting of Namibia and Palestine. On June 24, Senator Arlen Specter (R-PA) requested the General Accounting Office (GAO) to undertake an evaluation of activities of the DPI alleged to be anti-U.S. and anti-Israeli while favoring the U.S.S.R. The Bureau of International Organization Affairs developed criteria for the study in the areas of apartheid, an NWICO, a New International Economic Order, Palestine, and Disarmament. Using these criteria, a GAO study team evaluated printed materials disseminated by the DPI and scripts of radio programs produced by the DPI. The GAO report is expected to be completed in 1986.

Part 2

Economic, Social, Scientific, and Human Rights Affairs

INTRODUCTION

Chapter III of the UN Charter established the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) as the principal organs of the United Nations responsible for the issues covered in Part 2 of this report. ECOSOC's limited membership (54 countries) has, however, led the developing countries to prefer the General Assembly and its subsidiary bodies, where they enjoy their maximum voting strength, for substantive discussion and action on international economic issues, especially those directly related to development. As a result, the General Assembly has created entities (described in this part) for substantive discussion and action on international economic issues, especially those directly related to development. The most important of these is the UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD).

The General Assembly and its subsidiary bodies constitute the major areas for what has come to be called the North/South dialogue between developed and developing countries. The North/South distinction between developed and developing countries, however, tends to mask the significant differences within each group and to overlook the high degree of economic interdependence which exists between developed and developing countries and among developing countries themselves. In concert with Group B (Western industrialized countries), the United States continued its effort begun last year to improve the functioning and efficiency of UNCTAD. Another area for North/South dialogue is the UN system review of the Third International Development Strategy—discussed under its own heading in this part. UNGA Resolution 34/138 called for a “round of global and sustained negotiations” on several international economic issues, but there were no significant developments on this front. In the 40th General Assembly the G-77 presented resolutions on commodities, debt,

and the convening of an international monetary conference which were carried over to a resumed session of the Second Committee in the spring of 1986. The United States opposes the commodity resolution because it believes that the long-term effect of price-affecting commodity agreements has often proved to be deleterious to both consumers and producers, and that debt and monetary reform are more appropriately and effectively addressed in such fora as the World Bank and the IMF. The GA also voted to hold a Special Session on the Critical Economic Situation in Africa in New York, May 27-31, 1986.

The General Assembly, in its regular sessions, is organized into seven committees. The Second Committee is responsible primarily for economic affairs, and the Third Committee for cultural, humanitarian, and social matters. The committees receive some of their issues directly, but most are passed to them by ECOSOC.

ECOSOC consists of its plenary body; five regional economic commissions, several functional commissions; and a varying number of subcommissions, working groups, and expert groups. The regional economic commissions and many of the other bodies are covered in this part.

All elements of the UN system primarily concerned with the issues in this section usually report to the General Assembly through ECOSOC. It is authorized only to comment on reports from other bodies (such as UNCTAD and the specialized agencies) before conveying them to the General Assembly. At the summer ECOSOC in Geneva, Africa was accorded priority as a direct result of a U.S. proposal during the organizational session in February. On other issues, the United States took a strong position on reducing the UN's expanding budget by seriously questioning new proposals with financial implications.

ECONOMIC AND DEVELOPMENT ACTIVITIES

The Critical Economic Situation in Africa

Africa was selected as the priority issue for the second regular session of ECOSOC this year as a result of a U.S. proposal at the ECOSOC organizational session in February. Africa was first selected as a priority topic at the 1984 summer session of ECOSOC and the momentum of those discussions carried through to the 39th UNGA in the fall of 1984.

The debate at the 1985 summer session included constructive criticism of the UN effort, discussion of current bilateral aid in-

cluding expressions of gratitude by African delegates (sometimes singling out U.S. assistance), and calls for attention to medium and long-term assistance in addition to emergency aid. The Africans presented a resolution which (1) called for the convening of a General Assembly Special Session to consider the critical economic situation in Africa, and (2) supported an OAU appeal for an international conference on Africa's external debt. The United States objected to the idea of a conference on debt, preferring to consider the problems of debtor countries on a case-by-case basis in fora such as the World Bank and IMF where the experience and expertise already reside.

The United States entered its objections to the idea of an international debt conference on the record. The final resolution took note of the idea of a debt conference and for a Special Session on the critical economic situation in Africa and it passed by consensus.

In the fall, the General Assembly voted to hold a "UN Special Session on the Critical Economic Situation in Africa" in New York, May 27-31, 1986. The resolution supporting the special session calls for it to focus on African rehabilitation and long-term development (rather than debt). On this basis, the United States plans to participate in the Special Session.

International Development Strategy

The International Development Strategy for the 1980's (IDS) was adopted by consensus in 1980 at the 35th session of the UN General Assembly. The IDS endorses many development principles the United State advocate. Its sections on social development (i.e., basic human needs) are particularly strong. The developing countries go further than they have before in committing themselves to action to improve housing, education and the health of their citizens. Employment opportunities, especially in rural areas, are emphasized, and a section on population control is included. The IDS recognizes the importance of accelerated action to increase food production, improve nutrition and enhance food security in developing countries. It stresses the need for assistance of all types—non-concessional as well as concessional—and from all sources, to speed development of poorer developing countries. In addition, largely because of U.S. insistence, it initiates in its review and appraisal provisions the first step in a process by which development programs of developing countries will be periodically assessed along with the aid performance of donor countries.

The IDS also has significant weaknesses. It contains an overly ambitious and unrealistic growth target for developing countries in the 1980's—an annual average of 7 percent. It is too dependent on official development assistance (ODA) for meeting its goals, calling for all donor countries to reach an assistance target of 0.7 percent of GNP. It calls for trade concessions beyond those agreed to in the Multilateral Trade Negotiations and includes demands for the restructuring of the international trade, transportation, and monetary systems. One glaring shortcoming is the less than comprehensive treatment of the importance of energy to development. While it contrasts with its predecessors in having a major energy section, the new IDS does not adequately recognize the role of energy supplies and prices in development, an omission dictated to the G-77 by the oil-exporting states.

IDS implementation is now a standard item on the agenda of almost all UN bodies. In addition, almost all UN resolutions on economic and social development refer to the IDS. Implementation of the IDS, therefore, involves the work programs of practically all UN agencies, and is the subject of close UN attention. A UN Committee of Universal Membership met May 7-25, 1984, to conduct a system-wide mid-term review of the Third IDS to identify the reasons for shortfalls in IDS implementation. This Committee, and follow-up discussions during the Summer ECOSOC and the 39th UN General Assembly, ended inconclusively.

In 1985, however, the Committee on the Review and Appraisal of IDS concluded its work with the adoption by consensus of a text of "Agreed Conclusions." Although the U.S. Representative made a statement of reservation/interpretation, the United States decided to join the consensus in order to encourage a trend toward G-77 moderation, because it contained the first acknowledgment within the United Nations of the positive aspects of the recent economic recovery, and because it called for the Secretariat to study the implications of different development policies—which the United States can use to advance policies which have been successful, i.e., reliance on market principles and the private sector.

Economic Commission for Europe

The Economic Commission for Europe (ECE), established in 1947, is one of five regional economic commissions which report to ECOSOC. It has 34 members—the European members of the United Nations plus Canada, Switzerland, and the United States.

Other UN member countries take part, in a consultative capacity, when matters of particular concern to them are considered. Composed largely of developed nations, ECE focuses on problems confronting modern industrialized societies. Decisions are normally made by consensus reached in deliberations between the Eastern and Western caucuses.

ECE's terms of reference are broad and over the years the nature of its work has paralleled changing European and Atlantic concerns. When first established, the ECE's principal focus was on European postwar economic reconstruction. Since then the Commission has evolved into a forum where East and West can consult on economic and technical problems of common interest. The Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe specifically accorded the ECE a number of responsibilities for multilateral activity in economics, science, technology, and the environment. The concluding document of the followup meeting of representatives of the participating states of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe was signed in Madrid in 1983, and reaffirmed ECE's role as a forum for implementing provisions relating to energy, trade, air pollution, and transport.

ECE carries out its activities principally through 15 specialized committees—Agricultural Problems; Chemical Industry; Coal; Electric Power; Gas; Housing, Building, and Planning; Inland Transport; Steel; Timber; Development of Trade; Water Problems; Conference of European Statisticians; Senior Economic Advisers; Senior Advisers on Environmental Problems; Senior Advisers on Science and Technology; and a number of subsidiary bodies which deal with special problems included in the committees' programs. Additional subjects of interest to the Commission are dealt with by *ad hoc* groups, notably the Senior Advisers on Energy, the Group of Experts on Standardization Policies, and the Working Party on Engineering Industries and Automation. From time to time, and often in conjunction with other multilateral organizations such as FAO and ILO, ECE convenes special symposia, seminars, and conferences. Study tours to member countries are occasionally arranged in connection with such meetings. A substantial number of U.S. Government departments and agencies, as well as Congressional and private sector representatives, actively participate in ECE-sponsored meetings.

The Commission's 40th Plenary Session was held April 15-27 in Geneva. East-West differences over the agenda for this annual meeting have frequently been unresolved until just before the Session, and in 1985 the Plenary was actually postponed for a day and a half while compromise language on the UN's 40th Anniversary was worked out. But once this question was out of the way,

the negotiating sessions proceeded in a business-like manner, and produced substantive decisions on trade, air pollution, agricultural cooperation, and the environment. A decision was endorsed to convene the fifth session of the Senior Advisers on Energy (SAE), which was subsequently held in September with a technical agenda focusing on review of its work program. The Commission, moreover, examined the main economic problems facing Europe and North America, and delegations reviewed the performance of the Commission as a whole during the previous year and approved future activities to be undertaken by the Commission and its subsidiary bodies. Other agenda items related to the Commission's contribution to the preparatory work for the International Conference on Population, standardization activities, and the Commission's contribution to the preparatory work for the 1985 World Conference to Review and Appraise the Achievements of the UN Decade for Women. Also adopted were decisions on economic cooperation in the Mediterranean, on overall economic perspective to the year 2000, and on engineering industries and automation.

ECE's Committee on the Development of Trade, which held its 1985 annual session December 2-6, is the UN's primary body dealing with East-West Trade. This Committee focused on such issues as countertrade, economic and commercial information, industrial cooperation, and trade promotion. For the first time in many years, exceptional harmony and toned down polemics marked the meeting, the ECE's most important after the plenary.

By the end of 1985, East-West tensions in the ECE had eased considerably and were at a 10-year low. There was a perceptible overflow of the good will generated at the Reagan-Gorbachev Summit into ECE activities. Prospects for a carryover of this favorable atmosphere in 1986 were reinforced by quick agreement in East-West negotiations on the agenda for the 1986 Plenary.

Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific

The Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP) was established in 1947. The United States was 1 of the original 10 members. Presently there are 37 members and 10 associate members. Five members (France, Netherlands, U.S.S.R, the United Kingdom, and the United States) are from outside the region, which covers an extensive area from Mongolia south to New Zealand, and from Iran east to the island countries in the

Pacific. ESCAP's headquarters are in Bangkok, although some subsidiary bodies and other activities are located in other Asian cities.

ESCAP's primary role is to serve member countries by identifying problems in the areas of social and economic development, providing a forum for debate on development issues, providing technical assistance and advisory services, and helping members attract outside assistance. It does not itself provide capital resources, but helps establish institutions to attract funds for regional and subregional projects which, in turn, supply development assistance.

The annual Commission sessions provide the main guidance for ESCAP's program and activities, while the Secretariat prepares reports, compiles statistics on current economic issues in the region for distribution to member governments, and prepares and services the meetings of the Commission and the following nine substantive committees: Agricultural Development; Development Planning; Industry, Human Settlements and Technology; Natural Resources; Population; Social Development; Statistics; Trade; and Shipping, Transport and Communications. The present work program and activities are concentrated in six priority areas: food and agriculture, energy; raw materials and commodities, transfer of technology, international trade, and integrated rural development.

The United States contributes financially to ESCAP through its 25 percent assessed contribution to the UN regular budget. In addition, ESCAP receives funding from other UN agencies, especially UNDP, to which the United States is a major contributor. Finally, the United States has from time to time participated in individual ESCAP programs of special interest by providing extra-budgetary contributions.

The 41st Commission Session was held in Bangkok, March 19-29. It adopted resolutions on the 40th Anniversary of the UN, the Substantial New Program of Action for Least Developed Countries, Science and Technology for Development, ESCAP activities in the Pacific, the statute of the Asian and Pacific Center for the Transfer of Technology, and ESCAP membership for Brunei and Tuvalu.

The 41st Session was more a marathon review of Third World economic gripes than a serious discussion of real development problems and possible solutions. The U.S. Delegation, nonetheless, used the opportunity to press U.S. positions on an open trading system, market-oriented development strategies, the important role of the private sector, and the need for efficient use of secretarial resources within a zero growth budget. U.S. views on many

of these subjects were reflected in the Commission's final report. Political rhetoric was relatively mild by ECOSOC standards, although the Soviet Delegation intervened on several agenda items with highly political statements. Yet the Soviets appeared to win no new friends by their propoganda efforts.

Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean

The Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) was established in 1948, as a regional organization to promote the economic and social development of Latin America and to strengthen economic ties among Latin American countries and between them and the rest of the world. To this end, ECLAC produces studies of various sectors and issues within the Latin American economy, analyzes economic and social conditions in the region, reviews the progress of development plans and programs, and provides training and technical assistance. ECLAC has 35 Western Hemisphere members (including the United States and Canada); 4 nonregional members (France, the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, and Portugal); and 4 associate members (the British Virgin Islands, the U.S. Virgin Islands, the Netherlands Antilles, and Montserrat).^{*} ECLAC has its Headquarters in Santiago, Chile, and has branch offices in Washington, D.C. and in six Latin American countries.

ECLAC's General Sessions or Plenaries are held in even years usually in a different Latin American capital each time. While ECLAC did not hold a plenary session in 1985, the Secretariat did schedule a number of working meetings and study groups dealing with critical economic issues, foremost of which included the Latin American debt problem. The US did not participate in any of these meetings. The sum result of these meetings was an ECLAC endorsement of the position of the Cartegena Consensus (a group of Latin American countries that meet periodically to arrive at a common position on debt).

ECLAC did hold a Committee of the Whole meeting in Buenos Aires, August 21-23, and once again the major discussion was on Latin American debt. The meeting was largely free of polemics (although the United States did object to the procedure for selecting the conference officers and the eventual seating of a

^{*} The Associated States of St. Kitts-Nevis and Anguilla and the Territory of Montserrat (collectively as a single member).

Cuban as Second Vice Chairman of the Committee). The Committee was, nevertheless, able to reach consensus on a resolution recommending that the Latin American and Caribbean debt crises be included in the agenda of the next sessions of the High Level Government Committee (CEGAN) and the plenary session in ECLAC. The United States joined the consensus but read a reservation into the record.

In 1985, ECLAC had an important change of personnel. Its well-known Executive Secretary, Enrique Iglesias, left the organization to become Foreign Minister of Uruguay. Iglesias was replaced by a respected Latin American economist, Norberto Gonzales, of Argentina.

Economic Commission for Africa

The Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) was established in 1958 as a subsidiary body of ECOSOC. Full membership is limited to independent African countries of which 51 are presently members. The United States, while not a member, supports the Commission's activities by maintaining liaison with ECA headquarters in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia; attending some of its meetings as an observer; and providing financial and technical assistance through the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID).

ECA is charged with: (1) promoting the economic and social development of Africa; (2) strengthening economic relations among African countries and territories, (3) undertaking studies on economic development; (4) collecting, evaluating, and disseminating economic and technical information; and (5) helping to formulate policies to promote economic development. ECA also provides advisory services to its members in various economic and social fields.

In 1983 AID concluded a new technical assistance agreement with the ECA to provide \$710,000 during 1983-87 to be used for the support of two projects which will: (a) strengthen human resources planning and development management training at the Institute for Economic Development and Planning in Dakar, Senegal, and (b) improve the communications capability of ECA's African Training and Research Center for Women.

ECA's 11th Ministerial meeting was held in Arusha, Tanzania April 25-29. The Commission adopted its Program of Work and Priorities for the Biennium 1986-87 comprised of the following topics: Food and Agriculture, Development Issues and Policies, Environment, Human Settlement, Industrial Development, International Trade and Development Finance; Natural Resources,

Marine Affairs, Population, Public Administration and Finance, Science and Technology, Social Development; Statistics, Transport, Communications and Tourism, Energy, and Transnational Corporations.

Economic Commission for Western Asia

The Economic Commission for Western Asia (ECWA) came into existence on January 1, 1974. The August 1973 ECOSOC Resolution 1818 (LV) that approved its establishment provided that "the Commission shall consist of the states members of the UN situated in Western Asia which at present call on services of the UN Economic and Social Office in Beirut." That wording limited the original membership to 12 Arab States (Egypt and the PLO were admitted in 1977), and effectively excluded Israel, even though it is a UN member of the region involved, because it had not used the office in Beirut. The United States objected at that time, considering that the language was contrary to the terms of the UN Charter. The United States likewise objected in 1977 when ECWA recommended a change in terms of reference to grant full membership to the PLO. ECOSOC subsequently approved the recommendation by a vote of 27 to 11 (U.S.), with 12 abstentions. The United States was successful, however, in defeating an effort at the 1979 summer conference of ECOSOC to expel Egypt from ECWA. In 1981 ECWA moved its headquarters from Beirut to Baghdad, Iraq because of war damage to Beirut. Current membership, besides the PLO and Egypt, includes Bahrain, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Syria, United Arab Emirates, Yemen Arab Republic, and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen.

The 127th Session of ECWA was held in Baghdad April 20-25. In addition to ECWA members, several countries attended the meeting as observers, including the United States.

The Commission adopted its Program of Work and Priorities for 1986-87 which comprises the following program areas: Food and Agriculture, Development Issues and Policies, Human Settlements, International Trade and Development Finance, Natural Resources, Industrial Development, Environment, Energy, Population, Public Administration and Finance, Science and Technology, Social Development, Statistics, Transport and Communications, Transnational Corporations, and Management of Technical Cooperation Activities. The number of program elements was reduced

19 percent in keeping with the zero-growth policy dictated throughout the UN system.

ECWA is funded from the UN general budget and obtains support for individual programs from Member States.

UN Development Program

The United Nations Development Program (UNDP) is a voluntary fund which finances the world's largest multilateral program of grant technical assistance (advisory services, fellowships, demonstration, and training equipment). UNDP was established in 1966 through the merger of two earlier UN programs, the Special Fund and the Expanded Program of Technical Assistance. The General Assembly created UNDP to be the main UN mechanism for funding technical assistance activities. UNDP provides grant technical assistance to developing countries and territories at their request, with increasing emphasis on assisting the poorest countries. In 1985, UNDP projects were underway in 150 countries and territories.

UNDP's programs consist of projects lasting from a few months to several years in the agriculture (land and water utilization, food processing), industry (product development, pilot plants), education (teacher training, literacy programs), health (maternal and child health care services, medical training) economic policy and planning (institutes for economic planning, national statistical services), transportation (water and air transportation, rural transportation), and natural resource exploration (mining techniques, mineral exploration techniques) sectors. UNDP also undertakes smaller projects such as fellowships for the training of nationals of developing countries and to provide such countries with required skills through the use of expert advisers.

In addition, UNDP undertakes preinvestment and feasibility studies to promote developing country and external investor interest in capital projects which will expand production and employment. Projects are normally executed for UNDP by one of the 35 participating agencies of the UN system such as FAO, the UN Department of Technical Cooperation for Development (DTCO), UNIDO, ILO, UNESCO, World Bank, or ICAO. UNDP also directly undertakes a small number of projects through its own Office for Projects Execution.

UNDP has its headquarters in New York. Its Administrator, Bradford Morse of the United States, first took office in January 1976.

GOVERNING AND ADVISORY BODIES

UNDP is a subsidiary organ of the UN General Assembly, which sets overall UNDP policy. UNDP's operating policies are established and its programs and budgets approved by a Governing Council composed of representatives of 48 states—21 developed and 27 developing.* The Governing Council reports to the General Assembly through ECOSOC which elects states to the Council for 3-year terms. Because of the leading role which the United States plays in UNDP affairs, the United States has been a member of the Governing Council since its establishment. The Council holds regular sessions once a year in June. A brief organizational meeting is held in February.

The UNDP Governing Council administered the following bodies in 1985: UN Capital Development Fund, UN Volunteers, UN Revolving Fund for Natural Resources Exploration, UN Sudano-Sahelian Office, UN Financing System for Science and Technology for Development, UN Trust Fund for Colonial Countries and Peoples, Energy Account, UN Special Fund for Landlocked Developing Countries, UNDP Trust Fund for projects Financed by the Voluntary Fund for the UN Decade for Women, Program of Assistance to the Palestinian People, Technical Cooperation among Developing Countries, and the Inter-Agency Procurement Services Unit. The Council also provides policy guidance for the small program of technical assistance financed from the regular UN budget, and is the governing body for the UN Fund for Population Activities.

SECRETARIAT AND FIELD ORGANIZATION

UNDP's administrative apparatus consists of a Secretariat in New York and 116 offices in developing countries and territories where programs are being carried out. Assisted by their staffs, UNDP Resident Representatives advise recipient governments on development planning and UN assistance. Within their countries of assignment, they coordinate the programs which UNDP and (where a program exists) the United Nations Revolving Fund for Natural Resources Exploration finance. Resident Representatives

*The following states were members of the UNDP Governing Council in 1985: Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Belgium, Benin, Brazil, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Cuba, Denmark, Ethiopia, Federal Republic of Germany, Finland, France, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Hungary, India, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Lesotho, Mauritania, Mexico, Nepal, Netherlands, Norway, Pakistan, Philippines, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Swaziland, Sweden, Switzerland, Togo, Tunisia, Turkey, U.S.S.R, United Kingdom, United Republic of Tanzania, United States, Venezuela, and Yugoslavia.

also act for and support other UN agencies including the World Food Program, the UN Environment Program, the Office of the UN Disaster Relief Coordinator, and the UN Department of Technical Cooperation for Development. In most countries, the UN Secretary-General has designated the UNDP Resident Representative as Resident Coordinator of the UN Operational Activities for Development. Resident Coordinators are responsible for overseeing all UN agency development activities in the country to which they are accredited.

PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT

Patterns of Development Assistance

UNDP development assistance is allocated to countries and intercountry activities based on indicative planning figures (IPFs) cover 5-year planning cycles. The First Planning Cycle extended from 1972 through 1976, the Second Cycle from 1977 through 1981, and the Third Cycle began in 1982 and will run through 1986. IPFs in the First Cycle were set largely on the basis of the aid that UNDP supplied from 1967 through 1971. That is, countries had a claim upon UNDP resources during that cycle equal to the percentage of UNDP assistance they actually received in the earlier 5-year period. IPF figures for the Second Planning Cycle were primarily based on country populations and per capita GNPs. In allocating the IPFs for the Third Cycle, the Governing Council gave highest priority to countries with the lowest per capita GNPs and which were otherwise disadvantaged (Decision 80/30, adopted without a vote June 26, 1980).

Responding to a strong U.S. initiative, the 32d session of the Governing Council agreed by consensus that 80 percent of country IPF's will go to countries with lowest per capita GNPs during the Fourth Cycle.

Activities and Analysis

The Organizational Meeting for the 32d session met during February in New York. Opposition by all donor and many recipient countries to a debate on a Third Cycle country program for Afghanistan led to adjournment of the meeting without approval of an agenda for the 32d session. The Council agreed that before the 32d session convened, the President of the Council (Poland) would seek to resolve the situation wherein the U.S.S.R. and its supporters denied consensus for approval of an agenda omitting the Afghan program.

The Special Meeting met immediately following the Organizational Meeting. The Special Meeting centered on preparations for

the fourth programming cycle and a need for quality improvements in the programming process.

The Governing Council met for its 32d session in June in New York. The major result of the session was an agreement on a number of decisions affecting the fourth programming cycle (1987-91). Among those decisions were: encouragement for an annual growth in voluntary contributions of at least 8 percent; provision of 81 percent of resources for country-level assistance, revision of the mix between basic and supplementary criteria for figuring IPFs, allocation of 80 percent of country IPFs to countries with a 1983 per capita GNP of up to \$750 emphasizing those countries with a per capita GNP of less than \$375, and assurance that countries with a per capita GNP of over \$3,000 would become net contributors.

The Governing Council took the unprecedented step of creating a Working Group, which when fully functional, will meet on a regular basis to assist in programming matters other than country and intercountry programs. Attendance at Working Group's meeting will be open to all members of UNDP, although its formal membership will be limited to 24 states.

The Governing Council also:

—approved a 1986 budget of \$170.3 million,

—requested the Administrator to ensure strong UNDP support for the Office of Emergency Operations in Africa,

—established a focal point, for 2 years, for making available expertise and skills at concessional rates to developing countries, and

—approved the arrangements by the Administrator of UNDP to accept responsibility for the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM).

The United States voluntarily contributed \$165 million to UNDP in 1985 up from \$160 million in 1984. Our contribution represented 24.5 percent of resources pledged for 1985.

CAPITAL DEVELOPMENT FUND

The UN Capital Development Fund (UNCDF) is a trust fund that UNDP administers. UNCDF provides modest grants to small-scale endeavors that use simple technology to create or upgrade agricultural and industrial infrastructure and facilities. The General Assembly, in 1966, established UNCDF which in the years since has assisted projects in 43 least developed countries.

UNCDF seeks to improve local production and expand indigenous skills. This, in turn, reduces reliance on outside assistance

and promotes private initiative. Since the projects are relatively small and apply appropriate technology, they provide the participants with a sense of identification, motivation, and early results. In addition, UNCDF seeks the widest participation by the beneficiary group and the maximum use of local resources. Fund projects have included irrigation and food storage facilities, rural school health centers, cottage industries, cooperative credit unions, and vocational training facilities. Fund activities also create demand for imported goods.

The UNDP Administrator is the Fund's Managing Director. Although UNCDF has a small administrative staff in New York headed by an Executive Secretary, it relies on UNDP for proposing and monitoring field projects.

The UNDP Governing Council provides policy guidance to UNCDF. At the 32d Governing Council in June 1985, the Administrator reported that during 1984 UNCDF approved \$30 million in commitments for 27 new projects. Projects in agriculture and water for agriculture accounted for almost one third of total cumulative commitments. The Governing Council approved an experiment with a loan program for a 3-year period, after which time, the Governing Council would reconsider its decision based upon a program assessment.

The United States first contributed to UNCDF in 1978 and since then has contributed \$2 million annually. The \$2 million contribution in 1985 represented 9.5 percent of total UNCDF pledges. Sweden (\$3.7 million) offered the largest pledge, followed by the Netherlands (\$3.3 million), and Norway (\$3 million). The trend in voluntary contributions to UNCDF has been down: 1981, \$31 million; 1982, \$26.2 million; 1983, \$24.3 million; and 1984, \$21 million, and 1985, \$20 million.

UN VOLUNTEERS

The UN Volunteers (UNV) program, established by the General Assembly at its 25th Session, has operated since January 1, 1971. The aim of the program is to provide educated and skilled volunteers, upon the explicit request and approval of recipient countries, to assist in development activities. Volunteers are recruited on as wide a geographical basis as possible, including in particular the developing countries.

In response to a General Assembly request, the Administrator of UNDP serves as the Administrator of the UNV. A coordinator promotes and coordinates the recruitment, selection, and administrative management of the activities of the Volunteers within the UN system. This arrangement permits a smooth dove-

tailing of UNDP's technical assistance activities with the expertise available through the Volunteer program. Many Volunteers are assigned to UNDP field offices or to the projects which UNDP funds and the Specialized Agencies of the United Nations.

In establishing the UNV program, the General Assembly invited Member States of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies, international nongovernmental organizations, and individuals to contribute to the Special Voluntary Fund created to support the activities of the Volunteers. These Volunteers are specialists at the level (middle-level and operational) for which they volunteer and are assigned. In certain projects, Volunteers are more cost-effective (\$14,000 per volunteer/year) and appropriate than experts (\$75,000-100,000 per expert/year).

At its session in 1979, the UN General Assembly endorsed a recommendation of the UNDP Governing Council to increase the number of Volunteers to 1,000 by 1983. For the past 3 years, the actual number of Volunteers has fluctuated around 1,000. The UNDP Administrator reported in June 1985 that there were 1,089 Volunteers at the end of 1984. Volunteers were serving in 90 countries; about 32 percent in the agriculture, health, and education sectors. They were recruited from 61 countries—19 percent from industrialized countries and 81 percent from developing countries.

The Governing Council in Decision 84/19 allocated \$1.5 million from the UNDP Special Program Resources to provide volunteers to the most severely affected African countries to assist in emergency relief assistance. Twenty-seven countries received additional assistance under this program. The program funds were fully utilized within a year. Activities requiring Volunteers include the coordination of emergency aid operations, food distribution, and machinery maintenance.

The 32d session of the Governing Council recommended in Decision 85/23 the creation of an International Day of Volunteers for Economic and Social Development. The General Assembly approved December 7 as the day for recognition of the growing importance that peoples and governments attach to the Volunteer movement.

As an agency cooperating with UNV, the Peace Corps works closely with the organization, recruiting and sponsoring Volunteers and providing some of their expenses. The United States, through the Peace Corps budget, pledged \$175,000 in 1985 to the Special Voluntary Fund and an additional matching pledge of \$75,000 to support two fully-funded program assistant volunteers from the United States. Together, U.S. support amounted to

15 percent of total pledges. A total of 61 Volunteers—including 21 new recruits—from the United States participated in the program during 1984. Belgium, the Netherlands, and Switzerland were major supporters of UNV.

UN Industrial Development Organization

INTRODUCTION

Formed in 1967, the UN Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO) seeks to promote industrial development and assist in accelerating industrialization of the developing countries. To accomplish its task, UNIDO works with the private sector and encourages investment as a means of fostering development. Membership in UNIDO is open to all members of the United Nations, its specialized agencies, and the IAEA. By the end of 1985 UNIDO had 135 Member States.

CONVERSION

On January 1, 1986, UNIDO became an independent specialized agency of the UN system, culminating an effort begun in 1975. The U.S. Senate gave its advice and consent to ratification of the Constitution on June 21, 1983, the President deposited the instrument of ratification with the Secretary-General on September 2, 1983, and the Constitution entered into force on June 21, 1985. The United States has participated in UNIDO through the United Nations since 1967.

A series of tightly scheduled meetings in the last half of 1985 (after Soviet bloc ratification of the Constitution in June of 1985) completed the administrative and financial arrangements necessary to effect UNIDO's conversion to a specialized agency.

UNIDO MEETINGS

The General Conference, in which all Member States may participate, held two sessions at UNIDO headquarters (Vienna) in 1985. The first part of the First General Conference of the new UNIDO, held in August, elected an enlarged Industrial Development Board (IDB) comprised of 53 members: 33 from developing countries, 15 from the developed market economy countries, and 5 from centrally-planned ("socialist") economy countries.* The IDB

*Members of the IDB are: Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bangladesh, Belgium, Brazil, Burundi, Chile, China, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Ecuador, Egypt, *Continued*

reviews UNIDO policy and program of work at its annual meetings.

The August Conference also elected a 27-member Program and Budget Committee (PBC).** The PBC is a new policy-making body as of August 1985. It meets annually and makes the initial review and recommendations regarding UNIDO's biennial budget, which is subsequently considered by the IDB and then the Conference, in that order. Nine of the members of the PBC are Western States. Since decisions in the PBC require a two-thirds majority of members present and voting, the Western States (plus one other member) hold a potential "blocking third" of the votes in this important body. This new arrangement is a potentially important step forward in allowing those countries which contribute the most to the UN Organization to exert enhanced control over the budgetary process.

After election of members to the IDB, that body undertook the task of conducting, also in August, an election for the position of Director General of the new UNIDO to replace former Executive Director Dr. Abd-El Rahman Khane. In a closely contested election, which required three separate rounds of balloting, Domingo L. Siazon, Jr., Ambassador of the Philippines to the United Nations in Vienna, was chosen by acclamation on August 17. The United States fully supported Mr. Siazon as the most qualified candidate. Mr. Siazon's 4-year term of office expires September 1, 1989.

The PBC held its first session, September 30–October 11, to review UNIDO's proposed regular (assessed) budget for the 1986–87 biennium (starting January 1, 1986) of \$102,870 million net. Negotiation reduced this figure by \$9 million. The draft budget recommended by the PBC nevertheless contained several elements that were opposed by the United States and several other major contributors. These were:

a) Inclusion of the Industrial Development Decade for Africa (IDDA). The United States has consistently opposed regular

France, Germany, (Federal Republic of), Ghana, Greece, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Kenya, Lesotho, Malawi, Malaysia, Mauritius, Mexico, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Thailand, Tunisia, Turkey, U.S.S.R., United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom, United States, Venezuela, Zaire, Zambia.

** Members of the PBC are: Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Bangladesh, Belgium, Brazil, Bulgaria, Cameroon, Cape Verde, China, Colombia, Denmark, Ethiopia, France, German Democratic Republic, Federal Republic of Germany, India, Indonesia, Japan, Netherlands, Nigeria, Switzerland, Thailand, Trinidad and Tobago, Turkey, U.S.S.R., United States of America.

budget funding by the United Nations of the IDDA and cast the only negative vote on UNGA Resolution 39/233 which authorized \$5 million annually from regular budget resources for the IDDA. At the PBC the United States opposed as inappropriate regular, rather than voluntary, funding of the IDDA, which the United Nations was "transferring" to UNIDO. The United States further objected because the amount involved—\$10 million over 2 years—exceeded constitutional limits: the UNIDO Constitution requires that technical cooperation be limited to a maximum of 6 percent of the total regular budget. Funding for the IDDA was recommended by the PBC by a vote of 16 to 5 (U.S., U.S.S.R., Bulgaria, German Democratic Republic, and Japan), 5 abstentions, with 1 absent.

b) Inclusion of Senior Industrial Development Field Advisers (SIDFAs). The United States also opposed the transfer from the UN to UNIDO's regular budget the funding of nine SIDFA posts. The United States considers voluntary contributions as the appropriate source of funds for SIDFAs. In addition, the \$2.1 million requested for SIDFAs when added to the \$10 million for IDDA exceeded the constitutional limits set on spending for technical cooperation. Funding for nine SIDFA posts from the regular budget of UNIDO was recommended by the PBC by a vote of 18 to 5 (U.S., U.S.S.R., Bulgaria, German Democratic Republic, and Japan), 3 abstentions, with 1 member absent.

c) Establishment of a Working Capital Fund. The United States agreed with UNIDO's intention to set up a working capital fund, but opposed capitalization of the fund through assessments against members. We preferred instead that the fund be capitalized by a transfer to UNIDO of its share of the assets of the UN fund. The United States also opposed the level of the fund (finally negotiated downward from \$12 million to a still unacceptable \$6 million) and the loose restrictions on the uses of the fund. The result of the vote in the PBC was 24 to 1 (U.S.), 0 abstentions, with 2 members not present.

d) Budget Growth. The 1986-87 proposed budget recommended by the PBC showed a real increase of at least 1 percent. It does not demonstrate adherence by UNIDO to the U.S. desired policy of zero real growth and maximum absorption of nondiscretionary cost increases. The vote in the PBC on the overall budget was 20 to 5 (U.S., U.S.S.R., Bulgaria, German Democratic Republic, and Japan), 1 abstention, with 1 member absent.

Part Two of the First Session of the IDB met November 4-15 to consider, *inter alia*, cooperation and relationship agreements, staff regulations, and appointment of external auditors (a Belgian

candidate was chosen). The number and geographical distribution of Deputy Directors General (DDGs) occupied most of the Board's time. The United States called for a postponement of the question until such time as the actual need for senior personnel in the new UNIDO could be determined. After lengthy and oftentimes heated debate, the Board voted on a motion calling for five DDGs. The result was 31 to 9 (U.S.), 9 abstentions, 1 nonparticipant (China), and 3 members not present.

The United States also used the meeting of the IDB to reiterate opposition to the UNIDO budget, calling for a roll call vote on the overall budget. The result was 43 to 7 (U.S.), with 3 members absent. The U.S. explanation of vote noted the unconstitutionality of regular budget funding of the IDDA and SIDFAs and the excessive increase in the total budget. The question of establishment of a working capital fund was deferred to the General Conference.

Part Two of the First Session of the General Conference met December 9-13 and succeeded in approving the budgetary and administrative decisions required for UNIDO to become a specialized agency. The Conference approved by a vote of 78 to 11 (U.S.), with 4 abstentions total assessments for the regular budget of \$112,706,804 for the 1986-87 biennium.* The U.S. share of this budget, at 25 percent, is \$14,088,351 for CY 1986. The Conference also approved a working capital fund of \$9 million (\$6 million in 1986, with a \$3 million supplemental, if necessary), for which the U.S. share is \$1.5 million in CY 1986. The vote on the working capital fund was 79 to 2 (U.S. and Switzerland), with 11 abstentions.

Three draft resolutions were submitted for consideration by the Conference: international year of peace (sponsored by the German Democratic Republic); women in development (sponsored by Norway); implementation of Article 2(C) of the UNIDO Constitution, which encourages UNIDO's efforts at industrialization (sponsored by the G-77). The United States joined in approving these three items by consensus after they were changed into decisions (which presented fewer opportunities for rhetorical excess) and were rendered budgetarily neutral.

INVESTMENT PROMOTION SERVICE

The Investment Promotion Service (IPS) is part of UNIDO's Investment Cooperative Program, which attempts to attract inves-

*The amount of the budget was increased from the \$95,267,929 submitted by the IDB to this higher amount primarily as a result of adjusting the dollar and the Austrian schilling exchange rate from 21.30 AS = \$1.00 to 17.70 AS.

tors and investment capital from developed countries to developing countries. The New York City IPS office, one of seven worldwide,* started in 1978. It conducts short- and long-term training programs for investment promotion officers from developing countries in which participants learn U.S. business practices and establish contacts with the U.S. private sector. In 1985, the United States contributed \$100,000 to the IPS office from the International Organizations and Programs (IO&P) account. USAID also contributed some \$208,000 in project-specific funds. The administration requested \$200,000 for the IPS office in FY 1986. Public Law 99-190, however, enacted in December 1985, did not include any funding for the IPS. Continued funding by AID is under review.

General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade

The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) is not part of the UN system, although it was created at a UN-sponsored conference and GATT cooperates with UN organizations, where appropriate. For example, the GATT Contracting Parties and UNCTAD jointly operate an International Trade Center to assist developing countries in promoting their exports.

The General Agreement is an international agreement which entered into force in January 1948. The United States has been a party to GATT since its inception. In 1985, 90 countries, accounting for more than four-fifths of world trade, were members. An additional 32 countries have either acceded provisionally or maintain a de facto "application" of GATT.

GATT is the principal multilateral instrument through which the United States is working to improve the world trading system. It is both a code of rules and a forum in which negotiations and other trade discussions take place. GATT is intended to play a major role in the settlement of trade disagreements between member countries.

The most recent of the seven multilateral rounds of trade negotiations under GATT auspices was the Tokyo Round, launched in September 1973 and completed in 1979. In addition to tariff reductions, for the first time the Tokyo Round produced agreement on rules of conduct in non-tariff areas. Codes on subsidies and countervailing duties; technical barriers to trade (standards); import licensing procedures; antidumping; and trade in bovine meat, dairy products, and civil aircraft all went into effect in Jan-

*The other offices are in Austria, France, F.R.G., Japan, Switzerland, and Poland. An eighth office is scheduled to open in Milan, Italy.

uary 1980. The codes covering government procurement and customs valuation went into effect at the beginning of 1981. The work program adopted in November 1979 gave first priority to implementing the Tokyo Round results, and Committees have been established to administer each of the code agreements.

In November 1982, the Contracting Parties met at Ministerial level for the first time in nearly 10 years. The depressed worldwide trade and economic situation created a climate in which the United States felt it was particularly important to address the emerging issues of the 1980's as well as to advance unfinished business from the Tokyo Round. The Ministers authorized a work program. Work took place throughout 1983 and continued in most instances through 1985. Areas of concentration include implementation of the political declaration, which calls for resistance to protectionism through achievement of a safeguards understanding, agriculture, developing country concerns, services, and trade in high-technology goods.

Although the Tokyo Round of trade negotiations contributed significantly to trade liberalization, it soon became evident that another round of trade negotiations was needed to come to grips with remaining impediments to trade, especially to trade in services. In 1985 the GATT Contracting Parties agreed to establish a Preparatory Committee which would prepare for the initiation of a new round of multilateral trade negotiations at Ministerial meeting scheduled for September 1986.

UN Conference on Trade and Development

In addition to the UNGA's Second (Economic) Committee, the UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) is the principal organ of the General Assembly concerned with discussion of economic development issues between developed and developing countries. The Conference is UNCTAD's governing body and is convened every 4 years. The sixth session of the Conference, UNCTAD VI, was held in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, June 6-30, 1983. The next conference will be held in 1987.

General Assembly Resolution 1995 (XIX) established UNCTAD on December 30, 1964. The members of the Conference are those states which are members of the United Nations, its specialized agencies, or the International Atomic Energy Agency. At present, there are 127 countries which are members of the Trade and Development Board (TDB). The Trade and Development Board, UNCTAD's executive body, meets biannually and re-

ports to the Conference. The TDB also reports annually to the General Assembly through the Economic and Social Council.

UNCTAD covers the major areas of development activity, including trade, money and finance, commodities, economic cooperation among developing countries (ECDC), and institutional issues. There remain major differences between the developed and developing countries over these issues as well as over the general state of the global economy.

The United States was disappointed with the results of UNCTAD VI in 1983. That conference floundered on unproductive disputes arising from G-77 (developing countries) insistence that UNCTAD VI endorse the traditional New International Economic Order (NIEO) agenda for economic growth. The NIEO agenda has lost credibility because it is based solely on massive transfers of resources from developed to developing countries, "stabilization" of commodity prices and other activities which interfere in market mechanisms, a primary and dominant role for governments in economic planning, a global approach to problem solving, and acceptance of the premise that external forces are the prime reason for lack of economic development. Further, it demonstrated that UNCTAD, and by extension other UN agencies, had drifted far from their original purpose. They were becoming more "politicized," mired down in unworkable bureaucracies whose methods were unproductive and, in many instances, wasteful.

As a result of disappointment with UNCTAD VI, the United States led a group B initiative to reform UNCTAD's management and program operation. (Group B is comprised of Western industrialized countries.) The United States hoped to increase UNCTAD efficiency and move it away from its customary agenda, which has been overly influenced by NIEO rhetoric, toward a more realistic one focusing on the importance of domestic economic policy, and the effectiveness of market-oriented policies to economic growth and development. The reform movement also emphasized the need to have a realistic dialog in multilateral fora such as UNCTAD to exchange views and share experience on a wide range of trade and development problems.

Following the departure of long-time Secretary-General Gamani Corea, Deputy Secretary-General Alister McIntyre was appointed Officer-in-Charge for most of 1985. McIntyre responded to the reform agenda and took important initial steps which included an attempt to streamline the UNCTAD bureaucracy and to introduce greater objectivity in the Secretariat's work on key background papers. McIntyre had some success; further progress, however, has been slow in coming. In November, Kenneth Dadzie

was appointed as permanent Secretary-General of UNCTAD for a 3-year term beginning January 1, 1986. Mr. Dadzie is the fourth Secretary-General of UNCTAD. At the time of his appointment he was Ghana's High Commissioner in London, and comes to his new responsibilities with extensive UN policy and organizational experience, including having served as UN Director General for Development and International Economic Cooperation. His appointment could reinvigorate the UNCTAD reform effort.

During 1985, UNCTAD made little headway on any of the major substantive issues under consideration. The Common Fund for commodities, the center piece of the G-77's agenda, was formally rejected by the United States as unworkable and an unhelpful interference in the international marketplace, placing its implementation in serious question. Programs carried out under the UNCTAD Transfer of Technology Committee resulted in little or no real benefit to countries participating in this aspect of UNCTAD's work. The U.S. Delegation at the 31st Trade and Development Board stated in frustration that the record of UNCTAD efforts in transfer of technology was abysmal, and that the United States would no longer support these efforts if there were not major improvements in their efficiency and productivity.

While UNCTAD accomplished little of substance in 1985, some G-77 members now realize that the world economy has been moving in directions unimaginable only a few years ago. NIEO-type assumptions and prescriptions which continue to be favored by G-77 spokesmen in Geneva are increasingly viewed as irrelevant by decision makers in developing countries' capitals. There is growing recognition among key developing country delegations that efforts undertaken within UNCTAD have not resulted in the type of broad agreements with developed countries that they had envisioned. It is hoped that under the leadership of Kenneth Dadzie, UNCTAD will begin to pursue more pragmatic approaches to the major trade and development issues facing the developing and developed worlds than was the case in the past.

SNPA

In October 1985, the United States participated in UNCTAD's Mid-Term Review of the Substantial New Programme of Action for the Least Developed Countries (SNPA). Adopted in 1981, the SNPA called both on industrialized countries and on the least developed countries themselves, to mobilize financial resources, expand trade and investment, develop and implement sound economic structural adjustment policies, and improve, in general, coordination of aid efforts throughout the remainder of the 1980's.

The 1985 Mid-Term Review found little improvement and in some cases significant deterioration in the conditions faced by the poorest countries, resulting from internal causes including drought, uneven progress among the low-income countries toward economic reform, structural adjustment, and domestic resource mobilization, and aggravated by external factors such as global recession, low prices for export commodities, high interest rates, and a strong dollar. The United States joined other participants in the Mid-Term Review in reaffirming the SNPA's original objectives and balanced approach, and supported the decision to have a retrospective review of the SNPA in 1990 in a forum and locale to be determined. The United States disassociated itself, on the other hand, from a call for aid target levels tied to donor countries' GNP and from proposed direct intervention in world commodity markets through an UNCTAD-sponsored Common Fund.

ECDC

UNCTAD's Committee on Economic Cooperation Among Developing Countries (ECDC) met in November 1985. Group B and the United States specifically used the occasion to emphasize the need for both transparency and universality in the work of the Committee on ECDC, as well as in the expected trade negotiations to take place in the context of ECDC. The Global System of Trade Preferences (GSTP) program (a process of tariff reduction negotiations among G-77 countries to encourage South/South trade) was singled out specifically for criticism. Currently excluded from this program are the non-G-77 Member States of Israel, Turkey, Bulgaria, and China. Group B and China have consequently cautioned the G-77 about the lack of universality in this UN-supported program. Group B called upon the G-77 to open up the GSTP negotiating exercise to all developing countries. To date, the G-77's stated position has been that while transparency and universality must be observed with regard to activities carried out under UNCTAD's regular budget, the GSTP, which is financed as a technical assistance project, is not subject to these rules. The United States as well as many Group B countries strongly oppose this position, and the G-77 has been put on notice that it will lose support among the developed countries for its GSTP activities if the Group does not meet demands for universality and transparency in its organization and implementation of GSTP.

TRANSFER OF TECHNOLOGY

The UN Conference on International Code of Conduct on the Transfer of Technology met in May for its sixth session of negotia-

tions. Because of continued differences over the emphasis to be given to state regulation versus the rights of parties to reach mutual agreement on contract terms, no agreement was reached on the unresolved elements of a proposed code text. The 40th UNGA subsequently called on the President of the Conference and the Secretary-General of UNCTAD to consult with interested parties and report back to the 41st UNGA on what further action should be taken.

There was little evidence of progress with respect to UNCTAD's regular program of work on transfer of technology. However, the 40th UNGA approved further work on the unproductive "brain drain" issue, and the UNCTAD Secretariat also had difficulty in establishing useful terms of reference for expert meetings and work programs approved by recent UNCTAD Trade and Development Board meetings. These latest developments have contributed to an increased questioning by the United States of the basis for continued U.S. participation in this largely irrelevant aspect of UNCTAD's work.

UN CODE ON RESTRICTIVE BUSINESS PRACTICES

An Intergovernmental Group of Experts meeting held in mid-1985 and a UN Conference held in Geneva in November 1985 shared a focus on steps which might be taken in the context of a Five-Year Review of the 1980 set of Multilaterally Agreed Equitable Principles and Rules for the Control of Restrictive Business Practices (RBP Code) to improve the implementation of that non-binding agreement. The emphasis of the November Review Conference was expected to be on cooperative measures (e.g., technical assistance, consultations) by IGE members, but dialog broke down over G-77 demands that the RBP Code be expanded to encompass trade policy actions of governments, and that IGE institutional machinery (emphasizing expert participation) be replaced by a special committee with a greater focus on policy concerns. Group B rejected both concepts, and the Conference ended without agreement. The 40th UNGA has invited the UNCTAD Secretary-General to consult and report back to the 41st UNGA on what further action (regarding the failed conference) is appropriate.

BOARDS

The 30th Trade and Development Board met in Geneva in March. It focused on Third World external debt, restrictive business practices, and transfer of technology and services, but there

was little serious action on any of these agenda items. The Board agreed to a limited work program for UNCTAD in services. Group B would not accept any text calling for immediate measures on debt relief or otherwise implying an active role for UNCTAD in Third World debt issues.

Under the transfer of technology agenda item, the Board gave UNCTAD a new mandate to begin a work program on new and emerging technologies. In return, the Board extracted an agreement that the UNCTAD Secretariat is to increase the transparency of its work on technology transfer carried out by the Advisory Services on Transfer of Technology. The Board left to the next Board (31st) the decision when, and if, to schedule the next meeting of intergovernmental experts on transfer of technology activities in food processing and energy. A set of agreed conclusions on the agenda item on protectionism and structural adjustment represented the first tangible outcome of debate on this topic since the establishment of the work program at the 28th session of the TDB.

The 31st Trade and Development Board provided an opportunity for Group B to note some of the improvements in the performance of UNCTAD's Secretariat under the pressure of the reform movement. Progress, however, is spotty and the United States was also obliged to underline continued shortcomings both in the administration and work program of UNCTAD. This was especially true of the UNCTAD Committee responsible for preparing work on developing country trade with socialist countries. This division is headed by a Soviet UN employee and the report submitted for this occasion blatantly misrepresented East/South trade statistics.

A key point in the meeting was a formal statement by the United States, alerting the UNCTAD Secretariat and the G-77 that unless there were major improvements in the work of the UNCTAD Transfer of Technology Committee, the United States may withdraw its support for this activity. Group B also registered its own strong criticism of the UNCTAD Secretariat's work on technology transfer issues.

While no decision was made over whether Resolution 159 (VI) calling for a review of the international trading system should be a one-time offer (Group B and U.S. position) or an ongoing review, (G-77 and Group D position) it was agreed to hold "a" review during the 33d Trade and Development Board. Group B and U.S. approval was based on its understanding that this is a one-time review. The debate on Third World debt and interdependence was without contention. However, the Board President's closing summary, which reflected his personal views, was rejected by Group B

as well as other groups. No decision was made on the site for UNCTAD VII, leaving Cuba with the only outstanding invitation to host this event. The Board agreed to further expert group meetings on new and renewable sources of energy and food processing issues related to UNCTAD's work on transfer of technology.

Commission on Transnational Corporations

The Commission on Transnational Corporations (TNCs) was established in 1975 by ECOSOC Resolution 19B (LVII) to assist the Council "in fulfilling its responsibilities in the field of transnational corporations." Its mandate includes (1) acting as the forum within the UN system for consideration of issues relating to transnational corporations, (2) promoting the exchange of views between and among governments and nongovernmental groups, (3) providing guidance to the Centre on Transnational Corporations, and (4) developing a Code of Conduct relating to TNCs.

The 11th Session of the UN Commission on TNCs was held April 10-19. The meeting addressed the recurring issues of the Commission and the Centre on TNCs. Among these were:

—Definition of TNCs. The United States and other Western Governments pressed once again, by introducing an appropriate universality to include all TNCs, whether state-owned, private, or mixed, and whether based in developed market economies, LDCs or Communist countries, within the scope of the work of the Commission and the Centre on TNCs. LDCs and Communist countries blocked these efforts by adopting a resolution agreeing to consider these issues in the future "at an appropriate occasion."

The UN Centre on Transnational Corporation engages in a range of activities related to TNCs, as well as being the Secretariat of the Commission. Although not all of the Centre's work is objectionable, the U.S. Government has found shortcomings in some Centre products and has declined to participate in some of its activities. Unfortunately, the UN Centre has never been given a clear mandate to include in its work, where appropriate, the activities of state-owned enterprises in centrally-planned economies and developing countries. Accordingly, in early 1986, and until the mandate issue is resolved, the U.S. Government informed the Centre that it would not participate in certain categories of Centre activities.

—TNC Involvement in South Africa. The G-77, led by African members made strong statements on the evil of apartheid and

alleged that TNCs contributed to the economic and political welfare of the repressive South African regime. It insisted that the only answer was for TNCs to withdraw from South Africa. The United States reiterated its strong abhorrence of apartheid, stating that the problem was not one of principle, but rather of tactics on how best to accomplish change.

The United States referred to the importance of the Sullivan principles as a means of fostering constructive change in South Africa, and expressed the view that to withdraw would penalize the very people the United States is seeking to support. The G-77 introduced a resolution which asserted that TNCs perpetuate apartheid and called for disinvestment and termination of loans in South Africa and Namibia. The vote was 30 to 4 (U.S., F.R.G., U.K., and Switzerland) with 5 abstentions. In a related event, the United States declined to participate in UN Centre-sponsored hearings on TNC involvement in South Africa and Namibia.

The Reconvened Special Session on the Commission on Transnational Corporations (TNCs) met June 17-21 with the purpose of narrowing the differences and reaching a compromise on the major outstanding issues of the draft UN Code of Conduct on TNCs. The Special Session failed, however, to produce a noteworthy result because many developing countries showed little flexibility on most of the outstanding code issues, particularly those of explicit reference to international law, national treatment, free transfers and expropriation, and compensation. At the end of the Special Session, the Commission decided to recommend to the ECOSOC at its second regular 1985 Session and to the General Assembly at its 40th Session that the Special Session on the Commission on TNCs be reconvened for 2 weeks in January 1986 in order to reach agreement on a final, overall solution to the outstanding issues, and to complete the Code of Conduct. (That session, too, failed to make discernible progress on the outstanding issues.)

The United States also participates in the Intergovernmental Working Group of Experts on International Standards of Accounting and Reporting, a subsidiary body of the UN Commission on TNCs. The mandate of the Working Group is to consider issues of accounting and reporting, within the scope of the Commission's work, in order to improve the availability and comparability of information disclosed in the general purpose reports of TNCs. At its 1985 Session, the Working Group discussed legislative backing for standards, foreign currency translation and transactions, education and training of accountants, and ways to give effect to the work of the Working Group. Discussions were also held regarding

the future of the Group and whether the original goals of the Group had been largely accomplished. In early 1986, the United States, after a thorough review of the usefulness of the Working Group, decided not to participate in future meetings.

United Nations Children's Fund

BACKGROUND

The United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), was founded in 1946 to help meet the emergency needs of children in the aftermath of World War II. It now provides long-term humanitarian assistance to needy children and mothers in developing countries throughout the world. Because of its apolitical character, UNICEF has been able to fulfill its mandate all over the world, including areas in political turmoil, such as Cambodia, Lebanon, and Ethiopia.

UNICEF is a voluntarily-funded organization. In 1985, UNICEF received some \$191 million in voluntary contributions to its general resources from 117 governments and multigovernmental organizations such as the Arab Gulf Fund and the European Common Market. The U.S. Government contributed approximately \$53.5 million, making it the largest contributor (accounting for almost 28 percent of these governmental contributions). Other major donors included the Governments of Sweden (\$22.5 million, 11.8 percent), Norway (\$16.4 million, 8.6 percent), Italy (\$17.5 million, 9.1 percent), Japan (\$14.2 million, 7.4 percent), Canada (\$9.7 million, 5.1 percent), and the United Kingdom (\$8.3 million, 4.3 percent).

In addition to implementing projects from general resources, UNICEF also identifies many worthwhile projects each year for which it does not have funds in general resources. These projects are listed as "noted projects" in an annual catalog approved by the Executive Board. Noted projects are only implemented if donors contribute additional funds for a specific project. In addition, UNICEF sometimes appeals for emergency funds to assist children and mothers affected by natural or man-made disasters. In 1985, governments and intergovernmental agencies contributed some \$89.3 million to UNICEF supplementary funds for noted projects and emergencies. The United States donated approximately \$17.3 million in supplementary funds in 1985, mostly for emergency projects in Africa, but also for child survival activities elsewhere.

In addition to contributions from governments, UNICEF also receives significant income from private and other nongovernmental donors each year. For example, in 1985 UNICEF received \$66.6 million from nongovernmental sources and the net profits from the sale of greetings cards throughout the world. This represented 17.8 percent of its total income (i.e., both general resources and supplementary funds). UNICEF's success in raising funds from these sources is unique in the UN system and is largely due to the fund-raising activities of 33 national committees and 4 liaison offices.

The U.S. Committee for UNICEF, a nonprofit charity which has three million volunteers throughout all 50 states, is the largest and among the most active of these national committees.

In 1985, UNICEF spent almost \$345 million on projects in 118 countries. This included: \$82.33 million (29.6 percent) for child health activities, \$16.4 million (5.9 percent) for child nutrition, \$58.53 million (21.0 percent) for water supply and sanitation, \$20.8 million (7.5 percent) for formal education, \$11.5 million (4.1 percent) for non-formal education, \$35.44 million (12.7 percent) for emergency relief, and \$38.8 million (14.0 percent) for general projects not elsewhere classified.

UNICEF has its headquarters in New York. The current Executive Director is James Grant, a U.S. citizen, who has held this position since January 1, 1980. In 1984, the Secretary-General announced the appointment of Grant for another 5-year term, through December 1989.

The Executive Director receives policy guidance and direction from the UNICEF Executive Board composed of 41 member states elected for 3-year terms. The United States has always been a member of this Board. The Board meets annually. Special sessions or mail polls are sometimes used to decide issues which cannot wait until a regular session of the Board.

UNICEF programs emphasize developing community level services to promote the health and well-being of children including water supply, primary health care, nutrition, education, and improvement of the situation of mothers. They also assist governments in recipient countries through advisory services, inter-country exchanges, and other local and offshore training exercises. In addition, UNICEF helps procure and deliver medical and other health or education orientated supplies through its centralized supply procurement and warehousing system, UNIPAC, located in Copenhagen, Denmark.

UNICEF allocates resources among countries using criteria that include: infant mortality rates (IMR), infant morbidity, infant population, and per capita GNP. In 1983 the UNICEF Ex-

ecutive Board decided that the IMR should be the most important criterion that would “. . . guide both the level and the content of UNICEF program cooperation.”

In the early 1980's the world health community came to the conclusion that several curative and preventative health techniques had become relatively cheap, widely available—even in remote areas—and widely accepted. If these techniques were properly promoted, by the year 2000, it would be possible to reduce by half the 40,000 children that now die needlessly every day in the developing world. The so-called “Child Survival and Development Revolution” strategy known as GOBI includes the use of the following four principal tools:

1. Immunization against the six preventable childhood diseases—measles, diphtheria, tetanus, whopping cough, polio, and tuberculosis. Better and cheaper cold chains, and vaccines that are less susceptible to heat damage make this possible.

2. Oral Rehydration Therapy (ORT). Diarrhea-caused dehydration is a great killer of children. A combination of sugar and salts mixed with water not only prevents dehydration, but allows the baby to rehydrate. This work dovetails very well with UNICEF's traditional water and sanitation projects.

3. Growth Charts to detect malnutrition. These are available in 200 languages and dialects for use in some 80 countries.

4. The promotion of breast feeding and proper weaning techniques.

Included in this strategy are the three F's: family planning, food production, and female literacy.

UNICEF's approach has attracted unprecedented media attention and support from the international community, including endorsements from many world leaders. In June, UN Secretary-General, Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, wrote to the head of state of every UN member country to call their attention to the World Health Organization goal, set in 1977, of achieving universal childhood immunization by 1990. He urged them to announce their full support for this goal during the 40th anniversary celebrations of the founding of the General Assembly. In his response, President Reagan stated:

. . . I am pleased to reaffirm the United States' support and shared commitment to the world community's goal of achieving the universal immunization of children.

. . . The United States is assisting countries in the developing world to expand their immunization capability and coverage. Through the Agency for International Development and our support for UNICEF, the World Health Organization and other UN agencies, we are currently involved in a variety of

international immunization initiatives. In addition to assisting in the delivery of immunization, we are also supporting biomedical research to develop new vaccines and technologies which will be easier to deliver and offer better protection for the world's children.

The children who are now being born will inherit the world that we have created. This century has seen the development of the technologies which can offer protection from the diseases of childhood. The United States is pledged to do our part in this joint effort so that the promise of protection offered by these technologies is part of our legacy for the future. Working together with the United Nations and with the countries of the developing world, I believe that we can make a difference in the future of the world's children and the future of the world.

The United States will continue to affirm our commitment to these objectives in our statements during the 40th Anniversary of the General Assembly.

1985 SESSION OF THE UNICEF EXECUTIVE BOARD*

The UNICEF Executive Board held its regular annual meeting in New York, April 15-26. It again strongly endorsed the initiatives in UNICEF's child survival and development strategies, first approved by the Board at its 1983 session, as the "leading edge" of the UNICEF primary health care and basic services approach.

The 1985 session of the Executive Board also focused again on the critical drought-induced famine sweeping Africa. It concurred that the most dramatic challenge to child survival was in Africa, where various economic, agricultural, financial, and social constraints limited attempts to improve the situation of African children. Major emphasis was given to linking emergency responses to ongoing UNICEF programs. Following the 1984 Executive Board meeting in Rome, the UNICEF Executive Director launched an appeal for emergency projects totaling \$67 million. During the meeting of the Executive Board in 1985, he was able to announce that donations totaling \$48.3 million had been received in response to this appeal.

The African crisis caused rapid changes in UNICEF staffing. Due to insistence by the U.S. Delegation, the Executive Board requested the Executive Director to provide the 1986 meeting of the Board with full documentation on staffing and establishment matters. Such information would allow the Board to review the total number of posts and staff (all categories), and their classification

*The UNICEF Executive Board is composed of representatives of the following governments: Argentina, Australia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Bangladesh, Belgium, Benin, Bhutan, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo, Cuba, Denmark, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Gabon, Federal Republic of Germany, India, Indonesia, Italy, Japan, Lesotho, Mali, Mexico, Netherlands, Niger, Oman, Pakistan, Romania, Switzerland, Thailand, Tunisia, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom, United States, Venezuela, and Yugoslavia.

and deployment and decide on UNICEF's future staffing requirements and structure.

Many delegations, and especially that of the United States, were disappointed that the 1985 report on supplementary funding did not provide the detailed guidelines on supplementary funds and adoptions requested at the 1983 Board session. As a result, the Board asked the Executive Director to present a further report to the 1986 Executive Board, taking into consideration the reservations expressed in the 1985 meeting.

The Executive Board agreed with the UN Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions (ACABQ) that UNICEF should not use the \$4 million credit facility offered by the UN Development Corporation to finance the necessary furnishings for the new UNICEF house. The Board therefore approved an allocation of \$2 million in the 1986-87 budget in place of the \$360,000 set aside as amortization payment.

The Executive Board requested the Executive Director to further investigate, and report to the 1986 Board, the recommendation of the ACABQ that UNICEF should have its own financial rules and regulations.

At the 1984 regular session in Rome, the Executive Board established a Working Group on the Future Work and Procedures of the Executive Board to examine ways of improving both the work and procedures both of the Board and the use of the secretariat's limited time and resources in preparing for Board sessions. The working group met five times between the two Board sessions with open-ended participation. It made a number of useful suggestions that the Board adopted at its 1985 session, including the adoption of longer programming cycles with strengthened midterm reviews. It instructed the secretariat to improve the quality and content of program documentation and maximize its clarity. It continued the mandate of the working group and set its priorities for the coming year. Finally it decided that the working group would meet as an integral part of the 1986 Board session.

AMERICANS IN UNICEF

At the end of 1985, Americans held 14.4 percent of the professional positions in UNICEF. More importantly, U.S. citizens occupied key policy positions including the executive directorship of UNICEF and the directorships of two out of UNICEF's six regional divisions.

UNICEF EXPENDITURES IN THE UNITED STATES

In 1985, UNICEF spent \$106.7 million in the United States. This includes \$42.2 million for supplies, freight, and other services, \$8.6 million in connection with its greeting card operations, and \$55.9 million for staff and staff-related expenses.

Human Settlements Activities

The Commission on Human Settlements was established in 1977 and consists of 58 members elected for 3-year terms. The Commission provides policy guidance to the Center for Human Settlements (HABITAT) located in Nairobi, Kenya. The United States has been a member since 1977 and maintains a permanent representative to the Center in Nairobi who is also the permanent representative to the UN Environment Program.

The United States participated in the Eighth Session of the Commission on Human Settlements which was held in Kingston, Jamaica, April 29-May 10, at the invitation of the Jamaican Government. In addition to 53 members of the Commission, 36 other countries participated as observers. Twelve UN bodies and specialized agencies, 5 intergovernmental organizations, and 29 non-governmental organizations (NGOs) were also represented. Representatives from the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO), the Pan-African Congress, and the Southwest African Peoples Organization (SWAPO) were also present as observers.

The Commission's work focused on three major issues: (1) the theme of the Eighth Session—Planning and Management of Intermediate Cities and Small Towns; (2) the work program and budget for the biennium 1986-87; and (3) the International Year of Shelter for the Homeless (IYSH).

During the meeting, the United States conveyed the leadership role which AID plays in the shelter area internationally. The U.S. Delegate, Pamela B. Hussey, Acting Deputy Director, Office of Housing and Urban Programs in AID, made three major substantive statements which provoked great interest and strong support from a number of delegations, including some Third World countries. In the context of the theme of the Eighth Session, the United States argued strongly for decentralization of financial responsibility and local development planning from central governments to the governing bodies of intermediate sized cities and small towns. The United States characterized the proper role of central governments as one of facilitating the ability of local governments, the private sector, and individual households to con-

tribute directly through their own initiatives to the development of these towns. The U.S. Delegate said clear and stable overall policies were a prerequisite for the successful development of intermediate settlements.

The session was notable for the degree of harmony expressed throughout its deliberations. In plenary, the United States and the Soviet Union agreed to include on the agenda of a Department of Housing and Urban Development mission to Moscow in May 1985, a Soviet proposal to undertake studies of U.S. and Soviet intermediate city experiences. This will lead to a joint contribution to the International Year of Shelter for the Homeless (IYSH).

The Commission then adopted 25 resolutions in 1985, an increase of 10 over 1984. The U.S. Delegate called for votes on three resolutions: (1) Resolution L.7 calling for a seminar on a housing program for the Palestinian population in the Occupied Territories with the participation of the PLO (23 to 1 (U.S.), with 8 abstentions); Resolution L.12 calling for a new study on the housing situation in the Occupied Territories with coordination with the PLO (29 to 1 (U.S.), with 5 abstentions); and (3) Resolution L.9 on Apartheid and Colonialism in South Africa (27 to 1 (U.S.), with 4 abstentions). In addition, the United States successfully modified the language of Resolution L.8 on Namibia enabling its adoption by consensus.

The Commission adopted by consensus Resolution L.15 calling for the adoption of biennial sessions on an experimental basis beginning in 1987. The resolution does, however, allow for a "mini" session in 1988 to follow up on actions taken in 1987 for the IYSH. In addition, the Commission also adopted Resolution L.6 which called for the elimination of joint bureau meetings between UNCHS and UNEP. The United States had favored these two measures for the past several years.

Population Activities

The UN Secretary-General established the UN Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA) in 1967 as a special trust fund. The Fund operates under the guidance of ECOSOC and, since 1972, with the general oversight of the UNDP Governing Council. UNFPA is second only to the U.S. Government itself as a source of assistance for population activities in developing countries. It has an annual budget of \$140 million and finances projects in over 120 countries. The principal concerns for the Fund are to

devote an increasing ratio of its resources to family planning, to confine its commitment levels to reasonable resource expectations, and to retain sufficient flexibility so that the assistance will be geared to the circumstances of the recipient country.

The 23d session of the Population Commission met in February. The Commission translated various recommendations of the International Population Conference in Mexico into work programs for agencies it oversees. Led by the U.S. Delegate, the Commission reiterated that population programs must be truly voluntary. The Commission debated the role of women in population affairs and emphasized the need for the UNFPA to monitor multi-lateral population programs.

The 32d session of the UNDP Governing Council expressed general satisfaction with UNFPA assistance. In endorsing UNFPA's strengthened role, the Governing Council asked for increased quality rather than quantity in carrying out its program. The Council endorsed UNFPA priority action in Sub-Saharan Africa, and sponsored 10 new multiyear country programs involving \$131.4 million.

The Governing Council decided to fund 33 deputy representatives, 9 program officers, and 10 professional posts at headquarters. It also decided that no further project-funded posts shall be established at headquarters without prior approval from the Council. The Council abolished most project-funded posts at headquarters.

A major topic during the Governing Council was the possible loss of U.S. financial support for UNFPA. AID Administrator McPherson, pursuant to authority delegated to him, determined that UNFPA participated in the management of a program which resulted in abuses such as coercive abortion and involuntary sterilization in the People's Republic of China within the meaning of the Kemp/Inouye amendment to the 1985 Foreign Assistance Appropriations Act.

Under these circumstances, U.S. funding could not legally be provided to UNFPA. Prior to passage of this legislation, \$36 million of the \$46 million pledged to UNFPA for 1985 had been transferred to it. The United States provided approximately 27 percent of the total pledges to UNFPA for 1985.

WORLD FOOD COUNCIL

The UN General Assembly created the World Food Council (WFC) pursuant to Resolution 22 of the 1974 World Food Conference. The Council has no operational functions; it offers advice and recommendations on world food and agriculture problems

and policy issues. WFC performs this function primarily through its annual ministerial session. The Council is composed of 36 members* selected to represent the various regions of the world. The United States and the U.S.S.R. have been members of WFC continuously since its establishment.

WFC held its 11th Ministerial Session in Paris, France, June 10-13. The Council's agenda included papers on "Food Strategy Implementation and Aid Effectiveness," "External Economic Constraints on Meeting Food Objectives" and "Improving Access to Food by the Undernourished." Council members unanimously elected French Agricultural Minister Henri Nallet President of the WFC for a 2-year term.

The United States joined in adopting the final report while entering reservations on paragraphs 7 and 49. Paragraph 7 referred to UNGA resolutions linking disarmament and development. Paragraph 49 referred to the U.S. trade embargo against Nicaragua. Japan, Italy, the Federal Republic of Germany, and Turkey joined the United States in reserving on these paragraphs, calling introduction of such political issues inappropriate to the work of the WFC.

The Ministers requested that the UN Secretary-General undertake a study of WFC to reexamine its mandate, reflect on its terms of reference, and explore means of revitalizing the organization. The report will be prepared in consultation with member nations and presented to the 12th Ministerial Session in 1986.

Crime Prevention And Control

The Seventh UN Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders was held in Milan, Italy, August 26-September 6, at the special invitation of the Government of Italy. The Congresses have been held every 5 years since the first was convened in 1955. One hundred twenty-four states were represented. The U.S. Delegation was headed by Deputy Attorney General D. Lowell Jensen. The Congress considered a five-point agenda, including:

*Argentina, Australia, Bangladesh, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burundi, Canada, Central African Republic, Chile, China, Ecuador, Ethiopia, Finland, France, German Democratic Republic, Federal Republic of Germany, Ghana, Hungary, Iraq, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan, Kenya, Mexico, Morocco, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Thailand, Turkey, U.S.S.R., United Arab Emirates, United States, Venezuela, Zambia.

- (a) New dimensions of criminality and crime prevention in the context of development: challenges for the future;
- (b) Criminal justice processes and perspectives in a changing world;
- (c) Victims of crime;
- (d) Youth, crime, and justice; and
- (e) Formulation and application of UN standards and norms in criminal justice.

The Congress approved a large number of documents, including instruments and resolutions, the principal instrument being the Milan Plan of Action, a document which the United States actively supported. Also approved were Guiding Principles for Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice in the Context of Development and a New International Economic Order, as well as four draft instruments and resolutions which the Congress recommended for adoption by the General Assembly. Among the adopted resolutions were a number which represented the achievement of major goals of the U.S. Delegation, viz., resolutions on the development of crime and criminal justice information and statistical systems, organized crime, illicit drug trafficking, and criminal acts of a terrorist nature. The Milan Plan of Action singled out the latter three areas of transnational crime as the subject areas warranting the primary concentration of UN criminal justice efforts over the next several years.

At the 40th UN General Assembly, six resolutions relating to the Congress were approved, all without a vote. Resolution 40/32, a general resolution dealing with the results of the Seventh Congress, *inter alia*, expressed the Assembly's approval of the Milan Plan of Action as a useful and effective means of strengthening international cooperation in the field of crime prevention and criminal justice. Governments were invited to be guided by the Milan Plan of Action in the formulation of appropriate legislative and policy directives. The Assembly also recommended the Guiding Principles for national, regional, and international action, as appropriate, and endorsed other resolutions unanimously adopted by the Seventh Congress. The formulation of followup recommendations concerning the implementation of the resolutions and recommendations adopted at the Milan Congress was assigned to the Committee on Crime Prevention and Control.

Four succeeding resolutions incorporated the texts of draft resolutions recommended by the Seventh Congress, as follows:

(a) In Resolution 40/33, the Assembly adopted the UN Standard Minimum Rules for the Administration of Juvenile Justice. The rules are to be known as "The Beijing Rules" because they

were finalized at the Interregional Preparatory Meeting held in Beijing in May 1984;

(b) In Resolution 40/34, the Assembly adopted the Declaration of Basic Principles of Justice for Victims of Crime and Abuse of Power. The Declaration, which is annexed to Resolution 40/34, is designed to assist governments and the international community in their efforts to secure justice and assistance for such victims;

(c) Resolution 40/35 concerned the development of standards for the prevention of juvenile delinquency in the manner proposed by the Seventh Congress;

(d) Resolution 40/36 endorsed proposed measures developed at the Seventh Congress relating to domestic violence.

Finally, in Resolution 40/37, the General Assembly expressed its deep appreciation to the Government and people of Italy for acting as host to the Seventh Congress.

Drug Abuse Control

During 1985, the United States once again played a key role in the international drug control activities of the UN system. With strong U.S. support, important new initiatives were proposed or endorsed in the three UN representative bodies most directly involved in drug control activities—the Commission on Narcotic Drugs (CND), the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), and the General Assembly (UNGA). U.S. efforts to convince other governments of the seriousness and universality of drug abuse problems led to heightened international concern and new productive action in 1985. Most significant were the decisions to hold a world conference on drug abuse and trafficking in 1987 and to proceed with the drafting of a new international convention on drug trafficking.

Other governments began to devote additional resources to the fight against drug abuse. Following U.S. urging, Member States continued to support the UN Fund for Drug Abuse Control (UNFDAC) through voluntary contributions. An American was hired as Deputy Director of UNFDAC, and efforts were continued to assure U.S. citizens were employed at appropriate levels by all UN drug control agencies.

The U.S. private sector was kept fully informed about UN actions of immediate interest. Private sector involvement received a special impetus when Nancy Reagan cosponsored with Mrs. Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, wife of the UN Secretary-General, a meeting of 31 First Ladies, on October 21, during the 40th UN

General Assembly. The First Ladies discussed ways in which private initiatives can lead to effective action to combat drug abuse around the world. Their meeting in New York extended the impact of a conference involving 17 First Ladies hosted by Mrs. Reagan in Washington in April 1985.

The 40th UN General Assembly provided the opportunity for two additional U.S. initiatives which focused international attention on the worldwide problems of drug abuse. On October 25, Representative Dan Mica, Congressional member of the U.S. Delegation, hosted a luncheon to discuss drug abuse and trafficking with members of 25 foreign UN missions. U.S. participants included Congressmen Charles Rangel, Benjamin Gilman, and Larry Smith. The Congressmen used the occasion to convey Congressional concerns about the international illicit drug trade and its effect on U.S. citizens (especially the young) and to call for more concerted international cooperation to stop illicit drug trafficking.

On December 9, U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Vernon A. Walters hosted a luncheon for UN Representatives of 53 countries affected by drug abuse and trafficking and for members of the UN Secretariat, including the Secretary-General. Both Ambassador Walters and Secretary-General Pérez de Cuéllar indicated their special interest in combating drug abuse, and they pledged to make every effort to assure the 1987 World Conference is successful.

The U.S. Delegation undertook regular consultations during the Assembly with a broad spectrum of Member States concerned about drug abuse. A working group, formed to facilitate consultations during the Assembly, continued to meet to coordinate positions even after the meeting ended. U.S. officials said the contact group proved to be an effective negotiating forum which avoided customary political divisions.

COMMISSION ON NARCOTIC DRUGS

The 31st Regular Session of the Commission on Narcotic Drugs* convened in Vienna, on February 11-20. Jon R. Thomas, Assistant Secretary of State for International Narcotic Matters, was the U.S. Representative. The delegation included representatives of the Departments of State, Justice, Health and Human

*Members in 1985 were: Terms expired in December 1985: Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Belgium, Bulgaria, German Democratic Republic, Hungary, India, Japan, Republic of Korea, Malaysia, Mexico, Nigeria, Panama, Senegal, Turkey, United Kingdom, U.S.S.R., and Zaire. Terms expire in December 1987: Algeria, Brazil, Canada, Colombia, Finland, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Greece, Iran, Italy, Ivory Coast, Madagascar, Morocco, Netherlands, Pakistan, Peru, Sri Lanka, Thailand, United States, and Yugoslavia.

Services, and of the U.S. Congress. Congressmen Gilman and Rangel represented Congress on the U.S. Delegation. At the meeting of the General Assembly in November, Jon R. Thomas served as chief U.S. spokesman on drug control issues with the support of General Robert Risner, private sector member of the U.S. Delegation to the UNGA.

International Conference on Drug Abuse and Trafficking

Early in May 1985, during the spring ECOSOC session, Mr. Thomas urged the UN Secretariat to develop a strategy that would generate greater worldwide commitment to fight drug abuse and trafficking. On May 24, the Secretary-General made a major statement on drug abuse to the Economic and Social Council. In this statement, he summarized the present state of affairs by noting that "wherever [drugs] are produced or used, [they] contaminate and corrupt, weakening the very fabric of society. Increasing worldwide abuse is destroying uncounted useful lives. These problems have already profoundly afflicted every region in the world. Moreover, there may well be links between illicit international drug networks and armed terrorist groups which have sought to subvert Governments." In response to this situation he said, "We need a more concerted, a more comprehensive, and a truly worldwide effort to reduce the plague of illicit drugs. I believe the moment has arrived for the international community to expand its efforts in a global undertaking to meet this peril. I believe the United Nations is uniquely qualified to play a major catalytic role in enhancing efforts to deal with this problem." And he proposed "that a world conference be convened at the ministerial level in 1987 to deal with all aspects of drug abuse."

The Secretary-General said he believed "the conference should serve to raise the level of world awareness of the dangers we face, mobilize the full potential of the United Nations system, reinforce other intergovernmental, non-governmental and regional initiatives, and encourage Governments to concert their efforts and to devote greater resources to combat drug abuse and trafficking." And he stated his hope "that member states [would] favorably consider this proposal and thereby give new impetus to the struggle to free the world of the deadly scourge of drug abuse. In this fortieth anniversary year, such action could constitute a major contribution to the common good, in the spirit of the United Nations Charter."

The Secretary-General's proposal was endorsed unanimously during the 40th UN General Assembly in Resolution 40/122. This resolution, drafted with strong U.S. involvement, specified the

agenda for the conference, and decided that it would be held in June 1987 in Vienna, Austria, where UN drug agencies are located. The 40th UNGA also agreed that the CND would meet an additional week in February 1986, after its 9th Special Session, to serve as the Preparatory Body for the conference.

U.S. officials strongly supported the convening of the conference stating that it should create political commitment at the highest national levels to fight drug abuse and drug trafficking. They expressed the hope that the conference will generate effective actions and sufficient resources at the national, regional, and international levels to combat the growing drug abuse problems experienced by nearly every nation. Furthermore, U.S. officials urged that the conference preparations focus only on relevant drug control issues and that extraneous political issues not be interjected into the conference itself or the preparations for it. During interventions at the UNGA, the U.S. Delegation stressed the need to reduce both supply and demand, and the need for greater international cooperation and commitment.

Drug Trafficking

Several important steps were taken during 1985 to begin drafting a new international convention against illicit traffic in narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances. In Resolution 1 (XXXI), the CND initiated the preparation of the convention by requesting governments to submit elements for a draft that the 40th UNGA and the 1986 CND will consider. Forty-six states responded to this request during 1985, and the Secretariat prepared a compilation of their comments to assist in the drafting process.

At the UN General Assembly, Resolution 40/120, adopted without a vote, recognized the progress made to date and called on the CND in 1986 to decide on elements to be included in the convention. It was anticipated that some completed articles would be prepared for review by the 1986 UNGA and consideration at the 1987 CND. Substantial agreement was evident in the UN's compilation of elements submitted by governments. The United States considers the preparation of this convention a priority activity.

The UN drug control agencies during 1985 also undertook other actions related to drug trafficking. The Division on Narcotic Drugs (DND) sponsored law enforcement training seminars and other related activities. The International Narcotics Control Board (INCB) monitored the movement of narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances as required by the two existing treaties in force. UNFDAC maintained its international program of national

and regional activities to combat trafficking as well as the production and consumption of illicit psychoactive substances. The Fund has undertaken new projects in the Andean region of Latin America to reduce the cultivation of coca leaf.

ECOSOC endorsed two resolutions forwarded by the CND. One called for more action to combat drug trafficking and abuse in the African region, and the other, a U.S.-drafted text, requested member countries to take effective measures to reduce the transportation of illegal drugs via commercial carriers.

For its part, the CND asked the Secretary-General to work with governments to identify accurately the sources of illicit supply. It also noted evidence in a number of countries of clear links between drug trafficking, the illegal traffic in firearms, subversion, international terrorism, and other organized criminal activities. The CND agreed that it would further explore and regularly report on these links. In Resolution 40/121, "International Campaign against Traffic in Drugs," the UNGA followed up on the Commission's efforts by also noting the link between drug trafficking and the illegal arms trade and terrorism practices. The Assembly recommended that various measures be taken to confront the growing problems associated with drug trafficking and decided to discuss the issue again at the 41st UN General Assembly.

Drug Scheduling

One focus of the Commission meeting in February was the placing of international controls on two psychotropic substances: 2,5-Dimethoxy-4-Bromoamphetamine (DOB) and 3,4-Methylenedioxyamphetamine (MDA). Both substances were placed, by unanimous vote, in Schedule I of the 1971 Convention on Psychotropic Substances. Considerably less time was expended on drug scheduling issues in 1985 than had been in the past. Following U.S. urging, WHO continued to improve the mechanisms and procedures it uses to fulfill its responsibilities under the international conventions. In this regard, WHO convened an Expert Committee on Drug Dependence which will continue to provide valuable guidance on drug scheduling questions, along with the Program Planning Working Group.

Following a CND recommendation, ECOSOC unanimously endorsed two resolutions designed to strengthen the impact of the conventions. One called on governments to undertake important new voluntary measures to control the diversion of certain precursors, chemicals, and solvents used in the illicit manufacture of narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances. The other requested

governments to extend voluntarily import and export authorizations to cover international trade in psychotropic substances listed in Schedule III of the Psychotropic Convention. It also requested monitoring and reporting on export statistics and national controls related to substances listed in Schedules III and IV of the same convention.

International Narcotics Control Board

The 1985 Report of the International Narcotics Control Board (INCB) provided a valuable and insightful assessment of critical problems which specific nations and regions face with respect to the cultivation of narcotics-producing crops and trafficking in these substances. The report was very well received by all CND members. Many stressed the importance of prevention and demand reduction activities.

In introducing the report, the President of the INCB, Betty Gough (U.S.) noted that the abuse of a variety of drugs remained at a high level and in some states was escalating, creating major public health problems. Multiple drug use (frequently in combination with alcohol), new and more potent drugs, and more dangerous means of drug-taking all compounded the problems. The prospects for further deterioration were ominous she stated. In some regions a close connection existed between drug trafficking and other major criminal activity which tends to undermine economic and social institutions and spread violence and corruption. In some countries, these criminal activities pose a threat to national security and stability.

In response to this grave situation, the Chairman noted that increased political will and aggressive countermeasures by some governments are producing desired results. The Board welcomed the growing involvement of public and community leaders in preventing and reducing drug abuse. In this regard, ECOSOC, during its May session, adopted by consensus a resolution requesting governments to promote preventive education and community participation to combat drug abuse and the attitudes which foster it.

Commenting on the continuing problem of the lack of balance between the demand and supply of opiate raw materials, Ms. Gough noted that careful monitoring of an unforeseen trend to misuse poppy straw was required. She said the Board believed that the problem of bringing *Papaver bracteatum* under international control also merited attention. A CND draft resolution on this subject, adopted by ECOSOC, urged governments to support the "traditional" opiate supplier nations. It also asked the INCB to assist in determining effective ways to ensure a balance be-

tween supply and demand for licit opiate raw materials and to reduce opiate stocks.

Of particular interest to the United States, the Board report drew attention to the "designer drug" problem. It noted international action might be necessary to counter a growing trend toward clandestine manufacture and abuse of these controlled-substance analogues.

The Board also noted the value of many of the law enforcement and judicial measures being considered for inclusion in the new antitrafficking convention.

UN FUND FOR DRUG ABUSE CONTROL

The Commission, during its February session, expressed firm support for the Fund, its program of activities, and its successful fund-raising efforts. The Executive Director of the Fund reported that voluntary contributions to UNFDAC during the 13 months preceding the 1985 CND almost equaled the total of contributions over the preceding 13 years. During 1985, 44 countries pledged and/or contributed \$19,136,964, of which the United States pledged \$2,732,000. The United States remained strongly supportive of the Fund, its leadership, and its activities.

With its resources, UNFDAC provided financial assistance for 50 projects in 25 countries. The substantial growth in UNFDAC's resources, the numerous requests for its assistance, and the continuous expansion of its activities indicate worldwide recognition of the key role played by the Fund. During the CND the Fund received praise for its use of Master Plans in program countries, its coordinating role among donors, its activities in the Andean region, and its placement of field advisers in the key narcotics-producing countries. The Executive Director of the Fund noted that financial assistance was beginning to be matched by political will and dedication in countries requiring assistance.

INTERNATIONAL STRATEGY AND POLICIES FOR DRUG CONTROL

In carrying out its duties as a "task force" to review the International Strategy and Policies for Drug Control and the 5-year program of action, as requested by the UN General Assembly in Resolution 36/168 of 1981, the Commission endorsed in principle a list of projects planned for implementation in 1985 and 1986. Considerable concern was expressed, however, over the lack of budgetary data presented to the CND for its review and comment.

A formal CND request for more complete financial data was denied by UN Headquarters. As a result, the United States coordinated its intervention with those of the Delegations of the United Kingdom, Federal Republic of Germany, Sweden, and Canada in order to make a strong statement criticizing the lack of specific financial and budgetary data regarding project proposals to be carried out by the United Nations, particularly the Division on Narcotic Drugs.

All five countries called for increased efficiency and coordination. They asked that their concerns be brought to the attention of the Under Secretary-General responsible for overseeing the UN drug agencies. It was hoped that the Under Secretary-General would be able to further improve coordination in Vienna so that future CND sessions would be able to effectively influence program planning and budgeting.

Ultimately, the CND adopted a resolution which requested that the Commission be provided complete program and budget data for the forthcoming biennium. The 40th UNGA noted this resolution in its resolution approving the program of action for 1986, the 5th year of the UN basic 5-year program of action of the international drug control strategy. The CND also decided that future international drug control programs would be formulated within the framework of the UN medium-term plans and the biennial budgets established in accordance with those plans.

Office of the UN Disaster Relief Coordinator (UNDRO)

A series of major disasters in the late 1960's convinced members of the United Nations that a distinct office was needed to coordinate worldwide emergency relief assistance which individual governments, UN agencies, the Red Cross, and other voluntary societies had provided for many years. In March 1972, the United Nations Disaster Relief Office (UNDRO) was established to mobilize relief more rapidly, coordinate it more systematically, and reduce waste, duplication, and failure in the supply of essential items. UNDRO was also given the responsibility for improving contingency planning and disaster preparedness worldwide and for harnessing modern scientific and technological knowledge to prevent and mitigate disasters.

Under Secretary-General M'Hamed Essaafi of Tunisia currently leads UNDRO. To carry out its functions, UNDRO's program activities are divided into four major areas: disaster relief

coordination, disaster preparedness, disaster prevention, and information.

Disaster relief coordination is the core of the activities of UNDRO and receives the highest priority in the allocation of resources. In 1984-85, the widespread emergency situation in Africa involving 18 countries and an estimated 30 million people dominated UNDRO's activities. Senior staff members from UNDRO supported the UN Office for Emergency Operations in Africa, an exceptional and temporary mechanism established by the Secretary-General, while continuing to carry out the functions falling under UNDRO's own mandate. UNDRO cooperated closely with many organizations in the UN system, and other intergovernmental and nongovernmental organizations involved in humanitarian relief. UNDRO established and reinforced national focal points for disaster management information. For example, in the Sudan and Chad units were created to serve Government Relief Committees and individual donors in the collection, recording, analysis, and dissemination of information on the emergency situation.

UNDRO was also involved in the relief efforts following the eruption of the Nevada del Ruiz volcano in Colombia. UNDRO issued an international appeal for assistance and dispatched personnel to the affected area who coordinated and assessed relief efforts and provided expertise and equipment for monitoring the volcano's activity.

In the areas of disaster preparedness, an interbranch committee established during the year guided UNDRO's activities. UNDRO has noted increased governmental interest to include more disaster preparedness and prevention projects in their planning for the next UNDP programming cycle. UNDRO hopes these projects will integrate human and material resources into effective national systems of readiness to minimize the loss of lives and damage when a disaster strikes.

Consequently, UNDRO's technical assistance programs stress the establishment and strengthening of sound national structures capable of immediate action. Preparedness projects at the national level were carried out in Chad, Guinea, Honduras, Nicaragua, Indonesia, Madagascar, Sudan, and Vanuatu. Other preparedness projects were carried out at subregional, regional, and international levels. One such example, the Pan-Caribbean Disaster Preparedness and Prevention Project covers 23 island countries and territories. Begun in 1981, the project has been instrumental in creating national emergency offices in several of the smaller states and areas of the region. The total UNDRO component of the project during the past 3 years has been \$1,962 million pro-

vided mainly by grants from USAID/OFDA and the Inter-American Committee for Agricultural Development.

In the area of disaster prevention, UNDRO participated in, or cosponsored, studies, seminars, and projects concerning earthquakes, floods, volcanic eruptions, early warning systems, and economic impact assessments of natural disasters and relief policy planning.

Most of these activities combined prevention and preparedness and were implemented in cooperation with other UN agencies, governments, or intergovernmental bodies.

The year under review saw a further strengthening of UNDRO's activities in the area of public information, data processing, and communications. Much of the information UNDRO collected is made available through its disaster Situation Reports and through UNDRO's bimonthly publication *UNDRO NEWS*.

UN High Commissioner for Refugees

The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), organized in 1951, is mandated to provide legal protection and material assistance to refugees and to promote permanent solutions for refugee problems. These responsibilities are carried out on behalf of refugees falling within the scope of the Statute of the Office adopted by the General Assembly in 1950. In general, the Statute applies to those persons who are outside their country of nationality because they have well-founded fear of persecution by reason of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion and, because of such fear, are unable or unwilling to avail themselves of the protection of the government of that country. The term of the current High Commissioner, Jean-Pierre Hocke (Switzerland), expires December 31, 1988.

The Executive Committee of the UNHCR* meets annually in Geneva to review the work of the UNHCR and approve the budget. At this meeting, the UNHCR advises the Executive Committee on any special activities. The U.S. Representative Ex-Officio at the 36th Session of the Executive Committee, held October

* Members of the Executive Committee in 1985 were Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, China, Colombia, Denmark, Finland, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Greece, Holy See, Iran, Israel, Italy, Japan, Lebanon, Lesotho, Madagascar, Morocco, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Norway, Sudan, Sweden, Switzerland, Tanzania, Thailand, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, United Kingdom, United States, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Zaire, and the UN Council for Namibia.

7-16, was the Honorable Gerald P. Carmen, Ambassador, U.S. Mission to the European Office of the UN and Other International Organizations, Geneva. James N. Purcell, Jr., Director of the Bureau for Refugee Programs, served as U.S. Representative and Chairman of the delegation.

INTERNATIONAL LEGAL PROTECTION

The basic legal mechanisms for the protection of refugees are the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees, which is restricted to persons who became refugees as a result of events occurring before 1951, and the 1967 Protocol, which removes the time limit on eligibility. The United States is a party to the Protocol. States acceding to these international instruments accept provisions explicitly prohibiting the return of a refugee, in any manner whatsoever, to any country in which his life or freedom would be threatened because of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion. At the same time, however, the refugee has obligations to the country in which he finds himself and is required to conform to its laws and regulations as well as to the measures taken for the maintenance of public order.

The international protection of refugees includes ensuring that they are granted (political) asylum, that those who wish to return voluntarily to their country of origin may do so without penalty for having fled, and that no refugee is forcibly returned to his/her country of origin. The UNHCR also is concerned with providing basic care and maintenance for refugees, including meeting emergency needs, and with protecting the refugees' right to work, to practice their religion, and to receive social benefits under the law.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Eight draft resolutions on refugee-related matters were introduced in the Third Committee. All were adopted by consensus. Of these, six related to refugees in Africa and were a virtual repeat of last year's resolutions: "Second International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa," "Assistance to Refugees in Somalia," "Assistance to Refugees in Sudan," "Assistance to Refugees in Djibouti," "Assistance to Displaced Persons in Ethiopia," and "Emergency Assistance to returnees and displaced persons in Chad."

A seventh draft, introduced by Finland, concerned the "Report of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees." The United

States Representative, Ambassador Patricia M. Byrne, in joining the consensus in support of this resolution, provided the following explanation of vote: "The United States joins consensus on the understanding that the condemnation of 'all violations of the rights and physical safety of refugees and others of concern to the Office . . . through military or armed attacks against refugee camps and settlements', is a condemnation of attacks on camps and settlements that are not in violation of the international law governing the use of force. The United States' support of the resolution should not be construed as support for the proposition that it is unlawful under any circumstances to use force against a refugee camp or settlement, even if it is being used in a manner inconsistent with its civilian purpose. As the United States has consistently maintained during meetings of the UNHCR Executive Committee in Geneva, this proposition clearly contradicts the principle of self-defense contained in Article 51 of the Charter and reflected in other international instruments."

A resolution expressing appreciation to outgoing High Commissioner Poul Hartling was also adopted.

In his statement before the Third Committee, Representative Solomon highlighted recent UNHCR accomplishments, including the successful promotion and involvement of other international organizations in refugee-related assistance (the World Bank, WFP, UNDP, WHO, and UNICEF); the formulation of policy concerning the linkage between refugee aid and development assistance; and the increased emphasis on voluntary repatriation as a durable solution.

OFFICE FOR EMERGENCY OPERATIONS IN AFRICA

The Secretary-General of the United Nations announced on December 17, 1984, the establishment of the UN Office for Emergency Operations in Africa (OEOA) to accomplish effective coordination of assistance and support of the United Nations for those African countries affected by catastrophic drought and famine. On the occasion of the first anniversary of the Office, the Secretary-General paid tribute to OEOA's role in facilitating overall coordination which made possible a multitude of individual initiatives involving cooperation among African Governments, donor governments, international organizations, and nongovernmental organizations.

UNHCR PROGRAMS

In 1985, UNHCR expenditures for refugee aid throughout the world reached a total of \$459.6 million. The United States contrib-

uted \$124.9 million in support of these UNHCR assistance programs, which represents 27 percent of this total.

The UNHCR Emergency Operations Unit is continuing the process of systematically upgrading its worldwide institutional preparedness for anticipating and responding to emergencies. In cooperation with the University of Wisconsin and with funding principally from the United States (\$300,000), UNHCR officers are being given intensive training in emergency preparedness and contingency planning.

Africa

UNHCR expenditures for programs in Africa totaled \$224.8 million in 1985; \$96.9 million under General Programs, and \$127.9 million under Special Programs. The largest UNHCR programs were in Somalia and Sudan. The United States contributed \$63.4 million toward these programs.

Asia

In 1985, UNHCR expenditures to assist refugees in Asia totaled \$70.8 million; \$61.4 under the General Program and \$9.4 under Special Programs. The largest portion of UNHCR expenditures in this region was for the care of Indochinese refugees in Southeast Asian countries of first asylum. The United States contributed \$16.4 million in support of these UNHCR care and maintenance programs.

At the end of 1985, 175,326 refugees occupied UNHCR-supervised camps, compared to 181,360 at the end of 1984. During 1985, 78,746 Indochinese refugees were resettled abroad, including 48,993 in the United States.

UNHCR continued to pursue other solutions to the Indochinese refugee problem in Southeast Asia, such as voluntary repatriation, when possible, and the Orderly Departure Program (ODP), by which asylum seekers emigrate legally from Vietnam. In the past year, 8,932 Vietnamese used the ODP to rejoin relatives in the United States; and another 11,948 were resettled through the ODP in other countries. The United States contributed \$600,000 toward the UNHCR administrative costs of this ODP program. During 1985, 513 refugees in first asylum countries throughout Southeast Asia were either voluntarily repatriated or permanently relocated.

In 1985, the United States contributed \$4.3 million in support of the UNHCR and Royal Thai Government cooperative program

to combat pirates' attacks on Vietnamese boat refugees in the Gulf of Thailand and for other rescue-at-sea activities.

Europe and North America

During 1985, UNHCR expenditures for programs to assist refugees in Europe and North America were \$50.2 million. UNHCR programs in Europe primarily assist refugees in transit and those refugees who are awaiting repatriation or permanent resettlement. UNHCR assistance activities in North America are primarily related to counseling services on legal and resettlement issues. In 1985, no U.S. funding was provided in support of these programs.

Latin America

UNHCR expenditures for programs in Latin America in 1985 were \$38.4 million, with its largest programs in Mexico, Honduras, and Costa Rica. The United States contributed \$11.8 million toward UNHCR assistance programs in this region.

Near East and Southwest Asia

In 1985, UNHCR expenditure for programs in this region totaled \$86.5 million. The largest program in the region, the relief effort for over two million Afghans in Pakistan, provides food, shelter, health services, education, and vocational training for the largest refugee population in any country of the world. UNHCR is the lead agency in this major international relief program which supports the Government of Pakistan's efforts to meet the basic needs of these refugees. Since 1984, in conjunction with the World Bank, UNHCR has focused attention on the importance of increasing the Afghans' self-sufficiency as a means of decreasing the burden they pose for the Government of Pakistan and the international community. The World Bank, in conjunction with the UNHCR, has initiated a series of projects designed to provide refugees with employment opportunities, thus freeing them from dependency on camp life in an asylum country. The United States contributed \$22 million (from FY 1985 funds) to UNHCR for its Afghan refugee assistance program. A U.S. contribution of \$7.5 million supported UNHCR programs in Cyprus.

Junior Professional Officer Program

Since mid-1984 the United States has sponsored U.S. nationals for the UNHCR Junior Professional Officer Program. During 1985, U.S. nationals served in JPO posts in Kuala Trengganu, Ma-

aysia; Peshawar, Pakistan; Kigali, Rwanda; Yei, Sudan; Bangkok, Thailand; Geneva, Switzerland; and Lusaka, Zambia. U.S. participation in the JPO Program is fully financed by the United States.

International Cooperation To Avert New Flows of Refugees

This item has been on the agenda of the General Assembly since 1980, when it was initiated by the Federal Republic of Germany in the interest of arriving at an agreed set of principles for state-to-state relations regarding actions and situations that might cause new flows of refugees. A Group of Governmental Experts to Develop Recommendations on International Cooperation to Avert New Flows of Refugees was established in 1981. The Expert Group comprises 25 Member States* including the United States. The Secretary-General was called upon, without prejudice to the rule,** to assist, so far as possible and by way of exception, the experts coming from the least developed countries to participate in the work of the Expert Group.

During 1985, the Group of Experts held fifth and sixth sessions, March 25-April 4 and June 3-14, respectively. The United States was represented by Ambassador Alan Keyes and Dennis Goodman during the fifth session, and by Dennis Goodman and Luke Lee during the sixth.

In accordance with the program of work agreed upon at its prior sessions, the Group of Experts continued its analysis of causes and factors which could lead to potential mass refugee flows and its discussion of the questions of appropriate means to improve international cooperation to avert new flows. The Group began the formulation of its conclusions and recommendations during these 1985 sessions and requested a renewal of its mandate in order to conclude its comprehensive review of the problems in all aspects and to submit its report to the General Assembly.

The Special Political Committee considered Item 80, "International Cooperation to Avert New Flows of Refugees," on October

*Afghanistan, Australia, Austria, Bulgaria, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Djibouti, Ethiopia, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Honduras, Japan, Lebanon, Mexico, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Philippines, Senegal, Somalia, Sudan, Thailand, Togo, U.S.S.R., the United States, and Vietnam.

** "4. Decides to establish a group of governmental experts of 17 members whose expenses, as a rule, shall be borne by each nominating state for its expert to be appointed, upon nomination by the member state, by the Secretary-General after appropriate consultation with the Regional groups and with due regard to equitable geographical distribution"; A/Res/36/148-12/16/81:OP. Para 4.

11, 14, and 15. A draft resolution, subsequently cosponsored by 36 countries, renewed the mandate of the Group of Governmental Experts to study the problems of refugees for 1 year. It again called on the Secretary-General to financially assist experts coming from the least developed countries. The draft renewed the Group's mandate for two sessions of 2 weeks duration each during 1986 and requested that it submit its report to the General Assembly at the 41st Session. The resolution was approved in Committee on October 15 and adopted by the General Assembly on December 16, in both instances without a vote. (Resolution 70/165)

Speaking in Committee after the vote, the U.S. Representative, John M. Herzberg, made a short explanation of vote welcoming the adoption of the resolution and stating that the United States had made an exception to its normal rules on additions to the regular UN budget in order to allow the Secretary-General to finance the attendance of Experts from the least developed countries and added that the Secretary General should try to ensure that these costs be absorbed within the current budget.

Social Development

UN COMMISSION FOR SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

The 29th Session of the UN Commission for Social Development (UNCSD) met in Vienna, Austria, February, 18-27. Unlike previous sessions of the Commission, the 29th Session was unusually politicized. East-West issues dominated the session and consumed much of the Commission's time and efforts. The Commission eventually sent five resolutions to ECOSOC on which it was unable to reach consensus.

The appearance of a chapter on "Conflicts and Militarism" in the 1985 Report on the World Social Situation further exacerbated East-West tensions. As in 1983, the Commission established a special working group to consider the 1985 Report on the World Social Situation. During her opening remarks, the U.S. Delegate, Dr. Ellen Paul, characterized the report as an objective and illuminating document. After extensive negotiations, the Commission adopted by consensus a resolution to ECOSOC on the report presenting the Commission's conclusions. The U.S. Delegation strongly supported the resolution's recommendation that, in the future, the report be prepared at 4-year intervals to coincide with the biennial meetings of the Commission. The resolution also called for

a prior review by the Commission of its forthcoming report's proposed table of contents.

Despite the ideological overtones, the Commission was able to adopt a number of useful resolutions. The Commission adopted by consensus a resolution that called on the Secretary-General to proceed with interregional consultations in Vienna on developmental social welfare policies and programs, at an appropriate policy-making level, in the autumn of 1987.

The Commission also endorsed additional work by the Center for Social Development and Humanitarian Affairs in the area of family policy and programs, and invited the General Assembly to include an agenda item on "Families in the Development Process" at its 1986 session.

The Commission adopted other resolutions which addressed the topics of youth in the contemporary world, aging, migrant workers and their families, cooperatives, and the timely distribution of conference documents. In adopting its agenda for the next session, the Commission decided to devote special consideration to the problems of social development in Africa.

AGING

At the 39th Session of the UNGA, the U.S. Delegation cosponsored Resolution 39/25 entitled "Question of Aging." The resolution requested the Secretary-General to implement the Plan of Action on Aging at the national, regional, and international levels and promote the UN Trust Fund for the World Assembly on Aging. It also requested the Secretary-General to report to the 40th UNGA on the measures taken to implement this resolution, taking into consideration the first review of the Plan of Action undertaken by the Commission for Social Development at its 29th Session in 1985.

The 40th Session of the UNGA adopted two resolutions on Aging. The Dominican Republic introduced a draft resolution inviting the Secretary-General to appoint a group to study the need, feasibility, and possible funding sources for a proposed United Nations Program for the Aging (UNPA). Concern about the financial implications of such a program as well as the possible duplication of the work which the UN Center for Social Development and Humanitarian Affairs (UNCSDHA) was already doing led most of the Western nations and the Soviet bloc to oppose this resolution. The Dominican Republic subsequently amended the resolution to invite UN members, UN bodies, and specialized agencies to comment on how to implement the International Plan of Action on Aging and the desirability and viability of elaborating a UN Pro-

gram for the Implementation of the Plan of Action. The UNGA then adopted it by consensus. The UNGA also adopted a second resolution entitled "Question of Aging," which was essentially the same as Resolution 39/25 of the previous session.

DISABLED

At the 39th Session of the UNGA, the United States cosponsored Resolution 39/26 which requested the Secretary-General to strengthen the Center for Social Development and Humanitarian Affairs through a reallocation of existing resources. This would enable the Center to continue as the focal point in the field of disability. The resolution requested the Secretary-General to report on the implementation of this resolution including information on the activities relating to the Trust Fund for the International Year of Disabled Persons (IYDP) to the 40th Session of the UNGA.

At the 40th Session of the UNGA, the Philippines and Belgium cosponsored a resolution on the implementation of the World Program of Action Concerning Disabled Persons. The resolution sought to transform the Trust Fund for the International Year of Disabled Persons (IYDP) into a UN Voluntary Fund for the Decade for Disabled Persons. The United States cosponsored the resolution which the UNGA adopted by consensus.

YOUTH

In 1979, UNGA Resolution 34/151 designated 1985 as the "International Youth Year: Participation, Development, Peace." A 24-nation intergovernmental advisory committee which included the United States, the Advisory Committee for the International Youth Year, was established to make plans and preparations for the year. At the 39th Session of the UNGA, the United States cosponsored Resolution 39/22 entitled "International Youth Year: Participation, Development, Peace" which decided to devote an appropriate number of plenary meetings at the 40th Session of the UNGA to policies and programs relating to youth. The resolution designated these meetings as the UN World Conference on the International Youth Year (IYY).

The Advisory Committee for the International Youth Year held its fourth session in Vienna, March 25, when it adopted Draft Guidelines for the Conduct of a World Conference on Youth. At this meeting, the U.S. Delegation, led by Ambassador Harvey Feldman, deflected Romanian efforts to create a permanent structure within the UN system to perpetuate the IYY. The United States also successfully blocked efforts by Eastern European coun-

tries to introduce a Declaration of Rights and Responsibilities of Youth reflecting the Communist interpretation of "rights" for consideration by the General Assembly.

Sitting as the World Conference for the International Youth Year (IYY), the General Assembly held five meetings, November 13-15, to debate the conference theme: Participation, Development, Peace. Ambassador Harvey Feldman led the U.S. Delegation which included three youth representatives. Mr. Daniel Cohen, one of the youth representatives, delivered the U.S. statement emphasizing individual freedoms and initiatives, and provoked a warm and animated response from a number of conference attendees.

During the Conference, the Jamaican and Mexican Delegations proposed to establish a UN Decade for Youth. The proposal received little support and both Western and Eastern nation delegations actively opposed it.

The UNGA held a brief session of the Conference on November 18 to adopt the reports of the Third Committee on Youth and four resolutions contained in these reports.

SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY, AND RESEARCH

UN Environment Program (UNEP)

Acting on the recommendation of the 1972 Stockholm Conference on the Human Environment, the UNGA at its 27th Session in the same year approved Resolution 2997 establishing the UN Environment Program (UNEP). The basic concept of UNEP, including its Environment Fund financed by voluntary contributions, closely paralleled proposals that President Nixon advanced in a 1972 environmental message delivered to the U.S. Congress.

Headquartered in Nairobi, Kenya, UNEP was the first UN program to be based in a developing country. It operates under the policy guidance of a 58-member Governing Council (GC)* and reports to the General Assembly through the UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC). The Executive Director of UNEP is Dr. Mostafa Tolba (Egypt) who has held this position since 1976. Vol-

*Members in 1985 were Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Botswana, Brazil, Bulgaria, Cameroon, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Finland, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Ghana, Haiti, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lesotho, Libya, Malaysia, Malta, Mexico, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Togo, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian S.S.R., U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, United States, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, and Zaire.

untary contributions to the Environment Fund in 1985 amounted to approximately \$28.6 million of which the United States pledged \$10 million or 35 percent.

UNEP is responsible for coordinating environmental activities of the UN family of organizations. Through its Environment Fund, it also is a catalyst promoting worldwide and regional environmental efforts.

Of particular importance to the United States are UNEP's programs in environmental monitoring and assessment, especially the Global Environment Monitoring System (GEMS) and its subsidiary program, the Global Resources Information Database (GRID); and the Environmental Law unit, including the recently signed Vienna Convention for the Protection of the Ozone Layer, and development of principles and guidelines for environmental impact assessment. Another important program is the Regional Seas Program, which has promoted the establishment of 11 individual marine and coastal zone environmental protection agreements among states bordering common ocean regions. The United States is a signatory to one of these agreements, the Cartagena Convention to Protect the Marine Environment in the Wider Caribbean Region, and is participating in negotiations for a convention in the South Pacific area.

Other UNEP program areas of special significance to the United States include the International Register of Potentially Toxic Chemicals Including Pesticides (IRPTC) which maintains a list of national control actions regarding potentially hazardous chemicals, especially pesticides; the Industry and Environment Program, which promotes cooperation among industry, international organizations, governments, and nongovernmental organizations to foster environmentally sustainable development; and the program to implement the UN Action Plan to Combat Desertification.

UNEP's most significant accomplishment of 1985 was its sponsorship of the Vienna Convention for the Protection of the Ozone Layer. The United States, along with 19 other countries and the European Economic Community, signed the Convention in March. This culminated more than 3 years of negotiations under UNEP Environmental Law Program auspices. This Convention will establish a Conference of the Parties and a Secretariat to facilitate international exchange of information on research and monitoring, and provide a framework for designing and negotiating possible future protocols for the control of specific chemical substances, including chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs), that could deplete the stratospheric ozone layer.

GOVERNING COUNCIL

The 13th Session of the UNEP Governing Council (GC-13) took place in Nairobi, Kenya, May 14-24. GC-13 maintained the trend of recent years toward increasingly businesslike and nonpolitical proceedings, although some extraneous political issues did arise. All of the substantive decisions on UNEP's plan of work were adopted by consensus. Participants agreed on continued efforts to improve the concentration and efficiency in UNEP's programs, and approved Environment Fund expenditures for the 1986-87 biennium of \$50 million. While the United States joined consensus in approving this budget, the U.S. Delegation (and others) pointed out that it represented approximately 20 percent growth over current income, and that UNEP would have to seek new sources of funding since the United States was unable to make up the difference, and other nations had generally been unwilling to increase their contributions. The GC requested the Executive Director to prepare a more realistic program of Fund Activities for the 1988-89 biennium of \$50 million and reaffirmed a 1984 request to the Executive Director to reduce overhead costs from the current 38 percent to 33 percent of total fund expenditures.

The United States achieved substantially all of its major objectives at this session. The Council agreed on program priorities including the Global Environmental Monitoring System (GEMS), the Regional Seas Program, implementation of the Desertification Action Plan, activities under the Environmental Law Program, and the International Register of Potentially Harmful Chemicals, Including Pesticides (IRPTC). In addition, the Council supported activities of interest to the United States in Terrestrial Ecosystems, Information, and Education.

The U.S. Delegation successfully advocated that UNEP prepare strategy statements for its individual program areas. These will assist Council members in focusing UNEP's limited resources on a narrower set of high priority projects and thereby enhance their effectiveness. Conversely, this approach should encourage UNEP to reduce or eliminate activities which duplicate those done better elsewhere (e.g., natural disasters, water resources, and energy).

The U.S. Delegation noted UNEP's unsuccessful efforts to stimulate effective international action on desertification control, and called for a major revision of UNEP's activities under its Desertification Program in response to the urgent situation in Africa and in accordance with its mandate. The U.S. position and initiative on desertification drew broad support from affected develop-

ing countries, including the Sahelian States. The United States also reiterated its call for new UNEP initiatives in maintaining biological diversity, an emerging interdisciplinary, interagency issue area for which UNEP is well-suited to play a role.

Finally, the United States continued its efforts to gain the Council's support for greater involvement of private sector institutions, including nongovernmental environmental organizations, foundations, universities, business, and industry, in international environmental activities in general, including UNEP activities. The United States praised UNEP's role in the successful 1984 World Industry Conference on Environmental Management (WICEM) and in WICEM follow-up activities as an excellent initiative directed toward such private sector involvement. In addition, the United States called for UNEP to rely more heavily on nongovernmental environmental organizations in the future work of the Information Program, and its new approach to biological diversity. The United States referred specifically to collaboration with the International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN) on natural resource maintenance and conservation.

A highlight of GC-13 was the joint appearance of U.S. astronaut-scientist Dr. George Nelson and Soviet cosmonaut Anatoly Berezovoy who addressed the Council in ceremonies marking the 10th anniversary of the GEMS program and the launching of a new GEMS component, the Global Resources Information Database (GRID). GRID is utilizing a substantial U.S. contribution of space technology and seconded experts.

Notwithstanding the reduced overall politicization of GC-13, the Council did adopt two decisions on political issues which are extraneous to UNEP's responsibility. While the United States joined in a consensus decision on apartheid, we were the only Council Member voting against a decision renewing the Council's condemnation of Israel's Mediterranean-Dead Sea Canal project. After casting its vote, the United States stated that, while it was neutral on the issue of the canal itself, it believed that the decision and the UN resolutions it was based on were unbalanced and their conclusions were premature. There was also a debate between Iraq and Iran over the adverse environmental effects of the continuing Iran-Iraq war. Unlike former years, the political decisions were dealt with quickly and largely without acrimony.

Subsequently, the 40th UN General Assembly adopted, by a vote of 126 to 7 (U.S.), with 0 abstentions, a resolution on International Cooperation in the Environment introduced by Norway and sponsored by 13 other states which principally reflected the results of GC-13, Resolution 40/37. The United States supported the

environmentally-relevant paragraphs of the resolution, but felt it necessary to vote against an unrelated, politically-inspired paragraph referring to the arms race. While 25 countries objected to this paragraph, only 6 joined the United States in voting against the paragraph and abstaining on the resolution as a whole.

HARMFUL PRODUCTS

On the subject of the United Nations "Consolidated List of Products Whose Consumption and/or Sale Have Been Banned, Withdrawn, Severely Restricted or Not Approved by Governments," no new action took place in UN-system governing bodies during 1985. However, the UN Secretariat signed new formal agreements between the United Nations and both the World Health Organization and the UN Environment Program's International Register of Potentially Toxic Chemicals (UNEP/IRPTC). In the new agreements, the UN Secretary-General delegated to WHO and to UNEP/IRPTC the responsibility for collecting and analyzing data submitted for the UN list, and for screening the material and making proposals to the United Nations for the list contents.

The new agreements eliminated the need for the United Nations Secretariat to set up a staff that would duplicate the work of the technical agencies. These agreements met the major objection raised by the United States in its previous negative votes against the resolutions of the UN General Assembly (37/137 and 39/229) which authorized the list. In conversations with various parties interested in the issue, U.S. officials said that even though the United States stood alone in opposing this resolution, U.S. views on issues important to it were nevertheless heeded.

The official U.S. response to WHO upon notification of the new agreements included the following language:

As you know, the United States opposed development of this list, in part because of its belief that the provision of information about national regulatory actions on pharmaceuticals was a major responsibility of WHO. Given the new agreement, we believe it is appropriate that the WHO should assume full responsibility for collecting, processing and screening any information relating to pharmaceutical products to be included on the list We believe that WHO is and should remain the preeminent expert agency in the international system regarding pharmaceutical products, and trust that WHO will maintain this position while it assists the United Nations Secretariat in performance of this specific task.

The U.S. response noted the categories of information which the United States has regularly supplied to WHO: "We will continue to provide this information to WHO, as we have in the past,

so that WHO may fulfill its duties and obligations in keeping interested parties informed of these regulatory activities." A similar response was sent to UNEP/IRPTC.

UN Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation

The UN Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation (UNSCEAR)* was established by the General Assembly in 1955 to provide continuous review and evaluation of the effects of ionizing radiation on humans and their environment. Radiation in this context covers both natural and man-made (i.e., from atmospheric and surface nuclear-weapons tests, nuclear power plants, and peaceful nuclear explosions), environmental radiation, and medical and occupational exposures.

General Assembly Resolution A/37/87 requested the Committee to continue its work, including its important coordinating activities, to increase knowledge of the levels, effects, and risks of ionizing radiation from all sources.

Under its terms of reference, the Committee receives, assembles, and compiles reports and information furnished by its Member States, members of the United Nations, specialized agencies, the IAEA, and nongovernmental organizations on observed levels of ionizing radiation and on scientific observations and experiments relevant to the effects of ionizing radiation on man and his environment.

Since its establishment, the Committee has prepared and submitted to the UN General Assembly five comprehensive reports on the effects of ionizing radiation. In addition to collation and evaluation of the literature on radiation effects, UNSCEAR agreed in 1973 to evaluate the radiological hazards created by the testing activities of one country if asked to do so by a possibly injured neighboring country. To date no such evaluations have been requested.

The 34th session of UNSCEAR met in Vienna, June 10-14. U.S. Representative Robert D. Moseley, Jr., M.D., Professor of Radiology at the University of New Mexico, was reelected Chairman of the Biological Subgroup.* The session was concerned with con-

*The Member States are Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, France, Federal Republic of Germany, India, Indonesia, Japan, Mexico, Peru, Poland, Sudan, Sweden, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, and United States.

*Dr. Moseley is Professor of Radiology at the University of New Mexico's School of Medicine in Albuquerque, New Mexico.

tinuing consideration of chapters for monographic reports to the General Assembly on the effects of ionizing radiation in the following fields:

- the scientific bases for the evaluation of radiation risk and detriment, including an analysis of factors involved in risk perception;

- doses from natural sources of radiation with particular emphasis on the variability of such doses as a function of time and location;

- doses to the world population from nuclear explosions;

- the exposure, both general and occupational, arising from the nuclear fuel cycle, with particular emphasis on the problem of radioactive wastes;

- doses from the medical uses of radiation;

- the biological effects of prenatal irradiation with special consideration on findings in man;

- the early effects of high doses of radiation on man;

- specialized topics relating to the genetic effects of irradiation; and

- radiation-induced tumors in man, with a re-evaluation of the risk factors.

The Committee has decided that for the near future systematic reports of the type presented at the 37th Session of the General Assembly would not be warranted. Accordingly the Committee is developing shorter reports with scientific annexes on the specialized topics mentioned, as soon as the relevant studies are completed. The Committee will, however, continue to report in summary form to the General Assembly annually on its general progress on all areas of interest.

The 35th session of UNSCEAR, scheduled for April 14-18, 1986, in Vienna, will continue consideration of draft documents and will complete, for presentation to the September 1986 meeting of the General Assembly, three or four of the documents addressing biological subjects.

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY FOR DEVELOPMENT

In 1979, the General Assembly created three bodies to deal with science and technology and development: (1) the Intergovernmental Committee for Science and Technology for Development (IGCSTD) to formulate policy guidelines and identify priorities

and activities in this area, and open for participation by all UN members; (2) the Center for Science and Technology for Development to coordinate science and technology activities within the United Nations at the Secretariat level and to serve the Intergovernmental Committee; and (3) the Interim Fund for Science and Technology for Development which voluntary contributions would support and UNDP would administer until the end of 1981. The General Assembly gave the Interim Fund permanent status in 1982 as the UN Financing System for Science and Technology for Development.

In 1982 the General Assembly adopted a resolution designed to keep open the institutional debate on science and technology for development. Although the resolution established long-term financial and institutional arrangements, it left open to negotiation the difficult questions of establishment of the provisions of the proposed financing plan and the voting rules for its Executive Board. These were further negotiated at two sessions of the IGCSTD in 1983. Since attendees could not agree, the Secretary-General was asked to undertake consultations on the money issues again and, if he were satisfied that there was sufficient interest, to call a pledging conference. Since there was insufficient interest, the Secretary-General did not call the meeting.

Each year since, the same issues have arisen. Member nations have expressed insufficient interest and voluntary contributions to support proposed activities have failed to materialize.

In 1985, the Secretary-General and the UN Financing System for Science and Technology for Development again prepared proposals for science and technology for development. The proposed system would be closely linked to United Nations Development Program (UNDP) operations and provide for a modest staff. While the United States does not oppose science and technology activity carried out through a separate UN organization, we have continued to oppose the establishment of "multilaterally-pooled funds" for this purpose. The United States has recommended that the United Nations limit its activities to playing a broker role, bringing together potential projects in developing countries with sources of financing and technology in the developed world, including the private sector. While the Financing System Secretariat has made serious efforts to accommodate U.S. and other potential donor concerns, we remain unable to contribute to an organization that envisages common pooling of funds to be used to support research in the participating countries.

UN University

The United States as a government played no role in the UN University during 1985. It has not made a contribution to the UN University trust fund, but is, nonetheless, generally supportive of University activities.

University for Peace

The United States joined the UN consensus decision which created the University for Peace. Nonetheless, the United States has reservations about the capacity of the University for Peace to acquire the funding base and academic infrastructure necessary to make a sustained academic contribution to high-level analysis of peace issues. As a government, the United States played no role in the University for Peace during 1985.

UN Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR)

The UN General Assembly established the UN Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR) in 1965 as the result of U.S. initiatives embodied in UNGA resolutions in 1962 and 1963. UNITAR is an autonomous UN institution established to enhance the effectiveness of the structure and functioning of the UN system by means of training and research. Since January 1983, Dr. Michel Doo-Kingue has directed UNITAR.

A Board of Trustees composed of 34 members, 4 of whom are *ex-officio* members (the UN Secretary-General, the President of the General Assembly, the President of ECOSOC, and the Executive Director of UNITAR), governs UNITAR. The UN Secretary-General in consultation with the Presidents of the General Assembly and ECOSOC appoints the remaining 30 members. They serve in their personal capacity and not as formal representatives of governments. Ambassador Alan L. Keyes represents the United States on the Board of Trustees.

At its 22d session held in March 1984, the Board of Trustees discussed a report prepared by the Executive Director on the orientation of the program and the future role of UNITAR. The Board reaffirmed the importance of UNITAR's mandate and the need to give the Institute the fullest support and means to perform its functions satisfactorily. The Board stressed the importance of the program for which resources of the General Fund were to be used.

UNITAR has three main programs: training courses and seminars developed for diplomats accredited to the UN and for Secretariat personnel, a research department attuned to the current needs and interests of the UN community, and the "Project on the Future" Department which conducts studies of long-term global problems and policy choices for the UN. It also conducts programs financed by special purpose grants.

UNITAR's training activities were conducted in the context of discussions and consultations in 1983 on UNITAR's role in training. UNITAR's training is preoccupied with the maintenance of peace and security and the promotion of economic and social development.

In 1985, the Training Department continued such traditional courses as the seminars for new delegates to the UN General Assembly, the seminar on economic development and its international setting—cosponsored by UNITAR and the Economic Development Institute of the World Bank—and the joint United Nations/UNITAR Fellowship Program in International Law. In addition, the Training Department established in-country training program for diplomats financed by special purpose grants from various Member States.

The Division of Research in 1985 maintained its research program with diminished resources. It stressed cooperation with non-governmental organizations, universities, and research centers as well as governments and foundations. In the past year, only four research projects were financed from the General Fund. The research program focused on peace and security issues, economic and social development, and the adequacy of the UN system to achieve its objectives.

The other major research activity was the convening of a meeting of former Presidents of the UN General Assembly which took place at UN headquarters, June 6-10. The meeting considered issues related to the image and functioning of the UN and issues specifically concerning the General Assembly itself. A report was issued at the conclusion of the meeting which contained a number of recommendations in each area.

In addition, UNITAR continued its research activities funded by special purpose grants. These covered energy and national resources and the future of the main developing regions of the world.

The UNGA directed UNITAR to be wholly dependent upon voluntary contributions. In 1980 and 1981, however, the General Assembly made up UNITAR's budget deficits with "grants-in-aid." In 1983, UNITAR again ran a budget deficit, and over the strong objections of the United States, the 38th General Assembly

awarded UNITAR an "advance" of up to \$886,000 on a "non-recurrent, reimbursable basis," to be paid in installments of about \$100,000 annually beginning in 1986. UNITAR balanced its 1984 budget by eliminating most of its research program for that year. However, in his report to the Secretary-General in 1984, the Executive Director reaffirmed his view that the minimum budgetary level required for a viable program of training and research was \$3 million for 1985. Since the existing pattern of annual contributions would not meet these needs, a resolution (39/177) was passed at the 39th Session of the General Assembly to grant UNITAR \$1.5 million, on an exceptional basis, to supplement funds raised through voluntary contributions for the General Fund. This would enable UNITAR to carry out its minimum training and research program in 1985 at the level of \$3 million. The General Assembly adopted the resolution 127 to 10 (United States) with 11 abstaining. In response to this action, the administration asked Congress to reduce the U.S. contribution to UNITAR for 1985 by an amount equivalent to the U.S. proportionate share of the grant, or \$375,000. As a result of the inability of UNITAR and the General Assembly to resolve UNITAR's long-term financial problems in 1985 within UNITAR's mandate, the United States did not make a pledge to UNITAR for 1986.

HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS

The principal human rights organ of the United Nations, the Commission on Human Rights, held its 41st annual session February 4-March 15, in Geneva. The U.S. Delegation was led by Richard Schifter, U.S. Representative to the Commission. ECOSOC subsequently considered the Commission's report at its spring session in New York May 7-31. At the General Assembly's 40th Session, September 17-December 18, the Third Committee considered a lengthy agenda of human rights issues. The Commission's expert Subcommittee on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities held its 38th regular session August 5-30, in Geneva.

Elimination of All Forms of Religious Intolerance

The right to freedom of religion has been a longstanding concern of the Human Rights Commission. The Commission's discus-

sion at its 41st session once again focused upon the implementation of the Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and of Discrimination Based on Religion or Belief, proclaimed by the UN General Assembly in 1981 on the basis of a draft completed by the Commission earlier that year. A number of Western delegations led by Ireland and joined by the United States proposed a draft resolution which was adopted after brief discussion without a vote. (Resolution 1985/51) As adopted, the resolution noted with appreciation the report which had been submitted to the Commission by the Seminar on the Encouragement of Understanding, Tolerance and Respect in Matters Relating to Freedom of Religion or Belief, which had been held in Geneva in December 1984 under the UN Advisory Services Program. Other operative paragraphs were directed to states and urged measures designed to strengthen the observance of religious freedom at the national level.

At the 40th UNGA, the subject of the elimination of all forms of religious intolerance was again discussed as a major human rights issue. Ambassador Patricia M. Byrne delivered a statement in which she described instances of religious intolerance within the Soviet Union and in Nicaragua. She also drew attention to the treatment suffered by the members of one of the world's most peaceful religions—the Baha'is of Iran. A draft resolution was again proposed by Ireland, the United States, and other mainly Western delegations. The resolution, adopted without a vote, expressed support for the operative provisions of the resolution adopted earlier in the year by the Commission on Human Rights. Other operative paragraphs stressed the importance of publicizing and implementing the UN declaration on religious intolerance. (Resolution 40/109)

Human Rights in the Occupied Territories of the Middle East

Following the pattern set since 1968, the Commission on Human Rights again at the outset of its 41st session debated the agenda item entitled, "Question of the Violation of Human Rights in the Occupied Arab Territories, Including Palestine." The U.S. position on this annual and fruitless debate was once again put forward by Ambassador Schifter, who urged the Commission "to break the chain of invective that stretches from year to year," retarding efforts for peace in the Middle East. He said that the Commission would be an appropriate place from which an appeal could be launched for an end to divisiveness and hatred. Once

again, however, the Commission considered and adopted resolutions particularly notable for their exaggerated and inaccurate provisions condemning Israel. A two-part resolution put forward by the Representative of Bangladesh and cosponsored mainly by Arab and Communist delegations contained the annual string of unsupported condemnations of alleged Israeli policies and practices. One novel operative paragraph in Part A strongly condemned the "terrorist" actions perpetrated against Palestinian inhabitants of the occupied territories by "Jewish gangs" led by Rabbis Kahane and Levinger. In explaining his vote on Part A of this resolution, which was adopted by a vote of 28-5 (U.S.), with 8 abstentions (Resolution 1985/1A), Ambassador Schifter especially objected to the injection into the proceedings of the Commission of allegations concerning individuals, unrelated to governmental action and to the term "Jewish gangs" and the reference to rabbis as suggesting a particularly odious motive, that of seeking to slur the Jewish religion. Part B of the resolution focused on the 1949 Geneva Convention Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War and contained further allegations of Israeli violations. The draft resolution contained one provision which reaffirmed that the Geneva Convention is applicable to all the Arab territories occupied by Israel since 1967, including Jerusalem. In a separate vote on this paragraph, the United States voted in favor but voted against Part B as a whole, which was adopted by a vote of 33-1 (U.S.), with 7 abstentions. (Resolution 1985/10) A companion resolution, introduced by the Representative of India and cosponsored by other mainly Arab and Communist delegations, dealt with the human rights situation in the occupied Syrian territories. This resolution also contained numerous objectionable paragraphs, including unsubstantiated allegations against Israel, as well as a criticism of the voting and "pro-Israeli position of a Permanent Member of the Security Council," which prevented Council action under Chapter VII of the UN Charter. The resolution was approved by a vote of 30-1 (U.S.), with 10 abstentions. (Resolution 1985/2)

At the 40th UN GA, the same issues were once again discussed in the Special Political Committee under the agenda item "Report of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories."

Racial Discrimination in Southern Africa

The subject of racial discrimination, with the focus on apartheid in South Africa, was prominent on the agendas of both the Commission on Human Rights and the General Assembly in 1985. At the 41st Commission session, racial discrimination and apartheid were considered under a cluster of four agenda items which appear on the Commission's agendas year after year. In the debate, Ambassador Schifter expressed United States revulsion at South Africa's oppressive system of racial discrimination. He presented a defense of U.S. policies vis-à-vis South Africa and explained the reasons for not imposing economic sanctions. He asked that the U.S. policy of constructive engagement in South Africa be given a chance to succeed.

At the 41st Session the U.S. Delegation's goal was to achieve agreement on at least one draft resolution which would have recorded the universal condemnation of the apartheid system felt by all delegations and thus could have been adopted by consensus. Unfortunately, negotiations with African delegations to this end did not succeed. The resolution concerning the situation of human rights in South Africa, based upon the report of the Commission's *Ad Hoc* Working Group of Experts on South Africa (first established by the Commission in 1967) and which contained general condemnations of apartheid, also contained a number of other provisions which the U.S. Government could not accept. The vote on this resolution was 41 to 1 (U.S.), with 1 abstention. As explained by the U.S. Representative, the United States could not accept a paragraph in the resolution rejecting as null and void constitutional arrangements in South Africa, the United Nations has no power to declare a Member State's constitution null and void. The U.S. Delegation also found unacceptable a paragraph which equated apartheid with genocide. (Resolution 1985/8) Another resolution concerning the situation of human rights in Namibia was adopted by a vote of 39 to 0, with 4 (U.S.) abstentions. The U.S. abstention was based upon the role being pursued by the United States in assisting all parties concerned to arrive at a peaceful, negotiated solution which will facilitate the earliest possible independence for Namibia. (Resolution 1985/7) The United States voted against a third resolution, another in a long series of resolutions carrying the title, "The adverse consequences for the enjoyment of human rights of political, military, economic and other forms of assistance given to colonial and racist regimes in South Africa." The vote was 31 to 5 (U.S.), with 7 abstentions. The United States and others rejected provisions of that resolution which condemned various forms of economic activity carried out

by Western corporations in South Africa. (Resolution 1985/9) Resolution 1985/10 concerning the implementation of the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid was approved by a vote of 32 to 1 (U.S.), with 10 abstentions. In this case, the U.S. negative vote was due to the fact that the resolution contained provisions equating apartheid with genocide and condemning transnational corporations engaged in legal activities. Finally, a resolution relating to the implementation of the Program of Action for the Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination was adopted without a vote. (Resolution 1985/11) The U.S. Delegation did not participate in this vote, following its settled policy of non-participation in voting on resolutions relating to the Second Decade. This policy dates from the adoption by the UN General Assembly in 1975 of resolution 3379 (XXX), equating Zionism with racism.

At the First Regular Session of ECOSOC, the subject of the Second Decade Against Racism and Racial Discrimination again figured on the agenda because of the continuing role of ECOSOC in coordinating and evaluating activities implementing the Program of Action for the Second Decade. The U.S. Delegation again did not participate in the vote on the resolution, which was adopted without a vote. (Resolution 1985/19)

At the 40th UN General Assembly, four resolutions were adopted on items relating to racial discrimination and apartheid which were considered in the Third Committee. The United States again did not participate in the vote on a resolution relating to the Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, which was approved without a vote. (Resolution 40/22) The resolution contained a number of operative paragraphs expressing encouragement to governments to continue their support for the Decade program and endorsing certain measures under that program. A routine procedural resolution concerning the status of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (signed by the United States and awaiting action by the Senate) was adopted without a vote. (Resolution 40/26) Resolution 40/27 concerning the status of the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid was approved by a vote of 120 to 1 (U.S.), with 24 abstentions. The U.S. negative vote was due mainly to provisions in the resolution equating apartheid with genocide and elaborating the idea that transnational corporations operating in South Africa are committing the "crime of apartheid." Finally, a resolution on the report of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination was adopted by a vote of 136-1 (U.S.), with

9 abstentions. This resolution, which in years past merely reviewed the work of the Committee which monitors implementation of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and as such was adopted by consensus, unfortunately contained a new provision condemning the policy of apartheid in South Africa and Namibia as a crime against humanity. In the view of the U.S. Government, the term "crime against humanity" has a settled meaning under international law and does not extend to the policy of apartheid.

Self-Determination

The right of peoples to self-determination retained its place on the agendas of human rights organs in 1985 as one of the most widely discussed of the basic human rights. At its 41st session the Human Rights Commission, following the pattern of recent years, again adopted five resolutions under this recurring agenda item. A resolution on the denial of human rights in Afghanistan was put forward under the leadership of the observer delegation of Pakistan. The resolution, which reaffirmed the Commission's profound concern that the people of Afghanistan continue to be denied their right to self-determination and called for the immediate withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan, was approved by a vote of 31 (U.S.) to 7, with 5 abstentions. (Resolution 1985/3) A draft resolution proposed by chiefly Arab, African, and Communist cosponsors dealt with the subject of Palestinian self-determination. A number of the resolution's preambular and operative paragraphs were directed specifically against Israel, either separately or in conjunction with the United States. The U.S. Representative called for separate votes on these paragraphs. One, which denounced the Agreements on Strategic Cooperation Between the United States and Israel signed on November 30, 1981, was rejected by the Commission by a vote of 17 against (U.S.), 15 in favor, with 10 abstentions. The other paragraphs were adopted over U.S. opposition. The resolution as a whole was approved by a vote of 29 to 7 (U.S.), with 7 abstentions. (Resolution 1985/4) A resolution concerning the question of the Western Sahara, sponsored by Algeria and other mainly African cosponsors and laying down procedures and terms for the political solution of the question was approved by a vote of 30 to 0, with 12 (U.S.) abstentions. (Resolution 1985/5) A resolution concerning the situation in Southern Africa and reaffirming the right of the people of Namibia to self-determination was adopted by a vote of 32 to 4 (U.S.) with 7 abstentions (Resolution 1985/6). Finally, the question of

self-determination in Cambodia was addressed in a resolution proposed by the Philippines and cosponsored by other Asian, Western, and Latin American delegations. In its principal operative paragraphs this resolution reaffirmed that the continuing illegal occupation of Cambodia by foreign forces deprives the Khmer people of their right to self-determination and constitutes the primary violation of human rights in Cambodia at present. The resolution was approved by a vote of 28 (U.S.) to 8, with 5 abstentions. (Resolution 1985/12)

A supporting decision complementary to UNHCR Resolution 1985/12 was subsequently approved at the First Regular Session of ECOSOC, 1985. By a vote of 38 (U.S.) to 5, with 7 abstentions, ECOSOC adopted Decision 1985/155 which had been proposed by ASEAN and other cosponsors. The decision reaffirmed the principal operative paragraphs of UNHCR Resolution 1985/12, expressed grave concern at the severity and scope of the attacks on Cambodian civilian camps along the Thai-Cambodian border and requested the Secretary-General to report to ECOSOC any further violations of humanitarian principles perpetrated against Cambodian civilian refugees by foreign occupying troops along the border.

Two more resolutions concerning the right to self-determination were approved at the 40th UNGA. A general resolution entitled "Universal realization of the right of peoples to self-determination" presented by Pakistan and other cosponsors declared the UNGA's "firm opposition to acts of foreign military intervention, aggression and occupation, since these have resulted in the suppression of the right of peoples to self-determination and other human rights in certain parts of the world." The resolution was approved without a vote. (Resolution 40/24) A much more controversial draft resolution proposed by Nigeria on behalf of members of the African group presented a remarkably one-sided view, reflecting the political stance of its cosponsors, of the state of self-determination in South Africa, Palestine, and the Comoros. The resolution, which contained 37 operative paragraphs, featured numerous provisions which were directed at the policies of Western states and Israel, both in South Africa and Palestine, and contained a strong call for sanctions against South Africa. The resolution was approved by a vote of 118 to 17 (U.S.), with 9 abstentions. (Resolution 40/25)

Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights

Again in 1985, interest in economic, social, and cultural rights on the part of less-developed countries was mainly focused on the discussion of a possible new "right to development." At its 41st session, the Commission received another progress report from its Working Group of Governmental Experts on the Right to Development. A routine draft resolution proposed by Senegal and other cosponsors, which envisioned a continuation of the process of working out a declaration on the right to development through the Working Group, was unexpectedly upset by an initiative taken by the Delegation of Yugoslavia, which presented to the Commission a draft Declaration on the Right to Development. The Yugoslav draft Declaration was represented as a compromise text based upon various proposals which had been discussed in the Commission's Working Group. The Delegation of Cuba and other cosponsors proposed a number of far-reaching amendments to the Senegalese draft resolution, the principal purpose of which was to forward to the 40th UNGA the Yugoslav draft Declaration and accompanying documents "so as to enable the Assembly to adopt a Declaration on the Right to Development." In spite of the strong opposition to the Cuban amendments by Senegal and other cosponsors of the draft resolution, the Cuban amendments were all adopted. The amended text was then approved by the Commission by a vote of 25 to 10 (U.S.), with 6 abstentions. (Resolution 1985/43) Under the approved amendments the question of drafting a Declaration on the Right to Development was transferred by the Commission to the General Assembly. In the same resolution, the Commission also decided to convene its Working Group in January 1986 "to study the measures necessary to promote the right to development."

Also adopted under the agenda item relating to economic, social, and cultural rights was a draft resolution proposed by the German Democratic Republic and other cosponsors which generally was designed to heighten the place given to economic, social, and cultural rights in the Commission's debates. The draft resolution contained a provision to the effect that the realization of the "right to development" will promote the enjoyment of economic, social, and cultural rights and contained operative provisions highlighting the importance of economic rights such as the rights to food, to work and to education and health. This resolution was approved by a vote of 29 to 6 (U.S.), with 5 abstentions. (Resolution 1985/42)

Finally, the Delegation of Yugoslavia carried forward its special interest in the subject of "popular participation in its various

forms as an important factor in development and in the full realization of all human rights" by proposing a draft resolution which was procedural in nature, taking note of and requesting the circulation of a study prepared by the Secretary-General on the right to popular participation. This resolution was approved without a vote. (Resolution 1985/44)

At its First Regular Session of 1985, ECOSOC approved Decision 1985/149 by a vote of 36 to 9 (U.S.), with 6 abstentions. This decision endorsed the Commission's Resolution 1985/43 and authorized the convening of the Commission's Working Group of Governmental Experts on the Right to Development in January 1986.

At the 40th UNGA, the subject of popular participation was again the subject of a resolution introduced by the Delegation of Yugoslavia. The resolution, strictly procedural in nature, requested the Human Rights Commission to continue to consider the question of popular participation at future sessions and to inform the UNGA at its 44th Session, through ECOSOC, of the results of that consideration. This resolution was approved without a vote. (Resolution 40/99)

The right to development was the principal subject considered in the UNGA under the agenda item entitled, "Alternative Approaches and Ways and Means Within the UN System for Improving the Effective Enjoyment of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms." Debate centered upon the Yugoslav draft Declaration which was annexed to a draft resolution circulated by the Yugoslav Delegation. The draft contained a single operative paragraph according to which the UNGA would decide the Declaration. Strong efforts by the Delegation of Yugoslavia to secure consensus endorsement of its draft Declaration were pursued throughout the course of the 40th UNGA. These efforts were sidetracked through the circulation of several amendments to the Yugoslav draft by the Delegation of Pakistan. Other limiting amendments were also introduced by the Delegations of France and the Netherlands. Third Committee debate was finally ended without substantive action through adoption of a decision, orally introduced by Yugoslavia, pursuant to which the question of the draft Declaration on the Right to Development and the Pakistani amendments was carried over for further consideration by the General Assembly at its 41st Session. (Decision 40/425)

In place of adoption of a Declaration on the Right to Development, the Assembly approved a resolution, proposed by Cuba and other cosponsors, which followed the pattern of previous UNGAs. The resolution, adopted by a vote of 130 to 1 (U.S.), with 22 ab-

stentions, repeated past provisions reaffirming a so-called right to development as an inalienable human right, requesting the Commission on Human Rights to take the necessary measures to promote the right to development, and welcoming the decision of the Commission concerning the future work of its Working Group of Governmental Experts. (Resolution 40/124)

Although in its Resolution 1985/43 the Commission on Human Rights had decided that its Working Group should be convened in January 1986, the Assembly approved without a vote Decision 40/427 in which the Assembly stated its view that the meeting of the Working Group should be postponed to a later date so as to enable the Human Rights Commission at its 42d Session to provide the Working Group with appropriate guidelines for its future work, in the light of the relevant discussions and decisions taken during the 40th Session of the General Assembly.

One other resolution on economic, social, and cultural rights was proposed by the German Democratic Republic during the Third Committee's consideration of the agenda item entitled, "International Covenants on Human Rights." This resolution, entitled "Indivisibility and Interdependence of Economic, Social, Civil and Political Rights," included a number of provisions designed to elevate the standing of and attention paid to economic, social, and cultural rights in relation to civil and political rights. One of its provisions, for example, expressed the conviction that the full realization of civil and political rights is inseparably linked with the enjoyment of economic, social, and cultural rights. The resolution was approved by a vote of 134 to 1 (U.S.), with 19 abstentions. (Resolution 40/114)

Human Rights of Persons Subjected to Detention or Imprisonment

The Human Rights Commission annually examines as a continuing area of human rights concern the question of the human rights of all persons subjected to any form of detention or imprisonment. Connected with this agenda item are the sub-issues of torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment and the question of enforced or involuntary disappearances. The general subject of the human rights of detained persons has, in recent years, been the excuse for still another resolution directed at the policies of Israel. This relatively new practice was continued at the 41st Human Rights Commission session by the sponsorship by mainly Arab and Communist Delegations of a draft resolution which was introduced by the Representative of

the Ukrainian S.S.R. The resolution strongly condemned Israel for its alleged policies of ill-treatment and torture of Palestinian detainees in Israeli prisons. Another operative paragraph urged Israel to recognize the status of prisoners of war of all combatants captured in the course of the hostilities in Lebanon. Mention was also made of an alleged violation by Israel of the agreement on the exchange of prisoners concluded with the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC). Because of the resolution's imbalance, since it referred only to Israel's obligations under international law and ignored the fact that while Israel has cooperated with the ICRC others had not, the United States decided to vote against the resolution. The resolution was approved by a vote of 32 to 1 (U.S.), with 9 abstentions. (Resolution 1985/15)

Another resolution under the same agenda item was put forward by the Representative of Argentina. It contained a single operative paragraph which requested the UNHCR's Subcommission to analyze available information about the practice of administrative detention without charge or trial and to make recommendations regarding its use. This resolution was adopted without a vote. (Resolution 1985/16)

The Representative of Australia put forward another resolution which expressed concern at the extensive occurrence of detention in many parts of the world of persons who exercise the right to freedom of opinion and expression. The principal operative paragraph appealed to all states to ensure respect and support for the rights of all persons who exercise the right to freedom of opinion and expression. This resolution was also approved without a vote. (Resolution 1985/17)

The subject of torture was addressed in three other resolutions approved under this agenda item. A resolution sponsored by Finland and other mainly Western Delegations dealt with the status of the Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment. The resolution encouraged states to become parties to that convention and requested the Secretary-General to report on its status to the next UNGA and UNHCR sessions. The resolution was adopted without a vote. (Resolution 1985/18)

Also adopted without a vote was a resolution, again put forward by the Representative of Finland and which the United States joined as cosponsor, concerning the United Nations Voluntary Fund for Victims of Torture. The resolution encouraged support for this fund, both in appealing to governments to contribute to it and in encouraging dissemination of information about the fund's work. (Resolution 1985/19)

Finally, a resolution put forward by the Representative of Argentina, which the United States joined as cosponsor and of which the Netherlands was one of the prime movers, proposed that the Commission decide to appoint a Special Rapporteur to examine questions relevant to torture. The rationale for this appointment was described as promotion of the full implementation of the prohibition under international and national law of the practice of torture in the light of the alarming number of reported cases of torture taking place in various parts of the world. This resolution was approved by a vote of 30 (U.S.) to 0, with 12 abstentions. (Resolution 1985/33)

Concerning the subject of enforced or involuntary disappearances, the Representative of France once again took the lead in proposing a resolution by which the Commission decided to extend for 1 year the mandate of its Working Group. The mandate was first laid down in a resolution adopted by the Commission in 1980. The question of the methodology of the Working Group was addressed in the resolution, which included a novel invitation to governments of countries in which there are numerous cases of disappearances to envisage the establishment of a national body for investigations into disappeared persons and to answer requests for information addressed to them by the Working Group. The resolution was adopted without a vote. (Resolution 1985/20)

At the First Regular Session of ECOSOC, 1985, the extension of the mandate of the Working Group on Disappearances was approved (Decision 1985/142) as was also the appointment of a Special Rapporteur to examine questions relevant to torture. (Decision 1985/144)

At the UNGA, Resolutions 40/127 and 40/128, adopted without a vote, dealt with the subjects of the United Nations Voluntary Fund for Victims of Torture and the status of the Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, respectively, in terms similar to those already contained in the two resolutions adopted earlier in the year on the same subjects by the UNHCR.

The subject of enforced or involuntary disappearances was again addressed by a resolution proposed by the Representative of France and other cosponsors. The resolution contained provisions expressing appreciation and support for the work of the Commission's Working Group and welcoming the Commission's decision to extend its mandate for another year. (Resolution 40/147)

Finally, acting upon a resolution proposed by the Representative of Austria, the General Assembly approved without a vote Resolution 40/146, which was concerned with human rights in the

administration of justice. In its operative paragraphs, the resolution deplored the continued use of cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment or punishment prohibited under international law and welcomed the work accomplished by the Seventh United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and Treatment of Offenders in various related fields, such as transfer of prisoners, treatment of prisoners, and conduct of law enforcement officials. The Committee on Crime Prevention and Control was encouraged to continue to give special attention to effective ways and means of implementing existing standards in this area.

Drafting of International Human Rights Instruments

Human rights standard-setting through the drafting of conventions or declarations proceeded in 1985 in five areas.

RIGHTS OF THE CHILD

A Working Group of the Commission on Human Rights met again for one week prior to the opening of the 41st session of the Commission to carry on its work of elaborating a draft Convention on the Rights of the Child. The work has been underway since 1979. At its 1985 session the Working Group adopted five additional articles. Having received the report of its Working Group, the Commission adopted without a vote Resolution 1985/50. Under this resolution the Commission decided to continue at its 42d session, as a matter of highest priority, its work on the elaboration of a draft convention. A 1-week session of the Working Group was scheduled to be held prior to the 42d UNHCR session.

At the 40th General Assembly, another procedural resolution on the question of a Convention on the Rights of the Child was adopted without a vote. (Resolution 40/113) The resolution generally encouraged the Commission to proceed with its work on the draft convention and to make every effort at its 42d session to complete the draft convention.

HUMAN RIGHTS OF MIGRANT WORKERS

A Working Group on the drafting of an International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Their Families was established by the UN General Assembly in 1979. Two sessions of this Working Group were held in 1985: June 3-14, and during the 40th Session of the UNGA, September 23-

October 4. At its June session, the Working Group concluded its second reading of the preamble of the draft convention; at its September–October session the group adopted the first three substantive articles of the draft convention. Among the articles adopted was Article 1, which spells out the scope of application of the convention, and Article 2, which provides the key definitions of the terms used in the convention. Both the Commission and the UNGA have been following the work of the Working Group with special interest. At the 41st UNHCR a resolution proposed by Mexico, adopted without a vote, welcomed the progress which the Working Group had been making. (Resolution 1955/52) At the 40th UNGA there was also adopted without a vote Resolution 40/130, which again expressed satisfaction at the progress reported by the Working Group and provided for two further sessions of the Working Group in 1986 to continue the second reading of the draft convention.

RIGHTS OF MINORITIES

Work on a draft Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National, Ethnic, Religious, and Linguistic Minorities proceeded at its customary desultory pace during the 41st UNHCR session. Only two meetings of the Commission's Sessional Working Group on this subject were held. In essence, progress on the drafting of a declaration has been marking time until the key definition of the term "minority" has been supplied to the Commission by its Subcommittee on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities. The Working Group expressed the hope that the definition would be received by the Commission at its 42d session. In Resolution 1985/53, adopted without a vote, the Commission urged its Subcommittee to give highest priority to consideration of proposals for a definition of the term "minority" and decided to establish at its 42d session an open-ended Working Group to continue consideration of the revised draft declaration which has been proposed by Yugoslavia.

HUMAN RIGHTS DEFENDERS

Although the Commission at its 40th session adopted a decision to establish at its 41st session an open-ended Working Group to draft a Declaration on the Right and Responsibility of Individuals, Groups and Organs of Society to Promote and Protect Universally Recognized Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, the group was not established during the 41st UNHCR session. Led by the Delegation of Australia, the Commission acted to remedy this default by adopting Decision 1985/112. This decision

noted that "it had not proved possible" to convene the Working Group at its 41st session and decided that an open-ended Working Group should be convened at the 42d session of the Commission, meeting presessionally for 1 week. This decision was adopted by a vote of 30 (U.S.) to 0, with 11 abstentions. The principal opposition to the decision was pronounced by the Soviet Delegation, which expressed opposition to having the Working Group meet presessionally. A motion by the Soviet Union to delete this provision from the Commission's draft decision was rejected.

HUMAN RIGHTS OF NON-CITIZENS

At the 40th UNGA, the labors of its Working Group, which since 1980 has been elaborating a draft Declaration on the Human Rights of Individuals Who Are Not Citizens of the Country in Which They Live, were finally capped with the successful completion of its work. A complete declaration was agreed upon by the Working Group during the 40th UNGA session and forwarded to the General Assembly. In Resolution 40/144, adopted without a vote, the Assembly adopted the declaration. The approved declaration defines the term "alien", with due regard to qualifications made in subsequent articles, as "any individual who is not a national of the state in which he or she is present," and sets forth a variety of provisions relating to the rights and obligations of aliens, in terms compatible with existing U.S. and international law.

Youth and Human Rights

Following upon a decision taken by the Commission on Human Rights at its 39th (1983) session, the Commission at its 41st session began the pattern of biennial consideration of an item entitled, "The Role of Youth in the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights, Including the Question of Conscientious Objection to Military Service." The subject appeared to be of particular interest to Communist delegations, who were among the main co-sponsors of two draft resolutions. One draft resolution dealt with the role of youth in achieving the objectives of the International Youth Year: Participation, Development, Peace. The operative paragraphs generally stressed the role of youth in promoting the full and effective enjoyment of human rights and reaffirmed the fact that youth attaches crucial importance to the promotion of international peace and cooperation. The objectives of the Inter-

national Youth Year were also highlighted. This resolution was adopted without a vote. (Resolution 1985/13)

The other resolution, presented by the Delegation of Bulgaria on behalf of mainly Communist cosponsors, was somewhat repetitive of the previous resolution in also emphasizing the role of youth in the promotion and protection of human rights. The resolution emphasized the importance of the exercise and use by young people of all human rights, "including the right to education and vocational training and the right to work, with a view to ensuring full employment and the solution of the problem of unemployment among young people." This resolution was also adopted without a vote. (Resolution 1985/14)

A third resolution, sponsored by Australia, Costa Rica, the Netherlands, and Spain, dealt with conscientious objection to military service. Debate on this draft resolution revealed sharp differences of view between Western and Communist delegations over the importance of conscientious objection in national societies, especially over its characterization as a right. Extensive amendments to the draft resolution were proposed by Bulgaria. The amendments were generally designed to soften the terms of the resolution, particularly in its recommendations to states to recognize conscientious objection and to introduce alternative service for conscientious objectors. Due to the extensive debate to which the draft resolution gave rise, the Representative of the Netherlands finally moved the adjournment of the debate until the 43d session of the Commission with the request that no decision on the draft resolution would be taken. The Netherlands' motion was adopted without a vote. (Decision 1985/114)

At the UNGA, further discussion of youth and human rights took place under the agenda items dealing with (a) the International Youth Year and (b) policies and programs relating to youth. Four resolutions (Resolutions 40/14, 40/15, 40/16, and 40/17) were adopted, all without a vote. For discussion of these resolutions see the subsection on Youth under the Section on Social Development.

Review of the Work of the Subcommittee on Minorities

One of the recurring items on the Commission's annual agenda is the report of the most recent session of the Commission's Subcommittee on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities. The Commission's practice in recent years has been to give this agenda item only cursory, routine at-

tention, with a consequent buildup of a feeling of neglect on the part of the members of the Subcommittee. Stimulated by a detailed critique of the Subcommittee's work inaugurated by the Representative of Brazil at its previous session, the Commission at its 41st session devoted six meetings to the report of the Subcommittee. The debate under this item was participated in by an unusually large number of Commission members and consisted of a wideranging review of the Subcommittee's work, its mandate, and its methods of operation. Prominent among the areas of concern on the part of most Subcommittee members was the recognition of a need for more and regular guidance to the Subcommittee from the Commission, concerning both the substance of the work carried out by the Subcommittee and its methods of work. The United States, in a detailed analysis delivered by U.S. Alternate Representative Warren E. Hewitt, and many other delegations criticized, for example, the nature of the Subcommittee's continuously growing production of resolutions, many of which were of highly political content and which found no useful place in the work program of the Commission. The expert nature of the work to be done by the Subcommittee was stressed. There was also almost unanimous concern that the study program of the Subcommittee was out of control, with too many studies on diffuse topics being launched, resulting in the incapacity of the Human Rights Center to supply adequate support services. The debate was climaxed by a resolution proposed by Australia and other cosponsors which, in several operative paragraphs, sought to draw together the principal points of the discussion and draw these points to the attention of the Subcommittee. The resolution in other provisions emphasized the expert nature of the work which the Subcommittee was to perform and proposed measures to bring the Subcommittee study program into better balance with the Commission's needs. The resolution, which constituted a major step toward strengthening the oversight role of the Commission over its Subcommittee, was adopted without a vote. (Resolution 1985/28)

The debate on the Subcommittee's report also covered several resolutions which the Subcommittee had forwarded to the Commission for action, three of which dealt with the Subcommittee's activities in the area of indigenous populations. The Commission approved without a vote a proposal of the Subcommittee that the General Assembly establish a fund for indigenous populations. The purpose of the fund would be to assist representatives of indigenous communities and organizations to participate in the deliberations of the Subcommittee's Working Group on Indige-

nous Populations by providing them with financial assistance. (Resolution 1985/29)

Also approved without a vote was a resolution which expressed general support for the work being carried on by the Subcommission's Working Group on Indigenous Populations and urged the Working Group to proceed in developing international standards based on a continued and comprehensive review of developments pertaining to the promotion and protection of the human rights of indigenous populations. (Resolution 1985/21)

Decision 1985/103 recommended to ECOSOC that a wide-ranging study on the human rights of indigenous populations prepared over a 15-year period by a Special Rapporteur of the Subcommission be issued in a consolidated form and disseminated widely, with its conclusions and recommendations being printed. This decision was adopted by a vote of 34 to 1 (U.S.), with 7 abstentions. U.S. opposition to this resolution was based on its unacceptable financial implications.

By a vote of 28 (U.S.) to 0, with 9 abstentions, the Commission also approved a Subcommission proposal that ECOSOC be requested to authorize the Subcommission to appoint a Special Rapporteur to report to the Commission on a regular basis on the existence of situations of states of siege or emergency. (Resolution 1985/23)

Finally, the Commission endorsed two resolutions proposed by its Subcommission on the subject of slavery and slavery-like practices. In one, adopted without a vote, the Commission decided to transmit to the Government of Mauritania a report prepared by a Subcommission expert which dealt with allegations of the existence of slavery within that country. The resolution also called for assistance from various UN organs, which they would give to Mauritania for the purpose of contributing to the eradication of the consequences of slavery. (Resolution 1985/24)

Resolution 1985/25, also adopted without a vote, contained general provisions which highlighted the existence in the world today of certain slavery-like practices and contained recommendations to governments designed to cope with these situations.

The Commission approved without a vote a resolution proposed by the Netherlands which drew attention to the important report now being prepared by an expert of the Subcommission on the right of everyone to leave any country, including his own and to return to his country. The resolution expressed the Commission's interest in the prompt completion of this report. (Resolution 1985/22)

Violations of Human Rights

The recurring item on the Commission's annual agenda which relates to violations of human rights in any part of the world again occupied a major part of the Commission's time at its 41st session. A sub-item of this item concerns human rights situations in particular countries brought to the Commission's attention under the confidential procedures established by ECOSOC Resolution 1503 (XLVIII). As announced publicly by the Chairman after the close of the Commission's confidential debate, the Commission took up in private sessions the human rights situations in Albania, Benin, Haiti, Indonesia (East Timor), Pakistan, Paraguay, the Philippines, Turkey, and Zaire. The Chairman also announced that consideration of the situations relating to Benin, Indonesia (East Timor), and Pakistan had been terminated by the Commission. Also terminated was the Commission's longstanding consideration of the human rights situation in Uruguay. This notable event was marked by the appearance of a special envoy of the Government of Uruguay before the Commission. To cap the end of the confidential proceedings on Uruguay, the Commission decided to join in the request made by the Government of Uruguay that the confidential material which had been before the Commission under ECOSOC Resolution 1503 should no longer be restricted. (Decision 1985/107)

The public debate under the violations agenda item was, as usual, marked by general statements by a large number of the Commission members surveying the state of human rights throughout the world. The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Schifter, delivered two statements, the first of which covered particular situations of human rights violations in certain parts of the world which would not be the subject of action by the Commission. Ambassador Schifter explained the concerns of the U.S. Government over negative human rights developments in Poland, the Soviet Union, and Cuba. In the latter case, he contrasted the human rights situation in Cuba with that in Chile. He observed that there was a hollow ring to the resolutions adopted by the Commission on the subject of Chile, resolutions which lack all sense of proportion and which are adopted without considering that worse offenders exist in the region and elsewhere, among which is Cuba. In another speech, Ambassador Schifter spoke of the "increasing virulence of Soviet anti-Semitism." Schifter likened Soviet anti-Semitism to apartheid in South Africa and said that the singling out of Jews for discrimination and persecution has been on the increase in the Soviet Union.

In public session, the Commission adopted seven resolutions, five of which dealt with separate country situations. As concerns the human rights situation in El Salvador, the Commission received another report from its Special Representative, Mr. Pastor Ridruejo, and acted upon a draft resolution proposed by Costa Rica and Venezuela. This draft resolution marked a departure from previous sessions, when the initiative of proposing draft resolutions had been taken by Mexico, France, and the Netherlands. The draft resolution proposed by Costa Rica and Venezuela, in contrast to those proposed at previous sessions, gave a more balanced description of the evolving human rights situation in El Salvador, more closely related to the actual situation in that country. The mandate of the Special Representative was extended for another year. Because of the improved tone and content of the draft resolution, the U.S. Delegation, for the first time since the question of El Salvador had been before the Commission, was able to join in voting for it. The vote was 39 (U.S.) to 0, with 3 abstentions. (Resolution 1985/35)

With respect to the human rights situation in Guatemala, the Commission received another report from its Special Rapporteur, Viscount Colville of Culross. A draft resolution was proposed by the Netherlands and other cosponsors. Here again, there was improvement in the content of the draft resolution as contrasted with those of previous sessions which the United States had voted against. The mandate of the Special Rapporteur was extended for another year. One particular paragraph of the draft resolution nevertheless was unacceptable to the United States. This was a paragraph which described in exaggerated and erroneous terms certain "restrictive measures" of the government which were said to limit the freedoms of rural and indigenous populations in Guatemala. In a separate vote on this paragraph the United States voted against. The vote on the resolution as a whole was 32 to 0, with 10 (U.S.) abstentions. (Resolution 1985/36)

The Special Rapporteur on human rights in Afghanistan, Mr. Felix Ermacora, presented another report to the Commission on the basis of which a draft resolution was proposed by the Federal Republic of Germany and other, mainly Western, cosponsors. The draft resolution reviewed the details of widespread grave and massive human rights violations being committed in Afghanistan and urged "the authorities in Afghanistan" to put a stop to them. The mandate of the Special Rapporteur was extended for another year. The resolution was approved by a vote of 26 (U.S.) to 8, with 8 abstentions. (Resolution 1985/38)

Concerning human rights in Iran, the Commission received from its Special Representative, Mr. Andres Aguilar, his first

report. Because his appointment had been delayed, the Special Representative had not been able to prepare a fully comprehensive report on the human rights situation in Iran. He did, however, refer to a number of allegations of grave violations of human rights in Iran and described the norms of international human rights which apply to the situation in that country. In a draft resolution proposed by the Netherlands and other cosponsors, the Commission expressed its deep concern at the number and gravity of alleged violations of human rights in Iran and decided to extend the mandate of its Special Representative. The Special Representative was requested to report to the UNHCR at its 42d session on the human rights situation in Iran, including the situation of minority groups such as the Baha'is. The resolution was adopted by a vote of 21 (U.S.) to 5, with 15 abstentions. (Resolution 1985/39)

A resolution on the situation in southern Lebanon was proposed by the Syrian Arab Republic with a number of Arab and Communist cosponsors. The draft resolution provided that the Commission express its grave concern at Israeli action in southern Lebanon, express strong condemnation of human rights violations by Israel, and call on Israel to put an immediate end to repressive practices and release persons detained and abducted. Governments were also called upon to put an end to support to Israel. In separate votes, the United States voted against the two operative paragraphs strongly condemning Israel and calling for an end to support to Israel. The United States voted against the resolution as a whole, which was adopted by a vote of 24 to 1 (U.S.), with 16 abstentions. (Resolution 1985/41)

In addition to the foregoing country specific resolutions, the Commission adopted two resolutions dealing with human rights problem areas in general. The Commission approved without a vote a resolution proposed by Finland and other cosponsors concerning the continuing problem of summary or arbitrary executions taking place in various parts of the world. The resolution's text was based upon a report submitted to the Commission by its Special Rapporteur, Mr. S. Amos Wako. The mandate of the Special Rapporteur was continued for another year. (Resolution 1985/37)

A resolution proposed by Australia and other cosponsors, also approved without a vote, concerned the subject of human rights and mass exoduses. This resolution was another in a series of resolutions which have expressed the Commission's continuing concern over this problem. The resolution contained a number of operative paragraphs addressed to governments and organs of the

United Nations highlighting the importance of human rights causes of mass exoduses. (Resolution 1985/40)

Finally, the Commission followed the pattern of previous sessions in deciding without a vote to postpone a sub-item relating to the question of human rights in Cyprus. On the basis of a proposal by the Chairman, who had consulted with the interested parties, the Commission adopted a decision that the debate on the sub-item should be postponed to its next session, it being understood that action required by previous resolutions of the Commission on the subject should continue to remain operative. (Decision 1985/108)

At the First Regular Session of ECOSOC, 1985, the Commission's resolution on summary or arbitrary executions, the text of which had been phrased in terms calling for ECOSOC approval, was approved without a vote. (Resolution 1985/40) Also approved were extensions of the mandates of individuals dealing with four country situations as follows: the Special Representative on human rights in El Salvador without a vote (Decision 1985/145), the Special Rapporteur on human rights in Guatemala without a vote (Decision 1985/146), the Special Rapporteur on human rights in Afghanistan by a vote of 38 (U.S.) to 5, with 8 abstentions (Decision 1985/147), and the Special Representative on human rights in Iran by a vote of 23 (U.S.) to 2, with 20 abstentions. (Decision 1985/148)

At the 40th General Assembly, the usual concentration on country situations in Latin America (Chile, El Salvador, and Guatemala) was, for the first time, broadened to cover as well the human rights situations in Afghanistan and Iran. In all five cases, the General Assembly received reports from the Special Representatives and Special Rapporteurs who had been designated by the Commission on Human Rights.

A draft resolution on human rights in Afghanistan, proposed by mainly Western European cosponsors, which repeated the Commission's concern over the widespread violations of human rights in Afghanistan as revealed by the Special Rapporteur, was approved by a vote of 80 (U.S.) to 22, with 40 abstentions. (Resolution 40/137)

A draft resolution on human rights in El Salvador, proposed by Mexico on behalf of other cosponsors, including Costa Rica and Venezuela, was approved by a vote of 100 to 2, with 42 (U.S.) abstentions. In the vote in the Third Committee, the abstention of the U.S. Delegation was explained by Ambassador Byrne. She said that the U.S. Delegation had very much hoped to join consensus because it considered that the resolution represented the most accurate reflection of the true situation in El Salvador that had

ever been considered by the Third Committee. In comparison with the resolution adopted at the previous UNGA, the resolution more appropriately focused on human rights issues and excluded those political elements of last year's resolution which related solely to relationships between sovereign states—elements which caused us to vote against that resolution. Nevertheless, the resolution still contained a number of significant defects, notably its failure to devote adequate attention to the brutal human rights violations committed by the insurgents. Ambassador Byrne also explained that the U.S. Delegation would have preferred that the mandate of the Commission's Special Rapporteur on El Salvador be allowed to expire in view of the real progress made in human rights in El Salvador.

A resolution on human rights in Guatemala was proposed by Sweden on behalf of a number of other Western European cosponsors. This resolution was adopted by a vote of 91 to 8, with 47 (U.S.) abstentions. (Resolution 40/140) The U.S. abstention was explained by Ambassador Byrne in the Third Committee. She expressed satisfaction with the fact that the draft resolution reflected the restoration of democracy which was taking place in Guatemala. In spite of such positive elements in the draft resolution, the U.S. Delegation found objectionable certain provisions which did not accurately reflect the true situation in Guatemala, as for example the provisions alleging significant restrictions in the movement of those living in development centers or the alleged existence of a central government policy to force participation in civil patrols. Such factual allegations in the draft resolution were not consistent with the findings of the Special Rapporteur, Ambassador Byrne said. Also, the resolution was unbalanced in its emphasis on the continuation of human rights abuses and failure to acknowledge trends toward improvement in the situation in Guatemala.

A draft resolution on human rights in Iran was proposed by the Netherlands on behalf of other, mainly Western, cosponsors. This resolution took note with appreciation of the interim report which had been submitted by the Commission's Special Representative on human rights in Iran and expressed the Assembly's deep concern over the specific and detailed allegations of violations of human rights in Iran to which the Special Representative had referred. The Commission on Human Rights was requested to study carefully the final report of the Special Representative and to consider further steps for securing effective respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all in Iran. The resolution

was adopted by a vote of 53 (U.S.) to 30, with 45 abstentions. (Resolution 40/141)

A resolution on summary or arbitrary executions was proposed by the Representative of Denmark on behalf of a number of other, mainly Western European, cosponsors. The resolution largely echoed the provisions of resolutions adopted earlier in the year by the Commission on Human Rights and ECOSOC and expressed support for the efforts of the Commission's Special Rapporteur to assist the Commission in coping with this problem. The resolution was adopted without a vote. (Resolution 40/143)

A draft resolution on human rights and mass exoduses was put forward by the Representative of Canada and other cosponsors. The draft resolution was in terms similar to those contained in the resolution of the Commission on Human Rights adopted earlier in the year and called for continued attention to the problem of mass exoduses of refugees and displaced persons, including its root causes. The resolution was approved without a vote. (Resolution 40/149)

Human Rights in Chile

Unlike other country situations which were considered by the Commission on Human Rights at its 41st session under the item relating to human rights violations in any part of the world, the question of human rights in Chile was again considered under a separate agenda item. Shortly before the opening of the 41st UNHCR session the Chairman of the 40th session announced that he had appointed former Costa Rican Foreign Minister Fernando Volio Jimenez as the Commission's Special Rapporteur on Human Rights in Chile to succeed Justice Lallah of Mauritius, who had resigned in December 1984. In accordance with the practice of many previous sessions, the Representative of Mexico joined with other cosponsors in presenting a draft resolution. The draft resolution took into account the report which had been submitted to the 39th UN General Assembly by the outgoing Special Rapporteur, Justice Lallah. The resolution described in broadly negative terms the human rights situation in Chile and provided for a year's extension of the mandate of the Special Rapporteur. The resolution was adopted by a vote of 32 to 1 (U.S.), with 8 abstentions. (Resolution 1985/47) Ambassador Schifter, in explaining the negative vote, noted that the U.S. Government had been urging resumption of a dialogue between the government and responsible opposition parties and democratic forces in Chile leading to a timetable for return to democracy. The U.S. Government had also

expressed its deep concern about the regression in human rights conditions in Chile over the past year. Ambassador Schifter went on to explain that the United States nevertheless found the resolution proposed to the Commission as constituting an extreme example of the double standard, in that the resolution sought to apply standards to Chile which the Commission did not apply to other states, "standards which, in fact, are not adhered to by many members of the United Nations." Ambassador Schifter concluded that such a resolution which embodied the double standard impeded rather than assisted efforts to encourage a dialogue on transition in Chile. He noted, however, that the U.S. Delegation did not object to the extension of the Special Rapporteur's mandate.

At the First Regular Session of ECOSOC, 1985, the Commission's decision to extend the mandate of its Special Rapporteur for 1 year was approved without a vote. (Decision 1985/150)

At the 40th UN General Assembly, a draft resolution on the situation of human rights and fundamental freedoms in Chile was again proposed by Mexico, in company with other cosponsors. The Assembly had before it a preliminary report from newly appointed Special Rapporteur Volio. The draft resolution was approved in the Third Committee by a vote of 82 to 9 (U.S.), with 38 abstentions. In explaining the U.S. negative vote, Ambassador Patricia M. Byrne expressed disappointment that a more balanced resolution had not been submitted which reflected the real situation in Chile. She characterized the preliminary report of the Commission's Special Rapporteur as being constructive and as reporting positive developments that have occurred in Chile since the Special Rapporteur assumed his duties. She pointed to the decision of the Chilean Government to cooperate for the first time with the Commission's Special Rapporteur as providing an opportunity to bring about genuine improvements in the human rights situation in Chile. She expressed regret that the resolution adopted by the Third Committee would play into the hands of those in Chile who argue that international consideration of human rights in Chile is discriminatory and who assert that there is nothing to be gained by cooperating in such matters. The resolution was subsequently adopted in plenary by a vote of 88 to 11 (U.S.), with 47 abstentions. (Resolution 40/145)

Advisory Services

Under the Human Rights Advisory Services Program, which is based upon UNGA Resolution 926 (X) adopted in 1955, the Secretary-General reports annually to the Commission on Human Rights. His report covers the three aspects of the Program, viz., advisory services of experts, fellowships and scholarships, and seminars. At the 41st Human Rights Commission session, four resolutions were adopted under the Advisory Services item. A general resolution, proposed by the FRG on behalf of a number of cosponsors, was designed to record the Commission's continuing interest in this program; the resolution's operative paragraphs encouraged the Secretary-General to promote activities under the Program. The resolution was adopted without a vote. (Resolution 1985/26)

Three further resolutions were adopted which dealt with three countries which are presently recipients of advisory services. In Resolution 1985/27, adopted without a vote, the Secretary-General was requested to continue his contacts with the Government of Uganda and to provide appropriate assistance to that government under the Advisory Services Program. In Resolution 1985/30, adopted without a vote, the Commission took note of a report submitted by an expert provided under the Program to the Government of Equatorial Guinea. The Government of Equatorial Guinea was requested to take steps to assist in achieving the goals of the Advisory Services Program. Finally, Resolution 1985/34, adopted without a vote, expressed support for projects initiated by the Secretary-General under the Advisory Services Program in Bolivia.

Another resolution was proposed under the Advisory Services item by the Delegation of the Ukrainian S.S.R. on behalf of a number of chiefly Communist cosponsors. This resolution would have requested the Secretary-General to organize in 1986, within the framework of the Program of Advisory Services in the Field of Human Rights, a Seminar on the Right of Peoples to Life and Peace. This proposal was objected to on the part of a number of delegations on the grounds that it would bring the Advisory Services Program into the area of disarmament and arms control, which was more properly the business of other specialized United Nations organs. A motion by the Federal Republic of Germany that the Commission take no decision on the Ukrainian draft resolution was approved by a vote of 14 (U.S.) to 13, with 15 abstentions. (Decision 1985/105)

Measures Against Totalitarian and Other Ideologies and Practices Based on Terror or Incitement to Racial Discrimination

At its 41st session, the Commission briefly considered the agenda item which has traditionally been of special interest to Communist countries entitled, "Measures to be taken against all totalitarian or other ideologies and practices, including Nazi, fascist and neo-fascist, based on racial or ethnic exclusiveness or intolerance, hatred, terror, systematic denial of human rights or fundamental freedoms or which have such consequences." An omnibus resolution submitted by Communist countries containing many provisions declaiming against the alleged resurgence of Nazi and fascist ideologies since World War II and calling for measures to combat these evils was proposed, together with another draft resolution similarly cosponsored, which focused upon war crimes and crimes against humanity. Extensive amendments to the omnibus resolution were proposed by the Netherlands and the United Kingdom. These amendments were designed to introduce balance into the text by covering all totalitarian and other ideologies in addition to Nazi, fascist and neo-fascist. The amendments also included a paragraph which incorporated Western ideas for combating such ideologies. This provision stated that the best defense against all totalitarian ideologies lies in free and effective popular participation in democratic institutions based on respect for the human rights proclaimed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenants on Human Rights, and other relevant international instruments. The original omnibus draft resolution was subsequently revised by its cosponsors to incorporate much of the substance of Netherlands-United Kingdom amendments. The amendments and the other draft resolution were thereupon withdrawn and the draft resolution was adopted without a vote. (Resolution 1985/31)

Another draft resolution was proposed by Communist delegations which dealt with the 40th anniversary of the victory of peoples over the forces of Nazism and fascism in World War II. In eight operative paragraphs it called for various measures to commemorate the anniversary. After private consultations between Communist and Western delegations, a revised draft resolution with a much shorter content was proposed. The revised draft contained only two operative paragraphs limited to paying a tribute of respect to the people involved in the Second World War and considering that the solemn celebration by all states of this anniversary should serve the promotion of human rights and funda-

mental freedoms. This resolution was approved without a vote. (Resolution 1985/32)

At the 40th UNGA, a draft resolution on the same subject was again proposed by the German Democratic Republic and other Communist cosponsors. Amendments were put forward by the United Kingdom and the Netherlands designed to achieve a text essentially the same as that which had been earlier adopted by the Commission on Human Rights. In this instance, however, the cosponsors were less willing to accommodate the amendments, and after some debate on the draft resolution and amendments the United Kingdom-Netherlands amendments were withdrawn. Since there was consequently no chance that the text would be approved without a vote, a vote was called for and the draft resolution was approved in the Third Committee by a vote of 96 to 2 (U.S., Israel), with 24 abstentions (including the sponsors of the amendments, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom). The resolution was subsequently approved in plenary by a vote of 121 to 2 (U.S., Israel), with 27 abstentions. (Resolution 40/148)

Status of the International Covenants on Human Rights

A recurring item on the agenda of the Commission on Human Rights concerns the status of the International Covenants on Human Rights, which is the subject of an annual report to the Commission submitted by the Secretary-General. On the initiative of the Delegation of the Federal Republic of Germany, there has been added to the item a sub-item concerning the elaboration of a Second Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights aiming at the abolition of the death penalty. At its 41st session the Commission approved without a vote a draft resolution presented by Finland and other cosponsors which constituted a general appeal for more states to become parties to the Covenants and stressed the need for smoother functioning implementation mechanisms under the Covenants. (Resolution 1985/45)

The Commission also approved without a vote, on the proposal of its Subcommittee, a resolution which authorized an expert member of the Subcommittee to prepare an analysis concerning the proposal to elaborate a Second Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights aiming at the abolition of the death penalty. (Resolution 1985/46)

Under the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights a monitoring role on implementation of the Cov-

enant is assigned to the Economic and Social Council. The Council's role centers upon a consideration of reports submitted by states parties. To allow ECOSOC to carry out this function most efficiently, the Council in 1978 established a Sessional Working Group on the Implementation of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. The Sessional Working Group, in turn, reported to ECOSOC. At its First Regular Session, 1985, ECOSOC decided to change the nature of the Sessional Working Group into one more like the committee functioning under the Convention on Civil and Political Rights, rename it the "Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights," and provide for its method of election, work schedule, and methods of work. The resolution setting forth the terms of reference of the new committee was adopted by a vote of 43 to 1 (U.S.), with 4 abstentions. The United States negative vote, as explained by United States Delegation member Douglas B. Wake, was occasioned by excessive financial implications associated with the establishment of the new committee. He pointed out that the change in the nature of the new committee as compared with the previous Sessional Working Group would result in a sizable new category of expenditure for the United Nations. (Resolution 1985/17)

At the 40th UNGA, a report from the Human Rights Committee, the monitoring organ under the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, was routinely received, as well as a report from the Secretary-General on the status of the Covenants. The Assembly approved without a vote a draft resolution proposed by Denmark and other cosponsors which again urged governments to become parties to the Covenants and to actively support their implementation mechanisms. (Resolution 40/115)

Another resolution adopted on a proposal by the Representative of Italy and other cosponsors dealt with reporting obligations of states parties to United Nations conventions on human rights. The resolution was based upon a report submitted by the Secretary-General which addressed the growing problem of the failure of states parties to various UN conventions to comply in a timely manner with their reporting obligations under these conventions. In its operative paragraphs, the resolution drew attention to this problem and exhorted governments to improve compliance with their reporting obligations. A number of measures to assist states in carrying out their reporting obligations were also put forward in the resolution. (Resolution 40/116)

Regional Arrangements

Carrying forth its interest in promoting the establishment of regional institutions for the promotion and protection of human rights, the Commission at its 41st session adopted without a vote a draft resolution which was proposed by the Delegation of Sri Lanka and cosponsored by Australia and Bangladesh. The draft resolution dealt only with the Asian region and invited further comments from governments which had not yet commented on the report of the seminar on regional arrangements in the Asian region which had been held in Colombo in 1982. In addition, the Secretary-General was requested, in cooperation with the Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific and governments of the region, to consider the establishment of a regional depository center for human rights materials for Asia and the Pacific. The Secretary-General was requested to report on the matter to the next Commission session. (Resolution 1985/48)

Science and Technology

Even though the Human Rights Commission has decided to consider the human rights implications of science and technology on a biennial basis, and did not take up the question at its 1985 session, the item occurs regularly on the agenda of the UN General Assembly. At the 40th UNGA, three resolutions were considered. The first, proposed by the United Kingdom and other cosponsors, focused upon the problem of the abuse of psychiatric institutions as a means of controlling human rights dissent. In the draft resolution, the UNGA reaffirmed its conviction that detention of persons in mental institutions on account of their political views or on other nonmedical grounds is a violation of human rights. The single operative paragraph of the resolution urged the Commission on Human Rights and its Subcommission to expedite its consideration of a draft Body of Guidelines, Principles and Guarantees relating to this problem. The resolution was adopted without a vote. (Resolution 40/110)

Another resolution proposed by the Representative of the Soviet Union on behalf of a collection of mainly Communist cosponsors carried forward a favorite Soviet theme which is to utilize the subject of scientific and technological development as a vehicle for turning a human rights debate into one on disarmament. The resolution proposed by the Soviet Union contained a number of paragraphs, both preambular and operative, which referred to the horrors of past wars as well as the horrors of nucle-

ar weapons, reaffirmed the importance of the inherent right to life, stressed the urgent need for a halt to the arms race, and called for general and complete disarmament. The United States has regularly opposed such resolutions in human rights forums on the grounds that the complex issues involved are being and should be considered in existing disarmament forums. The draft resolution was approved by a vote of 127 to 9 (U.S.), with 16 abstentions. (Resolution 40/111)

Another draft resolution proposed by Byelorussian S.S.R. and cosponsored by mainly Communist delegations centered on the importance of the implementation of a Declaration on the Use of Scientific and Technological Progress in the Interest of Peace and For the Benefit of Mankind, adopted by the General Assembly in 1975. The United States has always regarded this declaration as unbalanced in that it unduly emphasizes the relationship between science and technology and the so-called economic human rights, while seeming to downplay the importance of the relationship with basic civil and political rights. The resolution was approved by a vote of 131 to 0, with 22 (U.S.) abstentions. (Resolution 40/112)

New International Humanitarian Order

A new item entitled, "New International Humanitarian Order" was placed on the agenda of the 36th (1981) UNGA on the initiative of the Government of Jordan. During the 36th session, His Royal Highness Crown Prince Hassan of Jordan explained that the new item might be the means for elaborating an internationally recognized framework of comprehensive humanitarian principles governing relations among peoples and nations in times of war and peace. The views of governments on the new item were invited by the 36th, 37th, and 38th UNGAs. The 38th UNGA also took note of the fact that there had been established outside the United Nations an Independent Commission on International Humanitarian Issues, which was expected to carry on a study of the proposal for a New International Humanitarian Order. At the 40th UNGA, the Secretary-General submitted a report discussing the substantive issues related to a possible New International Humanitarian Order and summarizing comments received from governments. A draft resolution proposed by Jordan and other cosponsors took note of the activities of the Independent Commission on International Humanitarian Issues as summarized in the Secretary-General's report and invited governments that had not

yet done so to communicate to the Secretary-General their views regarding the proposal. A further report was requested from the Secretary-General which will be considered by the UNGA at its 41st session. The resolution was adopted without a vote. (Resolution 40/126)

Capital Punishment

The subject of capital punishment has been a longstanding human rights concern of a number of delegations. The subject was raised at the First Regular Session of ECOSOC, 1985, on the basis of a third quinquennial report of the Secretary-General on capital punishment. A draft resolution put forward by delegations that have traditionally had a strong interest in the abolition of capital punishment, Netherlands, Austria, Federal Republic of Germany, and Sweden, invited Member States to provide the Secretary-General with information for preparation of his fourth quinquennial report on capital punishment in 1990, took note of the developments concerning capital punishment as reported by the Secretary-General, and requested the Committee on Crime Prevention and Control to keep the question of capital punishment under constant review. The resolution was adopted without a vote. (Resolution 1985/33) In an explanation of vote, the U.S. Delegate pointed out that the United States does not have a national policy which favors abolition of the death penalty. It was noted that the resolution which was adopted was neutral in regard to the question of abolition, and the view was expressed that the United Nations most important work related to capital punishment should be aimed at the elimination of abuses associated with capital punishment.

Subcommission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities

The 38th session of the Subcommission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities met in Geneva August 5-30. The 26-member Subcommission is composed of experts who act as individual, uninstructed persons, and who do not involve the responsibility of the governments of the states of which they are nationals. The Subcommission reports to its parent body, the Commission on Human Rights.

At its 38th session, the Subcommission dealt with an agenda which in recent years has become increasingly crowded and

adopted 36 resolutions and 13 decisions. One feature of the Subcommittee's work program which has been of increasing concern to the Commission on Human Rights in recent years has been the Subcommittee's growing program of reports and studies which are under preparation by various individual Subcommittee members. Its 38th sessional report showed that 14 such studies and reports are at various stages of preparation. Among these, two bear a special relationship to interests being pursued by the U.S. Government in the Commission. The Subcommittee received a progress report from its Special Rapporteur who is preparing an analysis of the current trends and developments regarding the right to leave any country, including one's own, and the right to return to one's own country. The Special Rapporteur, Mr. Mubanga-Chipoya, was requested to submit to the next session of the Subcommittee his final report as well as the preliminary draft of a Declaration on the Right of Everyone to Leave Any Country, Including His Own, and to Return to His Country. A study on current dimensions of the problem of intolerance and of discrimination on grounds of religion or belief, under preparation by Subcommittee member Mrs. Elisabeth Odio-Benito, was not discussed at the 38th session, it being understood that the final report on this subject will be submitted to the 39th session.

At its 38th session, the Subcommittee considered and debated a revised and updated study on the question of the prevention and punishment of the crime of genocide, which was submitted by its Special Rapporteur, Mr. Benjamin Whitaker. The Subcommittee noted that divergent views were expressed about the content and proposals in the study, took note of it, and expressed its thanks and congratulations to the Special Rapporteur for his proposals.

An interim follow-up report was submitted to the Subcommittee by its expert member, Mark Bussuyt, describing the mission which he had carried out to Mauritania. The follow-up report dealt with the assistance which might be supplied to the Government of Mauritania in its struggle against the consequences of slavery. The expert was requested to present his final follow-up report to the 39th Subcommittee session.

Two presessional working groups of the Subcommittee, one on slavery and slavery-like practices and the other on indigenous populations, provided reports which were the basis for follow-up action by the Subcommittee in calling the attention of the Commission on Human Rights to the need to combat various slavery-like practices which exist in the world today and in carrying for-

ward a plan of action for the development of international standards in the field of discrimination against indigenous populations.

Along with the Subcommission's activity in developing expert recommendations and standards with respect to the various subjects under study, the Subcommission also devoted much of its time to a discussion of a number of resolutions which emphasize the more political and less expert side of the Subcommission's work. The Subcommission adopted resolutions relating to the situation in the territories occupied by Israel and, the situation of human rights in Iran, El Salvador, Albania, Pakistan, Chile, Guatemala, Afghanistan, South Africa, and Namibia.

Finally, the Subcommission continued to pursue with the Commission various proposals for its reorganization. It proposed to the Commission that the terms of its members be increased from 3 to 4 years and that half of the membership be elected every 2 years. It also repeated the proposal that its name be changed to that of "Subcommission of Experts of Human Rights" and made a plea for additional Secretariat services to assure more meetings of sessional working groups and more satisfactory assistance to Special Rapporteurs.

Status of Women

Women's issues were discussed in several parts of the UN system. A predominant focus was the 1985 World Conference to Review and Appraise the Achievements of the UN Decade for Women: equality, development, and peace, held at Nairobi, Kenya, in July. The U.S. Delegation, chaired by Maureen Reagan, played a leading role in bringing the final World Conference of the UN Decade for Women to a conclusion, and in obtaining approval of the consensus document, the Forward-Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women (FLS), which is meant to serve as a blueprint for advancing the status of women throughout the world. It was adopted in the plenary session of the General Assembly on December 13.

U.S. participation in the activities of the UN Decade for Women and other international women's programs offers significant opportunities to further the national interest. For example, participation in conferences such as the one at Nairobi enables the United States to develop contacts with foreign women leaders who shape national policies in their respective countries. These opportunities, however, must be weighed against the tendency to use world conferences to gain international attention through the

media for individual political causes rather than dealing with the common problems of women worldwide.

COMMISSION ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN

The Third Session of the United Nations Economic and Social Council Commission on the Status of Women (CSW), acting as the Preparatory Body for the World Conference (Prepcom), met in Vienna, March 4-13. The Commission elected by acclamation Rosario G. Manalo of the Philippines as Chairperson, and Helen Ware of Australia as Rapporteur; Vice Chairpersons were Ivan Penaherrera (Ecuador), Dagmar Molkova (Czechoslovakia,) and Irene Bwalya Chiwele (Zambia). Thirty-one members of the Commission and observers from 58 member and 5 nonmember states of the United Nations participated. Also attending were representatives of U.N. specialized agencies, UN bodies and intergovernmental organizations, observers from liberation movements, and representatives of nongovernmental organizations.

The Commission reviewed the reports submitted by the Secretary-General in preparation for the World Conference in Nairobi. It also devoted considerable time to the preparation of the Forward-Looking Strategies document which was to be the final document adopted by the Conference. However, the participants failed to agree on the content of the FLS, and also failed to agree on the provisional rules of procedure of the Conference. In the absence of agreement on these two fundamental documents, the Group of 77 proposed at the resumed session of the UN General Assembly in April that the CSW, acting as Prepcom, resume its work for 8 days in an effort to reach agreement. At the suggestion of the Chair, Rosario Manalo, the Prepcom adjourned to allow an informal working group to continue the discussion of the FLS with a view to reaching consensus. The working group made limited progress and indicated the most contentious issues in the document by placing them in brackets.

A resumed Third Session of the Commission met at UN Headquarters in New York from April 29 to May 7. The Commission approved the draft provisional rules of procedure of the Conference except for bracketed paragraphs, and decided to transmit to the Nairobi Conference a draft of the FLS, as well as recommendations for the implementation of concrete measures to overcome obstacles to the achievement of the goals of the UN Decade for Women for the years 1986 to 2000. There was unanimous agreement among member states on the need to continue periodic reviews of the progress made and obstacles encountered after the decade.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL

At its first regular session of 1985, May 7-31, following consideration of the report of the Secretary-General entitled, "Review of Selected Major Issues in the Medium-term Plans of the Organizations of the United Nations System: Women and Development," the Council adopted Resolution 1985/46 on women and development without a vote. In that resolution the Council called upon the Secretary-General, in his capacity as Chairman of the Administrative Committee on Coordination, to take the initiative in formulating a system-wide medium-term plan for women and development, taking into account the priorities recommended by the Council, the Forward-Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women, and the relevant decisions of the respective governing bodies of the organizations of the UN System. The Council requested that the plan should be submitted, through the CSW at its 31st session, to the Committee for Program and Coordination (CPC) at its 26th session and to the Council at its second regular session of 1986.

At its 22d plenary meeting on May 28, the Council adopted without a vote Resolution 1985/18, which urges all states that have not yet ratified or acceded to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women to do so as soon as possible. (The United States has not ratified the Convention; it is under review in the Senate.)

On May 30, at its 25th plenary meeting, the Council adopted without a vote Resolution 1985/45 which noted the significant achievements of the International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (INSTRAW), and encouraged governments and potential donors to contribute to the Trust Fund established for the Institute in view of the increasing importance of research and training for full participation of women in the development process at all levels.

The Economic and Social Council, having examined the report of the CSW, invited Mrs. Rosario Manalo, Chairperson of the Commission, to hold informal consultations in New York with a view toward facilitating the deliberations of the Conference regarding the FLS. It also authorized its Bureau to continue, through informal consultations, to assist delegations in resolving the outstanding issue relating to the provisional rules of procedure of the Nairobi Conference, and to submit the results to the Council at the resumption of its first regular session on June 20. The United States had proposed as early as February that the decisions of the Conference be reached by consensus. The Group of 77 insisted that the Conference take decisions by voting on any

matter of disagreement. On June 20, the United States called for a vote on its proposal on the rules of procedure. In doing so, the U.S. Representative, Ernest C. Grigg, stated that the draft resolution sponsored by his delegation (E/1985/L.38) had been prompted by a concern to ensure the success of the work of the Conference and that the U.S., which was greatly troubled by the undue politicization of the deliberations of UN bodies, would have preferred the decisions of the Conference on substantive matters to be adopted by consensus in order to reflect fully the unity and solidarity of the women of the world. Mr. Ruiz-Cabanas of Mexico proposed on behalf of the G-77 that the Council take no action. His motion was approved by a vote of 36 votes to 2 (Iceland, U.S.), with 12 abstentions. The Council decided to transmit to the World Conference its recommendations concerning organization of the provisional rules of procedure.

NAIROBI CONFERENCE

The U.N. Conference to Review and Appraise the Achievements of the UN Decade for Women was held at Nairobi, Kenya, July 15-26. More than 2,000 delegates representing 159 governments, 37 international organizations, and 16 nongovernmental organizations attended the official intergovernmental conference. The meeting marked the end of the UN-sponsored decade and the first time that the international community adopted a consensus document on the advancement of the status of women and on problems uniquely related to women.

This document, called the Forward-Looking Strategies, consist of an introductory section and five major parts: (1) Equality, (2) Development, (3) Peace, (4) Areas of special Concern for Women, and (5) Regional and International Cooperation to Advance Women. The document was adopted one paragraph at a time, with recorded votes taken on controversial formulations. References in the Strategies to Zionism, apartheid, and the failure to establish a new international economic order were the issues that occasioned most controversy. The United States won a major victory in securing the withdrawal of an Iranian-sponsored amendment on Zionism/racism, and despite the difficult negotiating situation, received G-77 support for its objectives, particularly on four targeted issues: women in development, refugee women, literacy, and family violence. On those issues, the U.S. Delegation submitted resolutions or cosponsored those put forward by other delegations.

The basic U.S. goals at the Conference, to foster concentration on women-specific issues and to avoid politicization, were

achieved. The acceptance by all the Member States of recommendations to advance the status of women serves as an impetus for the CSW to take a more active role in carrying out its mandate for promoting the advancement of women.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

At its resumed 39th regular session, April 9-12, the General Assembly adopted without a vote, Decision 39/249, the Statute of the International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women, which was approved by the Economic and Social Council, and the related report of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions in Decision 1984/124 of May 24, 1984.

On April 12, Decision 39/459, "Preparations for the World Conference to Review and Appraise the Achievements of the United Nations Decade for Women," was adopted without a vote, requesting the Economic and Social Council to consider, with priority, during its first regular session in May, the results of the deliberations of the Preparatory Body.

On November 5, during the 40th Session, Maureen Reagan, U.S. Representative to the UN Commission on the Status of Women, addressed the Third Committee on Item 92, the UN Decade for Women. She asked that specialized agencies pay particular attention to those sections of the FLS which affect their specific areas of action. For example, the issue of women in development should receive careful attention from the UN Development Program to ensure that projects are geared toward helping women develop and take advantage of their economic role; with reference to refugees, projects should be undertaken which address the particular concerns of women and children refugees. "The United Nations should lead by example," stated Ms. Reagan. "It must begin by looking at itself to see how best it can show the way to fulfilling the promises of Nairobi."

The Third Committee adopted by consensus on November 29 the "omnibus" resolution on the implementation of the FLS adopted at the Nairobi Conference. It was introduced by Yugoslavia on behalf of the member states of the United Nations which are members of the Group of 77. The U.S. delegation called for a vote on operative paragraph 25 because of financial implications. The vote was 134 to 2 (U.S., Israel). On December 13 the resolution was adopted by the General Assembly at the 116th plenary meeting without a vote (40/108).

SPECIALIZED AGENCIES

World Bank Group

The World Bank Group is composed of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), the International Development Association (IDA), and the International Finance Corporation (IFC). As a member of the UN system and as a development finance institution, the World Bank works with the UN and its various specialized agencies in a wide variety of activities. During the Bank Group's fiscal year 1985 (FY 85), ending June 30, 1985, Hungary and St. Christopher and Nevis joined the IBRD, bringing Bank membership to 148. Membership applications were pending for Kiribati and Tonga at year end. Mozambique and Hungary joined IDA, bringing membership to 133; membership was pending for Kiribati and Portugal. Mozambique and Hungary took up membership in the IFC during the year, bringing membership to a total of 127 countries.

The Bank lends to stimulate economic growth in its member countries by providing funds either at near-commercial terms or at highly concessional terms for sound projects. Traditionally the Bank has financed all types of capital infrastructure, but in 1980, the Bank inaugurated a program of structural adjustment lending to support specific policy changes and institutional reforms in developing countries. Structural and sectoral adjustment and program loans accounted for 9 percent of total IBRD/IDA lending in FY 84.

IDA AND IBRD FY 1985 LENDING PROGRAM

The IBRD approved \$11.358 billion in loans for FY 85 to support 131 projects in 44 countries, a 5 percent decrease over FY 84. IDA credits amounted to \$3.028 billion, down 15 percent from the previous year, for 105 projects in 45 countries.

IBRD lending was less than planned because of problems faced by borrowers and the requirements of prudent financial management limited IBRD operations. Resources available in the IDA VII replenishment limited the amount of IDA credits.

IDA credits are concentrated in the poorest countries with an annual per capita income of \$790 (1984 dollars) or less. In the 4-year period FY 82-85, 95 percent of IDA lending went to countries which currently have an annual per capita income below \$400 (1984 dollars).

Total IBRD and IDA commitments in FY 85 had the following sectoral composition:

<i>Sector</i>	<i>U.S. Dollars Millions</i>	<i>Dollar Percentage (rounded)</i>
Agriculture and Rural Development	3,749.3	26.1
Development Finance Companies	565.3	3.9
Education	927.8	6.4
Energy		
Oil and Coal	1,331.4	9.3
Power	2,250.3	15.6
Industry	644.0	4.5
Nonproject	629.2	4.4
Population, Health and Nutrition	191.0	1.3
Small-Scale Enterprises	560.6	3.9
Technical Assistance	111.7	0.8
Telecommunications	121.6	0.8
Transportation	2,138.7	14.9
Urban Development	384.6	2.7
Water Supply and Sewerage	780.6	5.4
TOTAL	14,386.3	100.0

Projects approved by the IBRD and IDA during FY 84 had the following regional distribution:

<i>Region</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>U.S. Dollars Millions</i>	<i>Dollar Percentage</i>
Eastern Africa	45	786.0	5.5
Western Africa	35	811.3	5.6
East Asia and Pacific	39	3,100.6	21.6
South Asia	37	3,559.1	24.7
Europe, Middle East and North Africa	39	2,429.2	16.9
Latin American and Caribbean	41	3,700.2	25.7
TOTAL	235	14,386.4	100.0

In May 1985, the Executive Directors authorized the establishment of the Special Facility for Sub-Saharan Africa, a trust fund administered by IDA to support policy reform in Africa. This action followed agreement in February 1985 between 14 countries and the Bank to mobilize over \$1 billion to be committed over FY 1986-88. The United States did not make a contribution in FY 85. The Executive Directors also approved an exceptional contribution of \$3 million to the World Food Program to accelerate the delivery of emergency food-aid supplies to member countries in Sub-Saharan Africa.

The Executive Directors also reviewed a draft convention for the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency, a facility to improve the investment climate in developing countries by issuing guarantees against non-commercial risk.

IBRD borrowings, which are the principal source of funds for its lending operations, reached \$11.1 billion, up from \$9.8 billion in FY 84. The largest operations were in U.S., Japanese, German and Swiss currencies.

INTERNATIONAL FINANCE CORPORATION

The IFC assists the economic development of its borrowing member countries by making loans to, and equity investments in, productive enterprises in the private sector; by bringing together investment opportunities, domestic and foreign private capital, and experienced management; and by helping to develop local and regional capital markets; and promoting privately-owned development finance corporations. Projects are selected on the basis of financial viability and their contribution to economic development.

The IFC approved \$937 million for 75 projects in 38 countries in FY 85. The dollar value of the investments approved rose by \$141 million, or 35 percent. Of the total, \$61 million were for equity investments. Eighteen of the total financing operations, valued at \$107 million, were in Sub-Saharan Africa. The IFC approved its first investment in China during the year.

The IFC began its new 5-year program over FY 1985-89, linked to a \$650 million capital increase. This program will concentrate on (1) corporate restructuring for businesses with financial difficulties, (2) assistance for Sub-Saharan Africa, (3) domestic financial markets and institutions, and (4) high-priority sectors, particularly oil exploration.

International Monetary Fund

The continued recovery in world economic activity in 1985, successful adjustment policies, and the consequent improvement in the current account and reserve positions of many developing countries led to a sharp reduction in the use of IMF resources from the peak levels of the recent past. This reduction in the growth of Fund credit, following the rapid expansion in preceding years, reflects the medium-term and cyclical nature of Fund assistance. Drawings by Fund members in 1985 totaled \$4.4 billion, a 45 percent decrease from the 1984 level of \$7.5 billion. Drawings had peaked at \$13.2 billion in 1983. Still, drawings in 1985 were the fourth largest in the Fund's history.

On a net basis, drawings on Fund resources declined in 1985 to \$0.4 billion, compared with \$5.1 billion in 1984, because of both

the lower level of new drawings and the repayments falling due on the high level of drawings made in previous years. As a result, net drawings in 1985 were at their lowest level since 1980.

New commitments under the Fund's conditional facilities (standby and extended arrangements) doubled in 1985 to \$1.2 billion—albeit from a very low level in 1984—which points to some increase in drawings in 1986. At the end of the year, 29 standby and 3 extended arrangements were in effect between the Fund and its members, a slight reduction from the 29 standby and 4 extended arrangements that were in effect at the end of 1984. Total Fund resources committed under these arrangements amounted to \$10.9 billion and the undrawn balance at year-end was \$5.2 billion. Moreover, Fund credit outstanding to members rose somewhat over the course of 1985, totaling \$38.7 billion at year-end, compared to \$34.2 billion a year earlier.

All of the \$4.4 billion was drawn by developing countries, and the dominant share (75 percent) was made in support of IMF-approved economic adjustment programs. Such adjustment programs are developed jointly by the member country and the IMF in an effort to promote noninflationary real growth and a sustainable balance of payments position over the medium term. Programs typically emphasize a balanced fiscal and monetary policy mix, maintenance of appropriate interest and exchange rates, and increased reliance on market forces.

Drawings under the special-purpose Compensatory Financing Facility, which is available to members facing payments difficulties resulting from temporary shortfalls in their export earnings or surges in food import costs that are due largely to conditions beyond their control, amounted to \$1.0 billion in 1985, a slight increase from \$0.8 billion in 1984. Drawings in both 1984 and 1985 represented a sharp decline from drawings in each of the previous 2 years, which averaged \$2.8 billion, as the renewed economic growth in the United States and other industrial countries greatly increased demand for LDC exports. The modest recourse to the Compensatory Financing Facility in 1984 and 1985 highlights its cyclical use. Drawings under the Compensatory Financing Facility accounted for only 23 percent of total drawings in 1985, compared with nearly 25 percent in 1983 and a peak of 35 percent in 1982.

ACCESS LIMITS

As a result of the IMF's annual review of limits on members' access to IMF resources, it was decided to reduce access limits for 1986. Under the limits, members' drawings under standby and/or

extended arrangements may not exceed 90 or 110 percent of quota annually, and 270 or 330 percent of quota over a 3-year period, provided that cumulative outstanding obligations do not exceed 400 or 440 percent of quota. The higher limits in each case (110/330/440 percent) may apply in cases where a member has a serious balance of payments problem and is making a strong adjustment effort.

The IMF Interim Committee also affirmed that it does not regard these access limits as targets or norms. Further, the IMF has the flexibility to approve standby or extended arrangements for amounts above these access limits in exceptional circumstances. In practice, access to IMF resources in recent Fund programs has normally been much less than the access limits; for example, access under the 25 new IMF programs during 1985 averaged only 49.2 percent of quota annually.

The IMF is expected to continue its longstanding policy of providing access to its financing on a case-by-case basis according to a country's balance of payments needs and the strength of its adjustment program. Although these access limits for 1985 represent a slight decrease from the previous limits (95 or 115, 280 or 345 and 408 or 450 percent of quota, respectively), the modest reduction is not expected to affect materially the Fund's ability to provide appropriate amounts of temporary balance of payments support to member countries.

MEMBERSHIP

Most developed and developing countries belong to the IMF; the Soviet Union and several East European countries, however, are not members. Tonga joined the IMF during 1985, bringing total membership to 149 countries.

International Fund for Agricultural Development

The International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) was founded in 1977 with strong leadership from the United States. IFAD's mandate is to increase food production in the developing countries through loans for projects benefiting small farmers and the landless poor. IFAD is the only international financial institution financed by roughly equal contributions from OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development) and OPEC (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries) nations. IFAD also has a unique governing structure whereby the

three groups of members—OECD, OPEC and the non-OPEC developing countries—have an equal number of votes.

During 1985, IFAD approved 17 projects totaling \$130 million and technical assistance grants totaling \$8 million. In addition to its regular projects for Africa, IFAD also began developing a Special Fund for Sub-Saharan Africa. This 5-year effort, funded with voluntary contributions, will seek to rehabilitate the agricultural systems of the countries most affected by drought and desertification. While supporting the concept of the Special Program, the United States argued that consideration of funding for the program should be postponed until the negotiations on the second replenishment were concluded.

IFAD's members reached no conclusion on a second replenishment of the Fund's resources (intended to run from 1985-1987) in 1985. Negotiations continued with a Seventh Consultation (February 28-March 2) and an Eighth Consultation (May 16-17). At the Seventh Session, all donors except the United States agreed to a formula worked out by IFAD President Jazairy which proposed total contributions in the range of \$500 to \$650 million with Category I (OECD) and Category II (OPEC) contributions at a 60-40 percent (OECD-OPEC) burden-sharing ratio. The United States contended that contributions should be in the historical burden-sharing ratio of 58-42 percent with the U.S. share at 17 percent of the total. However, the United States expressed a willingness to consider a 60/40 ratio once firm indications of the OPEC pledge level were known. President Jazairy suspended the Eighth Session of negotiations after it began when it became clear that firm OPEC numbers were not available and that the U.S. position was unchanged. Throughout 1985, he continued to pursue informal efforts to secure a firm OPEC pledge level.

The United States made clear to IFAD management that all IFAD II pledges must be equally probable of fulfillment. U.S. concern was prompted by the continued nonpayment of IFAD I pledges, as well as delays in completing payment of the initial capitalization, by certain IFAD members.

IFAD commissioned World Bank experts to independently undertake a study of IFAD staffing requirements. Based on their recommendations, the December 26th Executive Board recommended the reclassification of eight positions from contractual to permanent status, and the addition of one position in the African Division. At U.S. insistence, the Board predicated its recommendations on the successful completion of the second replenishment negotiations. While not blocking consensus, the U.S. Executive Director restated the traditional U.S. concerns that IFAD should not

expand personnel but rely on the support of institutions with which it cooperates.

IFAD management and members agreed that thought would need to be given to IFAD's future financial basis and structure, given the difficulties in reaching agreement on the second replenishment of its resources. IFAD hoped to begin discussion of the future financial basis and structure at the 26th Executive Board Session. Other donors, including the United States, preferred to postpone discussion of this topic until after the conclusion of the replenishment negotiations.

Food and Agriculture Organization

The Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO), one of the largest UN specialized agencies, is the lead international organization in the fields of agriculture, fisheries, and forestry. FAO's agriculture program attempts to bring about a sustained global improvement in nutrition levels, food security, and rural incomes, especially for the disadvantaged, through increasing rural productivity. Its fisheries program promotes improved management and utilization of the world's fishery resources, particularly by helping developing countries to increase their capacity to manage their marine and inland fisheries. The FAO forestry program, the smallest of the three, assists member countries to balance the growing demand for forest goods and services and increasing pressures of agriculture on forest land against environmental concerns. These FAO goals are consistent with the aims of U.S. bilateral development assistance programs.

FAO is governed by its Conference, to which all the Member States of the organization belong. This body meets biennially to review FAO's works and to adopt the Program of Work and Budget for the coming 2 years. Between Conference sessions, the 49-member FAO Council directs the work of the organization. It also meets immediately preceding and following the Conference session. In even-numbered years, there are regional conferences in each of FAO's five geographical regions and a fall session of the Council. FAO is unusual among specialized agencies in that the Soviet Union does not belong to it.

FAO CONFERENCE

The 23d session of the FAO Conference, which took place in Rome November 9-28, was the most important event in the organization's 1984-85 biennium. U.S. Agriculture Secretary John

Block, who had chaired the previous session of the Conference, led the U.S. Delegation.

The Conference admitted the Cook Islands and the Solomon Islands to FAO bringing total membership to 158. It approved a Program of Work and Budget for 1986-87, adopted an International Code of Conduct on the Distribution and Use of Pesticides, and approved a World Food Security Compact. The observance of the 40th anniversary of FAO's founding was a major theme of the session.

In presenting the major U.S. policy statement to the Conference, Secretary Block stressed the changes which had occurred in agriculture during the 40 years of FAO's existence and urged the organization to renew its efforts to remove the scars of hunger and poverty from the earth.

PROGRAM OF WORK AND BUDGET 1986-87

The United States and 11 other major donor governments, providing over 66 percent of the organization's assessments, abstained in the vote on the level of the FAO Program of Work and Budget for the 1986-87 biennium. The United States abstained because it could not support a budget containing 1.1 percent real growth when circumstances require the utmost budgetary restraint. In early 1985, the FAO Secretariat prepared the Summary Program of Work and Budget which incorporated 1.4 percent real growth. The Committees on Agriculture, Forestry, and Fisheries and the FAO Council at its June 1985 session reviewed the SPWB. The United States, joined by other donors, agreed with and supported the objectives and programs of the SPWB but called for zero real budget growth. In response to these concerns, the Director General for the first time reduced budget expenditures after presenting the SPWB. Recognizing this action on his part, the donors did not vote against the level of expenditures, but abstained to underscore the seriousness of their commitment to the zero real growth principle.

OTHER ISSUES

At the Conference session, the United States joined all other FAO member nations in approving the International Code of Conduct on the Distribution and Use of Pesticides. The Code is a voluntary, nonbinding instrument intended to guide the conduct of governments of pesticide exporting and importing countries, members of the pesticides industry, and pesticide users in the absence of adequate national regulation of the distribution and use of these products. Some members urged amending the Code to call

for prior informed consent (i.e., to require that the government of the country in which a pesticide is manufactured receive a prior clearance from the recipient government for the planned shipment of a pesticide banned for use in the exporting country). However, the view of the United States and others prevailed that the Code should be adopted as proposed.

The Conference also adopted the World Food Security Compact. The Compact incorporates general principles and suggestions for action by governments, organizations, and individuals to further world food security. The United States, however, felt that the Compact failed to state explicitly enough its voluntary, non-binding nature and was unable to accept several of its provisions. We determined that negotiating the changes necessary to make the Compact acceptable to the United States would have been a long, difficult, and uncertain process. Furthermore, we judged that the Compact would do nothing to advance FAO's work and that its consideration distracted the organization from more urgent business. The U.S. Government therefore dissociated itself from the document. Australia and Canada joined the United States in this action.

Negotiations on a resolution concerning the critical situation in Africa occupied an inordinate amount of the Conference's time. Difficulties arose because the draft resolution proposed treated subjects not properly within FAO's purview, such as foreign debt and the problem of apartheid in the Republic of South Africa. The United States opposed the inclusion of such references. Despite extensive negotiations, the membership failed to respond to U.S. and other efforts to delete the extraneous material. The United States therefore cast the sole vote against the resolution. Fifteen others, including many of the major donors, abstained.

During 1985, the United States maintained its opposition to the International Undertaking on Plant Genetic Resources and the FAO Commission on Plant Genetic Resources. We have not subscribed to the Undertaking, nor did we join the Commission. U.S. observers did, however, attend the Commission's first meeting early in the year. We continued to urge FAO not to duplicate the work of the International Board for Plant Genetic Resources (IBPGR) but to maintain its close cooperation with that organization.

FAO/WFP RELATIONS

The Joint UN/FAO Task Force to examine the relationship between FAO and the World Food Program recommended that the World Food Program be given increased autonomy within the

framework of the existing constitutional arrangements which govern the relationship between the two organizations.

Although the FAO Director General and the WFP Executive Director did not complete the implementation of the Task Force's recommendations in 1985, they did accomplish many of the actions recommended. The United States complimented them for the spirit of cooperation and accommodation in which they went about this task.

RESPONSE TO THE AFRICAN FOOD CRISIS

FAO continued to be active in international efforts to respond to the African drought and famine. On March 29, the FAO Director General convened a Donors Meeting on Rehabilitation of Agriculture in Africa. At that meeting, FAO presented for consideration a compilation of previously prepared projects for each of the drought-affected countries. The United States, as most other donors, made no new commitments there, but agreed to consider the projects as it planned its assistance programs for the countries in question. The Organization also continued to monitor the agricultural situation throughout Africa through its Early Warning System.

THE WORLD FOOD PROGRAM

Since its establishment in 1963, the World Food Program (WFP) has been the principal vehicle for distributing multilateral food aid within the UN system. The FAO and the UN jointly sponsor WFP. WFP distributes food commodities supplied by donor countries to support development projects designed to produce social and economic progress. WFP also provides emergency food assistance in response to natural and man-made disasters. Development projects consume approximately three-quarters of WFP resources and emergency projects the remainder. WFP also administers the International Emergency Food Reserve which provides commodities for emergencies (including refugees) only.

The Committee on Food Aid Policies and Programs (CFA) is the governing body of WFP. The CFA is composed of 30 members, elected for 3-year terms, with 10 new members elected annually to replace 10 retiring members. ECOSOC elects half of these and the FAO Council elects the remaining five. The United States (as the largest donor) and some other major donors are regularly re-elected to the CFA.

The CFA meets twice a year to review WFP projects and resource commitments and to discuss WFP program and budgetary

issues. WFP operates on a 2-year cycle for budgeting, programming, and planning purposes. Donors pledge resources to WFP on a biennial basis. WFP's pledging target for 1985-86 was \$1.35 billion. The \$250 million pledge by the United States for 1985-86 maintains the previous level of support shown in the 1983-84 biennium. The pledge consists of up to \$151 million in commodities, \$45 million in cash to cover transportation costs, and \$50 million in commodities and cash for freight costs supplied under Section 416 of Public Law 480. In addition, the United States provides \$4 million in cash for administrative expenses under Public Laws 98-473 and 99-190.

The 19th Session of the CFA met in Rome, May 20-31. CFA members approved 18 new projects and four budget increases of existing projects at a total cost of approximately \$344 million. The United States joined the consensus approval of all projects. The Executive Director, acting under a standing delegation of authority from CFA, approved 16 other projects in the period July 1984 through January 1985 valued at \$20.8 million. The Executive Director reported that in 1984 there were 63 emergency operations, including 17 expansions, at a total cost of \$233,699,300 (the highest level thus far recorded). WFP drew \$179,405,100 from the International Emergency Food Reserve. The CFA decided, on an exceptional basis, to increase the WFP emergency allocation from \$45 million to \$55 million in CY 1984 to meet unprecedented needs in Sub-Saharan Africa.

The CFA also accepted the report of the Joint UN/FAO Task Force which had examined the relationship between FAO and WFP. The report recommended that the FAO Director General grant additional autonomy to WFP in personnel, administrative, and financial matters through a delegation of authority as provided for in the WFP Basic Texts. The United States urged expeditious implementation of the Task Force recommendations and asked the WFP Executive Director to present a final progress report at the CFA's 21st Session in May 1986.

The WFP Review of Food Aid Policies outlined an expanded role for WFP in integrating food aid into national development plans and in coordinating this resource with other forms of development assistance. The United States questioned whether WFP has the staff resources to undertake successfully additional responsibilities of this nature. The United States also declined to support a request that CFA endorse active WFP involvement in program (as distinct from project) food aid, common food aid counterpart fund schemes, and monetization (or sales) of WFP food re-

sources. The CFA decided that these activities should continue to be considered on a case-by-case basis.

The CFA held its 20th Session in Rome, September 30-October 10. The Committee approved 20 project proposals worth \$226 million as well as budget increases for six previous projects (\$29 million). The WFP Executive Director announced that from January 1 to June 30, he had approved five projects at a total cost to WFP of \$7.3 million. He also reported approving emergency operations valued at \$138,743,098 (20 new projects and 16 project expansions). WFP drew \$22,923,698 of this amount from the WFP annual emergency allocation of \$45 million dollars and the balance from the International Emergency Food Reserve.

The CFA approved all the proposed projects. In the case of a project for El Salvador, CFA members were disturbed by reports earlier in the year of diversion of U.S. supplied commodities and questioned the capability of the Salvadoran distribution system to control resources. The CFA requested WFP to closely monitor implementation of the Salvadoran project as well as a project for Colombia. CFA members also debated the technical merits of two proposed projects for Vietnam. While some members (including the United States) questioned Vietnam's development priorities, they did not block consensus approval of the project.

There was considerable debate on the WFP 1987-88 pledging target. Aid recipient countries supported the Secretariat's proposed target of \$1.5 billion, while the United States and other donor countries favored maintaining the pledge at the 1985-86 level (\$1.35 billion). The United States, Australia, and Canada also opposed a proposal to divide the target into mandatory cash and commodity volume components. The U.S. Delegate pointed out that the proposed \$400 million cash component was unrealistic (representing a nearly 50 percent increase over expected receipts in the previous biennium) and furthermore, that separate cash and commodity targets were contrary to food aid policies and domestic budget procedures of the major donors providing nearly three-quarters of WFP's resources. CFA members compromised on a target of \$1.4 billion for the next biennium, comprised of 3.25 million tons of food at current prices and \$405 million dollars in cash. The United States was instrumental in ensuring that language in the final report of CFA 20 made it possible for member governments to pledge in cash alone or in cash and commodities.

The Committee noted that the outstanding issue of costing of services provided to WFP by FAO and the UN and other specialized agencies remained unresolved and urged resolution of this issue with a full report to the CFA 21.

The Committee also endorsed the WFP's proposed budget for technical, advisory, administrative, and servicing expenses in 1986-87, proposed at \$56,492,500.

In 1985, with U.S. encouragement, WFP continued to play a crucial role in the international response to the African Food Emergency, including setting up a special unit under the Program's Africa Task Force Management Committee and redeploying headquarters and field staff. WFP developed an information system which was valuable to donors in scheduling shipments. It also undertook management of the UN/World Food Program consolidated truck fleet which began operation in Ethiopia in December 1985. Band Aid/Live Aid Foundation and USAID through World Vision will provide the 250 trucks for the fleet.

WFP also continued its work on behalf of refugees including emergency feeding programs in cooperation with UNHCR and other UN agencies. WFP held a 2-day conference in November on refugees in Somalia and Pakistan. Many donor countries and the EEC were able to indicate the likely level of their contributions for the assistance of refugees in these countries. The United States pledged 160,000 tons of wheat for the Afghan refugees in Pakistan.

UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)

The United States withdrew from UNESCO at the end of 1984. In early 1985 the United States established an Observer Mission at UNESCO to promote residual U.S. interests. The Secretary of State appointed a Reform Observation Panel (ROP) for UNESCO in February 1985 "to assess and report on the UNESCO reform process and to encourage reform efforts that advance continuing U.S. interests." The Panel consists of nine private citizens who are familiar with UNESCO's areas of activity. Mr. Leonard Marks served as Chairman and Mr. Franklyn Nofziger as Vice Chairman. The ROP held four formal meetings and sent observers to sessions of UNESCO's Executive Board and to the 23d General Conference. Panel members met periodically with allied government officials and UNESCO Secretariat officials on the question of UNESCO reform. At year's end, the Panel recommended that: "a) the United States should reaffirm unequivocally its decision of December 31, 1984, to resign from UNESCO membership, and b) the United States should retain present observer status at UNESCO, through 1986, at a reduced staff level."

The U.S. Government planned to use the funds devoted in the past to its UNESCO assessment for funding so-called alternative programs in the fields of education, science, culture, and communications. Because of severe budgetary restraints, a reduced sum of approximately \$1.2 million was authorized for use primarily in the scientific and copyright fields.

UNESCO's Executive Board held four sessions in 1985—the 4th Extraordinary Session (February), the 121st (May), the 122d (September), and the 123d (November). The Board opted for limited accommodation of Western program, budget, and management concerns. Reforms requiring structural and constitutional changes, which the United States had favored while it was still a member, were not seriously considered.

The *23d General Conference* (Sofia, October–November), requested that the Executive Board appoint a working group “to discuss with authorities of the State concerned (i.e., the U.S.) the question of its financial contributions.” The text expressed the hope “that those authorities will cooperate fully.” The working group was expected to be appointed and to contact the government sometime early in 1986.

The Executive Board also was charged to examine, at its 125th session (September 1986), all the measures necessary to specify what would be the financial obligations of a Member State which might withdraw from the organization in the middle of a 2-year budgetary period. This included the possibility of asking the International Court of Justice for an advisory opinion on whether the United States is liable for an assessment for 1985. The unequivocal U.S. position is that Article II (6) of the UNESCO Constitution, when read in conjunction with its negotiating history, absolves the United States from paying a 1985 assessment.

During the 23d General Conference, widespread regret and some resentment of U.S. withdrawal were expressed, as well as a general desire for the United States to return. There was, however, confusion and irresolution in dealing with the organization's serious problems. The majority of Member States appeared satisfied with the minimal level of reform accomplished despite the risk that it might not be sufficient to prevent further withdrawals.

Following the General Conference, both the United Kingdom and Singapore implemented their decisions to withdraw, effective at the end of the year.

With the exception of the adoption of a budget on a zero real growth less 25 percent basis, much of the Conference's energies were devoted to issues that appeared to be punitive. Questions were raised, for example, about the rights and responsibilities of

observer missions, the status of Secretariat personnel from non-member states, i.e., Americans, and the possibility of a referral to the International Court of Justice of the question of the U.S. assessment for 1985. There was even resistance to the proposal, eventually adopted, to create a follow-up mechanism to the Executive Board's Temporary Committee for Reform.

This mechanism took the form of a reconstituted Special Committee of the Executive Board. The Special Committee was reduced from 30 to 18 members—3 from each electoral group region. Its mandate is ambiguous, but its chairman claimed to have the authority to discuss additional structural and procedural reform in UNESCO.

IMPACT OF U.S. PARTICIPATION IN SELECTED UNESCO CONVENTIONS AND INTERGOVERNMENTAL BODIES

The United States remains a party to and intends to exercise its rights under the following conventions:

—The Agreement for Facilitating the International Circulation of Visual and Auditory Materials of an Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Character, with Protocol (Beirut Agreement), done at Lake Success, July 15, 1949;

—The Agreement on the Importation of Educational, Scientific and Cultural Materials, with Protocol, (Florence Agreement), done at Lake Success, November 22, 1950;

—The Universal Copyright Convention and Protocols 1, 2, and 3 Annexed thereto, done at Geneva, September 6, 1952;

—The Convention Concerning the Exchange of Official Publications and Government Documents between States, Adopted at Paris, December 3, 1958;

—The Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export, and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property, adopted by the General Conference at its Sixteenth Session on November 14, 1970;

—The Universal Copyright Convention as revised at Paris on July 24, 1971, and Protocols 1 and 2 Annexed thereto, adopted on July 14, 1971, by an International Conference of States Convened by UNESCO;

—The Convention for the Protection of Producers of Phonograms Against Unauthorized Duplication of their Phonograms done at Geneva, October 29, 1971; and

—The Convention for the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage done at Paris, November 16, 1972.

The United States will also continue to participate in the following intergovernmental bodies:

- The Intergovernmental Oceanographic Commission (IOC),
 - The International Geological Correlation Program (IGCP),
- and
- The International Center for the Study of Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM).

The regulations governing these UNESCO-related bodies allow participation of non-UNESCO Member States.

A number of activities related to these bodies were undertaken during 1985:

International Oceanographic Commission

The United States participated in a series of intergovernmental science meetings under the auspices of the International Oceanographic Commission. U.S. oceanographic and marine scientists representing several Federal agencies, the National Science Foundation, and private American research institutions attended the First Session of the Intergovernmental Oceanographic Commission (IOC) Guiding Group of Experts on the Program of Ocean Science in Relation to Non-living Resources; the Second Session of the CCCO Indian Ocean Panel; the Fifth Session of the Executive Committee of the Pacific Science Association Inter-Congress; the Seventh Session of the JSC Working Group on Numerical Experimentation; the Sixth Session of the WMO Joint Scientific Committee; the Eighth Session of the Indian Ocean Fishery Commission; the First Session of the IOC Program Group on Ocean Processes and Climate; the Workshop to Prevent Coastal Erosion in Western and Central African Region; the Expert Meeting on Satellite Service Requirements for WMO Programs; the 18th Session of the IOC Executive Council (EC); the 13th Session of the IOC Assembly; the 15th Session of the Joint Group of Experts on the Scientific Aspects of Marine Pollution (GESAMP); the Fourth Session of the World Ocean Circulation Experiment/Scientific Steering Group (WOCE/SSG); TOGA Drifters Planning; Meeting of the Monitoring Committee—Fourth Intergovernmental Meeting on the Action Plan for the Caribbean Environment Program; Joint WMO-IOC Preparatory Meeting for the Establishment of a Drifting Buoy Consortium; SCOR-CCCO/JSC Workshop on Data Assimilation and Inverse Modelling; Meeting of the Monitoring Committee on the Action Plan for the Caribbean Environment Programme; Third Session of the Tropical Ocean and Global Atmosphere/Scientific Steering Group (TOGA/SSG); GEBCO Subcommittee on Geographical Names and Nomenclature of Ocean

Bottom Features; BEGCO Sub-Committee on Digital Bathymetry; 10th Session of the Joint IOC-IHO Guiding Committee for BEBCO; Intergovernmental Meeting on the Action Plan for the Caribbean Environment Program; SCOR-IOC-UNESCO Symposium on Vertical Motion in the Equatorial Upper Ocean and its Effects on Living Resources and the Atmosphere; ARGOS Users Conference; 37th Session of the WMO Executive Council; IOC Scientific Workshop on Regional Cooperation in the Marine Sciences in the Central Indian Ocean and Adjacent Seas and Gulfs; Symposium on Petroleum Pollution of the Caribbean; 10th Session of the International Coordination Group of the Tsunami Warning System in the Pacific (ITSU); IAMAP-IAPSO Special Assembly including Large Scale Circulations of the Oceans and the Atmosphere and their Interactions; IAPSO Symposium on Sea Level; ARGOS Users Conference; Third Session of the JSC/CCO Working Group on Satellite Observing Systems for Climate Research; CCOP/SOPAC Workshop on the Use of Submersibles for Marine Geology Research and Exploration; Fifth Session of the World Ocean Circulation Experiment/Scientific Steering Group (WOCE/SSG); 73d session of the Statutory Meeting of the International Council for the Exploration of the SEA (ICES); Fourth session of the Joint IOC-WMO Working Committee for the Integrated Global Ocean Services System (IGOSS); Seventh session of the Committee on Climatic Changes and the Ocean (CCO); Ninth session of the Regional Association IV (North and Central America); Fourth Session of the IOC Program Group for the Western Pacific (WESTPAC); Fifth Session of the IOC Program Group for the Southern Oceans (SOC); 19th Session of the IOC Executive Council; Second Session of the IOC Sub-Commission for the Caribbean and Adjacent Regions (IOCARIBE); 12th session of the IOC Working Committee on International Oceanographic Data Exchange (IODE); Fifth Session of the Joint IOC-WMO-CPPS Working Group on the Investigations of "El Nino"; First Session of the IOC Consultative Group on Ocean Mapping; Second Session of the IOC Program Group for the Cooperative Investigations of the North and Central Western Indian Ocean (CINCWIO); and the Fifth session of the Working Committee for Training, Education and Mutual Assistance in the Marine Sciences (TEMA).

International Geological Correlation Program

The Carnegie Institution's Geophysical Laboratory participated in a UNESCO-sponsored meeting on Data Systems for igneous petrology; and the University of Georgia has UNESCO support for meetings on Circum-Atlantic terranes. The U.S. Geological Survey

geologists participated in UNESCO-sponsored experts meetings on mineral and energy deposit models, phosphates, remote sensing for geological mapping, transfer of technology in seismic micro-zoning, earthquake hazard programs, reduction of seismic risk, global monitoring of glaciers using satellite technology, volcanic hazards, forecasting eruptions, and emergency volcano warning systems. U.S. Geological Survey hydrologists participated in the UNESCO CORE Editorial Group and the International Hydrological Program's Working Group on "The Effects of Spatial Variability of Hydrogeological Data on Modelling of Groundwater Quantity and Quality."

World Heritage Convention

In 1985, five countries (New Zealand, Sweden, the Dominican Republic, Hungary, and the Philippines) ratified the International Convention for the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, bringing the total of states parties to 88. During the ninth meeting of the World Heritage Committee in Paris in December 1985, 30 new properties were added to the World Heritage List. The U.S. Department of the Interior completed public procedures for the selection and submission of nominations for 1986 of Hawaii Volcanos National Park. In October 1985, Congress approved a voluntary contribution of \$250,000 (FY 1986) to the World Heritage Fund for assistance and preservation of 216 designated World Heritage sites in 55 countries.

Universal Copyright Convention

The International Copyright activities of UNESCO, conducted in association with the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO), addressed a variety of issues of importance to American authors and copyright exporters.

In February 1985, the problems of adjusting copyright laws to the new technology of computer software were taken up at an experts meeting. The meeting heard the views of experts on the problems associated with the protection of computer software. A consensus emerged that computer software is best protected within the framework of copyright legislation.

A March 1985 experts' meeting on copyright problems in the field of direct broadcasting by satellite considered ways of protecting the rights' of holders in circumstances where satellite transmissions can be received in any number of countries.

In April 1985, a joint UNESCO/WIPO Consultative Committee on Access of Developing Countries to Works Protected by

Copyright reviewed training programs aimed at improving the copyright regime of developing countries.

In November 1985, a Committee of Governmental Experts met to consider model provisions for national legislation on publishing contracts. Suggested provisions were studied and the Committee sent its report back to the Governing Bodies for further consideration.

Man and the Biosphere Program (MAB)

U.S. scientists, as individuals, continue to collaborate with the Man and the Biosphere Program (MAB) of the Division of Ecological Sciences of UNESCO. U.S. scientists were recently named by UNESCO to serve on two international panels created to advise the MAB Program; one on upgrading the general scientific quality of the UNESCO MAB Program; and one to advise UNESCO in the implementation of the action plan for the international biosphere reserve network. During the past year the general science advisory panel and the panel on the biosphere reserve action plan met. The U.S. MAB Program underwrote part of the costs of the participation of the U.S. scientists in these meetings.

The U.S. Man and the Biosphere Program also collaborates with UNESCO MAB as well as with the MAB programs of other countries on a direct bilateral basis for regional and specialized scientific interests. For example, the Northern Science Network met under the auspices of the U.S. MAB Directorate on Arctic Ecosystems in Fairbanks, Alaska, and UNESCO provided some travel funds for scientists from other countries to attend. U.S. scientists also attended the UNESCO cosponsored Fourth International Theriological Congress in Canada. A U.S. scientist attended the UNESCO MAB sponsored conference on pollution monitoring at Tashkent, U.S.S.R.

The initiative of the U.S. MAB Directorate on Caribbean Islands to hold a workshop on the environmental research issues facing the development of small islands has been endorsed and subsequently cosponsored by the MAB programs of Canada, France, as well as UNESCO, and by the UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD). U.S. MAB and UNESCO MAB were cosponsors of the Third International Arid Lands Research and Development Conference held in Tucson, Arizona. A similarly cosponsored conference involving U.S. and foreign scientists was held in Miami, Florida, on the management of wetlands ecosystems.

U.S. National Commission for UNESCO

Members of the U.S. National Commission for UNESCO met on December 13. At the end of 1985 the membership of all Commissioners expired; the status of the Commission is under review.

World Intellectual Property Organization

The World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO) was established by a convention signed at Stockholm in 1967 which entered into force on April 26, 1970. The United States is a party to the Convention which has 112 Member States. WIPO is the principal worldwide organization responsible for promoting the protection of intellectual property which comprises two elements: copyrights (mainly literary and artistic works) and industrial property (mainly patents on inventions, trademarks, and industrial designs). WIPO is also responsible for the administration of some 15 intergovernmental "Unions," each founded on a multilateral treaty. The two principal treaties are the 1883 Paris Convention for the Protection of Industrial Property, which has 97 parties, and the 1886 Berne Convention for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works, which has 76 parties. The United States is a party to the former Convention but not the latter.

Membership in WIPO is open to any member state of the Paris or Berne Unions, or of the United Nations or its specialized agencies, or which is invited to become a member by the WIPO General Assembly.

ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION

The Paris and Berne Conventions had provided for an international bureau to serve as Secretariat for each respective Union. These were united in 1893, eventually under the name of the United International Bureaux for the Protection of Intellectual Property (BIRPI). Although BIRPI still has a legal existence for states that are members of one of the Unions but not of WIPO, in practice it has been supplanted by the International Bureau established by the Stockholm Convention to be the Secretariat of WIPO. WIPO became a specialized agency of the United Nations in 1974.

The International Bureau operates under the direction of WIPO member states through a General Assembly and a Conference which meets biennially. The principal administrative organ of the Paris and Berne Unions is the Assembly of each Union, consisting of all the member states. The Paris and Berne Unions

elect Executive Committees from among their member states and joint membership of these two committees constitutes WIPO's Co-ordination Committee which meets annually and is entrusted with the normal tasks of such a governing body, especially the implementation of the biennial program and budget of WIPO. As a member of the Paris Union Executive Committee, the United States continued as a member of the WIPO Co-ordination Committee through 1985. In that year the United States was also a member of the following governing bodies or other organs of WIPO: the General Assembly, the Budget Committee, the Permanent Committee for Development Cooperation Related to Copyrights and Neighboring Rights, the Permanent Committee on Patent Information, and the Permanent Committee for Development Cooperation related to Industrial Property.

The 1986-87 budget of WIPO was adopted by the governing bodies in September. The amount of the gross assessed budget is 47,128,000 Swiss Francs. The United States did not join in the consensus because the budget contained program growth and unacceptable cost increases. The United States is assessed approximately 3.9% of the total assessments.

One of two basic objectives of WIPO is to promote the protection of intellectual property on a worldwide basis. In support of this objective, WIPO encourages the conclusion of new international treaties and the harmonization of national laws; it gives legal-technical assistance to developing countries; it assembles and disseminates information on intellectual property; it maintains international registration services in the fields of trademarks, industrial designs, and appellations of origin; and it performs the administrative tasks for an international patent filing arrangement.

The second basic objective of WIPO is to ensure administrative cooperation among the Unions. Centralizing the administration of the various Unions in the International Bureau helps ensure economy both for the member states and for the private sector concerned with intellectual property.

TECHNICAL ACTIVITIES

The Permanent Committee for Patent Information (PCPI), established in 1977, coordinated all technical activities which previously were being undertaken by separate bodies in regard to the revision of the International Patent Classification under the Strasberg Agreement, the activities of the Paris Union Committee for International Cooperation in Information Retrieval Among Patent Offices (ICIREPAT), certain technical activities under the

Patent Cooperation Treaty, and various other existing or planned technical activities related to patent information.

During 1985 the United States participated in the preparation for the publication of the fifth edition of the International Patent Classification, and in measures adopted to ensure the smooth working of the Patent Cooperation Treaty under its procedures.

ASSISTANCE TO DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Activities of WIPO in the field of development cooperation with respect to developing countries continued in 1985 under the direction of two committees composed of developed and developing countries, the WIPO Permanent Committee for Development Cooperation Related to Industrial Property and the WIPO Permanent Committee for Development Cooperation Related to Copyrights and Neighboring Rights. The United States participated in both of these committees and supported most of the activities which were numerous and varied.

During 1985 WIPO continued to provide traineeships to officials from developing countries in the fields of industrial property and copyright. The U.S. Patent and Trademark Office participated by providing training to a number of developing country nationals in the industrial property field.

REVISION OF THE PARIS CONVENTION

The United States continued its active participation in the revision of the Paris Convention for the Protection of Industrial Property, the most important multilateral treaty in this field. The first session of the Diplomatic Conference was held February-March 1980 in Geneva. The Conference became bogged down in attempting to resolve the question of the voting majority for adoption of a revised text of the Paris Convention. Following an almost month-long discussion, voting rules were adopted over the objection of the United States in the concluding days of the Conference.

The developing countries, supported by the Socialist countries, had announced they wanted a two-thirds majority for adoption of the revised text of the Paris Convention. The compromise finally adopted, with the United States the only dissenter, called for the final text to be adopted by consensus, that is, without objection; but, if no consensus were reached, a two-thirds majority would be sufficient, provided no more than 12 members voted against. The United States protested the adoption of this rule by less than a unanimous vote and formally reserved its legal right

to challenge the validity of any substantive action under the Rules of Procedure, particularly the adoption of a revised text, by less than a consensus.

In the opening of the second session of the Diplomatic Conference, held in Nairobi September–October 1981, the United States again noted its opposition to the adoption by less than a unanimous vote, of a voting rule providing for less than a unanimous vote to adopt a revised text which evolved.

Almost all of the second session was spent attempting to resolve the issues regarding sanctions for not working a patented invention in a given country. The Group of 77 wanted to have greater discretion in the nature of the sanctions developing countries could apply and they wanted developing countries to be able to apply the sanctions sooner. The industrialized countries preferred limiting the sanctions which were available and giving inventors more time to work their inventions before sanctions could be applied. In addition, some of these industrialized countries felt that any relaxation in the nature of sanctions or in time limits should be available to any country and not only developing countries. However, the majority felt that any relaxation in existing requirements should be available only to developing countries. At the conclusion of the 4-week session a revised text on the sanction matter alone was informally agreed to with only the United States objecting. The U.S. objection was directed primarily against the confiscatory nature of two sanctions which a developing country could apply for situations involving the nonworking of a patented invention. Further discussion on this matter, as well as on other matters which were only summarily discussed in the second session, was deferred to the third session, which was held in fall 1982.

The third session was held for 4 weeks in October and 1 week in November 1982. By general agreement the contentious issue of sanctions for failure to work a patent was not on the agenda. The third session concentrated in its first 4 weeks on trademark issues having to do with the use of geographical names to identify products. In view of strong European positions on these issues, it was not possible to reach final agreements on them. During the last week of the third session, continued discussions on ways of resolving the problem of sanctions for nonworking of patents were held with the expectation that they would be continued in a fourth session of the Conference.

The fourth session of the Conference was held in February and March 1984. Following 4 weeks of discussions the issue of sanctions for failure to work a patent was unresolved. Agreement

was achieved by the industrialized countries on the issue of the use of geographical names to identify products, but this agreement was not accepted by the Conference. In view of the inability to resolve any of the major issues, the Plenary of the Conference adopted a resolution asking the Assembly of the Paris Union to convene a fifth session as soon as it finds prospects for positive results. The Assembly was also asked to set up machinery for consultations designed to prepare for the next session. The Assembly decided that the machinery would consist of consultative meetings among 10 representatives of each of the three groups (Group B, Group of 77, and the socialist states) and China. The first consultative meeting was held in June 1985. Sanctions for not working a patented invention was the only substantive matter discussed. No conclusions were reached. A second consultative meeting would take place once the dates were agreed to by the group spokesmen meeting in the spring of 1986.

PATENT COOPERATION TREATY

A total of 39 countries had ratified or adhered to the Patent Cooperation Treaty (PCT) by the end of 1985.

Under the PCT, U.S. citizens and residents may file an international patent application with the U.S. Patent and Trademark Office in Washington. The effect of the international application is the same as if national applications had been concurrently filed with national Patent Offices (including the European Patent Office) of those countries party to the PCT which the applicant designates. The international application is then subjected to a search of a prior art by the U.S. Patent and Trademark Office, and the applicant then decides, on the basis of the international search report, whether it is worthwhile to pursue applications in the various countries designated. National procedures in such countries are delayed until 20 months after the priority date, unless the applicant asks for an earlier start.

An international application may be a first application or it may be a subsequent application invoking the priority of an application previously filed with the national office of a country party to the Paris Convention or with the European Patent Office. Where protection is sought in any country party to both the PCT and the European Patent Convention, the applicant may generally seek protection under the national law of that country or under the European Patent Convention.

BRUSSELS SATELLITE CONVENTION

On March 7, the United States became a party to the Convention Relating to the Distribution of Programme-Carrying Signals Transmitted by Satellite (Brussels Satellite Convention). This Convention provides for the obligation of each contracting State to take adequate and effective measures to prevent the unauthorized distribution on or from its territory of any program-carrying signal transmitted by a satellite. Although there were only 11 countries party to this Convention in 1985, it is a most important convention with respect to piracy of satellite television signals. The United States is encouraging other countries to join the Brussels Convention.

PROTECTION OF THE OLYMPIC SYMBOL

In a 2-day Diplomatic Conference in September 1981, a Nairobi Treaty on the Protection of the Olympic Symbol was agreed to and signed on behalf of 21 countries. The United States, in the final vote on the instrument, which required a two-thirds vote for approval, voted against adoption primarily because the treaty erodes the ability of the U.S. Olympic Committee to retain licensing revenues for use of the U.S. Olympic teams. This agreement, which had been adhered to by 27 countries by the end of 1985, entered into force on September 25, 1982.

World Health Organization

The World Health Organization (WHO) in 1985 adopted its biennial program budget for 1986-87, seeking to advance progress toward its target of achieving "health for all by the year 2000." The annual World Health Assembly asked Member States to give more attention to acquired immune deficiency syndrome (AIDS), malaria, deafness, teenage pregnancy, and disaster assistance, and called for a greater role for women in health and development. In November 1985, WHO, at the request of the 1984 Assembly, convened an expert meeting in Nairobi, Kenya, to discuss the "rational use of drugs." In December, WHO and UNICEF combined efforts to convene a small expert discussion on infant feeding.

As a result of contentious discussion at the Assembly over several political issues, WHO's Director General, Halfdan Mahler (Denmark), strongly urged the Assembly to set aside political debate that was irrelevant to the work of WHO. The WHO Executive Board in May undertook a long discussion of the subject of

politicization and its impact on the Assembly, and called for a special report on the issue to be prepared by the Director General for the January 1986 meeting of the Board.

In the course of the year, WHO added one new member—Brunei Darussalam—bringing the total WHO membership to 166, plus 1 Associate Member (Namibia).

U.S. LEADERSHIP

The United States continued its role as a leading member of WHO. The U.S. Delegation supported the new 1986-87 program as well as a variety of specific health initiatives. It also called for improved methods of monitoring and evaluating progress toward the "health for all" goal so that all members could be better informed about whether available health resources were being applied to national health problems in a manner consistent with priorities established by the World Health Assembly. On political questions, the U.S. Delegation continued to urge that the Assembly remain focused on WHO's assigned technical area of responsibility and minimize debate over political issues that are outside the framework of WHO's responsibility. On financial issues, the U.S. Delegation strongly urged more cost-efficient operations and explained the need for maintaining a zero-real-growth budget. It was successful at the World Health Assembly in bringing about several modifications in the proposed budget, leading to savings for all contributors to the WHO.

Margaret M. Heckler, Secretary of Health and Human Services, led the U.S. Delegation to the Assembly, held in Geneva, May 6-20. The delegation also included Dr. C. Everett Koop, Surgeon General of the U.S. Public Health Service; Dr. Frank E. Young, Commissioner of Food and Drugs; and Nyle Brady, Senior Assistant Administrator for Science and Technology, U.S. Agency for International Development.

Secretary Heckler told the Assembly of recent progress made in the United States in health status. Infant mortality had declined 46 percent over the past 13 years; life expectancy had kept "inching upwards"; deaths due to heart disease and stroke had continued to decrease; and over a period of 25 years, 34 million Americans had stopped smoking. She told the Assembly she had personally placed AIDS at the top of the U.S. list of public health priorities, and described a new U.S. program of vaccine development aimed at measles, pertussis, and rotavirus diarrhea. She also urged development of a "health early warning system" that could alleviate death and illness when emergency famine or other health crises occurred; she urged WHO to strengthen its approach

to the current crisis in drought- and famine-stricken Africa, and to help affected countries develop long-term plans to deal with potential crises in the future.

The United States was praised in various interventions by other countries at the Assembly for its assistance to health activities. Finland thanked the Centers for Disease Control for help in a polio outbreak. Tanzania thanked AID for support of malaria control activities in Zanzibar. Bangladesh thanked AID for support to the diarrheal disease research center in Dhaka. The Republic of Korea thanked AID for support of the interregional malaria training secretariat in Kuala Lumpur. Nigeria acknowledged AID and World Bank assistance in family planning programs. WHO staff thanked the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health for financial and technical assistance to workers' health programs over the preceding seven years. Interventions by the U.S. Delegation itself cited the role of U.S. agencies in support of WHO programs. Special mention was made of support for the development of a malaria vaccine by AID, CDC, the National Institutes of Health, and the Walter Reed Army Institute for Research.

In January, the United States sent a delegation to the annual 3-week meeting of the WHO Executive Board. Dr. Hoyt D. Gardner, of Louisville, Kentucky, U.S. Alternate Member of the Board, led the U.S. Delegation. The U.S. term of service on the Board ended in May. The United States had been elected to a 3-year term on the Board in 1981 and then reelected in 1984. In accordance with its earlier decision that it would accept the new term for only 1 year in order to adjust its rotational sequence on the Board, the United States resigned effective at the 1985 World Health Assembly. It was expected that the United States would be elected to a new 3-year term in May 1986. The new rotational cycle was arranged to permit a U.S. member to be present at the Board meeting each time the biennial budget is discussed. The United States sent an observer delegation to the brief organizational meeting of the Board in May, as well as to the meeting of the Board's Program Committee in October.

At the Pan American Health Organization (PAHO), which also serves as WHO regional office for the Americas, the United States sent delegations to the September meeting of the 38-member Directing Council, the June meeting of the 9-member Executive Committee, and the March and December meetings of the Committee's Subcommittee on Planning and Programming. The United States also sent a delegation to the September 1985 meeting of the WHO regional committee for the Western Pacific, held

in Manila, the Philippines, and an observer to the September meeting of the WHO regional committee for Europe, held in Amsterdam, the Netherlands. Dr. Jane Henney, Deputy Director of the National Cancer Institute, headed the U.S. Delegation to the annual meeting of the Governing Council of WHO's International Agency for Research on Cancer (IARC), held in Lyon, France.

HEALTH ISSUES

Adoption of the new program for 1986-87 was the main feature of the World Health Assembly. The biennial program is the second installment of the current 6-year WHO plan, the Seventh General Program of Work, which covers 1984-89. The new program is another step toward WHO's goal of making available to everyone in the world accessible health care by the year 2000. The goal focuses on greater attention to primary health care, such as provision of safe water, adequate nutrition, and essential drugs and immunizations, particularly those affecting the six basic childhood diseases.

Director General Mahler urged Member States to reallocate national resources in order to focus on primary health care and to develop the absorptive capacities that could lead major donors to offer the health resources that are essential. In explaining the WHO philosophy, he told the Assembly: "I am *not* claiming that the attainment of health for all through primary health care will solve the world's development problems and that soft social action will succeed where hard economic action has failed. I *am* claiming that it can provide significant starting force and added impetus for development all over the world in a way that those who have little in health and wealth will generate more for themselves, and those who have much will have no less but will have it with better quality."

In addition to endorsing the new biennial program, the Assembly undertook discussions and adopted resolutions on a variety of specific health topics:

—It again expressed concern with the problems caused by the spread of malaria in developing countries, problems which adversely affect health and socioeconomic development. It urged that Member States immediately review and appraise the malaria situation and the effectiveness of malaria control efforts, and requested that WHO emphasize its research efforts toward development of an effective malaria vaccine (an activity heavily supported by U.S. AID).

—It called for new attention to efforts to prevent deafness and to prevent various disabilities, and to the need to increase services for rehabilitation of the disabled.

—It drew attention to the importance of preventing and controlling chronic, noncommunicable diseases, and asked that Member States increase community-level activities to prevent and control cardiovascular diseases, lung cancer, diabetes and chronic respiratory diseases, in particular.

—It called attention to the health effects of teen-age pregnancy, and urged Member States to help promote the delay of child-bearing until both potential parents reach maturity.

—It called for increased attention to the health problems of women and to the provision of greater opportunities for women to participate in health-related activities as providers of primary health care.

The Assembly also discussed maternal and child health, proper nutrition and the effects of malnutrition, health of the elderly, occupational health and safety, the importance of safe water and adequate waste disposal, and a variety of communicable diseases, including AIDS. Several delegations noted that AIDS was one of the most important emerging diseases to confront nations.

In 2 days of "technical discussions," the Assembly discussed the potential contributions of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) to the achievement of the "health for all" goal. More than 500 representatives of governments and NGOs joined in the talks. The Assembly unanimously adopted a resolution which, among other things, called for Member States "to promote, foster and support the partnership approach by involving non-governmental organizations in policy formulation and the planning, implementation, and evaluation of the national health-for-all strategies."

Emergency Relief

In light of the emergency situations arising from drought and famine in Africa, the U.S. Delegation urged WHO to work to ensure that its reaction to health emergencies was appropriate and timely. It noted that WHO had taken steps to buttress its emergency relief office with a standing emergency task force, and to strengthen its regional office for Africa, which deals with emergency health and medical assistance to drought-stricken areas in that continent.

A resolution calling for WHO to pursue its efforts to relieve the health consequences of drought and famine in Africa, and to

cooperate with Member States attempting "to enhance their disaster preparedness, including measures to prevent and manage malnutrition, anemia and outbreak of epidemics," was adopted unanimously by the Assembly.

Infant Feeding

A number of delegations to the Assembly praised WHO efforts to improve nutrition for infants, particularly through the promotion of breastfeeding. Several speakers drew attention to what they called certain ambiguities in the 1981 WHO Code of Marketing of Breastmilk Substitutes, particularly Article 6.6 relating to "infants who have to be fed on breastmilk substitutes." The WHO Secretariat responded that the WHO Director General had already decided, in collaboration with UNICEF, "to convene a meeting to develop guidelines which member states might wish to use in defining for themselves, based on their individual national circumstances," the meaning of this phrase.

Following the Assembly, U.S. officials told both WHO and UNICEF senior officers it believed that any interpretation of the 1981 code, which had been adopted by Member States in the World Health Assembly, was up to individual Member States, and that it was inappropriate for staff members of the two organizations to issue documents attempting to clarify or interpret provisions of the code. The United States further said it was concerned that the issuance of secretariat-drafted "guidelines" could stimulate the Assembly to incorporate those guidelines into the code and thereby inject WHO into another controversy over the regulation of the private sector such as had occurred after adoption of the code itself in 1981. (The United States voted against adoption of the code. See *United States Participation in the UN, 1981*)

WHO and UNICEF argued that they had made a commitment to the Assembly to convene a meeting to address this question and that they did not believe the session would lead to an effort to amend the code. They convened a meeting of about 10 experts in Geneva in December to address the substance of the issue of which children can be breastfed and which ones need breastmilk substitutes. A report on the meeting is to be presented to the Assembly in May 1986.

Pharmaceuticals

Interest in pharmaceuticals throughout the year was focused on an expert meeting convened by WHO in Nairobi, Kenya, in November in order to discuss the "rational use of drugs." Nearly 100 experts, representing governments, the pharmaceutical indus-

try, consumer groups, and the health professions were brought together in a week-long session to discuss a large package of discussion papers on various aspects of the issue. Government experts from the United States invited to the meeting included Dr. Frank Young, Commissioner of Food and Drugs, and Dr. Stuart Nightingale, Associate Commissioner of FDA for International Affairs.

Considerable controversy led up to the convening of the meeting. The U.S. Delegation to the World Health Assembly in 1984 voted against the resolution calling for this session because it was reported that the chief motivation of the sponsors of the resolution was to initiate action toward development of a new WHO code of marketing practices on pharmaceuticals. It was argued that the meeting would call for a code to be developed and that the World Health Assembly in May 1986 would follow through on that recommendation by setting the code-drafting process in motion.

Director General Mahler, however, told U.S. officials that he opposed having WHO involved in another code-drafting exercise such as the one relating to breastmilk substitutes. He agreed with the United States that WHO should not become involved in commercial regulation and warned that unnecessary efforts to regulate the pharmaceutical industry could run counter to WHO's goal of involving the industry in the supply of essential drugs to the world's poorest peoples. As a result of this stance, the Director General imposed strong controls over the procedures to be used at the Nairobi meeting and determined that his own report on the session would be the only official result, that there would otherwise be no official report, resolutions, or recommendations from the meeting.

All reports of the meeting—from consumer, industry, and government perspectives—indicated that the meeting had been constructive and noncontentious. The Director General's oral summary at the end of the session had drawn upon key contributions by many participants, but had not endorsed any of the key commercial regulatory steps about which rumors had circulated prior to the session. In a visit with senior U.S. officials in Washington in December, the Director General spoke afterward of a "spirit of Nairobi," in which new cooperative steps involving WHO, industry, consumer groups, and national governments could lead to progress in the provision of essential drugs to those most in need. The Director General planned a written report to the World Health Assembly in May 1986 so that the outcome might be discussed.

ADMINISTRATIVE AND BUDGETARY ISSUES

In approving the new WHO program for 1986-87, the Assembly adopted an effective working budget of \$543,300 million. After the United Nations itself, this is the second largest agency budget in the UN system. The new budget represented zero real growth, cost increases of 12.04 percent, and savings of 7.58 percent on currency exchange, for net nominal growth of 4.46 percent.

Due to U.S. efforts to achieve more economies, the secretariat had made several reductions from its original budget proposal of \$554 million. A savings of \$7.5 million was achieved through recalculation at more recent exchange rates of the portions of the budget applicable to several regional offices. The U.S. Delegate pointed out that many countries were having difficulties paying their assessments and that the Assembly should do everything within its power to achieve lower costs. Most of the delegations speaking supported the U.S. point of view and, despite some opposition, the committee chairman declared a consensus on the U.S. proposal. Another saving of \$3.2 million was achieved as a result of the postponement by the UN General Assembly in December 1984 of a planned increase in post adjustment levels. The U.S. Delegation publicly praised the WHO Secretariat for volunteering this change, which could have been applicable to most UN agencies.

The U.S. Delegation also attempted to have the budget recalculated at a higher exchange rate in order to achieve more savings. The budget proposal had been calculated at a rate of 2.50 Swiss francs to the dollar. The most recent official UN rate at the time of the Assembly was 2.64. In a lengthy debate with the U.S. Delegate, the WHO Secretariat argued that the exchange rate was unpredictable, with rather wild fluctuations, that the achievement of WHO's health programs depended on certain stability, and the program needed protection against a drop in the exchange rate. Committee opinion was divided. The U.S. proposal that the budget be recalculated at a rate of 2.64 Swiss francs to the dollar was defeated by a vote of 23 in favor, 36 opposed, and 15 abstaining. The budget was then adopted at the 2.50 rate. The Assembly also adopted its customary "casual income facility," which permits the Director General to draw upon casual, or miscellaneous, income up to a level of \$20 million in order to protect the program against exchange rate losses. The Secretariat said this would serve to protect the budget against an average exchange rate as low as 2.06 Swiss francs to the dollar.

The U.S. Delegation was successful in getting the Assembly to increase the amount of casual income used to help finance the

budget and thus to reduce assessments on Member States. The Secretariat originally proposed using \$56.5 million. In response to U.S. urging at the Assembly, WHO volunteered to increase the amount to \$56.7 million. However, the U.S. Delegation believed that at least \$56,790 million should be used, accepting the precedent that WHO would apply to the budget the full amount of casual income available at the end of the year preceding adoption of the budget. With support from several other delegations, the chairman declared there was consensus on this point.

The vote to adopt the revised program budget was 88 (U.S.) in favor, none opposed, and 7 abstaining. In plenary, the vote was 100 (U.S.) in favor, none opposed, and 5 abstaining. The U.S. Delegation praised the secretariat for achieving a zero-real-growth budget overall while shifting internal resources in order to provide a 4 percent increase in program activity at the country level; in this manner both the major donors and the countries benefiting from cooperation with WHO could be pleased. As a result of the use of \$56,790 million in casual income to support the budget, assessments on member states increased only 4.56 percent. The United States Government, which is assessed 25 percent of the gross budget, was assessed \$62,797,675 in each of the 2 years of the biennium after the application of various credits; this represented an increase of 2.7 percent over the assessments for 1984-85.

In the course of the budget debate, the U.S. Delegation expressed concern that 49 Member States had paid no part of their assessments for 1984 by the end of that year, up from 11 non-payers in 1981. Total arrearages amounted to \$22.1 million. This point was used to stress the need for economizing all possible ways in implementation of the WHO budget.

In a discussion of staff recruitment issues, the Assembly took note of a resolution presented by the Executive Board asking that WHO set a target of filling 40 percent of vacant professional posts with citizens of countries that are unrepresented or underrepresented according to the WHO "desirable ranges" recruitment system. Mongolia called for an increase of this percentage to 60. A number of opponents of this proposal stressed that the primary staff need was for individuals of quality and professional capability. While it was desirable that there should be appropriate geographical distribution of posts, this point should not be considered in advance of quality. Eventually the Mongolian amendment was defeated by a vote of 16 in favor, 53 (U.S.) opposed, and 22 abstaining.

The Assembly also approved Executive Board resolutions establishing a new scale of assessments, and addressing administrative concerns relating to the working capital fund, the real estate fund, and salaries for the ungraded positions.

POLITICAL ISSUES

The Assembly featured a number of political debates, as well as a number of interventions and speeches, aimed at advising the Assembly to remain within the technical health mandate of WHO and warning against involvement of the organization in political issues that belong in other, more appropriate bodies of the UN system.

Action Regarding Israel

In the customary agenda item on health conditions in the Occupied Territories, there was no effort to reject the Israeli Delegation's credentials or to deny Israel's voting rights or program services. However, the Assembly adopted its usual long resolution condemning Israeli practices, including those not relating in any way to health, and calling for another study by its Special Committee of Experts and for a report to the 1986 Assembly.

After lengthy and sometimes vitriolic debate, the committee rejected a motion by Tonga for a secret ballot, by a vote of 26 (U.S.) in favor, 61 opposed with 15 abstaining. The resolution was then adopted by roll call vote, 69 in favor, 24 (U.S.) opposed, and 17 abstaining in committee, and 76 in favor, 28 (U.S.) opposed, and 22 abstaining in plenary.

At the same time, Israel achieved its objective of having its regional affiliation transferred from the Eastern Mediterranean region, where it was not permitted full participation, to the European region. The plenary approved the transfer without comment.

African Issues

On assistance to front-line states in Africa, the Assembly adopted a resolution identical to the one it had passed in 1984 and containing language harshly critical of South Africa. The U.S. Delegation praised the new regional director for Africa but expressed disappointment that this highly political resolution had been put forward without any effort to reach a compromise and consensus. The vote in committee was 96 in favor of the text, 1 (U.S.) opposed, and 8 abstaining. In plenary, the vote was 102 in favor, 1 (U.S.) opposed with 10 abstaining.

Nuclear War

Although the Assembly was presented with a document updating the 1983 WHO document on the health implications of nuclear war, the report received little attention. The Soviet Delegate expressed the hope that an update on this issue would be provided every year, but there was no formal resolution or request for further action. During the general debate in the plenary, Eastern European countries made repeated references to disarmament, nuclear war, and the 40th anniversary of the victory over fascism, and a "joint declaration" on the 40th anniversary was distributed by these countries. However, there was no effort to have the Assembly endorse the declaration or to consider any resolution or other action on the subject.

Chemical War

Iran attempted again, as in 1984, to introduce a resolution dealing with chemical war. It was rebuffed again as a result of a procedural maneuver. Jordan raised the question of whether the draft resolution was receivable under the rules of procedure. In a committee vote, 13 delegations said yes, 21 said no, and 54 (U.S.) abstained.

U.S. Embargo on Nicaragua

The Nicaraguan Delegation to the Assembly circulated multiple versions of a draft resolution, some of them specifically condemning the United States for the imposition of a trade embargo, which became effective approximately at the same time as the start of the Assembly in May. Nicaragua contended that the embargo would have deleterious effects on the health of its people by cutting off supplies of medicine and other health-related equipment. Many delegations privately complained about the specific negative language of the resolution, and the text eventually was somewhat sanitized. The United States was not mentioned by name, and the subject was changed to read "Repercussions on Health of Economic and Political Sanctions Between States."

When the text was introduced, the U.S. Delegation said that, despite the revisions, everyone knew that this was a critique of a U.S. Government political decision that was irrelevant to WHO. It said that there were no health implications to the resolution, and pointed out specific provisions of the embargo that permitted exceptions for the shipment of medical supplies from the United States to Nicaragua. The U.S. Delegate then called for a closure of debate, but this was rejected by a vote of 13 (U.S.) in favor, 38

opposed, and 37 abstaining. After considerable debate, the resolution was adopted in committee by a vote of 59 in favor, 2 opposed (U.S., Israel), and 35 abstaining, and in plenary by a vote of 72 in favor, 8 (U.S.) opposed, and 43 abstaining.

Cuban Invitation To Host the Assembly

One political dispute that was avoided during 1985 was the potential controversy surrounding the Cuban invitation to host the World Health Assembly in 1986. Fearing that political argument over acceptance of this invitation would divide the Assembly, Director General Mahler went to Havana to discuss the problem with President Fidel Castro. As a result, Cuba sent its health minister to the January 1985 meeting of the WHO Executive Board to say that, in the best interests of WHO, Cuba had decided to withdraw its invitation. In follow-up to this decision, and to avert future controversy over invitations to host the Assembly outside of Geneva, the Assembly in May adopted a decision in which it "concluded that it was in the interest of all Member States to maintain the practice of holding Health Assemblies at the site of the headquarters of the Organization (Geneva), which it believed to be beneficial in terms of efficiency and effectiveness." The Assembly "requested the Director General to bring those views to the attention of any Member State proposing to invite the Health Assembly to hold a session away from the site of headquarters."

Response to Political Debate

In the course of handling the political issues at the Assembly in May, the President of the World Health Assembly, Dr. Suwardjono Surjaningrat, Health Minister of Indonesia, told the plenary that "because of the unique technical and social mandate of our Organization, we should strive hard to avoid, or at least minimize, spending the precious time of the Assembly on extraneous political issues which perhaps are best discussed elsewhere."

He reiterated this point when the Executive Board convened after the Assembly. At that session, a majority of the Board members complained that interjection of political issues in the Assembly could cause grave damage to the technical work of WHO. Despite the contention of the Cuban member that discussion of political factors in health problems was legitimate for the Assembly, the Board asked Director General Mahler to prepare a discussion paper on the subject for its January 1986 meeting, with the intention that this would result in a warning by the Board to the next

Assembly about the potential damage of considering irrelevant political issues.

PAN AMERICAN HEALTH ORGANIZATION

The 31st meeting of the 38-member Directing Council of PAHO was held in Washington, September 23-28. The chief feature of the meeting was the adoption of the PAHO regular budget for 1986-87. The effective working budget of \$112,484 million represented a reduction of program activity by 0.9 percent over the 1984-85 budget, and cost increases of 9.1 percent, for overall nominal growth of 8.2 percent. The U.S. assessment of 61.29 percent, after adjustment for various credits, was set at \$34,849,762 in each year of the biennium, an increase of 5.3 percent.

The U.S. Delegation was pleased with the negative real growth provisions in the budget and regarded the budget proposal as very conservative, particularly in view of the significant inflation rates in the hemisphere, and spoke in support of the budget. However, the Delegations of Brazil, Argentina, and Venezuela, all with substantial arrearages in the payment of past-year PAHO assessments, argued that they could not accept any increase at all in their assessments. Caribbean countries and others strongly defended the PAHO proposal as reasonable. After lengthy debate, the opposition to the budget disappeared and the appropriation was adopted unanimously with a round of applause.

The Directing Council also decided to end the annual "technical discussions," in which a specific substantive health topic is debated by government and nongovernment experts. The secretariat prepared an objective review of the issue. The United States took the position that substantive topics could be addressed in much more effective ways and that the technical discussions should be abolished. Cuba and Paraguay argued strongly to maintain the arrangement. In the end the Council voted 21 (U.S.) in favor of ending the discussions, to 3 opposed. It was the only issue of the Council session not settled by consensus.

The Directing Council, in the first action of its meeting, engaged in a lengthy outpouring of support for the Mexican people in the wake of the multiple earthquakes they had just suffered. Delegates of 26 countries spoke. Dr. James O. Mason, Acting Assistant Secretary for Health, Department of Health and Human Services, and head of the U.S. Delegation, reiterated the U.S. offer of assistance to Mexico. A resolution was adopted asking international organizations to give special understanding regarding Mexico's economic and financial obligations in the wake of the tragedy.

PAHO continued its effort to raise extrabudgetary resources for the benefit of its Central America health initiative. A special fund-raising effort in Madrid, aided by the Government of Spain, assisted in drawing attention to the PAHO plan. In another major new health initiative, PAHO announced plans in 1985 to undertake a campaign to eradicate indigenous wild polio virus. AID Administrator Peter McPherson addressed the Directing Council to praise PAHO action in this area, and the Council adopted a resolution to endorse the effort.

INTERNATIONAL AGENCY FOR RESEARCH ON CANCER

The annual 2-day meeting of the 12-member IARC Governing Council was held at IARC headquarters in Lyon, France, May 2-3. The chief action was the adoption of the IARC budget for 1986-87. The new budget of \$17,289 million, largely because of gains resulting from the strengthened dollar, represented a reduction of 10.2 percent over the 1984-85 budget. There was a real decrease in the budget proposal of 0.8 percent. The new budget was financed with \$5.5 million in interest earnings and exchange rate savings from the Governing Council Special Fund, and \$11,789 million in assessments on the Member States.

The vote on the budget was 10 countries in favor, none opposed, 1 (U.S.) abstaining, and 1 (Japan) not voting. The U.S. Delegation said it felt that further improvements in the budget had been possible. It believed that more Special Fund monies could have been used to offset assessments, that the 15.3 percent cost increases were not well justified, and that the budget proposal gave more protection against exchange rate losses than was needed. Nevertheless, the U.S. Delegation had abstained because it appreciated the spirit of compromise that had been adopted at the meeting. The new budget was calculated at a rate of 9.50 French francs to the dollar.

The budget adopted was \$8,323 million in 1986 and \$8,966 million in 1987. The U.S. assessment, representing 10.8 percent of the budget, was set at \$630,827 in 1986 and \$646,318 in 1987; this was a decrease of 25.1 percent over the U.S. assessments for 1984-85.

In the course of the Council meeting, a representative of Finland indicated that his country was interested in becoming the 13th member of the Organization.

International Maritime Organization (IMO)

IMO membership consists of 127 full members and 1 associate member. Since its inception in 1958, the IMO has had its headquarters in London. Its main objective is to foster cooperation among governments on technical matters affecting international shipping. Such cooperation is to achieve the highest practicable standard of maritime safety at sea and protect the marine environment through prevention of pollution of the sea caused by ships and other craft. IMO also deals with legal matters concerning international shipping, and with the facilitation of international maritime traffic. IMO provides technical assistance in maritime matters to developing countries and maintains a close relationship with the World Maritime University, located in Malmo, Sweden.

The IMO consists of the following organs: Assembly; Council, with an elected membership of 32; Maritime Safety Committee (MSC); Marine Environment Protection Committee (MEPC); Legal, Facilitation, and Technical Cooperation Committees; and various technical subcommittees of the MSC and MEPC. The Council reviews the work of the committees and refers the work to the Assembly for final approval. Plenipotentiary Conferences elaborate and adopt major conventions.

ASSEMBLY

The Assembly consists of the full membership and meets in regular session every 2 years. The 14th Session was held November 11-22. Ambassador O.S. Carbonar, of Brazil, was elected Assembly President. As a result of the seizure by terrorists of the cruise ship *Achille Lauro* and the murder of an American citizen in October, the major U.S. objective at the Assembly was to establish a mandate for the MSC to develop, on a priority basis, internationally agreed measures for the protection of ships' crews and passengers. The intention was that these measures would be similar to the Standards and Recommended Practices established by the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) for airport and aircraft security. Admiral James S. Gracey, Commandant of the Coast Guard and head of the U.S. Delegation, introduced the initiative to the Assembly on November 12. Thirty-six national delegations and the International Chamber of Shipping took the floor to support the proposal. Four others supported the idea in principle but thought other committees might have to consider the question in addition to the MSC. A resolution cosponsored by Egypt, Finland, the Federal Republic of Germany, Portugal,

Sweden, Turkey, the United States, and Venezuela was sent to the Assembly Technical Committee for detailed consideration. Australia and Norway indicated the next day that they wished to join the list of cosponsors. On November 20, following several days of discussion in the Technical Committee, the Assembly adopted a resolution directing the MSC "in cooperation with other committees, as required," to develop on a priority basis technical measures to ensure the security of passengers and crews on board ships. The resolution also asked the MSC to take note of ICAO's Standards and Recommended Practices for airport and aircraft security. It was adopted by consensus, with only Iran reserving.

Other major items considered at the Assembly were the adoption of the 1986-87 program budget, election of members to Council, and consideration of the reports submitted by the various committees. All were concluded by consensus and in accordance with U.S. positions, except that the United States entered a reservation on a decision to hold \$979,508 in cash surplus as protection against future contingencies. The United States, which has been a member of the Council since the IMO was established, was re-elected for the 1986-87 term.

COUNCIL

The Council is responsible for all the functions of the IMO between Assembly sessions. It reviews the reports of the various committees before sending them to the Assembly and develops a recommended program budget for Assembly approval. In addition, the 54th regular session of Council, which met June 25-28, unanimously reelected the Secretary-General for another 4-year term of office, to expire December 31, 1989. Responding to an initiative by the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, the Council, *inter alia*, urged governments, organizations, and shipowners concerned to intensify their efforts to ensure that necessary assistance is provided to any person in distress at sea. This was in response to continued problems with Vietnamese refugees who because of pirates or shipwreck find themselves abandoned at sea. The Council also considered the application of North Korea for IMO membership, which could be approved only with the support of two-thirds of the full membership, i.e., 85 affirmative votes. The Council decided that the Secretary-General should poll the membership by mail to determine whether the application had the necessary support. Seventy-four countries had indicated their support by the end of 1985.

The 13th Extraordinary Session of Council met November 8, immediately preceding the Assembly, to make final budgetary

recommendations and review committee reports which were not available in June. The 55th regular session immediately followed the Assembly, on November 22. At this session Mr. William O'Neil (Canada) was reelected Chairman for the 1986-87 term; Mr. S. Tighilt (Algeria) was elected vice Chairman for the same period.

MARITIME SAFETY COMMITTEE (MSC)

The MSC is the IMO's senior technical committee. In the past several years the MSC has increasingly exercised control over its 10 technical subcommittees by reviewing new items to determine whether or not they should be added to a subcommittee work program. The MSC met May 20-24 (51st Session), to consider the work of its subcommittees and make recommendations to the Council and Assembly. Its most important actions concerned: development of an improved maritime distress and safety communications system, and future requirements for subdivision and stability of dry cargo ships.

MARINE ENVIRONMENT PROTECTION COMMITTEE (MEPC)

At its 21st and 22d Sessions, held in April and December 1985, the MEPC adopted amendments to Annex II of the International Convention for the Prevention of Pollution from Ships, 1973, as modified by the Protocol of 1978 Relating Thereto (MARPOL 73/78). Annex II regulates pollution from the shipment of noxious liquid substances in bulk. The United States supported these amendments, which will require a phased in fitting of Efficient Stripping Systems in the cargo tanks of Bulk Chemical ships. The result will be delivery of a larger percentage of cargo to the receiver, leaving less residue for discharge into the marine environment. It will also reduce significantly the need for cargo waste reception facilities. Reducing the procedural burden on ships for compliance with the Annex will improve port and flag state enforcement. The amendments will enter into force April 6, 1987. The MEPC decided that future emphasis will be on ratification and entry into force of Annexes III, IV, and V to MARPOL 73/78, which deal with prevention of pollution from ships carrying harmful substances in packaged form, sewage, and garbage.

LEGAL COMMITTEE

The Legal Committee met March 25-29 (54th Session) and October 7-11 (55th Session). The major issue at both meetings was

the question of salvage, in particular the revision of the 1910 Convention on Salvage and Assistance at Sea. The committee focused on a new draft Convention on Salvage. This draft imposes duties upon both salvors and shipowners to protect the environment and creates an exception to the "no-cure, no-pay" doctrine by guaranteeing recovery of salvor's expenses when the salvor provides assistance to a vessel threatening damage to the environment. The committee also considered proposals for (a) mandatory casualty reporting to the nearest coastal state, (b) permitting states to commandeer salvage vessels, (c) imposing upon states an obligation to establish "safe havens" or "ports of refuge" for disabled vessels, and (d) assuring compensation to salvors acting under the orders of an intervening state.

International Civil Aviation Organization

Brunei Darussalam, Comoros, and Solomon Islands became parties to the Convention on International Civil Aviation in 1985, thereby increasing the membership of the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) to 156 states. In March, Yves Lambert of France was reappointed as ICAO Secretary General for a fourth 3-year term. He has served in that capacity since 1976.

ICAO COUNCIL

The most important actions taken by the 33-member Council during the year were its efforts to combat increasing terrorism against international civil aviation. In view of recent hijackings of international civil aviation, the Council on June 14 urged states to "conform promptly and completely" with their responsibilities and obligations under the Tokyo (1963), The Hague (1970), and Montreal (1971) Conventions and the relevant ICAO Assembly and Council resolutions concerning the suppression of unlawful acts against the safety of civil aviation. (The Conventions call on contracting states to restore control of the aircraft to its lawful commander, facilitate continuation of the journey of the passengers and crew, return the aircraft and cargo to the persons lawfully entitled to possession, extradite or prosecute the alleged offenders, and impose severe penalties.) States were also urged to take more effective preventive measures.

Coincidentally, TWA flight 847 out of Athens was hijacked on June 14. Secretary of Transportation Dole and her Canadian and U.K. counterparts addressed the Council on July 9, calling for urgent action to combat terrorism. Secretary Dole specifically

called for a tightening of ICAO's Standards and Recommended Practices (SARPS) on aviation security, contained in Annex 17 of the Chicago Convention on International Civil Aviation. The Council instructed its Committee on Unlawful Interference, chaired by the U.S. Representative to ICAO, Edmund Stohr, to undertake a comprehensive review of the Annex 17 SARPS. Subsequently, the Council also endorsed a plan of action which the Secretary-General proposed to strengthen ICAO's role in aviation security. In September the Council gave preliminary approval to a comprehensive proposal by the Committee on Unlawful Interference to revise extensively the Annex 17 SARPS. Next, the proposed amendment was sent to ICAO Member States for comment. Then, on December 19, the Council unanimously adopted a comprehensive amendment which included 11 new specifications dealing with the security of airports as well as aircraft, and upgraded 19 specifications to the level of binding standards. One important new standard required that states establish measures to ensure that operators do not place or keep on board an aircraft the baggage of passengers who have registered but who have not reported for embarkation, unless the baggage has been subjected to security control procedures. Similar control measures are recommended for packages on consignment and baggage whether accompanied or unaccompanied when they are registered at places other than airport check-in counters.

Other provisions include measures for better security control of transfer of transit passengers and their cabin baggage, as well as measures to deny access to the aircraft by unauthorized personnel and to prevent contact between passengers who have been screened and persons who have not. Another specification requires each state to implement measures to protect cargo, baggage, mail, and operator's supplies at the airport and to establish procedures for inspecting an aircraft likely to be the subject of unlawful interference.

On October 3, Tunisia requested the Council to take up the question of an Israeli air raid on PLO headquarters in Tunis, describing the action as a an act of aggression and a violation of the Chicago Convention on International Civil Aviation. The Council debated the issue on October 16 and 18, and adopted a resolution condemning the violation of Tunisian airspace "which endangered international civil aviation" and urged Israel "to refrain from committing any further action which might endanger the safety of international civil aviation." The U.S. Representative, Edmund Stohr, disassociated himself from consensus adoption of the resolution, stating, *inter alia*, that the air raid on PLO headquarters

had been debated in the UN Security Council and that the resurrection of the issue in ICAO was an abuse of ICAO's jurisdiction.

SECOND MEETING OF THE FUTURE AIR NAVIGATION SYSTEMS (FANS) COMMITTEE

The second meeting of the FANS Committee was held at ICAO headquarters in Montreal, April 10-26. Members from 13 states and 4 international organizations plus observers from 3 States and 5 international organizations attended this meeting. The Committee focused on development of the air navigation infrastructure in the next 25 years. It developed satellite spectrum requirements in the L-band and acknowledged that satellite technology will be essential for the development of communications/navigation/surveillance services in the future.

For the nearer term, the FANS Committee endorsed work on the reduction of vertical separation of aircraft, including consideration of airborne collision avoidance systems to reduce the part of the separation standard imposed to deal with large errors and blunders. Agreement was also reached in the areas of automatic surveillance, exchange of information on improved data processing and display systems to improve non-radar area operations, and communication systems interoperability.

COMMUNICATIONS/OPERATIONS DIVISIONAL MEETING (COM/OPS-85)

COM/OPS-85, held at ICAO headquarters, September 4-27, was attended by 63 contracting states, 1 non-contracting state, and 5 international organizations. The meeting recommended 9 amendments to ICAO Annex 10, Aeronautical Telecommunications, as well as 52 other recommendations. The agreed recommendations would initiate the main installation phase of the new microwave landing system (MLS) by January 1, 1990; establish the protection date for the current instrument landing system (ILS) as of January 1, 1998; and set January 1, 2000, as the date for the withdrawal of ILS as an ICAO requirement and the use of MLS as the new international standard.

COM/OPS-85 considered airborne separation monitoring as an adjunct to an airborne collision avoidance system (CAS) using secondary surveillance under (SSR) Mode S, and provided information on two possible airborne separation monitoring aspects. While recognizing that all possible methods of collision avoidance should be considered, the conference recognized that greater benefit would come in the short term by maintaining concentration on airborne systems. The conference called for continued study of

ground-based collision prevention systems and their possible integration with airborne CAS.

Looking ahead to the International Telecommunication Union's World Administrative Radio Conference on the Mobile Services, scheduled for 1987, COM/OPS-85 recommended that Member States seek a number of amendments to the Radio Regulations, Volumes I and II. Other recommendations dealt with harmful interference from sources outside the frequency bands allocated to the aeronautical safety services.

SEVENTH EUROPEAN REGIONAL AIR NAVIGATION MEETING

The Seventh European Regional Air Navigation Meeting, held at Malaga, Spain, November 12-23, assessed the new air navigation planning methods which ICAO introduced in Europe on a trial basis during the previous 4 years. The meeting recommended that the European Air Navigation Planning Group, formed of representatives of ICAO Member States in the European region, remain responsible for the permanent management of the Regional Plan. This group cooperates closely with all concerned states and users of airspace to ensure that their interests are considered. In addition, the Regional Meeting reviewed and approved revisions of European Regional Plan publications developed during the trial period.

The meeting approved a new statement of the basic operating requirements, planning criteria, and implementation methods. These will determine the air navigation facilities and services which must be specifically included in the European Air Navigation Plan and provided for international civil aviation by States. As an integral part of the new regional planning process, this statement is to be kept up to date through the current formal ICAO amendment procedures, to ensure that the ICAO Plan respond at all times to the requirements of airspace users, developments in technology, and other associated factors.

The meeting also developed plans for improving airspace organization and air traffic in the European Region. The meeting focused on implementation of the Air Traffic Flow Management Services, as well as the establishment and operation of a central data bank of air traffic demand. Guidelines were developed to ensure future orderly activity in air traffic flow in Europe. The meeting emphasized the need for states to develop their air navigation systems to meet the demands of air traffic as economically as possible.

FOURTH MEETING OF THE ROUTE FACILITY COSTS PANEL

The panel met at Montreal, June 25–July 5. It completed revision of the Manual on Route Air Navigation Facility Economics. The panel is not scheduled to meet again, although it could reconvene to address cost recovery of investments such as satellites which provide direct service to users.

U.S. objectives achieved included:

—Full and accurate treatment of cost allocation in a separate section of the manual.

—Agreement that the Council should reverse its recommendation that weight be used as an allocation factor.

—Elimination of references to how other states are charging aviation, thereby eliminating the possibility of certain states claiming that particular charging practices have ICAO's blessing.

—Acceptance of the principle that costs of the World Area Forecast System (WAFS) will be recovered in the same manner as all other weather service costs.

The delegation was not successful in completely retaining the principle that only historical costs should be used for computing depreciation. However, adjustment for inflation was limited to the specific situation when a state could not account for inflation in any other manner.

THIRD AIR TRANSPORT CONFERENCE

Although the United States did not favor this conference, it nevertheless attended along with 92 other contracting states, 1 non-contracting state and 10 international organizations. The conference was held at ICAO headquarters, October 22–November 7.

The main focus of the conference was on unilateral measures which affect international air transport. This item was sufficiently general to allow states to propose action against a wide range of national policies. Seven recommendations were approved under the item:

—A U.K.-initiated recommendation aimed at U.S. deregulation policy and U.S. enforcement of its antitrust legislation;

—A recommendation opening the door for the 1986 ICAO Assembly to establish a schedule for implementation of noise standards;

—A recommendation to states to ensure overflight of their territory on a nondiscriminatory basis consistent with the Convention on International Civil Aviation and the International Air Services Transit Agreement;

—A recommendation calling for removal of impediments to overflights to and from land-locked countries;

—A recommendation supporting the Council's study of drug trafficking and the need to prevent use of aircraft for this purpose;

—A recommendation calling for a study to harmonize the differing requirements of states with respect to their carriage;

—A recommendation intended to avoid preemption of ICAO's role in international transport by other worldwide international bodies interested in trade in services.

Despite U.S. opposition, the conference also approved a number of other recommendations providing for further examination by ICAO of economic issues in international air transport. On commercial rights for scheduled services, the conference recommended that the ICAO Council (a) consider development of guidance material on "Sixth Freedom" and stopover traffic and (b) publish and monitor regional aviation policies.

The United States successfully amended a recommendation calling for updating of the ICAO document, "Policy and Guidance Material on International Air Transport Regulation and Tariffs," so that it will include "Examples of Major Regulatory Alternatives," e.g., the dual disapproval pricing article.

The conference approved a single recommendation on non-scheduled air transport, asking the Council to study (a) shares of charter services between air carriers of predominately traffic-originating states and predominately traffic-receiving states, (b) the feasibility of reducing and simplifying charter rules, and (c) certain means of regulatory control which may inhibit application of "fair and effective opportunity" to provide nonscheduled capacity.

Concerning the role of governments in establishing air carrier tariffs, the conference recommended that the Council (a) periodically review existing ICAO recommendations and resolutions on fares and rates, (b) focus ICAO attendance on all International Air Transport Association (IATA) conferences dealing with tariffs and speed up ICAO reports to states on these conferences as well as inform IATA of tariff positions developed in ICAO bodies, and (c) update ICAO's standard bilateral tariff clause, including the definition of the term "international tariff." The United States successfully split off two recommendations proposed by several European Civil Aviation Conference (ECAC) States, so that the Council is only asked to study the use of domestic tariffs and add-ons (such as the visit USA fares) as a part of international tariffs. On the other hand, the conference recommended that other incentives, such as "frequent flyer" programs, free hotel accommoda-

tions and car rentals, and air fare discounts for purchases of goods and services (e.g., cameras) be filed for approval as part of an international fare.

Five recommendations were approved regarding the rules and conditions associated with international air carrier tariffs and two recommendations were approved on tariff enforcement.

At the end of the meeting, the United States recommended that the Council carefully assess the cost of executing the conference's recommendations so that funds devoted to this work would not interfere with funding of other areas of ICAO's work.

Other ICAO measures to be undertaken as part of a plan of action, proposed by the Secretary-General and later endorsed by the Council, were as follows:

An analysis to be made on how well current security provisions are being implemented by states as well as common difficulties they may face;

A comparative study to be made of existing security clauses in bilateral air transport agreements and a "model clause" on aviation security to be drafted for guidance of states;

The Secretary-General to examine ways in which the present aviation security training being offered in regional training centers can be improved and expanded in both the technical assistance and regular ICAO programs;

An analysis to be made of potential improvements that might be derived from new or emerging technologies or procedures for more effective screening and inspection of passengers, baggage, and cargo along with an indication as to when such equipment and procedures will become available;

The level of resources and staffing concerned with aviation security to be expanded within the ICAO Secretariat;

An analysis to be conducted of trends in unlawful interference with international civil aviation including a review of all available data concerning recent acts;

The Secretary-General to continue monitoring the implementation of aviation security conventions under resolutions of the Assembly and reporting on the actions taken by states under Article 11 of the Hague Convention and Article 13 of the Montreal Convention;

A new reporting format to be developed indicating all cases of failure to comply with reporting duties and with the obligation to restore control of the aircraft to its lawful commander, to facilitate the continuation of the journey, to return without delay the aircraft and its cargo, and to either extradite the alleged offender or submit the case to its own authorities for prosecution;

A meeting of the Secretariat's Aviation Security (AVSEC) Study Group to be convened as soon as possible to assist the Secretariat and to gain a more thorough and up-to-date understanding of the nature, scope, and character of today's aviation security problems;

Through technical assistance projects, ICAO to provide advice and/or consultative assistance to states in setting up or improving security programs including a listing of suppliers and consulting firms providing equipment and services in aviation security;

More ICAO security seminars to be planned; ICAO regional officers to give particular attention to aviation security matters.

International Telecommunication Union

ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL 40TH SESSION

The International Telecommunication Union (ITU) Administrative Council's 40th Session was held in Geneva July 1-17. Considerable controversy marked maneuvering and debate over a Soviet draft resolution on non-peaceful uses of outer space. After expending much Council time on the issue, however, the Soviet resolution was resoundingly defeated. The Administrative Council's 39th Session in 1984 had deferred action on a Soviet resolution on non-peaceful uses of outer space. At the initial meeting of the 40th Session, the Soviet Representative argued that the Soviet draft resolution had carried forward from the 39th Session and should be automatically included on the agenda. An acrimonious debate followed. Not all Western countries opposed inclusion of the Soviet resolution on the agenda, and, therefore, the Western group agreed not to fight any longer against introduction of the carry-over resolution but to lobby and vote against it. The Soviets, having won their point at the cost of annoying several delegations, then withdrew the 1984 resolution and substituted in its place a similar resolution covering essentially the same ground. When a secret ballot was held, the Council rejected the Soviet resolution 9 to 24 (U.S.) with 7 abstentions and 1 member ineligible to vote.

The Administrative Council adopted a 1986 budget of 101,429 million Swiss Francs (SFRs), an increase of about 5.3 percent over the 1985 budget of 96,293 million SFRs. The ITU had proposed a budget for 1986 of 103,322 million SFRs. In an unusual initiative, the U.S. Representative obtained the cosponsorship of the U.S.S.R., U.K., Japanese, Indian, Indonesian, Australian, and Chinese Delegations in a letter to the Secretary-General proposing

that he present a 1986 budget not greater than 101 million SFRs. The support which the U.S. Delegation obtained had an effect and was instrumental in reducing the final 1986 ITU regular budget by about 1.8 million SFRs. However, the 1986 ITU budget as proposed for Administrative Council adoption still exceeded U.S. guidelines for growth in international organization budgets. As a result, the United States disassociated itself from the consensus resolution to adopt the budget. The United Kingdom, Soviet Union, and Romania likewise disassociated themselves from adoption of the budget resolution.

Other significant activities at the 40th Administrative Council included a 1-day policy discussion on the report of the Independent Commission for World Wide Telecommunications Development (the Maitland Commission). The Administrative Council endorsed the Commission's recommendation to establish a Center for Telecommunications Development and appointed a 21-member Advisory Board, including a representative from the United States, to oversee the new Center's program activities and to set its organization and budget. This unique experiment in international cooperation is designed to stimulate development of telecommunications networks in the less developed countries through the joint efforts of government, private industry, and operating entities.

The United States introduced two significant resolutions that the Council adopted. The first called for Council action to implement Nairobi Plenipotentiary Resolution 62 to prepare a new Basic Instrument for the Union. In the past, each Plenipotentiary Conference had debated and adopted a new convention until, at Nairobi, Member States determined that practice wasted time and resources. The Council invited Member States to designate experts who would meet to divide the Nairobi document into a constitution containing basic principles of the ITU and a convention containing procedural rules and practices. The Group of Experts first met early in 1986 and will continue work on a proposed constitution and convention which the 1989 Plenipotentiary Conference will consider. The second resolution called for the UN's Joint Inspection Unit (JIU) to review of the Technical Cooperation Department of the ITU. The JIU will examine the budget deficit in technical cooperation operations and propose remedies to control expenditures for this extra-budgetary activity.

CENTER FOR TELECOMMUNICATION DEVELOPMENT

The Center for Telecommunication Development's Advisory Board held its first organizational meeting in Geneva, November

20-22. Claude DeLorme of Canada was elected Chairman. The Advisory Board considered proposals for the Center's mandate. Voluntary pledges from several national administrations and private firms totaling almost \$350,000 were announced during this meeting.

WORLD ADMINISTRATIVE RADIO CONFERENCE

The World Administrative Radio Conference on the Planning of the Geostationary Satellite Orbit and the Space Services Utilizing It (Space WARC Orbit-85) was held in Geneva, August 8-September 16. The Conference reached a reasonably balanced outcome from the U.S. perspective. International regulation of satellite communications is to have two key elements: a limited amount of planning to provide guarantees of access which developing countries sought, and flexible regulatory procedures for the portions of the radio spectrum where most communication satellites currently operate. Thus, developing countries achieved their goal of ensuring access to frequency bands and the developed countries successfully maintained the flexibility of regulation necessary to protect national security interests and expand commercial possibilities for communication satellite application.

Also of concern to the United States was incorporation of the ITU Region Two (Western Hemisphere) 1983 Broadcast Satellite Plan into the ITU Radio Regulations. Without this plan the western hemisphere would be at a disadvantage compared to other regions. The United States expected opposition to incorporation of the Region Two Plan from some Western European countries. However, each objection was given exhaustive technical analysis and, in every case, the conference found mutually acceptable solutions.

The Soviet Delegation at the 40th Administrative Council, after failure to gain adoption of its resolution on non-peaceful uses of outer space, threatened to re-introduce the resolution at Space WARC Orbit-85 but made no effort to do so. The only purely political issue raised at the Conference was the claim of certain equatorial states to sovereignty over portions of the geostationary satellite orbit super-adjacent to their national territory. The Conference decided that it was not competent to decide the issue of sovereignty and directed that the Secretary-General of the UN be advised of this decision.

The concluding session of the Space WARC Orbit Conference will be held in 1988 and will institute decisions in the form of regulations and detailed plans within the broad framework that Orbit-85 established. The principal U.S. concern is to maintain

the balance between future access for LDCs and the need for regulatory flexibility.

WORLD PLAN COMMITTEE

The World Plan Committee meeting was held in Washington in April. It was immediately followed by the Washington Round of the World Telecommunication Forum, organized in cooperation with the American Bar Association. The Washington Round helped identify a wide range of legal and policy issues which are emerging from the convergence of communications and computer technologies.

TECHNICAL BODIES

International Telegraph and Telephone Consultative Committee (CCITT)

U.S. objectives in the CCITT during 1985 were to develop international telecommunications standards which encourage and promote the interests of U.S. international telecommunications service providers, manufacturers, and users. The United States supported international telecommunications services and tariff principles permitting free competition in the world market and enhancing development of new technologies allowing international telecommunications networks to operate efficiently and at low cost. The United States worked to achieve definitions of international telecommunications consistent with U.S. policy and which promoted U.S. industries' international operations. Study groups and CCITT staff began activities for the new cycle that will lead up to the next CCITT Plenary Meeting in 1988.

During 1985 the U.S. CCITT Federal Advisory Committee developed U.S. positions for the Preparatory Committee for the World Administrative Telegraph and Telephone Conference (PCWATTC) and participated in the 15 active CCITT study groups. The Advisory Committee held over 30 meetings with U.S. participants and foreign representatives from over 100 companies and entities to target items of importance to U.S. interests. Through the U.S. CCITT Federal Advisory process, numerous contributions were submitted for international consideration by the CCITT study groups on tariff principles, data transmission issues, international telecommunications service definitions, and such new technologies as the Integrated Services Digital Network.

International Radio Consultative Committee (CCIR)

The CCIR, as the CCITT, develops international standards and specifications for telecommunications. Though nonbinding,

the telecommunications industry worldwide generally observes these standards and specifications. Recognized Private Operating Agencies, i.e., private sector entities, participate directly and contribute to the cost of meetings. An American citizen, Richard S. Kirby, is the elected CCIR Director.

CCIR held final meetings of its 13 study groups in Geneva, September 16–November 20, to complete reports and recommendations in the current 4-year study cycle. The CCIR Plenary Assembly to be held in Dubrovnik, Yugoslavia, in May 1986, will approve the output of the Final Meetings. Then a new study period will commence. U.S. preparations were primarily undertaken in the U.S. Organization for the CCIR, a long-standing Federal advisory committee to the Department of State having more than 350 members drawn from the private sector and government. Major accomplishments included the adoption of a proposed recommendation for high definition television standards for use in studio and international program exchange.

International Frequency Registration Board (IFRB)

The IFRB ensures the orderly recording of radio frequencies and geostationary orbital positions which national administrations assign to their radio stations, including their satellite systems.

The IFRB was very active in 1985 both in its routine work program dealing with coordination and registration of frequency assignments (including geostationary orbit positions) and activities relating to radio conferences. Steady progress was made in the extended use of the ITU computer and implementation of the IFRB Interim System, intended to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of performing the Board's day-to-day workload. The IFRB also carried out directed studies of a computer-based planning method for the 1987 second session of the High Frequency Broadcasting World Administrative Radio Conference.

Universal Postal Union

Brunei Darussalem joined the Universal Postal Union (UPU) during 1985 raising the membership to 168.

The 40-member Executive Council is the Union's administrative body and the 35-member Consultative Council for Postal Studies is its technical body. Both Councils meet annually at the UPU headquarters in Bern, Switzerland. The 1984 Hamburg Congress elected the United States to both bodies for the 5-year

period 1985-89. The United States is chairman of the Letter Post Committee—Regulatory Aspects.

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

The Executive Council met April 22-May 3 and adopted a gross 1986 expenditure budget of 24,743 million Swiss Francs. After consideration of anticipated receipts, the 1986 net budget assessment against Member States was set at 21,382,485 Swiss Francs. The U.S. assessment for 1986 is 1,092 million Swiss Francs or about 5 percent of the total UPU 1986 assessment. Compared to the U.S. 1985 assessment of 940,000 Swiss Francs, the 1986 assessment increased 152,000 Swiss Francs or over 16 percent. This substantial increase is a result of the 1984 Hamburg Congress decision to permit those Member States that the United Nations has designated as the least developed to pay at a rate of one-half of one contribution unit. Introduction of the new, lower unit in 1985 reduced the total number of contribution units thus increasing the unit cost on a one-time basis.

CONSULTATIVE COUNCIL FOR POSTAL STUDIES

The Consultative Council for Postal Studies (CCPS) met October 7-22. The United States continues to fully participate in the technical studies which the CCPS committees have undertaken.

International Labor Organization

SUMMARY

In 1985 the United States Government supported the ILO budget for the first time since 1969. The Governing Body in February-March approved the 1986-87 biennial budget and the June Conference subsequently adopted it. A blatant Nicaraguan attack on the U.S. trade embargo during the June Conference was contained by the determined effort of the U.S. Delegation to convince the Director General and the Conference President that the issue was irrelevant to the business of the Conference and should be banned. For the second straight year no anti-Israeli resolution was introduced into the Conference. A Soviet-sponsored resolution attacking the supervisory machinery of the ILO failed to get a hearing before the Resolutions Committee. Efforts to move Conventions 144 (Tripartism) and 147 (Maritime) towards ratification culminated in a hearing before the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee, a meeting of the President's Committee on

the ILO under the chairmanship of Secretary Brock, and finally, examination by the Tripartite Advisory Panel on International Labor Standards (TAPILS) of the legal implications of ratification of these two conventions.

INTERNATIONAL LABOR CONFERENCE

The 71st International Labor Conference, meeting in Geneva, Switzerland, June 7-27, largely kept disruptive political issues below the surface, and adopted new international labor standards on occupational health services and labor statistics. About 2,000 government, worker, and employer delegates, in keeping with ILO's unique tripartite structure, attended the Conference.

The Conference also gave preliminary consideration to standards concerning asbestos and adopted a resolution and conclusions on equal opportunities and equal treatment for men and women in employment, and two technical resolutions concerning steps to alleviate Africa's food problems and to curtail the use of dangerous substances and processes in industry.

U.S. Secretary of Labor William E. Brock, in his first appearance before the ILO's annual meeting, stressed the importance of ILO programs aimed at promoting labor-management cooperation, explaining to the Conference that "new technologies often demand a more flexible approach to the organization of work, one guided by greater interaction, understanding and cooperation between labor and management." To reinforce his message, Secretary Brock offered the ILO a grant of \$100,000 from the Department of Labor to undertake a study and conduct a symposium centering on examples of labor management cooperation which successfully overcame the problems of worker dislocation associated with the introduction of new technology. The U.S. Delegation included Mr. Robert W. Searby, Representative to the ILO Governing Body, U.S. Department of Labor. Anthony G. Freeman, Special Assistant to the Secretary of State for International Labor Affairs, served as government delegate and chief political adviser. The U.S. employer delegation was led by Charles H. Smith, Jr., of Ohio, Chairman of the Board, SIFCO Industries. Irving Brown, the AFL-CIO's Director of International Affairs, headed the U.S. worker delegation. Mohamed Ennaceor, Tunisian Minister of Social Affairs, was unanimously elected president of the Conference.

Technical Agenda Items

Occupational Health Services. Of the Conference's four technical agenda items, two—occupational health services and labor statistics—had been carried over from the 1984 Conference.

The Conference adopted both a convention (binding upon those governments that became party to it) and a non-binding recommendation concerning occupational health services. The convention sets out a general framework for national occupational health services. It emphasizes the preventive nature of such services and defines the functions of health services to include identification of workplace health risks, surveillance of the working environment, and workers' health, training, and participation in workplace design and choice of equipment and substances used in work. The recommendation deals more specifically with the organization and functions of occupational health services.

Two controversial issues arose during consideration of these standards. The first involved language requiring that workers and their representatives "cooperate and participate" in implementing occupational health services. American and other employers argued that this inappropriately introduced labor relations issues into the standards.

The majority of delegates, including U.S. Government and worker delegates, believed there was sufficient flexibility in the standards to allow implementation consistent with varying national laws and practices.

Labor Statistics. The Conference also adopted a new convention and recommendation concerning labor statistics, which revised a set of standards which the ILO had originally adopted in 1938. The new standards identify nine areas of coverage in national labor statistics programs, including employment and unemployment, labor force, earnings and hours of work, labor costs, occupational injuries and illnesses, and industrial disputes.

U.S. Government efforts to include productivity among statistical programs required under the convention were unsuccessful. However, productivity was included in the recommendation and in a special resolution asking the ILO to give high priority to problems of productivity measurement.

Asbestos. The first discussion of safety in the use of asbestos (this issue will also be on the agenda of the 1986 Conference) proved every bit as controversial as expected. A number of delegates proposed an international ban on asbestos and its replacement with appropriate substitutes. This effort was defeated, and the decision to ban or restrict the use of asbestos was left to national authorities.

The Conference's preliminary conclusions concerning asbestos call for national laws and regulations to control exposure to asbestos by, among other means, encouraging alternative materials and technology, establishing and enforcing exposure limits, ensuring proper cleaning and containment of workers' clothing to prevent carrying asbestos fibers outside the workplace, and through effective training and surveillance programs.

Equal Opportunities and Equal Treatment for Men and Women in Employment. Unlike the other technical agenda items, equal opportunities and equal treatment for men and women in employment was not designed to lead to the adoption of standards. Rather, the Conference adopted a resolution and conclusions establishing certain fundamental principles.

In its final conclusions, the Conference noted the "uneven" pace of progress in promoting equality and, in some cases, even a deterioration in the situation of women. The conclusions call for, among other things, new measures to promote the employment of women and provide equal employment opportunities, further development and training programs, intensified efforts to eliminate occupational segregation in labor markets, and promotion of the principle of "equal remuneration for work of equal value," that is, comparable worth.

Efforts by some Eastern European countries to introduce extraneous political issues complicated the work of the Conference committee considering the equal opportunity agenda item. G.D.R. and Czechoslovakia introduced a separate draft resolution which, while ostensibly about equality for men and women, in reality attempted to introduce such issues as disarmament, apartheid, colonialism, neocolonialism, and creation of a new international economic order.

While this resolution was never substantively considered, a related proposal to amend the committee's conclusions to include a reference to disarmament provoked prolonged debate. In the end, the Conference committee rejected the reference as inappropriate to the subject of equality of opportunity and treatment.

Additional Resolutions

The Conference also adopted a resolution concerning action to assist African countries in achieving, in particular, food security. The resolution calls for increased international assistance and ILO technical programs aimed at rural public works, skills training, and development of cooperatives.

A second resolution concerning dangerous substances and processes in industry came, in part, as a result of the fatal gas

explosion in Mexico and the methyl isocyanate leak in Bhopal, India. As finally adopted by the Conference, after extensive debate in committee and consideration of many amendments, the resolution calls on national authorities to "ensure that the introduction of new hazardous substances and processes are effectively monitored and covered by adequate health and safety measures," urges employers to provide the safest possible operating and control systems, and asks the ILO to place more emphasis on controlling hazardous substances in its technical programs.

Other Political Issues

Although political controversy was largely kept below the surface and did not dominate this year's Conference as it has in some other years, politics were not absent. Nicaragua attempted to introduce, in the name of the Non-Aligned Movement, a strong condemnation of U.S. policies in Central America. The United States and other ILO members insisted that such a political issue was not relevant to the ILO. In the end, a much watered-down letter was sent to the President of the Conference which was neither officially distributed nor granted the status of a Conference document.

Of more concern to the U.S. Delegation was the "suspension" of discussion of Soviet violations of the ILO's freedom of association standards.

More recently, and particularly since the United States rejoined the ILO in 1980, the organization has been far more vocal in its criticism of Soviet bloc violations, in particular, Poland's efforts to crush the Solidarity trade union. This has prompted a strong Soviet attack on the ILO's human rights machinery—including increased political and financial pressure to secure a "selective immunity" from ILO monitoring. The Conference committee dealing with the implementation of standards by ILO members continued carefully and objectively to examine violations of the crucial freedom of association standards by many developing and Western countries. The workers' vice chairman in the committee—to the surprise of many—successfully instigated the suspension of substantive consideration of long-standing Soviet violations. Although the Conference committee did examine Czechoslovak violations of freedom of association and discrimination in employment standards, it was unable to review Polish and Romanian violations because those governments refused to participate in the committee.

This move prompted the U.S. Government representative to express "concern" about the possible "return to the moratorium"

on discussion of Soviet violations which prevailed throughout the 1960's and into the 1970's.

The Conference continued its practice of reviewing the policy of apartheid in South Africa, urging intensified efforts by governments, employers, and workers to pressure the South African Government into eliminating it.

The Conference also adopted a \$253 million budget to cover ILO activities for the 1986-87 period. The United States supported the budget for the first time since 1969. It reflected the U.S. position on the appropriate exchange rate for the Swiss franc and included a significant reduction in the rate of real growth. U.S. support also signaled appreciation for ILO's work on human rights and labor freedom.

RATIFICATION OF ILO CONVENTIONS

The Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee held hearings September 11 on the U.S. record on ratification of ILO conventions. Secretary of State Shultz and Labor Secretary Brock addressed the Committee. They advocated that TAPILS (Technical Advisory Panel on International Labor Standards)—a group formed from government, labor, and employer groups—review ILO conventions to examine which of these might be submitted at a future date to the Senate for advice and consent to ratification. The group began its work late in 1985.

World Meteorological Organization

The First International Meteorological Congress established the International Meteorological Organization (IMO) as a nongovernmental organization in 1873 in Vienna. In 1951, the IMO transferred its functions and responsibilities to the World Meteorological Organization (WMO). The WMO is an intergovernmental organization and a specialized agency of the United Nations. There are presently 160 members of the WMO including 154 states and 6 territories. All states and territories with meteorological services are eligible for membership in the WMO.

Participation in the WMO enables member nations to freely receive meteorological and hydrological data from other member nations. WMO members are thus more aware of storms and climate changes which may affect personal safety or crop yield, and governments can take safety measures when possible and make more accurate agricultural plans. The United States in particular, because of its size and international interests, greatly benefits

from WMO information. This information permits the United States to make longer-range and more accurate coastal forecasts, particularly for dangerous storms, and supports research to improve long-range weather forecasts throughout the world.

The supreme body of the WMO is the Congress, which consists of all members. It meets every 4 years to establish general policies and budgetary requirements for the coming 4-year period. The Congress last met in 1983 and will meet again in 1987. The Executive Council (EC) is a subsidiary body of the Congress and meets at least once a year to supervise the implementation of the programs that the WMO Congress approves. The ECI is composed of 36 directors of national meteorological or hydrometeorological services who serve in their individual capacity.

The 37th session of the EC held in Geneva in June established 1986 program decisions for the organization. The EC conducted in-depth reviews of three major technical areas: agriculture, aviation, and research. It also reaffirmed the importance of the World Climate Program (WCP), particularly for developing countries where drought has caused suffering and major disruption in their economies. The EC selected three new members to fill vacancies in the Council, and agreed on a budget of \$18,028 million for CY-1986.

The EC continued its work on development of a long-term plan for the WMO as requested by the 9th Congress (1983). Long-term plans cover a 10-year period, but the Congress will reevaluate and replace them every 4 years. The plans consist of two parts: (1) overall policy guidance and strategy, including the scientific and technical objectives of the WMO and (2) more detailed plans for the individual scientific and technical programs of the WMO.

Other significant activities included the meeting of Regional Association IV for North and Central America and the Caribbean, and meetings for the commissions on Climatology, Basic Systems, and Instruments and Methods of Observation.

WORLD WEATHER WATCH

The EC reaffirmed the World Weather Watch (WWW) as the basic program of the WMO, and its activities as essential for the implementation of the other programs such as agricultural, aeronautical, and marine meteorology as well as those undertaken jointly with other international bodies. The Council agreed that WMO should improve the global and regional systems for gathering and transmitting information. The EC also agreed to use new observation systems, including those onboard ships and aircraft,

and systems placed on drifting buoys in the oceans. The Council also discussed the free exchange of weather information between members.

WORLD CLIMATE PROGRAM

The WMO established the World Climate Program (WCP) in 1979 in response to widespread concern about possible changes in the global climate and consequent economic, social, and environmental effects. In 1985, the EC discussed the various aspects of the WCP, and members acknowledged the value of its four components: data, applications, impact studies, and research.

For overall coordination of the WCP, the WMO relies on the Advisory Committee for the World Climate Application and Data Programs, the WMO International Council of Scientific Unions (ICSU), Joint Scientific Committee for the World Climate Research Program (WCRP), UN Environment Program (UNEP), and the Scientific Advisory Committee for the World Climate Impact Program (WCIP), as well as the executive heads of other international organizations invited to participate in the WCP.

The timely availability and accessibility of climate data remains important in studies on climate applications, impact, and research. The program also gives attention to other important subject areas such as urban meteorology, biometeorology, drought, and the UN Action Plan to combat desertification. The WCRP seeks to develop techniques for predicting climate and climate change and the extent of man's influence on climate. The WCRP circulated an implementation plan for this program in the fall of 1985, and the EC will discuss it at its meeting in 1986.

HYDROLOGY AND WATER RESOURCES PROGRAM

The critical situation facing drought-stricken regions emphasized the need for efficient management of water resources and maintenance of acceptable water quality. Responding to this need, the WMO emphasizes its activities in the Operational Hydrology Program (OHP), including the Hydrological Operational Multipurpose Subprogram (HOMS). As in the past, activities are oriented toward the economic and social goals which the UN Water Conference (1977) established. Seventy-one members have now established HOMS National Reference Centers (HNRC). This program has been very successful and has become an integral and important part of WMO's activities. The WMO continues to cooperate with UNESCO and other organizations of the United Nations

system in joint projects of water-related activities. UNEP and UNDP support has broadened the scope of the efforts of the WMO.

RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT

The Commission for Atmospheric Sciences (CAS) has the lead role within WMO in promoting and coordinating members' research activities. Activities in 1985 emphasized atmospheric chemistry and air pollution. Environmental pollution activities include research on acid rain, and the monitoring and exchange of pollutants between the atmosphere and the oceans. WMO continued to support tropical meteorology and forecasting of tropical storms with the expansion of regional groups dealing with this subject in the Southwest Pacific area and a major conference held in Bangkok in December.

TECHNICAL COOPERATION

The Council noted that donor countries and agencies had provided technical assistance totaling approximately \$22 million to 116 countries. The major source of funds for WMO's technical cooperation activities continues to be the UN Development Program (UNDP) which provides 54 percent of the total contributions.

VOLUNTARY COOPERATION PROGRAM

An additional major source of funds for technical assistance and cooperation is the WMO Voluntary Cooperation Program (VCP). The WMO established the VCP in 1967 at U.S. initiative. The VCP provides equipment and training to developing countries to permit them to participate in the WMO World Weather Watch and other programs. This global participation enables WMO to provide members the information they need about the world's climate. Global participation is also necessary for U.S. interests to support civil aviation, ship traffic, and the military.

In 1985, the WMO VCP supported projects not covered by UNDP. While members' support of the VCP increased slightly in 1985, the Council noted that there was a need to encourage more members to contribute. The Council also adopted revised rules for use of the WWW Implementation Support Fund of the VCP, and continued to emphasize multicountry and regional projects, mainly for improvement of WMO's Global Telecommunication System.

EDUCATION AND TRAINING

The WMO Education and Training Program embraces a wide range of activities of the organization. It is an important mechanism for the effective transfer of knowledge and proven methodology to operational personnel in national meteorological, hydrometeorological, and hydrological services.

National and regional training centers use training publications, including compendia of lecture notes in various fields, and the WMO plans to increase their value by translating them into all the official languages of the WMO. To assist its Regional Meteorological Training Centers, the WMO implemented a training book loan service on a trial basis for the next 3 years. Members agreed that WMO training courses, seminars, workshops, and symposia should be continued, bearing in mind the special need for training instructors and technicians.

BUDGET

The budget for 1986, the third year of the Ninth Financial Period (1984-87) was established at \$18,028 million. The Secretary-General's proposal for 1986 established a balance among the different programs, and between program activity and staffing, while at the same time keeping the budget at zero real growth. Members discussed the "beneficial gains" resulting from favorable exchange rates over the last 2 years. But the United States successfully resisted suggestions to use these funds to finance projects which had been curtailed under the zero-growth budget policy. At the initiative of the United States, the Council agreed to begin negotiating a bilateral tax reimbursement agreement with the U.S. Government. Such an agreement would prevent American citizen employees of the organization from being disadvantaged compared to colleagues from other countries who are not subject to national taxation.

International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA)

Since the beginning of the nuclear era, those involved with nuclear energy have recognized that some of the nuclear materials and technology used in peaceful nuclear development programs could be diverted and adapted for use in the production of nuclear explosives. It was also widely recognized that the further spread of nuclear explosives would pose a serious threat to the peace and security of all states. Consequently, members of the

international community came to realize that if the many peaceful benefits of nuclear energy were to be made widely available, some mechanism was essential to provide credible assurance that nuclear material and technology in peaceful nuclear programs continued to be used exclusively for peaceful purposes.

Prompted by this realization, the United States led the effort to establish the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) in 1957. The Statute of the IAEA clearly reflects the dual role the IAEA must play in the international nuclear community, and specifies that the IAEA should seek to "accelerate and enlarge the contribution of atomic energy to peace, health and prosperity throughout the world . . ." and ensure "so far as it is able, that assistance provided by it or at its request or under its supervision or control is not used in such a way as to further any military purpose."

Thus, the IAEA is called upon to promote peaceful nuclear development and to deter the misuse of nuclear material for non-peaceful purposes. To assist in the development of nuclear energy, the IAEA provides technical cooperation to many of its developing Member States. The IAEA performs its deterrent role through the application of international safeguards.

The Safeguards System is a unique system of international verification and includes both independent measurement of nuclear materials during on-site international inspection at nuclear facilities of sovereign states as well as independent record keeping by the IAEA. The system is not designed to control or regulate national nuclear programs. Rather, its purpose is to deter through threat of timely detection the diversion of significant quantities of nuclear material from peaceful to nonpeaceful purposes.

The day-to-day implementation of IAEA programs is conducted by the IAEA Secretariat, headed by Director General Hans Blix (Sweden), and located in Vienna. Policy review and guidance is provided, *inter alia*, by the 35-member Board of Governors which generally meets in February, June, and September in conjunction with the annual meeting of the IAEA General Conference. The General Conference is open to participation by all of the 112 members of the IAEA, and serves as a forum for discussion of a range of issues among members.

The IAEA has long been regarded as one of the most effective and well-managed international technical organizations. During 1985, the IAEA Secretariat and IAEA members dealt with several difficult issues which underscore both the continued effectiveness of the organization and its central role in preventing the further spread of nuclear weapons.

BOARD OF GOVERNORS

At its February meeting, the Board approved a safeguards agreement negotiated between the IAEA and the Soviet Union. This agreement is essential to implement the voluntary offer made by the Soviet Union in 1982 to place some of its civil nuclear installations under IAEA safeguards. Implementation of the Soviet offer is particularly significant since it is the first time the Soviets will permit international inspectors to conduct on-site inspection on Soviet soil.

In June, the Board agreed by consensus to recommend to the 1985 General Conference that Director General Blix be reappointed to a second 4-year term. The June Board also took up a number of other issues, including future financing for the IAEA's technical cooperation program (funded from voluntary contributions from Member States); possible expansion in the size of the Board; review of the proposed program budget for 1986; and issues involving safeguards, including a formula for assessing safeguards costs among IAEA members. Many of these issues were again addressed at the September Board.

IAEA PROGRAMS

Safeguards

The IAEA Safeguards System serves vital national security and nonproliferation interests for all nations. Consequently, efforts to improve and strengthen the Safeguards System remain a continuing priority. Considerable attention was devoted in 1985 to improving and streamlining existing safeguards techniques and equipment. The United States continued its program of active support for IAEA safeguards and provided more than \$7 million in voluntary contributions toward safeguards development.

A significant development in the safeguards work of the IAEA during 1985 was the entry into force of the Soviet offer to accept voluntary safeguards on certain nuclear facilities in the Soviet Union. Also in 1985, the IAEA continued safeguards discussions with the Government of South Africa to define safeguards arrangements for a semi-commercial enrichment facility being constructed in South Africa. These discussions could result in expansion of the IAEA's safeguards role in South Africa.

While defining improvements in safeguards methodology and expanding safeguards coverage worldwide, efforts also continued in 1985 to reach agreement on a revised long-term safeguards financing formula. Given the central role of IAEA safeguards in reinforcing international peace and stability, to all members of the

international community are beneficiaries of this system. Consequently, the United States and some other IAEA members have long held the view that all IAEA members should contribute to the financing of safeguards. Thus, while the United States and other developed Member States of the IAEA pay the majority of these costs, developing Member States are nevertheless assessed small sums in support of safeguards under a complex formula based on the UN scale of assessments. In recent years, however, some adjustments in assessments have become necessary to ensure that those members best able to provide safeguards funding continue to be assessed their appropriate share. Extensive consultations on proposed revisions continued in 1985, aiming at final agreement on a revised formula in 1986 if possible.

Technical Cooperation

The Agency's Program of Technical Assistance and Cooperation is a significant part of the IAEA's total operation. In 1985, the IAEA provided technical cooperation to approximately 70 of its 112 members. This assistance takes a variety of forms. About 37 percent of the technical assistance and cooperation program involves assistance in applications of radioisotopes and radiation in agriculture, medicine, biology, hydrology, and industry. Assistance in support of nuclear power and nuclear safety accounts for about another 23 percent of the program, with the remainder for other nuclear energy activities, e.g., nuclear physics and chemistry, prospecting, mining and processing of uranium and thorium ores, and general nuclear energy development. Assistance under this program includes provision of equipment, training and fellowships, and the services of experts in the nuclear field.

While the safeguards program as well as Agency laboratories and other programs are funded from the assessed budget of the Agency, the technical cooperation program is funded from voluntary contributions. In the past, many IAEA developing members have argued that funding of technical cooperation through voluntary contributions does not provide sufficient stability and predictability to enable them to pursue effective planning and multiyear projects. The United States and other major donors have argued that funding for technical cooperation has been reasonably assured and predictable, and have strongly opposed funding these programs through the Agency's assessed budget.

In 1981, with continuing pressures to fund technical cooperation from the assessed budget, IAEA members agreed to implement target figures for contributions to the technical cooperation fund. These so-called Indicative Planning Figures (IPFs) went into

effect in 1982. Historically, the United States has consistently provided, on a voluntary basis, a cash contribution amounting to approximately 25 percent of the total annual figure for the Technical Assistance and Cooperation Fund (TACF). In 1985 the target for the TACF was \$26 million, of which the United States contributed \$6.5 million. The United States also provided additional support for the Agency's technical cooperation program in the form of training, manpower development, and cost-free experts and fellowships.

In December, the Technical Assistance and Cooperation Committee considered several reports of the Technical Evaluation Section, established in June 1983. This unit was established to review the implementation of technical assistance projects and to make recommendations as appropriate to promote the best possible use of existing resources. The work of the Technical Evaluation Section has already improved implementation of some technical assistance projects and we anticipate additional progress.

GENERAL CONFERENCE

The 1985 IAEA General Conference successfully resolved a number of difficult issues consistent with U.S. interests. Of particular importance was the action by the General Conference to end debate over the issue of Israeli rights and privileges of membership in the IAEA. This debate originated in response to the June 1981 Israeli attack against a nuclear research reactor in Iraq which was under IAEA safeguards at the time of the attack. The United States was consistently at the forefront of nations arguing that continued debate in the IAEA over the Israeli issue was unwarranted and counterproductive to the effective use of IAEA resources. Notwithstanding this argument, until the 1985 General Conference some countries sought sanctions against Israel and some limitations on Israeli rights and privileges of membership in the IAEA. At the 1985 General Conference, however, participants not only rejected an Iraqi-led effort to impose certain sanctions against Israel, but also adopted a resolution finding that Israel has provided sufficient assurance that it would not attack peaceful nuclear facilities. Thus, the 1985 General Conference put to rest debate on this matter, and the issue was not inscribed on the agenda of the 1986 General Conference.

The 1985 General Conference also adopted the recommendation of the Board of Governors and unanimously reappointed Director General Blix to a second 4-year term. The ease with which this decision was made bears witness to his outstanding leadership of the Agency.

Another major development at the 1985 General Conference was the announcement by the People's Republic of China that China would accept IAEA safeguards on certain of its nuclear facilities. Once this offer is implemented, all five nuclear-weapons states will be subject to some measure of international inspection at their nuclear facilities.

After many months of discussion and consideration, IAEA members at the 1985 General Conference adopted a new 3-year set of IPFs for funding the technical cooperation program. These new figures, to cover 1987-89, provide for a 12 percent per annum increase in funding for this important program.

The IAEA Secretariat played a supporting role for the 1985 Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) Review Conference by providing background papers, documentation, and responses to inquiries from NPT parties. Thus the IAEA was able to make a contribution to the success of this major international meeting.

1985 was a productive year for the IAEA. Work continued apace in both safeguards and technical cooperation to strengthen further the activities conducted under these important programs. The IAEA Board and General Conference addressed and successfully resolved a number of important and potentially controversial issues with a minimum of divisiveness. The reelection of Dr. Blix provides for continuation of outstanding leadership and continued effective pursuit of the Agency's mandated functions.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

In presenting the 1985 IAEA Annual Report to the 40th UNGA, Dr. Hans Blix reviewed the Agency's contributions in the peaceful use of nuclear energy, and in preventing the further spread of nuclear weapons. In his introduction, Dr. Blix highlighted the major developments of 1985, including the favorable outcome of the NPT Review Conference, completion of the first IAEA inspection of a Soviet civilian nuclear facility under the recently-concluded safeguards agreement with the U.S.S.R., China's announcement of its intention to place some of its nuclear facilities under IAEA safeguards, and continued growth in the Agency's safeguards and promotional activities, despite a zero real growth budget.

The Director General then detailed the Agency's work in the development of nuclear power, and in the related areas of nuclear safety, spent fuel management, and waste disposal. Noting the unprecedented 13 percent growth in the world's installed nuclear power capacity in 1984, Blix predicted increased global demand for nuclear power facilities during the next 25 years. In acknowl-

edging the technological advancements that have made it possible for developing countries to acquire nuclear power, he observed that the lack of financial resources constrained many states and said that the IAEA would explore new approaches for financing the high capital cost of nuclear power development in the coming year.

Commenting on the IAEA's program of technical cooperation and assistance, the Director General recalled statements by the NPT Review Conference that the Agency continued to serve as the main multilateral channel for the transfer of nuclear energy and technology for peaceful purposes. He pointed out that contributions from Member States for technical cooperation have nearly doubled since 1980, and that the IAEA Board of Governors agreed this year on a 12 percent annual increase in the target for contributions to the IAEA Technical Assistance and Cooperation Fund for a 3-year period (1987-89).

Concerning the IAEA's program of safeguards, the Director General reported that 1984 and 1985 had been a period of "further expansion and consolidation." He referred to statements contained in the NPT Review Conference Final Declaration, which reaffirmed the central and essential role of the IAEA safeguards system for nuclear trade and development. He also reviewed the status of the Agency's safeguards activities for non-NPT adherents, notably Israel and South Africa, and updated deliberations on attacks against safeguarded nuclear facilities. Finally, he expressed his support for safeguards activities in nuclear-weapon states on the grounds that "they give the world a precedent of verification of nuclear activities in these states and a first experience with such activities."

Following the Director General's presentation (October 31), the UN General Assembly approved by consensus a draft resolution on the IAEA Annual Report (A/40/L.8). The resolution, adopted November 8, took note of the IAEA report, affirmed the UNGA's confidence in the work of the Agency, and urged all states to "strive for effective and harmonious international cooperation" in supporting the work of the IAEA.

Part 3

Trusteeship and Dependent Areas

INTRODUCTION

UN concern for decolonization stems from the principles of equality and self-determination espoused in the UN Charter. Chapter VII of the Charter sets forth the responsibilities of states for "the administration of territories whose people have not yet attained a full measure of self-government." These "non-self governing territories" are considered annually by the Special Committee on the Situation with Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (Committee of 24)* and by the General Assembly's Fourth Committee. The C-24 makes suggestions and recommendations to the Fourth Committee regarding (a) implementation of UNGA Resolution 1514 of 1960, the "Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples;" (b) specific issues affecting the decolonization process, such as the activities of foreign economic and military interests in non-self-governing territories; and (c) the activities of specialized agencies and other UN bodies in those territories.

The United States is firmly committed to self-determination for all peoples. However, it does not agree with the view of the C-24 that equates self-determination only with independence. The United States believes that independence is only one possible outcome of self-determination, and that the status of a territory must reflect the freely expressed wishes of its people. UNGA Resolution

*Members of the C-24 in 1985 were: Afghanistan, Bulgaria, Chile, China, Congo, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Ethiopia, Fiji, India, Indonesia, Islamic Republic of Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Mali, Sierra Leone, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Tanzania, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, U.S.S.R., Venezuela, and Yugoslavia. The United States was a member until 1971, when it and the United Kingdom withdrew over a basic disagreement over how the Committee was fulfilling its mandate. Australia withdrew from the C-24 in January 1985.

1541 of 1960 explicitly recognizes statuses other than independence as legitimate outcomes of the act of self-determination. It lists three ways of achieving self-determination: (1) independence, (2) free association with an independent state, or (3) merger with an independent state. Thus, the outcome of the act of self-determination should be determined by the people of the territory in conjunction with the administering authority, not by a UN body involved in reviewing the administration of the area.

It is also the position of the United States that whether or not military bases interfere with the right to self-determination can only be decided on a case-by-case basis, after careful examination of the particular circumstances of the territory in question. The United States has consistently opposed General Assembly resolutions calling for specialized agency cooperation with, and assistance to, "national liberation movements."

SPECIAL COMMITTEE (COMMITTEE OF 24)

Although the number of non-self-governing nations has declined over the years, the United Nations still has great interest in areas it considers "colonial." During 1985, the Committee of 24 considered the situation in the non-self-governing territories: Namibia, Western Sahara, Gibraltar, Tokelau, Pitcairn Island, St. Helena, American Samoa, Guam, Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, Bermuda, British Virgin Islands, Cayman Islands, Montserrat, Turks and Caicos Islands, Anguilla, U.S. Virgin Islands, and the Falkland Islands (Malvinas). The C-24 also discussed the status of Puerto Rico.

The United States does not consider the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (TTPI) and Puerto Rico to be within the jurisdiction of the C-24. The General Assembly removed Puerto Rico from its list of non-self-governing territories in 1953, and the Charter assigns responsibility for TTPI solely to the Security Council and through it to the Trusteeship Council. The United States does not participate in C-24 discussions on either of these issues.

The C-24 held 23 meetings during 1985. Its first session (1,271st meeting) began February 1. The Secretary-General opened the session by noting the coincidence of the 40th anniversary of the United Nations with the 25th Anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. He implied that the C-24 should conduct the activities of the 25th Anniversary in a manner appropriate to the

present fiscal situation and objectives of the commemoration. The Secretary-General also stressed that past efforts to achieve a peaceful transition to independence in Namibia had not yet met success, and assured the C-24 that he would continue to strenuously support the implementation of Security Council Resolution 435 (1978). That resolution provides a basis for a peaceful settlement in Namibia. On the small territories, the Secretary-General said that it was the duty of the United Nations to assist the inhabitants of small territories to exercise their inalienable rights.

During its 1,271st meeting, the C-24 elected Abdul G. Koroma of Sierra Leone as its Chairman. His opening statement noted the success of the C-24 in implementing the 1960 Declaration. He said that over 50 former trust and non-self-governing territories had emerged from dependent status and joined the United Nations. Koroma announced that two regional seminars (in Port Moresby and Havana) and an extraordinary plenary session would be held in observance of the 25th Anniversary. The C-24 adopted the Chairman's suggestions relating to the work of the organization on February 1.

On August 15 the C-24 adopted a resolution to commemorate the 25th anniversary of the Declaration on Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. (UNGA Resolution 1514) Drafted by the former Sierra Leone Permanent Representative, the resolution noted the large number of former colonial territories which achieved independence by exercising their rights to self-determination in the past 25 years. The resolution also expressed concern that colonialism had not yet been totally eradicated, particularly in Namibia. It reaffirmed the right of all peoples to self-determination and independence and maintained that subjection of peoples to colonial domination constitutes a denial of fundamental human rights. In addition, the resolution strongly condemned South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia and its policy of apartheid. It urged Member States to discontinue all economic, financial, trade, and other relations with South Africa, and to refrain from entering into any relations which may lend legitimacy or support to Namibia's occupation. Finally, the resolution requested administering states to preserve the cultural identity and national unity of the territories under their supervision, and to promote the economic development of the territories.

TRUST TERRITORY OF THE PACIFIC ISLANDS (TTPI)

TTPI consists of more than 2,100 small islands known collectively as Micronesia, with a total land area of about 700 square miles spread out over an area of the Pacific equivalent in size to the continental United States. About 100 of the islands are inhabited, with a total estimated population of 136,500. The Trust Territory consists of three distinct island groups: the Marianas (excluding Guam), the Carolines, and the Marshalls.

Formerly administered by Japan under a League of Nations mandate, the islands came under U.S. control as a result of World War II. Following the founding of the United Nations and establishment of the Trusteeship System, the United States and UN Security Council concluded an agreement on July 18, 1947, making the islands a Strategic Trust Territory under U.S. administration. The Trust Territory has been administered by the U.S. Department of the Interior since 1951.

The peoples of the Trust Territory have chosen on their own initiative to divide politically into four separate entities. In 1975, the people of the Northern Mariana Islands voted to join the United States in commonwealth status following termination of the Trusteeship Agreement. The Northern Mariana Islands already function as a separate administrative unit which has a popularly elected governor and legislature. In 1978, the people of the districts of Truk, Yap, Ponape, and Kosrae, in the Carolines, voted in a constitutional referendum to establish the Federated States of Micronesia (FSM), and in 1979 formed a federal and state government. The Marshall Islands also voted to form a separate constitutional government in 1979. In 1981 the people of Palau, of the Caroline group, voted to establish the Republic of Palau, the fourth entity within the Trusteeship.

Since 1969, representatives of the islands have been engaged in negotiations with the United States to determine their future political status upon termination of the Trusteeship. As mentioned above, in 1975, the people of the Northern Mariana Islands voted in favor of commonwealth status with the United States. In 1983, the peoples of the Federated States of Micronesia, the Marshall Islands, and Palau, voting in Trusteeship Council-observed plebiscites, approved a Compact of Free Association with the United States under which they will be responsible for their own domestic and foreign affairs, with the United States retaining responsibility only for their defense and security. The Governments of FSM and the Marshall Islands subsequently approved the Com-

compact in accordance with their constitutional processes. The Compact, as it applies to the FSM and to the Marshall Islands, was approved by the U.S. Congress in December 1985, and signed by the President in January 1986.

In Palau, the 1983 plebiscite on the Compact was accompanied by a referendum question which would have reconciled the provisions of a section of the Palau constitution with certain defense and security provisions of the Compact. Under the terms of the Palau constitution, the question required approval by not less than 75 percent of those voting. The 75 percent requirement for the defense question was not met, though the Compact did achieve a 62 percent margin of approval during the February 1983 plebiscite. These results, and their interpretation by the Palau Supreme Court, prevented Palau from approving the Compact. Following further discussions between the United States and Palau, a revised Compact was submitted for approval in September 1984 in an internal referendum not observed by the United Nations. Again the Compact failed to obtain the constitutionally set 75 percent approval requirement. Renewed negotiations culminated in the signing of a revised Compact on January 10, 1986. That Compact was approved by a plebiscite in Palau on February 21, 1986, and awaits final approval by the U.S. Congress.

Trusteeship Council Consideration

The Trusteeship Council was set up to oversee the 11 UN trusteeships under the international trusteeship system established in Chapter XII of the Charter. The U.S.-administered Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, (TTPI), is the sole remaining territory under the trusteeship system. The Trusteeship Council consists of the five permanent members of the Security Council: China, France, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, and the United States, which is the administering authority of the Territory. China, however, does not participate in the Council's work.

The Trusteeship Council's 52d session began on May 13, with a statement by the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Harvey Feldman. He outlined the history of the process of self-determination by the peoples of Micronesia and invited the Trusteeship Council to send a visiting mission to the territory to assess the views of the inhabitants as to their future. Ambassador Feldman reminded the Council of the unique strategic character of the territory. He also outlined the then current status of the Compact for the Federated States of Micronesia and the Marshall Islands in the U.S. Congress, noting that the peoples of both territories had chosen

the status of free association in a UN-observed plebiscite in 1983. The Ambassador reported that a settlement had been reached between the United States and the former inhabitants of the Bikini Atoll in the Marshalls, regarding a cooperative effort to study a plan for the resettlement of Bikini. Responding to criticism of the U.S. military presence in Micronesia, Ambassador Feldman noted that Article 5 of the Trusteeship Agreement unambiguously gives the United States the right to maintain a military presence in the territory.

On May 21, Ambassador Feldman made a comprehensive response to allegations and misstatements made by petitioners during the Trusteeship Council debate. He noted that the petitioners were not Micronesian, but "foreigners whose views conflict sharply with the Micronesians." On self-government, he made the observation that "there is one fundamental and absolute international criterion for the attainment of self-governing status—freedom of choice by the peoples concerned." He denied allegations that the United States was wrongfully interfering in the internal and external affairs of the territories, emphasizing that all four Micronesian entities had adopted constitutions of their choosing.

In his closing statement on May 24, Ambassador Feldman stressed that the United States had attempted to fulfill its trusteeship obligations by taking steps to promote political, economic, social, and educational advancement. He also noted the unanimous desire of the "democratically-elected constitutional governments of Micronesia" to end the trusteeship system, and said the United States was pursuing the final approval processes necessary for termination.

The Trusteeship Council adopted its report on TTPI to the Security Council by a vote of 3 (France, United Kingdom, United States) to 1 (Soviet Union) during its last 1985 meeting on July 11.

Fourth Committee Consideration

On October 30, under the Committee's agenda item on "military activities," six petitioners addressed the Fourth Committee regarding TTPI. The petitioners repeated their usual condemnation of the United States for its past nuclear testing in the region and alleged that the Compacts of free association fail to give TTPI true independence. On November 8, action on TTPI was postponed after consultations with the Chairman of C-24 and other delegations; consequently, the Fourth Committee did not consider

the TTPI resolution prepared by the C-24 and the resolution did not reach plenary.

U.S. TERRITORIES

Special Committee Consideration

On August 1, the Committee of 24 considered American Samoa, Guam, and the U.S. Virgin Islands. As the administrative authority concerned, the United States presents statements to the C-24 on the U.S. small territories and transmits annual reports on these territories to the UN Secretariat, in accordance with Article 73(e) of the Charter.

American Samoa

American Samoa is an unincorporated and unorganized U.S. territory located 2,300 miles southwest of Hawaii. It comprises seven islands in the South Pacific, and has a total area of 76 square miles and a population of about 30,000. The territory of American Samoa has been voluntarily associated with the United States since 1899. The United States acquired six of the islands through agreements with indigenous leaders during the early 1900's, and the seventh in 1925.

The C-24 adopted the conclusions and recommendations of its Subcommittee on Small Territories concerning American Samoa, and decided to submit a draft resolution to the General Assembly. Among other things, the draft reaffirmed the inalienable right of the people of American Samoa to self-determination and independence, and called on the United States to take all necessary steps to expedite the process of decolonization in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and Declaration. The resolution also noted the importance of fostering an awareness among the people of American Samoa of the possibilities open to them in exercising their right of self-determination and independence.

Guam

Guam is an organized, unincorporated U.S. territory. It was ceded to the United States by Spain in 1898 at the conclusion of the Spanish-American War. About 30 miles long and 4-8 miles wide, Guam is the southernmost island in the volcanic Mariana

Islands chain in the western Pacific, about 6,000 miles west of San Francisco.

The C-24's recommendations were submitted to the General Assembly in the form of a draft resolution. The resolution reaffirmed the inalienable right of the people of Guam to self-determination and independence and noted the C-24's strong conviction that military bases and installations in Guam could constitute an obstacle to the implementation of the Declaration. It also urged the United States to take all necessary measures not to involve the territory in offensive acts; to comply fully with the purposes and principles of the Charter, the Declaration, and the resolutions and decisions of the General Assembly relating to military activities; and to strengthen and diversify Guam's economy and help Guam to remove constraints to growth in agriculture and commercial fishing areas.

U.S. Virgin Islands

The U.S. Virgin Islands, located 1,000 miles southeast of Miami, were purchased from Denmark in 1917. The most prominent of these islands are St. Thomas, St. Croix, and St. John. The population of the U.S. Virgin Islands is about 100,000, and total land area is approximately 130 square miles. They are now considered an organized and unincorporated territory.

The C-24's recommendations were submitted to the General Assembly in the form of a draft resolution. The draft resolution reaffirmed the inalienable right of the people of the U.S. Virgin Islands to self-determination and independence, reiterated the responsibility of the United States to create conditions that aid the people of the islands in exercising these rights, and urged the United States to take measures to diversify and expand the territory's infrastructure, and promote economic and social development. The draft also urged the United States to continue to take all necessary measures to comply with the purposes and principles of the Charter, the Declaration, and General Assembly resolutions that relate to the military activities of administering powers and their territories.

Puerto Rico

During the C-24's 1,287th meeting, the Committee discussed an agenda item entitled "Special Committee decision of August

1984 concerning the status of Puerto Rico." The Cuban and Venezuelan Representatives introduced draft resolutions on Puerto Rico. After consultations, they decided to cosponsor a resolution that reaffirmed the Puerto Rican people's right to self-determination and independence. After 3 days of debate and statements by over 20 petitioners favoring independence, the C-24 adopted the resolution by a vote of 11 in favor, 1 against, with 10 abstentions.

General Assembly Action

American Samoa, Guam, and the U.S. Virgin Islands were considered, along with a number of other smaller territories, in 23 meetings of the Fourth Committee between September 17 and November 27 under the agenda item "Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples."

On November 6, Ambassador Harvey Feldman addressed the Committee, pointing out that the peoples of American Samoa, Guam, and the U.S. Virgin Islands hold regular, competitive, and free elections, and that each electorate is served by a completely free press. He noted the freedoms and political activities that the people of Guam, American Samoa, and the U.S. Virgin Islands enjoy and through which they have expressed their desire for continued association with the United States.

On November 8, the Fourth Committee adopted the resolutions on American Samoa, Guam, and the Virgin Islands without a vote.

The Fourth Committee decided in October not to include the resolution on Puerto Rico on its agenda. However, it was mentioned in the C-24 report adopted in the Committee and subsequently by the plenary.

NAMIBIA

Security Council Consideration

During 1985, the United States continued its intensive efforts to bring independence to Namibia based on UN Security Council (UNSC) Resolution 435. The Council itself first took up Namibia when it issued a statement on May 3 expressing "indignation and concern" over the unilateral action taken by South Africa to establish an interim government in Namibia. Consensus adoption of the statement followed a day of intense negotiations between the

United States and Non-Aligned (NAM) Delegations, acting for the Front Line states. The statement itself, issued by the UNSC President for the month of May (the Thai Permanent Representative), declared the South African move "contrary to the expressed will of the international community" and in defiance of UNSC Resolutions 435 and 439, which declared that any unilateral measures taken by South Africa's illegal administration in Namibia in contravention of relevant UNSC resolutions were "null and void." The statement further noted that South Africa's move "complicates the efforts to proceed expeditiously with implementation of UNSC Resolution 435." South Africa was asked to rescind its action.

The Council again took up Namibia on May 29 when considering whether to accept an invitation from the UN Council for Namibia (CFN) to participate in an extraordinary plenary meeting in Vienna in early June. (The United States, like most Western states, does not participate in the CFN.)

The response, signed by the UNSC President for the month of June (the Trinidad and Tobago Permanent Representative), was finally dispatched to the CFN President on June 4. It underscored the "unique responsibility which the United Nations, particularly the Security Council, has in furthering the interests of the people of Namibia," reviewed the substance of previous UNSC resolutions and, in the name of Council members, affirmed the UNSC's determination to bring about the independence of Namibia in conformity with UNSC Resolution 435.

Formally, the Council met 17 times in 1985 to consider Namibia. Of the two resolutions tabled, one was vetoed by the United States and the United Kingdom and one was adopted.

On June 10, the first major UNSC debate on Namibia in 20 months began regarding the establishment by South Africa of an interim government in Namibia. The meeting was convened in response to a call for UNSC consideration of Namibia made at a NAM meeting in New Delhi in April. In the course of the next 7 days, 12 meetings were held and 91 speakers took the floor, including the Peruvian Prime Minister; the Foreign Ministers of Indonesia, Nicaragua, Angola, Nigeria, Ghana, Zambia, Cameroon, Jamaica, and Tanzania; and representatives of NAM, the Council for Namibia (CFN), the Southwest Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the Special Committee against Apartheid, the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), and the Special Committee on Decolonization. The number of eminent representatives was largely attributable to a call from the

NAM ministerial meeting for high-level participation in the meeting.

Among the principal speakers, the Angolan Foreign Minister outlined four conditions for breaking the deadlock on Namibia: withdrawal of South African forces from Angola and of Angolan patrols from the Namibian border area; an explicit South African commitment to UNSC Resolution 435; a cease-fire agreement between South Africa and SWAPO; and the signing of an agreement among Angola, South Africa, Cuba, and SWAPO.

Most other speakers were predictably harsh regarding South Africa's continued occupation of Namibia. Many, like Zimbabwe, were critical of U.S. policy in the area, specifically the policy of constructive engagement and alleged U.S. support of South African regional policies.

The resolution, sponsored by the NAM members of the Council (Burkina Faso, Egypt, India, Madagascar, Peru, and Trinidad and Tobago), declared the action of establishing the interim government "illegal and null and void," demanded that it be rescinded, condemned South Africa for obstructing the implementation of UNSC Resolution 435, and called for economic sanctions against South Africa.

In his statements to the Council, U.S. Ambassador Sorzano affirmed U.S. rejection of the interim government but underscored the U.S. view that "economic development (in South Africa) is likely to encourage the necessary social and political changes in South Africa and promote the elimination of the abhorrent policy of apartheid."

The resolution passed 13 to 0, with 2 (U.S., U.K.) abstentions. (Resolution 566)

On November 13, debate opened in the Security Council on "The Question of Namibia." The Front Line states and SWAPO had requested the meeting as a follow-up to passage of UNSC Resolution 566.

In the course of a 3-day debate encompassing five meetings, 34 speakers took the floor, all of them more or less critical of South Africa's continued hindrance of implementation of UNSC Resolution 435. On behalf of the NAM, the Indian Foreign Minister called for mandatory, comprehensive sanctions against South Africa for impeding the implementation of 435. SWAPO and the CFN supported him and, like the Eastern bloc and most NAM speakers, condemned the linking of Namibian independence to withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. The South African Permanent Representative, on the other hand, stressed that firm agreement with Angola on Cuban troop withdrawal must be

reached before implementation of Resolution 435. He challenged UN "pretensions to impartiality" in the matter of Namibia.

The resolution that was finally tabled by the NAM members of the Council contained a UNSC decision to impose mandatory selective sanctions against South Africa under Chapter VII of the UN Charter. In his explanation of vote, Ambassador Okun reiterated U.S. opposition to mandatory sanctions on two grounds: that it would hurt whites and blacks both in South Africa and the region and that it would "negate utterly our good offices" (in the ongoing Namibia negotiations) by taking sides. Ambassador Okun, reacting to a request from members of the interim government of Namibia to address the Council, also noted that we support the right of representatives of Namibian political parties to address the Council in their party capacity but not as representatives of the Transnational government. The resolution was vetoed on November 15 by the United States and the United Kingdom, with France abstaining.

General Assembly Consideration

In 1985, the General Assembly considered Namibia at nine sessions. A total of 105 national delegations took part in the the debate, as did representatives of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), the League of Arab States, the United Nations Council for Namibia, the Special Committee on Decolonization (Committee of 24), and the observer from the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). All speakers agreed on the need to move Namibia promptly toward independence in accordance with the UN plan set out in Security Council Resolution 435 (1978). That plan calls for a cease-fire in Namibia followed by free and fair elections to be supervised by a UN Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG), and for a Namibian constituent assembly that would draft an independence constitution.

A number of major themes recurred throughout the debate, including: support for Security Council Resolution 435, recognition of SWAPO as the "sole and authentic representative" of the Namibian people, "rejection of attempts at establishing a linkage between Namibian independence and any extraneous and irrelevant issues" such as the presence of Cuban forces in Angola, condemnation of the installation of the interim government in Namibia and of South Africa for its illegal occupation of Namibia. In addition, a number of countries criticized the United States and

other Western countries for supposed support for South Africa. The debate ended on November 21.

On December 13, the General Assembly met to vote on the six resolutions on Namibia proposed by the Council for Namibia. Prior to voting on the resolutions as a whole, the President of the General Assembly announced that several delegations had requested separate votes on particular paragraphs that contained "name-calling" language that singled out specific countries for criticism, contrary to standard UN practice and tradition. Deletion of this language was a prime objective of the United States at the 40th UNGA.

In 1984, the United States had submitted 11 amendments to the proposed resolutions on Namibia that sought to delete hostile references to the United States and Israel. Citing a 1954 decision by the General Assembly that declared Namibia an "important question," the President ruled that these amendments required a two-thirds majority of the UNGA members present and voting to be adopted. They failed to receive the necessary two-thirds vote and were therefore rejected.

In 1985, eight hostile references to the United States and/or Israel appeared in the proposed resolutions on Namibia. This year, the United States turned the "important question" ruling to its advantage by calling for separate votes on the eight "name-calling" passages. The votes of two-thirds of the UNGA members present and voting were required for the retention of this pejorative language. In seven of eight instances, this majority was not achieved, and these seven references were deleted. Only the indirect reference to the "two Western permanent members of the Security Council" was retained. These deletions eliminated derogatory critical references to the United States and Israel but did not affect the substantive matter of the resolutions.

With the separate voting completed, the General Assembly turned to the resolutions as a whole. All six resolutions were adopted with no negative votes, but with several abstentions. Because of their ongoing mediation role, the United States and the other members of the Contact Group (Canada, France, F.R.G., U.K.) abstained on all the Namibian resolutions.

The first resolution was entitled "Situation in Namibia Resulting from the Illegal Occupation of the Territory by South Africa" and was adopted by a vote of 131 to 0, with 23 (U.S.) abstentions. The resolution declared that "South Africa's defiance of the United Nations, its illegal occupation of . . . Namibia, its war of repression against the Namibian people, its persistent acts of aggression against independent African states, its policies of apartheid and its development of nuclear capability constitute a

serious threat to international peace and security." It urged the Security Council to impose "comprehensive and mandatory sanctions" against South Africa in accordance with Chapter VII of the UN Charter. The resolution also condemned "all foreign economic interests operating in Namibia which are illegally exploiting the resources" of Namibia. The draft resolution contained three critical references to the United States by name, as well as two critical references to Israel by name. The three pejorative references to the United States (operative paragraphs 24, 25, and 37) were rejected by votes of 63 to 55 (U.S.), with 30 abstentions; 59 to 58 (U.S.), with 29 abstentions; and 58 to 57 (U.S.), with 29 abstentions, respectively. The two references to Israel contained in operative paragraphs 37 and 45 were also rejected by votes of 59 to 58 (U.S.), with 29 abstentions, and 70 to 47 (U.S.), with 25 abstentions, respectively. (Resolution 40/97 A)

The second resolution, entitled "Implementation of Security Council Resolution 435 (1978)," was adopted by a vote of 130 to 0, with 25 (U.S.) abstentions. The resolution reiterates that "Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978), . . . constitute the only internationally accepted basis for a peaceful settlement of the Namibian problem." It further "demands their immediate and unconditional implementation." It reaffirms the inalienable right of the Namibian people to self-determination, "in accordance with the Declaration of the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV)." It strongly condemns and rejects "attempts by South Africa to establish a 'linkage' or 'parallelism' between the independence of Namibia . . . and any extraneous and irrelevant issues." The resolution included three critical references to the United States by name, as well as a condemnation of the alleged abuse of the veto by "two Western permanent members of the Security Council." This last pejorative reference, operative paragraph 15, was adopted by a vote of 81 to 30 (U.S.), with 34 abstentions. The remaining three, operative paragraphs 11 and 12, and the sixth preambular paragraph, were rejected by votes of 59 to 40 (U.S.), with 47 abstentions; 54 to 63 (U.S.), with 29 abstentions; and 64 to 55 (U.S.), with 29 abstentions, respectively. (Resolution 40/97 B)

A third resolution, entitled "Program of Work of the United Nations Council for Namibia," was adopted by a vote of 147 to 0, with 6 (U.S.) abstentions. The resolution approved the report of the UN Council for Namibia, including the recommendations therein, and decided to make adequate financial provisions for their implementation; requested all states to cooperate with the

Council for Namibia; and decided that Namibia, represented by the Council for Namibia, should participate as a full member in all conferences and meetings organized by the United Nations. The resolution also set out a variety of tasks and programs for the Council for Namibia to undertake. (Resolution 40/97 C)

The fourth resolution, entitled "Dissemination of Information and the Mobilization of International Public Opinion in Support of Namibia," was adopted by a vote of 132 to 0, with 23 (U.S.) abstentions. It outlined a program designed "to increase the awareness of the international community regarding the twentieth anniversary of the transfer of Namibia under the direct responsibility of the United Nations and regarding the continued illegal occupation of that Territory by . . . South Africa." In an effort to publicize and gain international support for the cause of Namibia, the program called for the production and dissemination of various types of information and the calling of conferences. (Resolution 40/97 D)

The fifth resolution was entitled "United Nations Fund for Namibia" and was adopted by a vote of 148 to 0, with 6 (U.S.) abstentions. The resolution stated that the UN Fund for Namibia, including the trust funds for the Nationhood Program for Namibia and the UN Institute for Namibia, should be the primary source of assistance to Namibians. Once again it decided to allocate as a temporary measure \$1 million to the Fund from the UN regular budget for 1986. It also expressed its appreciation to those special agencies and other organizations and institutions of the UN system that have contributed to the UN Fund for Namibia, and requested that they make every effort to further strengthen the program of assistance to Namibia. (Resolution 40/97 E)

The final resolution entitled "Special Session of the General Assembly on the Question of Namibia" was adopted by a vote of 148 to 0, with 6 (U.S.) abstentions. It "strongly condemns South Africa for its persistent and arrogant defiance of the resolutions and decisions of the United Nations." The resolution decided to hold a special session on the question of Namibia before the 41st General Assembly. (Resolution 40/97 F)

In his explanation of the U.S. abstentions, Ambassador Harvey Feldman said that "we believe that the only basis for a just and peaceful settlement in Namibia remains Security Council resolution 435. To this end, we have engaged in talks with the involved parties and we are continuing this dialogue in hopes of moving matters as rapidly as possible to a solution." He went on to say that "because of our membership in the Contact Group and the sensitive nature of our involvement in this effort, we have consistently held . . . that it would be inappropriate for the

United States delegation to take a position on the substance of the resolutions before us." Concerning the critical references to the United States and Israel, he reasserted the U.S. position that "these direct, hostile and . . . unjustified references to the United States are contrary to basic General Assembly principles of civility, fairness, and—above all—factual accuracy."

On December 17, the General Assembly, at the proposal of the Secretary-General, decided to extend the appointment of Brajesh Chandra Mishra as UN Commissioner for Namibia for a 1-year term beginning on January 1, 1986.

WESTERN SAHARA

The conflict in Western Sahara dates from 1976. When Spain transferred administrative control of the territory to Morocco and Mauritania, the POLISARIO Front launched a guerrilla war against Mauritania and Morocco to obtain independence for the entire territory. Mauritania withdrew from the territory in 1979. Morocco then extended its territorial claims to include the one-third of the Sahara formerly claimed by Mauritania, and the guerrilla war between the POLISARIO Front and Morocco continued. The U.S. position has been to support a peaceful settlement acceptable to all parties under the auspices of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the United Nations.

The Western Sahara issue was first raised at the 40th Session in the Fourth Committee where, as in previous years, both Morocco and Algeria introduced resolutions. The essential point of the Moroccan resolution was to call for a UN-supervised referendum to be organized by the OAU, to which the Algerian resolution, referring to a 1983 OAU summit resolution, assigns primary responsibility on the Western Sahara issue. The United Nations was requested to cooperate with the OAU in monitoring progress toward a solution.

Algeria proposed four amendments to the Moroccan resolution which, in effect, made it identical with the Algerian resolution. Morocco attempted to stave off this action by invoking Rule 116, which permits cloture of debate; had this attempt succeeded, the Moroccan resolution would have been put to a definitive vote. However, the Moroccans failed to close debate before the Algerian amendments were added to their resolution, and decided, therefore, to withdraw their resolution without a vote.

A vote was taken on the Algerian resolution in the Fourth Committee on November 12. Explaining the U.S. decision to ab-

stain on the Algerian resolution, Ambassador Harvey Feldman expressed the hope of the United States that a resolution acceptable to both Morocco and Algeria could have been submitted and passed by consensus. The United States had consulted with both parties to try to achieve this end. However, the failure of this effort and the withdrawal of the Moroccan resolution, for which the United States would have voted, led the United States to abstain on the Algerian resolution. Ambassador Feldman also noted that, since the United Nations has no means to enforce compliance with its resolutions, no resolution on the Western Sahara issue will be enforceable if it is not acceptable to both Algeria and Morocco. The Algerian resolution passed in the Fourth Committee by a vote of 91 to 6, with 43 abstentions (U.S.).

Consideration of the Algerian resolution was taken up in the General Assembly plenary on December 2, where it was passed the same day by a vote of 96 to 7, with 39 abstentions (U.S.). (Resolution 40/50)

OTHER QUESTIONS

Fourth Committee Resolutions

On October 29, the Fourth Committee considered the agenda item "Activities of foreign economic and other interests which are impeding the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in Namibia and in all other territories under colonial domination and efforts to eliminate colonialism, apartheid, and racial discrimination in southern Africa." It approved a resolution on "foreign economic activities" by a vote of 98 to 9 (U.S.), with 15 abstentions. The Committee concurrently discussed the agenda item "Military activities and arrangements by colonial powers in territories." The Committee approved the resolution on military activities by a vote of 95 to 111 (U.S.), with 14 abstentions.

Ambassador Feldman delivered the U.S. explanation of vote. He rejected the thesis that "foreign investment was *ipso facto* exploitative." He stated that the only U.S. military facility in territories administered by the United States was in Guam, and the peoples of that territory welcomed it. Ambassador Feldman also reiterated U.S. commitment to internationally recognized independence for Namibia under Security Council Resolution 435 and defended the U.S. policy of constructive engagement.

On November 8, the resolution on reporting information from non-self-governing territories was approved 131 to 0, with 3 ab-

stentions (U.S., U.K., France). A resolution on St. Helena was passed by a vote of 112 to 3 (U.S., U.K., Iceland), with 25 abstentions, after the United Kingdom failed to have a reference to a military base on Ascension Island deleted from the resolution.

The Fourth Committee completed its work for the 40th General Assembly by hearing petitioners on the question of the Falklands/Malvinas Islands. Speakers from the Falklands/Malvinas praised recent development efforts in the islands and vigorously supported their right to self-determination. Pro-Argentine petitioners called for meaningful negotiations to resolve the issue and spoke of opportunities available to the islanders if they were to join Argentina. The British Representative stressed the non-negotiable right of the islanders to self-determination, while the Argentine Ambassador stated that Argentina wanted to return to the negotiating table with no pre-conditions. On November 27, the General Assembly adopted an Argentine resolution on the Falklands/Malvinas by a vote of 107 (U.S.) to 4, with 41 abstentions. The British move to amend the resolution was defeated.

Plenary Action

On October 1, the General Assembly held a special session to commemorate the 25th anniversary. During the session, the Secretary-General, GA President, Chairman of the Non-aligned Movement, Chairman of the C-24, and representatives of the five regional groups presented statements lauding the UN's accomplishments in decolonization, deploring the continuing occupation of Namibia, and noting further work yet to be accomplished in implementing Resolution 1514.

Plenary debate on decolonization, including reports of the C-24 and Fourth Committee, took place between November 29 and December 2. At its 99th meeting on December 2 the plenary adopted without a vote 20 draft resolutions and decisions of the Fourth Committee including the draft resolutions on American Samoa, Guam, and the Virgin Islands. Ambassador Okun made a statement in explanation of the U.S. vote that reviewed the history of U.S. support for decolonization. He maintained that the contemporary decolonization problem "is the domination and oppression of the neighbors of expansionist powers on the Eurasian land mass, not the classic style of 'western' colonization."

Part 4

Legal Developments

INTRODUCTION

Significant legal issues on both substantive and procedural matters frequently arise in connection with U.S. participation in a wide variety of UN activities and in nearly all international organizations. Many of these legal matters are discussed in other parts of this report in the context of the underlying issues or particular international organizations to which they relate, including review of the UN Charter; uses of outer space; international human rights; International Labor Organization, International Civil Aviation Organization, and UNESCO matters; UN administration and budget; and UN trusteeship issues. Part 4, therefore, deals separately with 1985 activities of an exclusively legal character, such as those of the International Court of Justice, the International Law Commission, the UN Commission on International Trade Law, the Sixth (Legal) Committee of the General Assembly, and special international conferences or committees that consider legal questions involving the drafting of certain treaties or the relations between the United States as the host country on the one hand and the United Nations and missions to the United Nations on the other. As indicated above, drafting exercises concerning international human rights instructions are discussed in Part 2 of this report.

INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE

The International Court of Justice is the principal judicial organ of the United Nations. The Court's main functions are to decide cases submitted to it by states and to give advisory opinions on legal questions at the request of intergovernmental bodies authorized pursuant to the Statute of the Court and the UN Charter.

The Court is composed of 15 judges, no 2 of whom may be nationals of the same state, elected by the UN General Assembly and the Security Council, voting independently, from a list of persons nominated by national groups on the Permanent Court of Arbitration. The electors are mandated to bear in mind the qualifications of the individual candidates and the need for the Court as a whole to represent the main forms of civilization and the principal legal systems of the world. Court members are elected for 9-year terms, with one-third of the total number of judges elected every 3 years. There was no regular election in 1985. Due, however, to the unexpected resignation of Judge Platon D. Morozov, U.S.S.R. on August 23, a special election was held on December 9 to fill the unexpired portion of his term, which ends in 1988. Nikolai K. Tarassov of the Soviet Union was elected.

Nicaragua v. United States

By a letter dated January 18, 1985, the Agent of the United States advised the Court of the United States conclusion that the Court's November 26, 1984, judgment on the jurisdiction of the Court and the admissibility of the Nicaraguan application of April 9, 1984, was "clearly and manifestly erroneous as to both fact and law;" that, notwithstanding that judgment "the Court is without jurisdiction to entertain the dispute and that the Nicaraguan Application of April 9, 1984, is inadmissible;" and that accordingly "the United States intends not to participate in any further proceedings in connection with this case." On January 22, 1985, the Agent of Nicaragua informed the Court that his government maintained its application and availed itself of the rights provided for in Article 53 of the Statute whenever one of the parties does not appear before the Court or fails to defend its case.

By an Order dated January 22, 1985, the President of the Court fixed April 30 as the deadline for the Nicaraguan memorial on the merits, and May 31 as the deadline for the United States counter-memorial. Nicaragua filed its memorial within the prescribed time limit. The United States neither filed a counter-memorial nor participated in the oral proceedings on the merits held September 12-20.

Yakimetz v. Secretary-General of the United Nations

On September 10, 1984, the Court received a request for an advisory opinion, submitted by the Committee on Applications for Review of Judgements of the Administrative Tribunal of the United Nations, in respect of Judgement No. 333, delivered at Geneva on June 8, 1984, by the Administrative Tribunal in the case of *Yakimetz v. Secretary-General of the United Nations*. Yakimetz was a Secretariat employee of Soviet nationality whose request to be considered for permanent employment was refused by the UN after he sought asylum in the United States.

By an Order dated September 13, 1984, the President of the Court fixed December 14, 1984, as the time-limit for the submission of written statements by the United Nations and its Member States, in accordance with Article 66, paragraph 2, of the Statute of the Court. By an Order of November 30, 1984, this time-limit was extended to February 28, 1985. Statements were submitted by the Governments of the Soviet Union, Italy, Canada, and the United States, and on behalf of the Secretary-General. The latter also transmitted a statement on behalf of Yakimetz.

The President of the Court subsequently fixed May 31, 1985, as the time-limit within which states and the organization having filed written statements might submit written comments on the statements presented by others, in accordance with Article 66, paragraph 4, of the Statute. At the request of the applicant and by a decision of the President, the time-limit was extended to July 1, 1985.

Written comments were submitted by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, who also transmitted comments made by Yakimetz, and from the United States.

Compulsory Jurisdiction

On October 7, 1985, the United States notified the Secretary-General of the United Nations that it was terminating, effective 6 months from that date, its declaration of August 26, 1946, accepting the Court's compulsory jurisdiction under Article 36(2) of the Statute of the Court. This action, which had no implications for the Court's jurisdiction on any other basis set forth in the Statute, was taken in response to the Court's treatment of the U.S. acceptance, and of its Article 36(2) jurisdiction generally, in its November 1984 jurisdictional judgment in the Nicaragua case.

INTERNATIONAL LAW COMMISSION

Pursuant to General Assembly Resolution 174(II) of November 21, 1947, the International Law Commission (ILC) was established in 1948 to promote the codification and progressive development of international law. The membership, which increased from 25 to 34 during the 36th General Assembly, consists of legal experts serving in their individual capacities and elected by the General Assembly for 5-year terms. Stephen C. McCaffrey of the United States was elected on November 23, 1981, for a term which began on January 1, 1982.

The Commission studies topics it has determined are suitable for codification, or that other UN bodies, usually the General Assembly, refer to it. Its normal procedure is to select one of its members (designated a "special rapporteur") to prepare reports on each of the topics and, after discussion, to draft articles which are acted on by the full Commission. Each year, the Commission reports to the General Assembly on the articles it has adopted during that year's session. It reconsiders the articles in light of government comments, and then adopts final texts which it forwards to the General Assembly. When the Assembly receives a set of draft articles, generally in the form of a proposed convention, it may convene a diplomatic conference to consider adoption of a convention, review the articles itself, note them, or remand them to the Commission for further study.

Work of the Commission's 37th Session

The 37th session of the Commission was held in Geneva May 6–July 26, under the Chairmanship of Mr. Satya Pal Jogota (India). On May 8 the Commission elected Mr. Gaetano Arangio-Ruiz (Italy), Mr. Jiahua Huang (China), Mr. Emmanuel J. Roukounas (Greece), and Mr. Christian Tomuschat (Federal Republic of Germany) to fill the four casual vacancies in the Commission caused by the elections of Mr. Jens Evensen (Norway) and Mr. Zhengyu Ni (China) to the International Court of Justice and by the deaths of Mr. Robert Quentin Quentin-Baxter (Canada) and Mr. Constantin A. Stavropoulos (Greece).

During 1985, the Commission considered the following six substantive topics: draft code of offenses against the peace and security of mankind, state responsibility, status of the diplomatic courier and the diplomatic bag not accompanied by diplomatic courier, jurisdictional immunities of States and their property, re-

lations between states and international organizations, and the law of the non-navigational uses of international watercourses. Mr. McCaffrey of the United States was appointed special rapporteur for the watercourses topic on June 25.

At its 1985 session, the Commission referred the first four articles proposed by the special rapporteur on the draft code of offenses to the Drafting Committee. It provisionally adopted draft article 5 on state responsibility, while sending 10 other articles to the Drafting Committee. The Commission adopted six articles dealing with the status of the diplomatic courier and bag. Two articles relating to state immunity were adopted, while five were referred to the Drafting Committee. In addition to its consideration of these substantive topics the Commission also dealt with questions relating to its program and methods of work, its cooperation with other bodies (the Inter-American Juridical Committee, the Asian-African Consultative Committee, the Arab Commission for International Law and the European Committee on Legal Cooperation), and other administrative matters.

General Assembly Action

The Sixth Committee of the 40th General Assembly considered the Commission's report at 16 meetings October 28–November 28. The U.S. Representative in the Sixth Committee, Robert Rosenstock, said on the subject of the draft code of offenses:

We remain doubtful that the Commission should be asked to work on the draft code of offenses. It is not an area in which we think agreement is likely and even if achieved, we are doubtful that a significant contribution will have been made.

With respect to the 37th Session in general, Mr. Rosenstock stated that:

In sum, we believe the 1985 session of the Commission was a productive one. Its achievements are more than less because they involved moving a number of matters importantly along rather than completing any one of them. We believe the session positioned the Commission for an exceptionally productive conclusion of the quinquennium next year.

On December 7, Brazil introduced a draft resolution on behalf of 62 cosponsors. The draft concerned the Commission's report and, *inter alia*, recommended the Commission should continue its work on all the topics in its current program; reaffirmed its previous decisions concerning the increased role of the Codification Di-

vision of the Office of Legal Affairs of the Secretariat; and reaffirmed its wish that the Commission would continue to enhance its cooperation with intergovernmental legal bodies whose work is of interest for the progressive development of international law and its codification. The draft was approved by the Committee on November 26 and by the plenary Assembly on December 11, in both instances by consensus. (Resolution 40/75)

INTERNATIONAL TRADE LAW

The UN Commission on International Trade Law (UNCITRAL), established by the General Assembly in 1966, continued to be a productive, professional body contributing to the harmonization and unification of the law of international trade. The Commission is composed of 36 Member States elected by the Assembly for a term of 6 years.*

Work of the Commission's 18th Session

UNCITRAL'S 1985 session took place in Vienna June 3-21. The United States was represented by Peter H. Pfund, Assistant Legal Adviser for Private International Law, Department of State; Howard M. Holtzmann, Judge, U.S.-Iran Claims Tribunal; Michael F. Hoellering, American Arbitration Association; George Taft, Department of State; and Joseph E. Neuhaus, Legal Assistant, U.S.-Iran Claims Tribunal. The session devoted almost all of its time to successfully completing work on and approving a model law on international commercial arbitration prepared by one of its working groups with active U.S. participation. The model law project is aimed at increasing the overall effectiveness of such arbitration through harmonization and modernization of national arbitration laws. The basic objective is to ensure that arbitration procedures agreed to by the parties are not frustrated by conflicting mandatory provisions of applicable national law, through unexpected legal consequences of nonmandatory provisions of such law, or due to lack of desirable provisions in certain of such laws. The United States has consistently supported this

*Members in 1985 were Algeria, Australia, Austria, Brazil, Central African Republic, China, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, France, German Democratic Republic, Federal Republic of Germany, Guatemala, Hungary, India, Iraq, Italy, Japan, Kenya, Mexico, Nigeria, Peru, Philippines, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Spain, Sweden, Tanzania, Trinidad and Tobago, Uganda, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, United States, and Yugoslavia.

effort which would be of value to states whose laws could usefully be updated and to states which may be adopting arbitration laws for the first time. The model should be of benefit to businessmen and trade by increasing the overall effectiveness of the arbitral resolution of international commercial disputes. The model law as adopted at the conclusion of the session provides a modern regime for the arbitration of international commercial disputes, gives wide scope to party autonomy in fashioning the arbitral process, deals with the recognition and enforcement of both domestic and foreign awards, and provides guarantees of due process to arbitrating parties.

The Commission decided that, in light of the progress made by one of its working groups on the draft Convention on international Bills of Exchange and International Promissory Notes, the major part of its 19th Session should be devoted to reviewing the draft.

The Commission received the final draft chapters of a legal guide prepared by the Secretariat on electronic funds transfers. The effort is to identify the technical and other facts and developments for legislators or lawyers preparing rules governing particular systems for such funds transfers. The draft was developed in consultation with an international study group of experts. Governments and international organizations will be given the opportunity to comment on the draft, which will be considered at the 19th Session of the Commission.

The Commission had before it a report on the legal value of computer records. The information it contained and the analysis of the problems would aid states in reviewing their legal rules affecting the use of computers and other forms of automatic data processing. In this regard, the Commission adopted a number of recommendations to governments and international organizations, most of which should be brought to the attention of U.S. business and banking organizations and state governments, as well as the national conference of commissioners on uniform state laws.

The Commission expressed its satisfaction with the progress of work by its working group preparing a legal guide on drawing up international contracts for the construction of industrial works. A further meeting of the working group was scheduled to be held prior to the next Commission meeting.

The Commission had before it a report of its working group that was considering the liability of operators of transport terminals. The Commission expressed its satisfaction with the work thus far accomplished and requested the working group to expedite its work. The working group was scheduled to meet again in early 1986.

There was general agreement that the sponsorship of symposia and seminars on international trade law in general, and the activities of the Commission in particular, should be continued and strengthened. Of note was the association of the Secretariat with the holding of several regional seminars.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY ACTION

The Sixth Committee of the 40th General Assembly considered the report of UNCITRAL at five meetings October 2-7 and November 13-14. As in previous years, the U.S. Representative, Mr. Rosenstock, expressed support for the proposed future work program of the Commission summarized in its report and expressed the continued satisfaction of the United States at the important role played by the UNCITRAL Secretariat and the excellence of its work.

On November 13, Austria introduced a resolution in the Sixth Committee, ultimately sponsored by 30 other countries, commending the Commission for progress made in its work and in particular the completion and adoption of a model law on international commercial arbitration. It welcomed the work on the legal implications of automated data processing to the flow of international trade and commended the Commission for its recommendation on the legal value of computer records. The resolution continued with the usual reaffirmation of the Commission's mandate and the importance of its work concerned with training and assistance in the field of international trade law and various aspects of that activity.

The draft resolution was approved in Committee and the General Assembly on December 11 adopted the resolution by consensus. (Resolution 40/71)

On November 13, Austria introduced a resolution in the Sixth Committee ultimately sponsored by 25 other countries recommending that all states give due consideration to the UNCITRAL-prepared model law on international commercial arbitration, in view of the desirability of uniformity of the law of arbitral procedures and the specific needs of international commercial arbitration practice.

The draft resolution was approved in Committee and the General Assembly on December 11 adopted the resolution by consensus. (Resolution 40/72)

DRAFT CODE OF OFFENSES AGAINST THE PEACE AND SECURITY OF MANKIND

The General Assembly has been considering this item on and off since 1947 without definitive result. The original impetus for the exercise was an inclination, building on the Nuremberg and Tokyo trials, to draft highly detailed rules, violation of which would constitute criminal behavior. Initial efforts resulted in a draft by the International Law Commission which did not command sufficient support for final action to be taken. After a hiatus of 20 years, during which the Assembly dealt in other forms with much of the conduct in question, resulting in such instruments as the Genocide Convention and the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Cooperation among States in Accordance With the Charter of the United Nations, the Assembly resumed consideration of the item at its 33d Session in 1978.

In the course of the Assembly's consideration of the item in 1978, and from 1980-85 and in written comments, the United States along with most of the Western European countries welcomed the decision of the International Law Commission to limit its consideration at this stage to responsibility of individuals rather than states, but expressed great doubt that any useful progress could be made, since, *inter alia*, the project exceeded the clear basis of universal agreement and the issues involved are inextricably linked to the mechanism of international criminal jurisdiction on which progress is most unlikely. Western countries also noted the extent to which much of the original material had in fact been dealt with elsewhere in the interim. Support for the item from some nonaligned countries and the Soviet Union has, however, been sufficient to keep it before the United Nations.

The Sixth Committee considered the item at meetings between October 28 and November 12. On December 2, a draft resolution was introduced by Egypt cosponsored by 27 other countries which, *inter alia*, invited the International Law Commission to continue its work with a view to elaborating the Draft Code and decided to include an item in the 41st provisional agenda entitled "Draft Code of Offenses Against the Peace and Security of Mankind." The United States joined Chile, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Israel, and the United Kingdom in voting against this resolution on the ground that this item should be considered along with the other work of the International Law Commission.

The resolution was adopted by a vote of 98 to 6 (U.S.), with 8 abstentions. The General Assembly adopted the resolution on De-

ember 11 by a vote of 127 to 6 (U.S.), with 9 abstentions. (Resolution 40/69)

CONVENTION ON THE LAW OF TREATIES BETWEEN STATES AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS OR BETWEEN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

In 1970, the International Law Commission decided to include in its program of work the question of treaties concluded between states and international organizations or between two or more international organizations. At its 34th Session (1982) the Commission completed consideration of 80 draft articles which it submitted to the General Assembly. The Commission's draft articles parallel, with appropriate adjustments, the provisions of the 1969 Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties and cover, *inter alia*, the capacity of international organizations to conclude treaties, including means of expressing consent, and the questions of reservations to and observance of such treaties. Finally, the Commission made observations related to principles concerning the extent to which it was possible to equate international organizations with states for the purposes of treaty law.

This subject was included on the agenda of the 39th and 40th General Assemblies under a Sixth Committee item entitled "Convention on the Law of Treaties between States and International Organizations or between International Organizations." The 39th General Assembly decided to convene a conference February 18–March 21, 1986, to consider the draft articles.

During the 40th General Assembly the Sixth Committee held informal consultations which produced draft rules of procedure and otherwise prepared the ground for the conference. GA Resolution 40/76 adopted December 11, 1985 recommended that the conference adopt these rules and consider the draft final clauses and a list of draft articles annexed to the resolution.

NON-USE OF FORCE IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Special Committee

The Special Committee on Enhancing the Effectiveness of the Principle of Non-Use of Force in International Relations held its

eighth session in New York January 28–February 22, 1985. The Non-Use of Force (NUF) Committee, which operates by consensus, devoted four meetings to a general debate in which 11 members and 2 observers participated. Statements during the general debate continued to reflect the three distinct views which have come to characterize the Committee's work. One view supported the Soviet proposal to draft a world treaty on the non-use of force. The second, espoused by many of the nonaligned countries, supported a declaration of principles on the non-use of force. The third, backed principally by members of the Western group, including the United States, opposed a treaty or other form of norm-creating instrument and suggested the Committee study why states resort to force and how methods of peaceful settlement of disputes could be strengthened.

On February 4, the U.S. Representative Robert Rosenstock noted that the NUF Committee continued to be weighed down by disagreement on its mandate. Moreover, as long as its goal remained the conclusion of a world treaty, or other norm-oriented instrument, on the non-use of force, he said, no progress was possible. In an attempt to break the deadlock, Mr. Rosenstock suggested the Committee might wish to conduct a careful examination on a case-by-case basis of the reasons why the norm on the non-use of force had not been effective in the particular case.

On February 4 the Committee reestablished a working group in which members could consider specific proposals. The working group held 17 meetings between February 5 and 22. The Committee devoted 3 meetings to an evaluation of the work done by the working group. On February 22 the Committee considered and approved the report of the working group and adopted its own report to the General Assembly. The Committee's report did not contain any recommendations or conclusions.

General Assembly

The Sixth Committee considered the report of the Non-Use of Force (NUF) Committee at five meetings between October 7–10 and two meetings on November 21 and December 2.

On October 20, the U.S. Representative, Robert Rosenstock, reiterated that the United States is opposed to the proposal to draft a world treaty on the non-use of force. This suggestion, he said, was intended to conceal the conduct of a nation that had violated the principle of non-use of force on a massive scale and continued to do so. The proposal for a treaty or other norm-oriented instrument on the non-use of force amounted to an assault on the

Charter and the organization, since it implied that the prohibition on the non-use of force contained in Article 2(4) of the Charter was inadequate or invalid. On the other hand, a purely descriptive instrument focusing on practical improvements related to the peaceful settlement of disputes, the collective security system, fact-finding, and agreed measures on confidence-building and security might make a constructive contribution to world peace. Since the Special Committee on the Charter of the United Nations and the Strengthening of the Organization had the experience, expertise, and mandate to address these topics, the task of developing such an instrument could best be entrusted to that body.

On November 21, by a recorded vote of 90 to 15 (U.S.), with 11 abstentions, the Sixth Committee approved a draft resolution sponsored by Mongolia and 33 other states. This draft resolution asked that the NUF Committee continue its work with the goal of preparing a world treaty on the non-use of force. In addition, the resolution requested that the NUF Committee prepare a declaration on the non-use of force at the earliest possible date, referring to such a document as an intermediate stage leading toward the formulation of a world treaty on the subject.

On December 11, by a recorded vote of 119 to 14 (U.S.), with 12 abstentions, the General Assembly adopted the same text. (Resolution 40/70)

PROTECTION OF DIPLOMATS

The Sixth Committee considered protection of diplomats (Agenda Item 136) at four meetings on October 2 and 3 and November 13 and 14.

In his address, U.S. Representative Robert Rosenstock stated that:

The protection of diplomats and consular personnel is a matter of highest concern to the United States Government. Our concern is based not only on the increasing number of violent attacks against diplomats and the devastating effects on those involved but also on the cumulative damage that each incident does to the very concept of diplomacy and constructive communication within the international community. Perpetrators of such atrocities attack not only the State which the diplomat represents but also undermine the entire system of international cooperation.

On November 13, Norway, on behalf of 19 cosponsors, introduced a draft resolution condemning attacks on diplomats and asking the Secretary-General to prepare a report for the Commit-

tee's 41st Session giving information on the state of ratifications and accessions to treaties relevant to the safety of diplomats and on any incidents endangering diplomats reported to him by States. The Committee approved the resolution by consensus, and it was adopted by the General Assembly by consensus on December 11. (Resolution 40/73)

INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION AGAINST MERCENARY ACTIVITIES

In Resolution 35/48, the General Assembly established an *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention Against the Recruitment, Use, Financing, and Training of Mercenaries. The *Ad Hoc* Committee was to be composed of 35 Member States but currently consists of 34.* At its first session in 1981, the Committee discussed the various issues that must be resolved before an international convention against mercenary activities can be concluded.

During its 1982 session, the Committee had before it draft conventions prepared by Nigeria and France, comments from several Member States, and a compilation of international agreements and national legislation relating to mercenary activities. In addition to discussing the draft articles of the Nigerian and French texts and related proposals from other Member States, the Committee formed two working groups which utilized most of the time allocated to the Committee for its 1982 session. Working Group A dealt with issues of definition and the scope of the future convention, while Working Group B addressed all other issues relevant to it. Both Working Groups succeeded in clarifying, and thus simplifying, a number of issues, although some critical ones such as the definition of the term "mercenary" were not resolved. This work was continued during the 1983 and 1984 sessions.

The *Ad Hoc* Committee held its fifth session April 8-May 3 under the Chairmanship of Ambassador Harley S.L. Moseley (Barbados). Discussions focused on issues identified in the Consolidated Negotiating Basis which had been prepared at the previous session. Committee approval was given to requests for observer status from Benin, Chile, Iraq, Mexico, Morocco, Mozambique, Nicaragua, Tunisia, Vietnam, and Zimbabwe.

*Algeria, Angola, Bangladesh, Barbados, Bulgaria, Canada, Cuba, Democratic Yemen, Ethiopia, France, Federal Republic of Germany, German Democratic Republic, Haiti, India, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Mongolia, Nigeria, Portugal, Senegal, Seychelles, Spain, Suriname, Togo, Turkey, Ukrainian S.S.R., U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, United States, Uruguay, Yugoslavia, Zaire, and Zambia.

During the 40th Session of the General Assembly, the Sixth Committee considered the report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee at 10 meetings between October 18 and November 27. Commenting on the Committee's work, the U.S. Representative noted that the 1985 session had been a constructive one marked by steady progress. The future convention should focus on specific criminal offenses over which states parties would agree to assume jurisdiction under their domestic law and should emphasize harmonization of domestic criminal laws as the primary means of controlling unlawful activities.

On November 12, a draft resolution was tabled by Algeria and 40 other Socialist and nonaligned delegations which renewed the mandate of the *Ad Hoc* Committee and asked that its report be included as an item on the agenda of the 41st General Assembly. On December 11, the General Assembly adopted the resolution. (Resolution 40/74)

HOST COUNTRY RELATIONS

The General Assembly established the Committee on Relations with the Host Country* in 1971 to replace the informal Joint Committee on Host Country Relations. The Committee deals with the security of UN missions and safety of personnel, diplomatic privileges and immunities, tax problems, financial indebtedness of UN missions and their personnel, visa matters, and other issues relating to the implementation of the Headquarters Agreement between the United Nations and the United States.**

During 1985, the Committee received a number of notes complaining of acts of "violence", "hooliganism", "demonstrations", and other events said to affect adversely the operation and security of missions and their personnel. The Committee met five times during the year: February 26 (109th meeting), May 17 (110th), June 19 (111th), September 25 (112th), and November 29 (113th).

On February 20, the Soviet Delegation protested the discovery of an explosive device on one of their mission vehicles. The Soviet note demanded that measures be taken to prosecute and punish the guilty persons, and to prevent future incidents. At the February 26 meeting, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Feldman,

*The Committee's membership for 1985 was as follows: Bulgaria, Canada, China, Costa Rica, Cyprus, France, Honduras, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Mali, Senegal, Spain, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, and United States.

**Agreement between the United Nations and the United States of America regarding the Headquarters of the United Nations (Resolution 169 II), October 31, 1947.

replied that he had met with the local authorities to institute more vigorous measures for protecting Soviet diplomats in New York. He acknowledged that the new U.S. system of issuing license plates for diplomatic vehicles might facilitate criminal acts.

At the same meeting, the Soviet Representative complained of "terrorist and hooligan" incidents against the Soviet Mission. The Soviet Representative said that U.S. authorities had not taken appropriate measures to put an end to such acts, nor punished the guilty persons. The Bulgarian Representative suggested that improvements were needed for protecting diplomats and their missions. In reply, Ambassador Feldman deplored acts of hooliganism, but noted that demonstrations held in accordance with applicable law were allowed.

The Committee discussed new insurance requirements for mission vehicles at its 109th and 110th meetings. On February 15, the U.S. Mission distributed a note to the UN Secretariat regarding an increase in the minimum amount required for automobile liability coverage. During its 110th meeting, the Committee heard the Director of the State Department Office of Foreign Missions, James Nolan, who answered questions on insurance coverage for the diplomatic community. His remarks were subsequently submitted as a Host-Country Committee document (A/AC.154/254).

On June 19, the Soviet Representative again complained of telephone harassment of mission personnel and frequent disruptive demonstrations outside the Soviet Mission. Ambassador Feldman noted U.S. abhorrence of these acts, while stressing that the Soviet Mission was protected by the largest fixed-post detail accorded any UN mission. The Soviet Representative also referred to recent news articles which suggested that travel restrictions would be imposed on Soviet staff in the UN Secretariat. Ambassador Feldman replied that any U.S. policy involving the United Nations would be conveyed only through an official U.S. Mission Note. The Committee then discussed federal license plates, diplomatic rights to sales tax exemption cards, the possibility of a UN commissary, and visa issuances.

At its 112th meeting, the Committee discussed U.S.-imposed travel restrictions on UN staff members who were nationals of the Soviet Union, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Afghanistan, Cuba, Iran, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, and Vietnam. The restrictions, announced in a Note dated August 29 from the Acting Permanent Representative of the United States to the UN Secretary-General, limited travel of the Secretariat staff of these countries to a 25-mile radius of Columbus Circle, New York City (in the case of Libya to the five boroughs of New York City) and required them to arrange travel

through the Department of State. On September 9, the Secretary-General wrote to the U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations expressing concern that the new measures were not compatible with the U.S. international obligations to the United Nations under the Headquarters Agreement and the Convention on the Privileges and Immunities of the United Nations. He also wrote that the measures constituted discrimination against Secretariat members based solely on their nationality. He requested the United States to reconsider proceeding with the implementation of the measures.

The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Joseph Verner Reed, opened the 112th Committee meeting by assuring members that the United States was committed to honoring its obligations as the host country. He cautioned that political debate would be destructive and unproductive. The Soviet Representative declared that the travel restrictions disrupt UN functions and illegally threaten the Secretariat's international status and integrity. He called the restrictions discriminatory and in violation of the UN Charter and host-country obligations. The Bulgarian, Byelorussian, German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovak, Polish, Ukrainian, and Vietnamese Representatives echoed these concerns. The Cuban Representative attacked the United States for its hostile and repressive measures against certain delegations and suggested that the International Court of Justice (ICJ) look into the legality of the U.S. restrictions. The French and Spanish Representatives said the controls did not contravene U.S. host-country obligations or fundamental norms of international law. The French Representative also pointed out that the Headquarters Agreement contained no provision conferring upon Secretariat officials unrestricted travel rights in the host country.

Refusing to be drawn into a debate on the travel restrictions, Ambassador Reed said that the United States would continue to take seriously its legal obligations, while also taking prudent measures to safeguard its security. He emphasized that the U.S. position re UN Secretariat travel did not violate our treaty obligations and did not create any impediments to UN functioning.

PROTECTION OF PERSONS UNDER DETENTION OR IMPRISONMENT

Among the draft instruments pending before the General Assembly, the United States accords priority to the "Draft Body of Principles for the Protection of All Persons Under Any Form of

Detention or Imprisonment." This draft text was prepared by the UN Subcommission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities and was forwarded to the General Assembly via the Commission on Human Rights and the Economic and Social Council. Prior to the 35th Session of the General Assembly, the United States submitted detailed comments on the Draft Principles, in response to a request from the Secretary-General. At the beginning of the 35th Session, moreover, the United States took the lead in ensuring that the text would be considered in a formal working group of the Third Committee. The 35th Session recommended the matter be transferred to the Sixth Committee.

The Sixth Committee formed working groups during the 36th, 37th, and 38th Sessions, under the Chairmanship of Mr. Luigi Ferrari Bravo of Italy, and during the 39th and 40th Sessions, under the Chairmanship of Mr. Tullio Treves of Italy. Despite the best efforts of the Chairmen, many of the working group members, and U.S. pressure to expedite the work, progress has been somewhat slow. At the 36th Session, Principles 7 and 8 were adopted; at the 37th Session, Principles 9-13; at the 38th Session, Principles 14-18; and at the 39th Session, Principles 19-21(1). At the 40th Session, Principles 29-35 were provisionally adopted. These include Principle 29 on complaints concerning improper treatment, Principle 30 on damage caused by public officials and Principles 32-35 on rights of the accused.

At the 48th meeting of the 40th Session on November 27, the Sixth Committee considered this item and approved a draft decision introduced by Sweden without a vote. In Decision 40/420, the General Assembly decided that an open-ended working group again be established in the Sixth Committee at the 41st Session, with a view to expediting the completion of the Draft Principles. The General Assembly also requested the Secretary-General to circulate the report of the 1985 working group.

Following the adoption of its report to the General Assembly at its 113th meeting, the Committee heard a representative of the Libyan Mission who had received permission to participate in the session. He accused the United States of harassment in regard to visa delays, travel restrictions, and the use of its mission residence, and alleged a CIA plot to destabilize the Libyan Government. After reviewing Libya's involvement in acts of terrorism throughout the world, Ambassador Reed vigorously rejected the allegations, saying that the United States adheres to international law. The Committee approved several recommendations concerning effective implementation of the Headquarters Agreement at its 113th meeting.

The General Assembly adopted without a vote Resolution 40/77, which endorsed the recommendations of the Host Country Committee, condemned terrorist and criminal acts against UN missions, and urged the host country to take all necessary measures to ensure the protection, security, and safety of the missions and their personnel.

DEVELOPMENT OF PRINCIPLES CONCERNING INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC RELATIONS

The Sixth Committee of the 40th General Assembly considered the item "Progressive development of the principles and norms of international law relations to the new international economic order: Report of the Secretary-General" (NIEO) at four meetings between November 21 and 26.

On November 7, Cuba introduced a draft resolution which, *inter alia*, would have established an *Ad Hoc* Group of Experts to prepare a set of norms and principles relating to the NIEO. On November 25, the Philippines on behalf of 28 cosponsors introduced another draft resolution recommending:

that the consideration of the most appropriate procedure for completing the elaboration of the process of progressive development of the relevant principles and norms of international law, and of the forum which would be entrusted with the task, be undertaken by the General Assembly at its forty-first session

This second resolution was approved by the Committee by a vote of 76 to 0, with 17 (U.S.) abstentions. Cuba did not insist on further consideration of its proposal. The United States, in an explanation of its vote, stated that in its view the concept of a NIEO was in so preliminary a stage of evolution that the consideration of the progressive development of international legal principles concerning it was entirely premature. The resolution was adopted by the General Assembly (Resolution 40/67) on December 11 by a vote of 125 to 0, with 19 (U.S.) abstentions.

INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM

The item entitled "Measures to Prevent International Terrorism Which Endangers Innocent Human Lives or Jeopardizes Fundamental Freedoms, and Study of the Underlying Cause of those Forms of Terrorism and Acts of Violence Which Lie in Misery,

Frustration, Grievance, and Despair and Which Cause Some People to Sacrifice Human Lives, Including Their Own, in an Attempt to Effect Radical Change," which is considered biennially, was again on the agenda for the General Assembly's 40th Session. The Sixth Committee considered the item at seven meetings, October 22-25 and December 5-6.

Debate focused on condemnation of terrorist acts and on steps that could be taken to combat terrorism. In the debate, U.S. Representative Robert Rosenstock said that terrorism presented a unique and especially pressing problem for the international community. No other threat struck in the same manner at the very notion of states organized as a community to further the peace, security, and welfare of their nationals. He noted that the United Nations had made a "solid beginning" in dealing with the scourge of terrorism, but that further action was needed, particularly in the areas of support for existing international conventions, in intensified international cooperation, and in recognizing that acts of terrorism could not be justified or tolerated.

The Sixth Committee had before it three draft resolutions: one sponsored by the United Kingdom and fourteen other countries from Western European and Others Group, one sponsored by Colombia, and one sponsored by Cuba. A revised version of the Cuban draft resolution cosponsored by eight other countries, was subsequently circulated. The United States joined in cosponsoring a revised version of the United Kingdom draft resolution. After further consultations, the Chairman of the Sixth Committee presented his own draft resolution which represented a compromise effort to reach agreement. The Representative of Cuba, however, proposed further amendments to the Chairman's draft resolution which, *inter alia*, would add a reference to "state terrorism." The Representative of Colombia moved that the Committee take no decision on these Cuban amendments. This motion carried by a vote of 52 (U.S.) to 32, with 33 abstentions.

The Committee in further extensive negotiations reached broad agreement on the text which included a condemnation of terrorism in all its forms. The Representative of Cuba then moved that the Committee take no decision on the draft resolution as a whole; this motion was rejected by a vote of 54 (U.S.) to 27, with 38 abstentions. The Sixth Committee then adopted the Chairman's resolution by a vote of 118 (U.S.) to 1 (Cuba), with 2 abstentions (Burkina Faso and Israel). Mr. Rosenstock noted that Cuba's proposal to include state action in the resolution would have confused and weakened the efforts against terrorism. Use of force by states, he pointed out, is governed by a specific set of rules and is not the issue currently properly before the Committee; the term

“terrorism,” by way of contrast, refers to the separate problem posed by action of groups and individuals.

The General Assembly adopted this resolution without a vote at its 108th meeting on December 9. (Resolution 40/61) As finally adopted, the resolution, *inter alia*, “Unequivocally condemns, as criminal, all acts, methods and practices of terrorism wherever and by whomever committed . . . , invites all States to take all appropriate measures at the national level with a view to the speedy and final elimination of the problem of international terrorism . . . ; encourages the International Civil Aviation Organization to continue its efforts aimed at promoting universal acceptance of and strict compliance with the international air security conventions; and requests the International Maritime Organization to study the problem of terrorism aboard or against ships with a view toward making recommendations on appropriate measures.”

Part 5

Budget, Administration, and Institutional Management

INTRODUCTION

International organization budgets reflecting conservative fiscal policies continued as a major priority of the United States in 1985. The United States joined with other major contributors in seeking the goal of zero real growth and maximum absorption of nondiscretionary cost increases. Toward this end, UN agency programs, budgets, and administrative practices were carefully reviewed by the United States in concert with other major contributors in an effort to assure that resources were being allocated to activities of greatest importance and that the activities were being implemented with the greatest efficiency possible.

The U.S. emphasis on fiscal restraint gained significant added impetus with enactment of two Congressional initiatives affecting U.S. assessed contributions to international organizations. The first one, known as the Kassebaum-Solomon Amendment (Section 143 of the Foreign Relations Authorization Act, P.L. 99-93), is directly concerned with the budgetary practices of the United Nations and its specialized agencies. The other, the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings legislation (the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985, P.L. 99-177), is not directed specifically at the United Nations and its specialized agencies, but still had major impact on U.S. contributions to them. The impact of the Kassebaum-Solomon Amendment, added to by Gramm-Rudman-Hollings reductions, resulted in a major effort to achieve fundamental reform in the UN system.

The work of the General Assembly's Fifth Committee (Administrative and Budgetary) is related to the work of all other main UN committees. It deals with organization-wide administrative problems, such as conference scheduling, personnel issues, and the coordination of activities among various UN organizations. Before the General Assembly votes on any resolution having fi-

nancial implications, the Fifth Committee must provide information on how the resolution, if adopted, will affect the UN budget. In its most important role, the Fifth Committee makes recommendations to the General Assembly on the regular program budget and on assessed peacekeeping budgets.

Several special UN bodies—some consisting of experts serving in their personal capacities and some of an intergovernmental nature—assist in this work. In financial matters the best known of the expert committees are the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions (ACABQ) and the Committee on Contributions. The ACABQ examines the Secretary-General's proposals and reports to the General Assembly on the UN budget and UN accounts; on the administrative budgets of the UN specialized agencies; and on other administrative, financial, and budgetary matters referred to it. The Committee on Contributions advises the General Assembly on all questions relating to the apportionment of UN expenses among UN members. Other expert financial bodies are the Board of Auditors, the Investments Committee (which advises on the management of the Pension Fund), and the UN Joint Staff Pension Board.

The International Civil Service Commission (ICSC), composed of experts in the personnel field, makes recommendations to the General Assembly for the regulation and coordination of conditions of service within the United Nations, the specialized agencies, and other international organizations that participate in the UN common system of salaries, allowances, and other conditions of service. The Committee on Conferences is an intergovernmental, administrative body which seeks to develop a workable calendar of UN meetings and advises the Assembly on the most efficient use of conference resources and on current and future requirements.

A senior executive committee, an intergovernmental body, and an expert group have responsibilities ranging broadly across the work of the whole UN system of organizations. The Administrative Committee on Coordination (ACC)—composed of the UN Secretary-General and the executive heads of the specialized agencies, the IAEA, and other major bodies and programs—meets regularly to supervise the implementation of the agreements between the United Nations and the specialized agencies and to coordinate the activities of the various organizations. The Committee for Program and Coordination (CPC), an intergovernmental body, serves as the main subsidiary organ of both ECOSOC and the General Assembly for planning, programming, and coordination. The Joint Inspection Unit (JIU), a group of experts who

serve full time, is empowered to investigate and evaluate any matter bearing on the efficiency of services and the proper use of funds.

Finally, the General Assembly and the Secretary-General, acting independently, have, over the years, established *ad hoc* committees that have sought to reorganize various aspects of the UN system in order to make it work more effectively toward the goals sought by Member States. Most recently, as discussed below, the 40th General Assembly established a Group of High-Level Intergovernmental Experts to work on fundamental reform of UN administrative and financial arrangements.

Each of these bodies is concerned with some aspect of making the system work better. The highlights of their activities during 1985 are recounted in the sections that follow.

UN REFORM

Kassebaum-Solomon Amendment

The Kassebaum-Solomon Amendment directs the Secretary of State to seek adoption by the United Nations and its specialized agencies of voting rights on matters of budgetary consequence proportionate to the contributions of Member States to the budgets of the organizations. The amendment precludes payment by the United States for an assessed contribution to the United Nations and its specialized agencies in excess of 20 percent of their total budgets (respectively) for fiscal year 1987 and the following years unless they have adopted the specified voting rights. In addition to the United Nations, the United States is assessed more than 20 percent in the following specialized agencies: FAO, ILO, WMO, ICAO, WHO, and UNIDO. Conference Committee report language accompanying the bill indicated the amendment was intended to "promote meaningful reform in budget procedures at the United Nations and its specialized agencies and not be used simply as a way to reduce the U.S. assessed contribution to the United Nations or its specialized agencies."

Enacted in August 1985, the Kassebaum-Solomon Amendment was a subject of concern at the 40th UN General Assembly. The U.S. Delegation indicated that, while the Administration had opposed the withholding provision of the amendment, it fully shared the overriding objective to achieve meaningful budgetary reform in the United Nations and its specialized agencies.

The United States had hoped that actions taken at the 40th session of the UN General Assembly would have provided suffi-

cient grounds to justify the Administration in seeking from the Congress a delay in implementation of the amendment. This was not the case. However, in response to an initiative of Foreign Minister Abe of Japan in his general debate statement, the General Assembly established a Group of High-Level Intergovernmental Experts to review the efficiency of the administrative and financial functioning of the United Nations (Resolution 40/237, adopted without a vote December 18, 1985). The Group was to consist of 18 members to be appointed by the President of the General Assembly, in consultation with the regional groups and with due regard to equitable geographic distribution. The Group was directed to prepare its recommendations for submission to the General Assembly before the opening of its 41st Session. The U.S. Delegation supported establishment of the Group of 18 as an important means to address the concerns reflected in the Kassebaum-Solomon Amendment.

Gramm-Rudman-Hollings Legislation

Adding to the impact of the Kassebaum-Solomon Amendment was the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings legislation which the President signed into law December 15, 1985, just before the close of the General Assembly. Under this legislation, the President must submit to the Congress over the next 6 years annual Federal budgets which do not exceed specified, and continuously decreasing, Federal deficit ceilings. By 1991, the President's budget is required to show a zero deficit. If the projected deficits in a fiscal year exceed the ceilings established under the law for the year, automatic across-the-board spending reductions would be triggered. Specifics for implementation of this legislation in regard to U.S. contributions to the United Nations and its specialized agencies and programs remained to be developed after the close of 1985.

UN FINANCIAL SITUATION

The short-term deficit of the United Nations increased in 1985. As of October 3, the estimated deficit (projected to December 31) amounted to \$390.7 million. This amount represents an increase of \$28.1 million, or 7.7 percent, compared with the December 31, 1984, figure. Most of the deficit was caused by certain Member States (e.g., the U.S.S.R.) that withhold all or part of

their assessments for peacekeeping activities. Additionally, the three Soviet Members (U.S.S.R., Byelorussian S.S.R., and the Ukrainian S.S.R.), Bulgaria, and the German Democratic Republic, submit their portion of the UN regular budget for technical assistance in nonconvertible national currencies. The United Nations accepts such payments only to the extent that it needs the specific currency. According to the United Nations, withholdings by the United States accounted for \$6.9 million, or less than 2 percent of the projected deficit. However, shortfalls in U.S. appropriations coupled with the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings legislation (Public Law 99-177) threatened to increase U.S. cumulative arrearages to over \$40 million. This amount should decrease somewhat, however, as the final payments for 1984 and 1985 had not been made by the end of 1985.

At the 40th General Assembly the UN financial emergency was considered by the Fifth Committee at six meetings from November 15 through December 16. Although a number of options were proposed by the Secretary-General to solve the organization's financial difficulties (e.g., an increase in the working capital fund from \$100 million to \$150 million, and possible borrowing from commercial lending institutions), only one option was adopted by the General Assembly. That option suspended the provisions of certain financial regulations in order to allow the UN to retain cash surpluses estimated to be \$25.8 million accrued at the end of the 1984-85 biennium as opposed to crediting them against the assessed contributions of Member States as required by the regulations.

On December 16, the Fifth Committee approved two draft resolutions relating to the UN financial situation. The first of the resolutions consisted of two parts. Part A, approved without a vote, urged Member States to meet their financial obligations and decided to continue to study and discuss the financial emergency. Part B, adopted by a vote of 105 to 11 (U.S.), with 3 abstentions, recommended that the provisions of financial regulations 4.3, 4.4, and 5.2(d) be suspended with regard to the regular budget surpluses accrued at the end of the 1984-85 biennium.

The second draft resolution approved by the Fifth Committee noted that the project on the issuance of special postage stamps on the economic crisis in Africa was well under way and decided, in accordance with Resolution 39/239A, to earmark 50 percent of the revenues from the sale of these stamps to help reduce the deficit. The remaining revenues would be used to implement the objectives detailed in the Declaration on the Critical Situation in Africa. The resolution was adopted without a vote.

On December 18, the General Assembly adopted Part A of the Fifth Committee draft resolution without a vote. Part B was adopted by a recorded vote of 132 to 12 (U.S.), with 2 abstentions. (Resolution 40/241 A and B) On the same day, the resolution regarding the issuance of the special postage stamp was adopted by the General Assembly without a vote. (Resolution 40/242)

UN Budget

On December 18, by a recorded vote of 127 to 10 (U.S.), with 11 abstentions, the General Assembly approved the 1986-87 UN Expenditure Budget totaling \$1,663,341,500 as recommended by the Fifth Committee. (Resolution 40/253A) This is an increase of \$54,387,500 over the final appropriation for the 1984-85 biennium; however, approximately \$117 million was removed from the UN budget as a result of UNIDO's new status as a specialized agency on January 1, 1986. The increase is attributable primarily to inflation. The United Nations states net program growth is 0.1 percent. The United Nations does not include such items as alterations to existing facilities, temporary assistance for meetings, or acquisition and maintenance of equipment as program growth. Other items not included in the program growth figure are \$18,313,100 for construction of conference facilities in Bangkok; special appropriations for Namibia, \$2,959,200; \$3,400,000 in conference servicing costs above the initially proposed level; and a \$24 million loan to UNIDO. The loan to UNIDO is not included within the expenditure budget figure but was a part of the 1986 financing resolution.

Major items in the expenditure budget include: administration and management, \$321,993,400; conference and library servicing, \$288,823,600; Political and Security Council Affairs, \$83,786,600; Public Information, \$75,668,900; the UN Conference on Trade and Development, \$60,135,300; and the Department of International Economic and Social Affairs, \$54,160,700.

The 1986-87 budget was the second prepared under the guidance of Secretary-General Pérez de Cuéllar. The budget as originally submitted by the Secretary-General was \$1,742,784,500 to which he later added revised estimates totaling another \$52,243,700. The Report of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions (ACABQ) reported that the Secretary-General stated that including the revised estimates this represented real growth of 0.6 percent. He proposed the addition of 43 positions including the conversion of several positions which

had been funded through voluntary contributions to the assessed budget.

The United States was somewhat disappointed in the proposed budget. Although the United States and other major donors had been calling for zero real growth for several years, the Secretary-General proposed a budget which contained real growth. In his opening statement on the budget in the Fifth Committee, Daniel A. Mica, U.S. Congressional Representative to the 40th General Assembly called for major reformulations of programs and the elimination of ineffective programs and subprograms from the biennial budget. As he noted there is little evidence of substantial shifting of resources to address changing priorities, an essential task if optimal use of resources is to be achieved. Encouraging signs he noted in the budget included the decrease in travel costs, the Secretary-General's effort to limit expenditures for experts and consultants, and the Secretary-General's plans to improve the overall efficiency of Secretariat operations by use of word processing and computer equipment. General debate on the proposed budget in the Fifth Committee took place during 11 sessions from October 15 to November 12. More detailed examination by sections lasted another 21 sessions. In explaining the final U.S. vote on the budget in the Fifth Committee, U.S. Representative Richard C. Nygard stated:

Despite the relatively modest growth in the programs financed by the budget, my government does not support the document that is now before us. Resource growth of more than 12 percent is, we believe, excessive in a time when many national budgets are frozen or declining in both nominal and real terms. . . . The U.S. budget continues to finance many programs which my delegation believes are inappropriate, a number of which our legislature has prohibited our supporting. . . . In addition, we object to the continued add-ons to the budget approved during this session. The combination of revised estimates, overturns of ACABQ recommendations and new resolutions with financial implications have added more than \$60 million to the original proposal submitted by the Secretary-General. We find this unacceptable. . . .

The General Assembly also adopted Resolution 40/239 on the final revision of the budget for the 1984-85 biennium on December 18 by a recorded vote of 125 to 12 (U.S.), with 0 abstentions. This resolution decreased the amount previously appropriated by the previous General Assembly in Resolution 39/237A by \$2,597,200. It also decreased the final estimates of income by \$7,093,600. The U.S. Delegation voted against the resolution because of the appropriations for construction, the UNIDO loan, Fifth Committee overturns of Advisory Committee recommendations, and the inclusion of funding for PLO and Law of the Sea.

Audit Reports

At the 40th General Assembly, the Fifth Committee considered the 1984 financial reports and audited financial statements for seven voluntarily funded UN programs: the UN Development Program (UNDP), the UN Children's Fund (UNICEF), the UN Relief Works Agency (UNRWA), the UN Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR), the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the UN Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA), and the UN Industrial Development Fund (UNIDF). The reports were considered at eight meetings from September 25 to October 15.

Speaking before the Fifth Committee on October 4, the U.S. Representative, Congressman Daniel A. Mica, focused on those audit reports which revealed the most significant problems. First, Congressman Mica pointed out that the audit report for the UNHCR identified "significant deficiencies in the areas of budgetary control, cash management, accounting control, travel costs, procurement and project activities." Such deficiencies, Congressman Mica noted, had even resulted in cases of fraud, or presumptive fraud, one of which involved a loss estimated at \$400,000. Congressman Mica went on to point out that the U.S. Congress had expressed its concern over UNHCR's utilization of resources through recent legislation "designed to create an awareness of these deficiencies . . . and to convey the urgency of corrective actions required." (Public Law 99-93, enacted August 16, 1985, called for annual program audits of UNHCR's funds by an independent consultant, as selected by the Executive Committee of UNHCR.)

Turning to UNRWA, Congressman Mica pointed out that the auditors identified three cases of fraud, or presumptive fraud, but did not provide an account of the nature of the fraud or the amount of funds involved. Highlighting the serious nature of the issue, Congressman Mica stated "my delegation views these indications of corruption within the agency as a serious matter and one which must be fully investigated to determine its scope." Although recognizing that UNRWA management is attempting to respond positively to the auditors' criticisms, Congressman Mica emphasized that much remained to be done.

In his remarks, Congressman Mica also questioned the serious foreign exchange losses experienced by UNDP, the need for stronger control over administrative costs at UNICEF, the recognition of certain income at UNITAR, and improvements in the budgeting and accounting function at UNFPA.

Congressman Mica's statement, which was the first U.S. statement before the Fifth Committee at the 40th UN General Assembly, was well-received. His statement reinforced the U.S. commitment to sound financial management in the UN system.

After the Fifth Committee completed discussion of the audited financial statements, a working group was set up to draft a resolution for consideration by the Committee. The draft resolution submitted to the Committee expanded the auditors reporting by requiring the Board to submit, in a separate, concise document, a synthesis of the main observations of common interest related to its findings. The draft resolution also included a U.S. proposal calling for the agencies to report to the Board on remedial actions taken and the Board to comment in its annual reports on actions taken to comply with its previous recommendations. Also in the resolution was a requirement for the Board of Auditors and the ACABQ to keep under review and report on the financial reserves held by UN organizations. This addition responded to the concerns of Member States regarding the high volume of reserves held by some agencies.

The only controversial issue which developed in the drafting of the resolution was in defining the scope of the auditors' work. The major donors wanted the resolution to direct the auditors' emphasis toward management improvement. This was countered by members of the G-77 who wanted the emphasis to be placed only on financial management and accounting. The major donors viewed this as a return to transactional auditing and a step backwards in efforts to improve the management of the agencies. Informal negotiations produced a paragraph within the resolution calling attention to UN financial regulation 12.5 which sets the scope of the audits to encompass both financial and administrative management.

The draft resolution agreed to by the working group was approved in the Fifth Committee on October 15, and adopted by the General Assembly on December 18, in both instances by consensus. (Resolution 40/238)

Financing of Assessed Peacekeeping Operations

The 40th General Assembly adopted three resolutions relating to the financing of the UN peacekeeping forces. All were adopted by the Plenary Assembly upon the recommendation of the Fifth Committee.

On December 18, the General Assembly, by a vote of 120 (U.S.) to 14, with 7 abstentions, decided to retain the current rates

of reimbursement of \$950 per person per month for all ranks, plus \$280 per person per month for a limited number of specialists. The 39th General Assembly, in Resolution 39/70, had requested the Secretary-General to conduct a review of the standard rates of reimbursement and report on them to the 40th Assembly. The Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions then submitted a related report to the Fifth Committee, concurring with the Secretary-General's conclusion that the current rates were adequate which the Fifth Committee approved. (Resolution 40/247)

On December 2, the General Assembly, by a recorded vote of 96 (U.S.) to 2, with 13 abstentions, appropriated \$17,852,496 for the operation of the UN Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF) for June 1–November 30, 1985, and \$18,282,000 for December 1, 1985–May 31, 1986. The resolution also authorized the Secretary-General to enter into commitments for UNDOF at a rate not to exceed \$3,047,000 per month from June 1 through November 30, 1986, should the Security Council decide to continue the Force beyond the 6 months authorized under its Resolution 576 (1985). (Resolution 40/59 A)

The General Assembly also, by a recorded vote of 124 (U.S.) to 15, with 4 abstentions, appropriated \$70,446,000 for the operation of the UN Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) for April 19–October 18, 1985; \$23,482,000 for October 19–December 18; and \$48,263,000 for December 19, 1985–April 18, 1986. Contingent upon Security Council renewal of the mandate, the Secretary-General was authorized to enter into commitments not to exceed \$11,957,500 per month from April 19 to October 18, 1986. (Resolution 40/246A)

Scales of Assessment

At the 40th General Assembly, the Fifth Committee considered the scale of assessments for the apportionment of the expenses of the United Nations at 12 meetings from September 30 to December 17. The scale of assessments for 1986–88 recommended by the Committee on Contributions engendered much debate in the Fifth Committee. Inasmuch as the recommended scale was based on the criteria in Resolution 39/247B, the United States did not support the proposed scale. Speaking in the Fifth Committee U.S. Representative Congressman Gerald Solomon stated that “the instructions coming out of the General Assembly, which were the product of self-interested bargaining rather than princi-

pled discussion, were incoherent and vague. The views of my government regarding this guidance were clearly expressed last year when the U.S. Delegation disassociated itself from the approval of General Assembly Resolution 39/247B." Congressman Solomon urged the Fifth Committee to reject the proposed scale and provide new instructions to the Committee on Contributions that would reflect sovereign equality and provide for more equitable burden-sharing among the membership.

After completion of the formal statements in the Fifth Committee, informal negotiations began on the scale of assessments. Negotiations on the issue of instructions to the Committee on Contributions broke down over G-77 insistence on inclusion of language reaffirming Resolution 39/247B, which the United States opposed. As a result, the proposed scale of assessments recommended by the Committee on Contributions was adopted by the Fifth Committee on December 17 by a vote of 80 to 13 (U.S.), with 25 abstentions. The negative votes came primarily from the OPEC countries with most developed countries abstaining.

In an explanation of vote U.S. Representative Richard T. Miller, stated "my delegation had hoped to be able to demonstrate to our Congress that there was serious interest within the United Nations in accommodating the views of the United States on vital questions of budgetary importance such as the scale of assessments. Instead, we have found the door closed to consideration of our ideas or concerns about the scale. We hope that other delegations will reconsider this negative attitude toward reform next year and join with us in meaningful steps to promote the future financial health of this organization."

After approval by the Fifth Committee, the resolution was adopted by the General Assembly on December 18 in a recorded vote of 109 to 15 (U.S.), with 27 abstentions. (Resolution 40/248)

The following table represents the U.S. share of the assessed budget of the United Nations, the specialized agencies, and the IAEA for calendar years 1985 and 1986.

	<i>1985 Percent</i>	<i>1986 Percent</i>
UN	25.00	25.00
FAO	25.00	25.00
ICAO	25.00	25.00
ILO	25.00	25.00
WHO	25.00	25.00
UNIDO*	—	25.00
WMO	24.45	24.71
ITU	7.64	7.63
IMO	4.96	5.01
UPU	4.70	5.10

*Reflects conversion to status as a specialized agency effective January 1, 1986.

WIPO**
IAEA

5.30
25.89

5.30
25.89

**Average U.S. assessment for the three conventions to which the U.S. pays assessments. V-7 Impact of Inflation.

INSTITUTIONAL MATTERS

Committee for Program and Coordination

The 21-member Committee for Program and Coordination CPC* is the main subsidiary organ of both ECOSOC and the General Assembly dealing with planning, programming, and coordination. The CPC held its 25th session in New York, April 29–June 1. The dominant topic considered was the UN Draft Program Budget (DPB) for 1986–87. Other major topics considered were (1) review of evaluation activities in several areas; (2) cross organizational program analyses (COPAs) on marine affairs, economic, and social research, and Technical Cooperation Among Developing Countries (TCDC); and (3) JIU reports on reporting to ECOSOC and drug abuse agency coordination.

At its summer session, ECOSOC endorsed the CPC's conclusions and recommendations. (Resolution 1985/76) The 40th Session of the General Assembly considered CPC's report again under its agenda item on program planning. The CPC recommendations were approved without change as part of a resolution adopted on December 18, without a vote. (Resolution 40/240)

DRAFT PROGRAM BUDGET, 1986–87

This item consumed an inordinate amount of the Committee's time at the 1985 session. A detailed account of the biennium budget discussions is contained in the UN Financial Matters section (see page 308). It should be noted that the CPC was able to review only about 85 percent of the DPB's fascicles, however,

*Members in 1985 were Argentina, Bangladesh, Brazil, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Chile, Egypt, Ethiopia, France, Federal Republic of Germany, India, Indonesia, Japan, Liberia, Netherlands, Nigeria, Trinidad and Tobago, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, United States, and Yugoslavia.

most of those which it did review, were examined in considerable detail. Unfortunately, the budget document itself does not facilitate the kind of thematic program review which is the proper role of the CPC. As a result, the Committee's review was limited to clarifying vague or confusing subprogram definitions, or else "fine-tuning" the supporting narrative justifications. At this session, there was wide-spread feeling among Member States representatives that the Committee needed to revise its procedures, and in late summer the Secretariat polled Member States for suggestions on such procedural reform. This topic is expected to receive considerable attention at the 26th session in 1986.

CROSS-ORGANIZATIONAL PROGRAM ANALYSES

The Committee reviewed progress on three topical COPAs and held discussions on the organization and usefulness of COPAs in general. The Committee agreed that considerable work had already been done in refining and elaborating the methodology and structure of COPAs. There was criticism however, that previous analyses had not fully dealt with such issues as gaps, overlaps and duplication, and coordination problems. The Committee felt that at this time, the best remedy to pursue was an emphasis on action-oriented conclusions which would clearly indicate the most effective follow-up.

As a consequence of this mixed reaction to COPAs, there was some reluctance to approve a schedule of COPA topics running through 1988. However, the Committee eventually agreed on the topic of science and technology for development in 1987 and environmental concerns for 1988.

The Committee briefly considered supplementary information on a previous COPA on marine affairs. The CPC recommended that IMO and UNCTAD should continue to strengthen their coordination and cooperation in order to avoid overlapping and duplication of work.

The Committee also reviewed a progress report on the COPA of economic and social research and policy analysis. While reiterating its concern about the very wide scope of this topic, the Committee considered that an analysis of that subject was particularly important, and it accepted the proposed research approach as workable. The Committee recommended that the COPA put more emphasis on the existing arrangements for cooperation and coordination and on areas for improvement in that respect than on apparent duplications in research activities and products. For this topic also, the CPC requested that the facts presented enable it to

draw specific conclusions and recommendations on coordination and cooperation.

Finally, the CPC spent most of a week reviewing the 1985 COPA on the subject of TCDC. While the lengthy report contained a considerable amount of original information, the Committee felt that the report was overly descriptive and failed to provide the critical and independent analytical assessment of the system's role and of the relationship between activities and mandates that the Committee had requested. As a consequence, the CPC felt that the report did not offer it the scope for action which it might have. Nonetheless, the Committee was able to recommend several policy initiatives which emphasized the need for greater efforts in this area. The Committee also called for a supplemental report which would meet the CPC's concerns regarding content and coverage of the topic.

REVIEW OF EVALUATION ACTIVITIES

The first topic to be considered was the drug control program. The evaluation report was commended by many of the delegations; in fact, there was general agreement that the report had proved the importance of in-depth evaluations in improving coordination and cooperation within the UN system. Discussion focused primarily on ways in which improvements could best be made with regard to the many conclusions and recommendations in the report. The Committee also reviewed the JIU report on drug abuse control activities. Both documents were favorably received and the Committee took action of various kinds on almost all of the recommendations with a view to strengthening the UN's activities in this area.

The next topic was a triennial review of the implementation of the recommendations of the CPC regarding the program of transnational corporations. This is a controversial item because of U.S.-Soviet disagreement on many fundamental facets of this work. Discussion focused on (a) general comments regarding the report under consideration, (b) the methodology employed in the triennial review, and (c) the conclusions of the review. Regarding the conclusions, the Committee agreed that the triennial review had been useful, it reiterated its position that the CPC recommendations be given equal weight with those of other intergovernmental bodies, and it regretted the divisiveness that had permeated its debate and prevented the CPC from reaching consensus on all but a few minor points.

Due to time constraints, the CPC decided to defer to its 26th session, consideration of the report on the triennial review of the

implementation of recommendations made by the CPC at its 22d session on the mineral resources program.

The Committee then turned to the last evaluation topic, a review of the implementation of recommendations on the manufactures program. Although a number of reservations and criticisms were expressed in connection with the responses of the Secretariat units being analyzed, the Committee considered the report to be useful and informative regarding implementation of the recommendations on the manufactures program. The major flaw cited by the CPC was an overdependence on organizational unit reports and too little independent assessment of the implementation work.

The CPC further recommended that UNCTAD and UNIDO should develop standardized procedures for collection and analysis of feedback regarding meetings, seminars, and publications related to this program. The CPC deplored the tendency revealed by the report, that priority was being given to the implementation of substantive recommendations in preference to those of a programming, planning, or coordinating nature. The Committee again stressed the need to accord equal importance to all of its recommendations, and parity on implementation with those of other bodies.

REPORTS OF THE JOINT INSPECTION UNIT (JIU)

Because of the extraordinary amount of time taken up by consideration of the DPB, the CPC decided to defer until 1986 consideration of all but two of the JIU reports on the agenda. One of the two reports, "Drug Abuse Control Activities in the UN System," was considered in conjunction with the topic of drug control programs (see above). The Committee felt that the report was useful and well done and endorsed several recommendations that dealt with better coordination of drug abuse control through higher-level Secretariat involvement; greater programmatic involvement by the specialized agencies; and support for the continuation of the interagency policy coordination meetings, with more emphasis on concerted action and cross-organizational programming.

The other JIU report which the CPC considered was "Reporting to the Economic and Social Council," a survey of the flow of information to ECOSOC in order to see what technical improvements in reporting could be adopted which could help to make the Council's debate, conclusions, and recommendations more useful. The recommendations called, *inter alia*, for greater recourse to outside consultants in the preparation of documents and for great-

er authority and responsibility for the expert Committee on Development Planning and for CPC itself. However, the report was not well received. The Secretariat did not reject it outright, but indicated plainly that it did not agree with any of the major recommendations. In addition, several Member States also disagreed with the report. Ultimately, the Committee could agree only to a statement which encouraged the Secretary-General to continue his efforts to bring about the improvements suggested in his further comments on the report, and to submit to the CPC at its 26th session, a report describing the existing expert bodies within the UN system, composed of members serving in their personal capacity and established by the UNGA outside the structure of the Secretariat to provide independent expert evaluation and advice to the Secretary-General and/or intergovernmental bodies in order to assist them in carrying out their functions.

Joint Inspection Unit (JIU)

The JIU consists of 11 Inspectors chosen for their background and knowledge,* who are authorized to investigate matters pertaining to efficient and effective operations in the UN system. The Unit focuses on improving management and encouraging greater coordination among organizations. The JIU statute is currently adhered to by 16 UN system agencies.

In 1985 the JIU published 13 reports between March and December on such topics as ESCAP; the proper use of computer technology; TCDC; information centers; development issues in Africa, Central America, and the Caribbean; restructuring of the UN system; status of evaluation in the system; and various aspects of UN personnel policies. These reports involved the work carried out by the UN, UNESCO, and UNDP, as well as cross-organizational studies with system-wide impact. Because a number of these reports were issued late in the year, they will not be considered until 1986.

Of the JIU reports presented to governing bodies during 1985, those in which the United States had significant substantive interest, such as refugee care and processing in Southeast Asia (published in 1984) and development issues in different areas of the globe, were considered by appropriate substantive bodies. Of the JIU reports which dealt with management issues, those of

*Inspectors are appointed by the General Assembly to serve in a personal capacity for 5-year terms. Earl D. Sohm of the United States was an Inspector during 1985.

particular interest to the United States were two reports on staff costs in the UN Secretariat (one published in 1984), and "Some Reflections on Reform of the UN."

The latter report was truly exceptional in its scope and content. It surveyed the current state of the whole UN system in terms of public perceptions and prestige and prescribed a number of serious and wide-ranging reforms. The report was a distillation of the author's many years of personal experience, and a massive think piece on the future of the UN system. Produced by the senior French Inspector upon the occasion of the UN's 40th anniversary and his own retirement, the report was unsparing in its criticisms of the present state of the UN. The inspector advocated separation of the UN's present administrative arrangements for considering, and dealing with, economic and development issues, from the more static arrangements which deal with current political issues. Then the economic functions of the entire UN system would be immensely strengthened through the creation of an "Economic Security Council" which would then supervise the reorganization of all UN system programs and activities around a regional, rather than the present functional, format. The inspector viewed such a reorganization as an opportunity to accomplish several things including the movement of UN staff back out to the field, a project which has been resisted by the Secretariat for over a decade. He also felt that regional centralization would contribute greatly to the elimination of duplication in the system. The report received only preliminary consideration in 1985, but may be more broadly considered in 1986 in connection with UN reform activities.

The two reports on the subject of staff costs in the Secretariat concentrated on recent decisions of the ICSC and their impact on the UN personnel system. In the first report, the inspectors cited the growth of staff costs both absolutely and as a portion of the UN budget, noting that cost increase rates have exceeded inflation rates over the past decade. There remains considerable disagreement among Member States, executive heads, and staff as to whether pay is too high, too low, or just right. The report reviewed in considerable detail the principles which underlie the salary and benefits system of the UN and recommended that the General Assembly reiterate its support for those concepts and in the process, challenge several recent decisions of the ICSC on salary computation policy.

Because the inspectors felt that the findings of the first report (published in 1984) were either virtually ignored, or inadequately implemented, the JIU prepared the follow-up study in 1985. This second report urged the General Assembly to create a

“Special Committee” of governmental experts to assist the ICSC in undertaking a thorough review of all aspects of the UN system of remuneration for professional category staff. The report also complained about several “arbitrary” actions taken by the ICSC, and urged reconsideration. While both reports aroused considerable opposition from staff and Member States who believed that they encroached on ICSC responsibilities, the United States and some others believed that they highlighted a number of issues which deserved further study.

During the 40th General Assembly, the Fifth Committee considered several of the JIU reports and the Secretary-General’s comments on them. Because of the controversy aroused by the JIU reports on staff costs, a good deal of the discussion related to the JIU’s procedures for preparing and circulating its reports and in particular its relations with the ICSC. The desire was also expressed that JIU reports should deal primarily with topics of broad interest to Member States and that the JIU should be as effective as possible in carrying out its proper role in the system.

In the final stages of Fifth Committee discussions of JIU reports, the United States tabled a draft resolution, which, *inter alia*, called upon the JIU to consider, insofar as appropriate during agency reviews, whether the agency’s work program was in general conformance with that agency’s mandates and functions as defined by Member States.

This proposed resolution encountered unexpected opposition from certain other states who were apparently concerned about possible JIU interference in programs of special interest to them. The result was a time-consuming debate which produced a resolution which merely called on the JIU to “respect agency mandates.”

On December 18, the General Assembly adopted Resolution 40/259 without a vote. In it, the Assembly requested the JIU to include, whenever appropriate in its reports on organizations, an evaluation of the programs and activities of the organization; to fully respect the mandates, resolutions, and decisions of the General Assembly and of the legislative organs of the other participating organizations; and to present its reports only in accordance with the procedures in the JIU Statute. The resolution further invited UN organs, after they have considered JIU reports, to submit the results of their review back to the General Assembly. Finally, the JIU was invited to evaluate the results of its own activities and to report thereon to the General Assembly in 1987.

Committee on Conferences

The Committee on Conferences met for only 1 week during 1985, August 26-30. It concentrated on discussions of improving utilization of conference-servicing resources by shortening sessions or holding biennial sessions and adoption of the draft calendar of conferences and meetings for the 1986-87 biennium. It will again meet for only 1 week in 1986, when it will discuss the other primary topic on its agenda, the control and limitation of documentation.

As a result of these meetings, the Committee submitted a three-part draft resolution for General Assembly approval. The Fifth Committee considered the draft resolution at seven meetings from October 8 through November 1. The U.S. Delegation led an initiative to delete from the draft resolution paragraph 4(f) which allowed regional commission meetings to be held away from its headquarters. The U.S. Delegation held that this provision was in violation of paragraph 5 in the draft resolution which stated that UN bodies may hold sessions away from their established headquarters when a government issuing an invitation for a session to be held within its territory has agreed to defray the additional costs involved.

In her statement on the draft resolution, U.S. Representative, Susan Shearouse stated, "we would have preferred more stringent regulations governing bodies wishing to meet away from their respective headquarters. In this respect, we questioned the continued validity of paragraph 4(f). Paragraph 5 of the draft resolution should also apply to the regional commissions. There is no justification for the continued exception to the rule which governs other bodies wishing to convene meetings away from established headquarters." The delegation was, however, unsuccessful in attempts to amend the draft resolution and therefore called for a vote on the deletion of the paragraph. The Fifth Committee voted against the amendment to delete the paragraph by a vote of 2 (U.S.) to 81, with 23 abstentions. In a follow-on attempt to eliminate special consideration for the regional commissions, the U.S. Representative proposed that the venue of the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLA) conference be changed from Mexico City to Santiago. This proposal was rejected by a recorded vote of 7 (U.S.) to 83 opposed, with 15 abstentions.

The U.S.S.R. proposed that the location of the 23d session of the International Civil Service Commission (ICSC) be revised in the draft calendar to indicate "to be determined," instead of - Nairobi. Paragraph 4(g) of the draft resolution permits the ICSC to hold one meeting each year away from headquarters if a par-

ticipating organization invites it to hold the session at the headquarters of the participating organization. ICSC was not invited to hold its session in Nairobi and, thus, the Nairobi meeting did not meet the requirements of the paragraph. The Fifth Committee rejected the proposal by a vote of 31 (U.S.) to 72 opposed, with 1 abstention.

As Ms. Shearouse indicated in her statement on the pattern of conferences within the United Nations, the United States is disturbed by the lack of willingness of the Committee on Conferences to make substantive recommendations, "Over the years the effectiveness of this committee has diminished, because the committee has been unwilling to take decisive action and because other subsidiary bodies have failed to adhere to the recommendations put forward by this committee." As she warned, "unless the committee members can look beyond the political rhetoric and concentrate on . . . escalating conference servicing resources, one can only express skepticism about the future usefulness of the Committee on Conferences. . . ."

The provisions that the Fifth Committee decided not to change had financial implications. Because the Chairman of the Committee on Conferences strongly desired a consensus decision on the draft resolution, adoption of the draft resolution on November 1, by the Fifth Committee was without prejudice to the Committee's later consideration of its financial implications. The draft resolution was thus adopted without a vote in the Fifth Committee. It contained provisions that, *inter alia*, (1) approved the draft calendar for the 1986-87 biennium; (2) requested the Committee on Conferences to review the question of summary records during its 1986 session; (3) requested the Secretary-General to report to the Committee on Conferences on his review of planning missions; and (4) authorized the Secretary-General to apply maximum overprogramming of meetings in order to most efficiently utilize conference facilities.

After approval by the Fifth Committee, Part I of the draft resolution was adopted by the General Assembly by a recorded vote of 131 to 1 (U.S.), with 17 abstentions. The remaining two sections were adopted without a vote. The U.S. Delegation called for the vote because of the inclusion of the paragraph permitting the regional commissions to meet away from headquarters. Although the Fifth Committee decided not to provide additional funding for ECLA for the conference in Mexico City, this paragraph provides an exception that may cost the United Nations additional money in conference-servicing costs in the future.

UN Accommodations

Two actions taken by the 40th General Assembly concerned UN facilities. These two actions resulted in an add-on of \$19,515,500 to the Secretary-General's 1986-87 proposed budget.

UN BUILDINGS AT BANGKOK AND ADDIS ABABA

The 39th General Assembly approved, in principle, construction projects at ESCAP in Bangkok and ECA in Addis Ababa at an estimated total cost for the two projects of \$117,678,700 to be financed over several biennia. The financing of the ECA project was one of the most controversial items at the 39th General Assembly. Reaction in the U.S. Congress was so strong, that Public Law 99-93 (enacted August 16) prohibits the United States from paying its share (25 percent) of the ECA project.

At the 40th General Assembly, the Fifth Committee reviewed the Secretary-General's first annual reports on the progress of the construction projects at two meetings on November 27. The report on the ESCAP project stated that expenditures in the 1986-87 biennium were estimated at \$20,928,000. However, a balance of \$2,614,900 from the 1984-85 biennium would be carried forward to the 1986-87 biennium and, therefore, an additional appropriation of only \$18,313,100 was required. The report on the ECA project stated that expenditures in the 1986-87 biennium were estimated at \$2,800,000. However, a balance of \$2,850,000 from the 1984-85 biennium would be carried forward to the 1986-87 biennium and, therefore, no additional appropriation for the ECA project was being requested.

The Secretary-General did, however, submit a request for \$4,276,900 for remodeling of the main conference room in the Africa Hall and maintenance of the current ECA facilities. The Fifth Committee, due in large part to objections from the United States and other major donors, as well as the ACABQ recommendation that remodeling not be undertaken since construction work was scheduled to begin in 1987, eliminated funding for the remodeling of the Africa Hall.

Consequently, the Fifth Committee approved an additional appropriation of \$19,515,500 (comprised of \$18,313,100 for Bangkok and \$1,202,400 for maintenance at ECA) by a vote of 85 to 2 (U.S.), with 15 abstentions during the Fifth Committee's first reading of the 1986-87 budget. Additionally, the Fifth Committee decided, without a vote, to recommend to the General Assembly that it request the Secretary-General to report on the major long-term maintenance work at ECA in his annual progress report on

the construction of conference facilities at ECA, and that the General Assembly note the report of the Secretary-General on the project at ESCAP.

On December 18, the General Assembly approved the \$19,515,500 for the two projects as part of the approval of the 1986-87 budget by a recorded vote of 127 to 10 (U.S), with 11 abstentions. (Resolution 40/253A)

The recommendations of the Fifth Committee regarding the reports of the Secretary-General on the ESCAP and ECA projects were included in an omnibus resolution on the 1986-87 budget and were adopted without a vote. (Resolution 40/252, sections V and VI)

International Civil Service Commission

The International Civil Service Commission (ICSC), a 15-member body of recognized experts, is responsible for making recommendations on salaries, allowances, and other benefits and conditions of service for employees of the UN and specialized agencies that are participants in the common system of salaries and allowances. The Commission was in session twice during 1985. They met for 3 weeks in London in March and again for 3 weeks in New York in July. The 11th annual report of the Commission was submitted to the General Assembly in October. The Fifth Committee considered the report at 13 meetings between November 7 and December 14.

The American member of the Commission, Dayton Hull, resigned effective December 31, 1985, and a new American member, Claudia Cooley, of the U.S. Office of Personnel Management, was elected to a 4-year term. The election was closely contested and was viewed with a high degree of importance by the United States, both in terms of electing an American member to the Commission and in electing a member who is an accomplished expert in the field of personnel management.

The most significant ICSC recommendation was the proposal for establishing a defined range for the margin of difference in net salaries for the UN employees and the employees of the comparator government, the U.S. Government. The United States has long accepted the Noblemaire principle, which provides for a margin of difference to accommodate the recruitment of employees from the comparator government and to recognize the unique status of being an expatriate. But the United States has also been concerned that the margin of difference has at times seemed ex-

cessive and has not been defined. The Honorable Gerald B.H. Solomon, U.S. Representative, stated in his address on November 22 to the Fifth Committee, "We are, therefore, prepared to accept the ICSC's proposed range with the stipulation that additional work be done over the next year to refine and simplify the methodology used to establish and describe net pay for UN and U.S. civil servants and their relations to each other."

On December 14, the Fifth Committee adopted an omnibus draft resolution approving the proposed range of 10-20 percent more than the U.S. Federal civil service, with a desirable level of 15 percent. It also instructed the ICSC to report in 1986 on its work on the methodology for defining the margin of difference.

In another part of the same resolution, the Committee accepted an ICSC recommendation to enhance the benefits for disabled children. Although the United States did not favor this recommendation because of the cost implications, the Fifth Committee approved the increased benefits without a vote.

Two other components of the resolution of interest to the United States are the request for a study of the mobility of UN staff members and the proposal for extending the age of retirement from 60 to 62. The United States made the request for a study of mobility of UN staff because of increased interest in comparing the compensation of UN staff with the U.S. Foreign Service. U.S. Foreign Service employees' compensation is predicated, among other things, on the requirement to move frequently throughout the career. The ICSC will report back to the General Assembly on this issue. On the matter of extending the retirement age, the United States has long supported this proposal as sound, both from an actuarial point of view, and from the importance of utilizing the skills of experienced staff members for longer careers. The ICSC will also report back to the General Assembly on this issue.

The General Assembly adopted the resolution without a vote on December 18. (Resolution 40/244)

Personnel Questions

Under the heading of personnel questions, the Fifth Committee considered several issues, three of them of particular interest to the United States: (1) the general services classification exercise in New York, (2) the improvement of the status of women in the Secretariat, and (3) streamlining the resolution of staff disputes, grievances, and appeals. The Fifth Committee considered

these and other issues at 15 meetings between November 20 and December 17.

In an unusual move, the Committee agreed without objection to recommend to the General Assembly that it defer any decision on the job classification exercise for general services (support staff) positions in New York. The work involved in the exercise had been under way for several years. The Committee took this action because there was concern with the timeliness and fairness of the exercise, and because of the cost implications of implementing the results, which included shifting from a five-grade to a seven-grade scale. The ACABQ had not had an opportunity to fully review the exercise due to the late submission of the report. The Committee decided to defer a decision until ACABQ could review it and also asked the ICSC to review and make observations on the exercise.

While there was agreement to defer a decision, there was disagreement over the proposed effective date for implementing the results. The United States, which did not believe implementation should be retroactive, called for a vote, but the Committee decided by a vote of 67 to 25 (U.S.), with 7 abstentions, that the results of the study, when completed, should be retroactive to January 1985. The plenary Assembly approved the decision without a vote on December 18. (Decision 40/466)

The Canadian Delegation took the lead on the women's issue. There was widespread support for the Secretary-General's action program and work plan for improving the status of women in the Secretariat. The sticking point for the United States, because of the budget implications, was the issue of reappointing a Coordinator for the Improvement of the Status of Women in the UN Secretariat. A compromise decision was reached providing for the temporary reappointment for the biennium 1986-87.

Another issue of concern to the United States was the lengthy and time-consuming process required to solve staff disputes, grievances, and appeals. The Secretary-General was requested to continue his study on the feasibility of establishing an office of Ombudsman as an option for assisting with the staff disputes and streamlining the appeals procedures. Meanwhile, pending improvement in the internal UN procedures in this area, the Assembly deferred further consideration of the long-standing effort to bring the UN and ILO administrative tribunals into closer alignment.

The Fifth Committee approved the draft resolution on personnel questions on December 17 by consensus, and the plenary As-

sembly adopted it without vote on December 18. (Resolution 40/258)

UN Pension System

The UN Joint Staff Pension Fund (UNJSPF) was established in 1949 to provide retirement, death, disability, and related benefits for employees of the United Nations and other organizations of the common system. During 1985, there were 15 member organizations of the Fund. The Fund is managed by the UN Joint Staff Pension Board, consisting of 21 representatives of Member States, organization secretariats, and Fund participants. The Fund has assets of \$3.5 billion. At the end of 1984 there were 53,204 participants in the Fund.

The Board held its 34th session in Montreal in July-August and presented its annual report to the General Assembly in October. The Fifth Committee considered the report during nine sessions from November 7 to December 16. The most significant action taken was to defer a decision on increasing the rate of contribution to the Fund by employers (14.5 percent to 15.0 percent) and employees (7.25 percent to 7.5 percent) pending resolution of other cost controlling measures.

After several informal consultations on the complex issues before the Committee, the Vice Chairman of the Committee introduced a draft resolution on December 16 which was approved without a vote. The resolution was subsequently adopted by the General Assembly, also without a vote, on December 18. (Resolution 40/245)

The major decisions in the resolution can be grouped into three components: actual changes to the current system, deferral of decisions to the next General Assembly, and requests for additional studies. The actual changes are: (1) establishment of a cap on the benefit levels for the Under Secretary-General and Assistant Secretary-General or equivalent level staff members; (2) adoption of "transitional measures" which protect benefit levels for those employees whose pensionable remuneration was lowered in January 1985; and (3) admission of UNIDO to membership in the Fund with effect from January 1, 1986.

The major issue to be deferred was the question of increasing the rate of contribution. The Pension Board was instructed to look for additional economy measures with a view to eliminating the need for an increased rate of contribution.

Also put on hold was the issue of adjusting pensionable remuneration for cost of living changes. Pensionable remuneration is in essence frozen until this issue is resolved.

Finally, the Board was asked to conduct several studies, some in conjunction with the ICSC, and report back to the General Assembly in 1986. In conjunction with the ICSC, the Pension Board was asked (1) to study levels of pension benefits for UN employees and compare those benefits with the U.S. Government's pension plan and (2) to review and recommend a methodology for determining pensionable remuneration levels. In addition, the Board was asked to study the way in which lump sum withdrawals are calculated, and the manner in which the present two-track (i.e., dollar and local currency) pension adjustment system works.

The United States supported the decisions of the resolution. In particular, the United States supported the deferral of an increase in the rate of contribution to the Fund.

Employment of Americans

At the end of 1985 there were 8,331 professional employees serving in posts subject to geographic distribution in the United Nations and its special programs. This compares to 9,312 at the end of 1984. In 1985 there were 1,111 (13.33 percent) U.S. nationals. (In 1984 there were 1,153 (12.38 percent).)

During 1985 the number of Americans in professional posts subject to geographic distribution in the UN Secretariat decreased from 477 to 472; the percentage of Americans in these posts also decreased from 15.50 percent to 15.25 percent. In 1985 there were 716 women professionals in posts subject to geographic distribution in the UN Secretariat, of whom 176 (24.58 percent) were American.

In the specialized agencies, the percentage of Americans increased in WHO; remained the same in ITU, IMO, WIPO, and ICAO; and declined in IAEA, WMO, and FAO. In spite of a percentage decrease in ILO (0.38), American representation increased by 10. For the most part, changes were minimal, representing the gain or loss of less than one percentage point.

Appendix 1

Address by President Reagan at the 40th Regular Session of the General Assembly

Statement before the 40th Session of the UN General Assembly on October 24, 1985.

Forty years ago, the world awoke daring to believe hatred's unyielding grip had finally been broken—daring to believe the torch of peace would be protected in liberty's firm grasp.

Forty years ago, the world yearned to dream again innocent dreams, to believe in ideals with innocent trust. Dreams of trust are worthy, but in these 40 years too many dreams have been shattered, too many promises have been broken, too many lives have been lost. The painful truth is that the use of violence to take, to exercise, and to preserve power remains a persistent reality in much of the world.

The vision of the U.N. Charter—to spare succeeding generations this scourge of war—remains real. It still stirs our souls and warms our hearts. But it also demands of us a realism that is rockhard, clear-eyed, steady and sure—a realism that understands the nations of the United Nations are not united.

I come before you this morning preoccupied with peace, with ensuring that the differences between some of us not be permitted to degenerate into open conflict. And I come offering for my own country a new commitment, a fresh start.

On this U.N. anniversary, we acknowledge its successes: the decisive action during the Korean War; negotiation of the Non-Proliferation Treaty; strong support for decolonization; and the laudable achievements by the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees.

Nor must we close our eyes to this organization's disappointments: its

failure to deal with real security issues, the total inversion of morality in the infamous Zionism-is-racism resolution, the politicization of too many agencies, the misuse of too many resources.

The U.N. is a political institution and politics requires compromise. We recognize that. But let us remember—from those first days, one guiding star was supposed to light our path toward the U.N. vision of peace and progress—the star of freedom.

What kind of people will we be 40 years from today? May we answer—free people, worthy of freedom, and firm in the conviction that freedom is not the sole prerogative of a chosen few, but the universal right of all God's children.

This is the Universal Declaration of Human Rights set forth in 1948. And this is the affirming flame the United States has held high to a watching world. We champion freedom not only because it is practical and beneficial, but because it is morally right and just.

Free people, whose governments rest upon the consent of the governed, do not wage war on their neighbors. Free people, blessed by economic opportunity, and protected by laws that respect the dignity of the individual, are not driven toward the domination of others.

We readily acknowledge that the United States is far from perfect. Yet we have endeavored earnestly to carry out our responsibilities to the Charter these past 40 years, and we take national pride in our contributions to peace.

We take pride in 40 years of helping avert a new world war and pride in

our alliances that protect and preserve us and our friends from aggression. We take pride in the Camp David agreements and our efforts for peace in the Middle East rooted in Resolutions 242 and 338; in supporting Pakistan, target of outside intimidation; in assisting El Salvador's struggle to carry forward its democratic revolution; in answering the appeal of our Caribbean friends in Grenada; in seeing Grenada's representative here today, voting the will of its own people. And we take pride in our proposals to reduce the weapons of war.

We submit this history as evidence of our sincerity of purpose. But today it is more important to speak to you about what my country proposes to do, in these closing years of the 20th century, to bring about a safer, a more peaceful, a more civilized world.

Let us begin with candor—with words that rest on plain and simple facts. The differences between American and the Soviet Union are deep and abiding.

The United States is a democratic nation. Here the people rule. We build no walls to keep them in, nor organize any system of police to keep them mute. We occupy no country. The only land abroad we occupy is beneath the graves where our heroes rest. What is called the West is a voluntary association of free nations, all of whom fiercely value their independence and their sovereignty. And as deeply as we cherish our beliefs, we do not seek to compel others to share them.

When we enjoy these vast freedoms as we do, it is difficult for us to understand the restrictions of dictatorships which seek to control each institution and every facet of people's lives, the expression of their beliefs, their movements, and their contacts with the outside world. It is difficult for us to understand the ideological premise that force is an acceptable way to expand a political system.

We Americans do not accept that any government has the right to command and order the lives of its people, that any nation has an historic right to use force to export its ideology. This belief—regarding the nature of man and the limitations of government—is at the core of our deep and abiding dif-

ferences with the Soviet Union, differences that put us into natural conflict—and competition—with one another.

We would welcome enthusiastically a true competition of ideas, welcome a competition of economic strength and scientific and artistic creativity, and, yes, welcome a competition for the good will of the world's people. But we cannot accommodate ourselves to the use of force and subversion to consolidate and expand the reach of totalitarianism.

When Mr. Gorbachev and I meet in Geneva next month, I look to a fresh start in the relationship of our two nations. We can and should meet in the spirit that we can deal with our differences peacefully. That is what we expect.

The only way to resolve differences is to understand them. We must have candid and complete discussions of where dangers exist and where peace is being disrupted. Make no mistake: our policy of open and vigorous competition rests on a realistic view of the world. Therefore, at Geneva, we must review the reasons for the current level of mistrust.

For example, in 1972 the international community negotiated in good faith a ban on biological and toxin weapons; in 1975 we negotiated the Helsinki accords on human rights and freedoms; and during the decade just past, the United States and the Soviet Union negotiated several agreements on strategic weapons. Yet, we feel it will be necessary at Geneva to discuss with the Soviet Union what we believe are their violations of a number of the provisions in all of these agreements. Indeed, this is why it is important that we have this opportunity to air our differences through face-to-face meetings—to let frank talk substitute for anger and tension.

The United States has never sought treaties merely to paper over differences. We continue to believe that a nuclear war is one that cannot be won and must never be fought. That is why we have sought, for nearly 10 years, still seek, and will discuss in Geneva radical, equitable, verifiable re-

ductions in these vast arsenals of offensive nuclear weapons.

At the beginning of the latest round of the ongoing negotiations in Geneva, the Soviet Union presented a specific proposal involving numerical values. We are studying the Soviet counter-proposal carefully. I believe that within their proposal there are seeds which we should nurture, and in the coming weeks we will seek to establish a genuine process of give-and-take.

The United States is also seeking to discuss with the Soviet Union in Geneva the vital relationship between offensive and defensive systems, including the possibility of moving toward a more stable and secure world in which defenses play a growing role.

The ballistic missile is the most awesome, threatening, and destructive weapon in the history of man. Thus, I welcome the interest of the new Soviet leadership in the reduction of offensive strategic forces. Ultimately, we must remove this menace—once and for all—from the face of this Earth.

Until that day, the United States seeks to escape the prison of mutual terror by research and testing that could, in time, enable us to neutralize the threat of these ballistic missiles and, ultimately, render them obsolete.

How is Moscow threatened—if the capitals of other nations are protected? We do not ask that the Soviet leaders—whose country has suffered so much from war—leave their people defenseless against foreign attack. Why then do they insist that we remain undefended? Who is threatened if Western research—and Soviet research that is itself well-advanced—should develop a non-nuclear system which would threaten not human beings, but only ballistic missiles?

Surely, the world will sleep more secure when these missiles have been rendered useless, militarily and politically, when the Sword of Damocles that has hung over our planet for too many decades is lifted by Western and Russian scientists working to shield their cities and their citizens and one day shut down space as an avenue for weapons of mass destruction.

If we are destined by history to compete, militarily, to keep the peace, then let us compete in systems that defend our societies rather than weapons which can destroy us both, and much of God's creation along with us.

Some 18 years ago, then Premier Aleksei Kosygin was asked about a moratorium on the development of an antimissile defense systems. The official Soviet news agency, TASS, reported he replied with these words:

"I believe that defensive systems, which prevent attack, are not the cause of the arms race, but constitute a factor preventing the death of people. . . . Maybe an antimissile system is more expensive than an offensive system, but it is designed not to kill people but to preserve human lives."

Preserving lives. No peace is more fundamental than that. Great obstacles lie ahead, but they should not deter us. Peace is God's commandment. Peace is the holy shadow cast by men treading on the path of virtue.

But just as we all know what peace is, we certainly know what peace is not.

Peace based on repression cannot be true peace and is secure only when individuals are free to direct their own governments.

Peace based on partition cannot be true peace. Put simply: nothing can justify the continuing and permanent division of the European continent. Walls of partition and distrust must give way to greater communication for an Open World. Before leaving for Geneva, I shall make major new proposals to achieve this goal.

Peace based on mutual fear cannot be true peace because staking our future on a precarious balance of terror is not good enough. The world needs a balance of safety.

Finally, a peace based on averting our eyes from trouble cannot be true peace. The consequences of conflict are every bit as tragic when the destruction is contained within one country.

Real peace is what we seek, and that is why today the United States is presenting an initiative that addresses

what will be a central issue in Geneva—the resolution of regional conflicts in Africa, Asia, and Central America.

Our own position is clear: as the oldest nation of the New World, as the first anticolonial power, the United States rejoiced when decolonization gave birth to so many new nations after World War II. We have always supported the right of the people of each nation to define their own destiny. We have given \$300 billion since 1945 to help people of other countries. And we have tried to help friendly governments defend against aggression, subversion, and terror.

We have noted with great interest similar expressions of peaceful intent by leaders of the Soviet Union. I am not here to challenge the good faith of what they say. But isn't it important for us to weigh the record, as well?

—In Afghanistan, there are 118,000 Soviet troops prosecuting war against the Afghan people.

—In Cambodia, 140,000 Soviet-backed Vietnamese soldiers wage a war of occupation.

—In Ethiopia, 1,700 Soviet advisers are involved in military planning and support operations along with 2,500 Cuban combat troops.

—In Angola—1,200 Soviet military advisers involved in planning and supervising combat operations, along with 35,000 Cuban troops.

—In Nicaragua—some 8,000 Soviet bloc and Cuban personnel, including about 3,500 military and secret police personnel.

All of these conflicts—some of them under way for a decade—originate in local disputes but they share a common characteristic: they are the consequence of an ideology imposed from without, dividing nations and creating regimes that are, almost from the day they take power, at war with their own people. And in each case, Marxism-Leninism's war with the people becomes war with their neighbors.

These wars are exacting a staggering human toll and threaten to spill across national boundaries and trigger

dangerous confrontations. Where is it more appropriate than right here at the United Nations to call attention to Article 2 of our Charter which instructs members to refrain "from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state. . . .?"

During the past decade these wars played a large role in building suspicions and tensions in my country over the purpose of Soviet policy. This gives us an extra reason to address them seriously today.

Last year I proposed from this podium, that the United States and Soviet Union hold discussions on some of these issues, and we have done so. But I believe these problems need more than talk.

For that reason, we are proposing, and are fully committed to support, a regional peace process that seeks progress on three levels:

First, we believe the starting point must be a process of negotiation among the warring parties in each country I've mentioned—which, in the case of Afghanistan, includes the Soviet Union. The form of these talks may and should vary, but negotiations—and an improvement of internal political conditions—are essential to achieving an end to violence, the withdrawal of foreign troops and national reconciliation.

There is a second level: once negotiations take hold and the parties directly involved are making real progress, representatives of the United States and the Soviet Union should sit down together. It is not for us to impose any solutions in this separate set of talks. Such solutions would not last. But the issue we should address is how best to support the ongoing talks among the warring parties. In some cases, it might well be appropriate to consider guarantees for any agreement already reached. But in every case the primary task is to promote this goal: verified elimination of the foreign military presence and restraint on the flow of outside arms.

Finally, if these two steps are successful, we could move on to the third—welcoming each country back into the world economy so its citizens

can share in the dynamic growth that other developing countries—countries that are at peace—enjoy. Despite past differences with these regimes, the United States would respond generously to their democratic reconciliation with their own people, their respect for human rights, and their return to the family of free nations.

Of course, until such time as these negotiations result in definitive progress, America's support for struggling democratic resistance forces must not and shall not cease.

This plan is bold. And it is realistic. It is not a substitute for existing peace-making efforts; it complements them. We are not trying to solve every conflict in every region of the globe, and we recognize that each conflict has its own character. Naturally other regional problems will require different approaches. But we believe that the recurrent pattern of conflict that we see in these five cases ought to be broken as soon as possible.

We must begin somewhere, so let us begin where there is great need and great hope. This will be a clear step forward to help people choose their future more freely. Moreover, this is an extraordinary opportunity for the Soviet side to make a contribution to regional peace which in turn can promote future dialogue and negotiations on other critical issues.

With hard work and imagination, there is no limit to what, working together, our nations can achieve. Gaining a peaceful resolution of these conflicts will open whole new vistas for peace and progress—the discovery that the promise of the future lies not in measure of military defense, or the control of weapons, but in the expansion of individual freedom and human rights.

Only when the human spirit can worship, create, and build, only when people are given a personal stake in determining their own destiny and benefitting from their own risks do societies become prosperous, progressive, dynamic, and free.

We need only open our eyes to the economic evidence all around us. Nations that deny their people opportunity—in Eastern Europe, Indochina,

southern Africa, and Latin America—without exception are dropping further behind in the race for the future.

But where we see enlightened leaders who understand that economic freedom and personal incentive are key to development, we see economies striding forward. Singapore, Taiwan, and South Korea—India, Botswana, and China. These are among the current and emerging success stories because they have the courage to give economic incentives a chance.

Let us all heed the simple eloquence in Andrei Sakharov's Nobel Peace Prize message: "International trust, mutual understanding, disarmament and international security are inconceivable without an open society with freedom of information, freedom of conscience, the right to publish and the right to travel and choose the country in which one wishes to live."

At the core, this is an eternal truth. Freedom works. That is the promise of the Open World and awaits only our collective grasp. Forty years ago, hope came alive again for a world that hungered for hope. I believe fervently that hope is still alive.

The United States has spoken with candor and conviction today, but that does not lessen these strong feelings held by every American: It's in the nature of Americans to hate war and its destructiveness. We would rather wage our struggle to rebuild and renew, not to tear down. We would rather fight against hunger, disease, and catastrophe. We would rather engage our adversaries in the battle of ideals and ideas for the future.

These principles emerge from the innate openness and good character of our people—and from our long struggle and sacrifice for our liberties and the liberties of others. Americans always yearn for peace. They have a passion for life. They carry in their hearts a deep capacity for reconciliation.

Last year at this General Assembly, I indicated there was every reason for the United States and the Soviet Union to shorten the distance between us. In Geneva—the first meeting between our heads of government in

more than 6 years—Mr. Gorbachev and I will have that opportunity.

So yes, let us go to Geneva with both sides committed to dialogue. Let both sides go committed to a world with fewer nuclear weapons—and some day with none. Let both sides go committed to walk together on a safer path into the 21st century and to lay the foundation for enduring peace.

It is time, indeed, to do more than just talk of a better world. It is time to act. And we will act when nations cease to try to impose their ways upon others. And we will act when they realize that we, for whom the achievement of freedom has come dear, will do what we must to preserve it from assault.

America is committed to the world, because so much of the world is inside America. After all, only a few miles from this very room is our Statue of Liberty, past which life began anew for millions—where the people from nearly every country in this hall joined to build these United States.

The blood of each nation courses through the American vein and feeds the spirit that compels us to involve ourselves in the fate of this good Earth. It is the same spirit that warms our heart in concern to help ease the desperate hunger that grips proud people on the African continent.

It is the internationalist spirit that came together last month when our neighbor, Mexico, was struck suddenly by an earthquake. Even as the Mexican nation moved vigorously into action—there were heartwarming offers by other nations offering to help and glimpses of people working together, without concern for national self-interest or gain.

And if there was any meaning to salvage out of that tragedy, it was found one day in a huge mound of rubble that was once the Juarez Hospital in Mexico City.

A week after that terrible event and as another day of despair unfolded—a team of workers heard a faint sound coming somewhere from the heart of the crushed concrete and twisted steel. Hoping beyond hope, they quickly burrowed toward it.

As the late afternoon light faded, and racing against time, they found what they had heard—and the first of three baby girls—newborn infants—emerged to the safety of the rescue team.

Here is the scene through the eyes of one who was there. “Everyone was so quiet when they lowered that little baby down in a basket covered with blankets. The baby didn’t make a sound, either. But the minute they put her in the Red Cross ambulance everybody just got up and cheered.”

Well, amidst all that hopelessness and debris came a timely—and timeless—lesson for us all. We witnessed the miracle of life.

It is on this that I believe our nations can make a renewed commitment. The miracle of life is given by One greater than ourselves. But once given, each life is ours to nurture and preserve—to foster not only for today’s world but for a better one to come.

There is no purpose more noble than for us to sustain and celebrate life in a turbulent world. That is what we must do now. We have no higher duty—no greater cause as humans. Life—and the preservation of freedom to live it in dignity—is what we are on this Earth to do.

Everything we work to achieve must seek that end so that some day our prime ministers, our premiers, our presidents and our general secretaries will talk not of war and peace—but only of peace.

We’ve had 40 years to begin. Let us not waste one more moment to give back to the world all that we can in return for this miracle of life.

Thank you.

Appendix 2

Principal Organs of the United Nations

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

The General Assembly is composed of all 158 members. They are:

Member	Date of Admission	Member	Date of Admission
Afghanistan	Nov. 19, 1946	Djibouti	Sept. 20, 1977
Albania	Dec. 14, 1955	Dominica	Dec. 18, 1978
Algeria	Oct. 8, 1962	Dominican Republic	Oct. 24, 1945
Angola	Dec. 1, 1976	Ecuador	Dec. 21, 1945
Antigua and Barbuda	Nov. 11, 1981	Egypt	Oct. 24, 1945
Argentina	Oct. 24, 1945	El Salvador	Oct. 24, 1945
Australia	Nov. 1, 1945	Equatorial Guinea	Nov. 12, 1968
Austria	Dec. 14, 1955	Ethiopia	Nov. 13, 1945
Bahamas	Sept. 18, 1973	Fiji	Oct. 13, 1970
Bahrain	Sept. 21, 1971	Finland	Dec. 14, 1955
Bangladesh	Sept. 17, 1974	France	Oct. 24, 1945
Barbados	Dec. 9, 1966	Gabon	Sept. 20, 1960
Belgium	Dec. 27, 1945	Gambia	Sept. 21, 1965
Belize	Sept. 25, 1981	German Democratic Republic	Sept. 18, 1973
Benin	Sept. 20, 1960	Germany, Federal Republic of	Sept. 18, 1973
Bhutan	Sept. 21, 1971	Ghana	Mar. 8, 1957
Bolivia	Nov. 14, 1945	Greece	Oct. 25, 1945
Botswana	Oct. 17, 1966	Grenada	Sept. 17, 1974
Brazil	Oct. 24, 1945	Guatemala	Nov. 21, 1945
Brunei Darussalam	Sept. 21, 1984	Guinea	Dec. 12, 1958
Bulgaria	Dec. 14, 1955	Guinea-Bissau	Sept. 17, 1974
Burkina Faso	Sept. 20, 1960	Guyana	Sept. 20, 1966
Burma	Apr. 19, 1948	Haiti	Oct. 24, 1945
Burundi	Sept. 18, 1962	Honduras	Dec. 17, 1945
Byelorussian S.S.R.	Oct. 24, 1945	Hungary	Dec. 14, 1955
Cameroon	Sept. 20, 1960	Iceland	Nov. 19, 1946
Canada	Nov. 9, 1945	India	Oct. 30, 1945
Cape Verde	Sept. 16, 1975	Indonesia	Sept. 28, 1950
Central African Republic	Sept. 20, 1960	Iran	Oct. 24, 1945
Chad	Sept. 20, 1960	Iraq	Dec. 21, 1945
Chile	Oct. 24, 1945	Ireland	Dec. 14, 1955
China*	Oct. 24, 1945	Israel	May 11, 1949
Colombia	Nov. 5, 1945	Italy	Dec. 14, 1955
Comoros	Nov. 12, 1975	Ivory Coast	Sept. 20, 1960
Congo	Sept. 20, 1960	Jamaica	Sept. 18, 1962
Costa Rica	Nov. 2, 1945	Japan	Dec. 18, 1956
Cuba	Oct. 24, 1945	Jordan	Dec. 14, 1955
Cyprus	Sept. 20, 1960	Kampuchea	Dec. 14, 1955
Czechoslovakia	Oct. 24, 1945	Kenya	Dec. 16, 1963
Denmark	Oct. 24, 1945	Kuwait	May 14, 1963

Member	Date of Admission	Member	Date of Admission
Laos	Dec. 14, 1955	Saint Vincent and the Grenadines	Sept. 16, 1980
Lebanon	Oct. 24, 1945	Samoa	Dec. 15, 1976
Lesotho	Oct. 17, 1966	Sao Tome and Principe	Sept. 16, 1975
Liberia	Nov. 2, 1945	Saudi Arabia	Oct. 24, 1945
Libya	Dec. 14, 1955	Senegal	Sept. 28, 1960
Luxembourg	Oct. 24, 1945	Seychelles	Sept. 21, 1976
Madagascar	Sept. 20, 1960	Sierra Leone	Sept. 27, 1961
Malawi	Dec. 1, 1964	Singapore	Sept. 21, 1965
Malaysia	Sept. 17, 1957	Solomon Islands	Sept. 19, 1978
Maldives	Sept. 21, 1965	Somalia	Sept. 20, 1960
Mali	Sept. 28, 1960	South Africa	Nov. 7, 1945
Malta	Dec. 1, 1964	Spain	Dec. 14, 1955
Mauritania	Oct. 27, 1961	Sri Lanka	Dec. 14, 1955
Mauritius	Apr. 24, 1968	Sudan	Nov. 12, 1956
Mexico	Nov. 7, 1945	Suriname	Dec. 4, 1975
Mongolia	Oct. 27, 1961	Swaziland	Sept. 24, 1968
Morocco	Nov. 12, 1956	Sweden	Nov. 19, 1946
Mozambique	Sept. 16, 1975	Syria	Oct. 24, 1945
Nepal	Dec. 14, 1955	Tanzania	Dec. 14, 1961
Netherlands	Dec. 10, 1945	Thailand	Dec. 16, 1946
New Zealand	Oct. 24, 1945	Togo	Sept. 20, 1960
Nicaragua	Oct. 24, 1945	Trinidad and Tobago	Sept. 18, 1962
Niger	Sept. 20, 1960	Tunisia	Nov. 12, 1956
Nigeria	Oct. 7, 1960	Turkey	Oct. 24, 1945
Norway	Nov. 27, 1945	Uganda	Oct. 25, 1962
Oman	Oct. 7, 1971	Ukrainian S.S.R.	Oct. 24, 1945
Pakistan	Sept. 30, 1947	U.S.S.R.	Oct. 24, 1945
Panama	Nov. 13, 1945	United Arab Emirates	Dec. 9, 1971
Papua New Guinea	Oct. 10, 1975	United Kingdom	Oct. 24, 1945
Paraguay	Oct. 24, 1945	United States	Oct. 24, 1945
Peru	Oct. 31, 1945	Uruguay	Dec. 18, 1945
Philippines	Oct. 24, 1945	Vanuatu	Sept. 15, 1981
Poland	Oct. 24, 1945	Venezuela	Nov. 15, 1945
Portugal	Dec. 14, 1955	Vietnam	Sept. 20, 1977
Qatar	Sept. 21, 1971	Yemen (Aden)	Dec. 14, 1967
Romania	Dec. 14, 1955	Yemen (Sanaa)	Sept. 30, 1947
Rwanda	Sept. 18, 1962	Yugoslavia	Oct. 24, 1945
Saint Christopher and Nevis	Sept. 23, 1983	Zaire	Sept. 20, 1960
Saint Lucia	Sept. 18, 1979	Zambia	Dec. 1, 1964
		Zimbabwe	Aug. 25, 1980

The 39th regular session, which was suspended December 18, 1984, was resumed April 9-12, 1985, at which time four resolutions were adopted. The first endorsed the resolution of the UN Conference on Conditions for Registration of Ships of February 15, and requested the Secretary-General to make arrangements for holding the resumed session of the Conference in July 1985. (Resolution 39/219 B) The second related to Consumer Protection and had as its annex the guidelines for that protection. (Resolution 39/248) The third and fourth resolutions concerned the Scales of Assessments and the Statute of the International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women. (Resolutions 39/247 B and 39/249)

The 40th regular session of the General Assembly convened September 17 and was suspended December 18.

The 40th session was resumed April 28-June 20, 1986, for the purpose of considering 13 items remaining on the agenda. (Decision 40/470) At the resumed session an additional item entitled "Current financial crisis of the United Nations" was included in the agenda.

The Assembly elected Jaime de Pinies (Spain) as President and the Chairmen of the Delegations of the Bahamas, Barbados, Burkina Faso, China, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Democratic Yemen, France, Gabon, Kenya, Lesotho, Malta, Pakistan, Philippines, Qatar, Romania, Senegal, Tunisia, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, and the United States as the 21 Vice Presidents.

The Chairmen of the seven main committees, on which each member may be represented, were:

First Committee (Political and Security)—Ali Alatas (Brazil)

Special Political Committee—Keijo Korhonen (Finland)

Second Committee (Economic and Financial)—Omer Birido (Sudan)

Third Committee (Social, Humanitarian, and Cultural)—Endre Zador (Hungary)

Fourth Committee (Decolonization)—Javier Chamorro Mora (Nicaragua)

Fifth Committee (Administrative and Budgetary)—Tommo Month (Cameroun)

Sixth Committee (Legal)—Riyadh Al-Qaysi (Iraq)

The General Committee (steering committee) is composed of the President, the 21 Vice Presidents, and Chairmen of the Seven Committees.

SECURITY COUNCIL

The Security Council is composed of 5 members designated in the Charter as permanent and 10 members elected by the General Assembly for 2-year terms ending December 31 of the year given in the heading:

Permanent Members: China, France, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, United States.

1986: Australia, Denmark, Madagascar, Thailand, Trinidad and Tobago.

1987: Bulgaria, Congo, Ghana, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela.

On October 17, 1985, the Assembly elected Bulgaria, the Congo, Ghana, the United Arab Emirates, and Venezuela as members of the Security Council for a 2-year term of office beginning January 1, 1986.

TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL

The Trusteeship Council is composed of the United States (as administrator of a territory), and the other four permanent members of the Security Council (China, France, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom).

The Trusteeship Council held its 52d meeting in New York, May 13-June 7.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL

ECOSOC is composed of 54 members elected by the General Assembly for 3-year terms ending December 31 of the year given in the heading:

1986: Argentina, Canada, China, Costa Rica, Finland, Guyana, Indonesia, Papua New Guinea, Poland, Rwanda, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sweden, Uganda, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, Yugoslavia, Zaire.

1987: Bangladesh, Brazil, Colombia, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Guinea, Haiti, Iceland, India, Japan, Morocco, Nigeria, Romania, Senegal, Spain, Turkey, Venezuela, Zimbabwe.

1988: Australia, Belgium, Byelorussia S.S.R., Djibouti, Egypt, Gabon, German Democratic Republic, Iraq, Italy, Jamaica, Mozambique, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Sierra Leone, Syrian Arab Republic, United States.

On October 17 the Assembly reelected Djibouti, the German Democratic Republic, Sierra Leone, and the United States and elected Australia, Belgium, Byelorussia S.S.R., Egypt, Gabon, Iraq, Italy, Jamaica, Mozambique, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, the Philippines, and the Syrian Arab Republic.

ECOSOC held its organizational session February 5-8 and its first regular session May 7-31 in New York. The second regular session was held in Geneva July 3-26.

INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE

The International Court of Justice consists of 15 members elected by the General Assembly and Security Council for 9-year terms ending February 5 of the year given in parentheses. The Judges, listed in their order of precedence, are:

- Nagendra Singh of India (1991), President
- Guy Ladreit de Lacharriere of France (1991), Vice President
- Manfred Lachs of Poland (1994)
- Jose Maria Ruda of Argentina (1991)
- Taslim Olawale Elias of Nigeria (1994)
- Shigeru Oda of Japan (1994)
- Roberto Ago of Italy (1988)
- Jose Sette-Camara of Brazil (1988)
- Stephen Schwebel of the United States (1988)
- Robert Y. Jennings of the United Kingdom (1991)
- Keba Mbaye of Senegal (1991)
- Mohammed Bedjaoui of Algeria (1988)
- Ni Zhengyu of China (1994)
- Jens Evensen of Norway (1994)
- Nikolai Konstantinovich Tarasov of the U.S.S.R. (1988)

On December 9 the General Assembly and the Security Council, independent of each other, elected Nikolai Konstantinovich Tarasov of the U.S.S.R for a term of office expiring on February 5, 1988, to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Judge Platon Dimitrievich Morozov of the U.S.S.R.

Appendix 3

United States Missions

UNITED STATES MISSION TO THE UNITED NATIONS, NEW YORK

The United States is represented by a permanent mission at the Headquarters of the United Nations in New York. Under the direction of the U.S. Representative to the United Nations, the mission carries out the instructions of the President, as transmitted by the Secretary of State. The mission serves as the channel of communications between the U.S. Government and the UN organs, agencies, and commissions at the Headquarters; with the 158 other permanent missions accredited to the United Nations; and with various nonmember observer missions. It is also a base of operations for the U.S. Delegations to the General Assembly and to other UN bodies when they meet in New York.

The chief of mission, who has the rank of Ambassador, is the U.S. Representative to the United Nations and also represents the United States in the Security Council. He or she is assisted by other persons of appropriate title, rank, and status, who are appointed by the President.

The mission staff includes specialists in political, economic, social, financial, budgetary, legal, military, public affairs, and administrative matters. In 1985 about 135 persons were assigned to the mission by the Department of State and other U.S. Departments and Agencies.

The staff assists the U.S. Representative in such activities as (1) planning the tactical pursuit of U.S. policy objectives in UN organs and bodies; (2) carrying out consultations, negotiation, and liaison with other delegations and the UN Secretariat; (3) preparing policy recommendations to the Department of State; (4) reporting to the Department of State on consultations and developments in the United Nations; (5) discharging U.S. responsibilities as "host government", in particular, those arising from the 1947 Headquarters Agreement between the United States and the United Nations (Public Law 357, 80th Cong.); the International Organizations Immunities Act of 1945, as amended; and the Convention on Privileges and Immunities of the United Nations, which deal, *inter alia*, with relations of the United Nations, its officials, and delegation members with Federal, State, and local authorities; (6) carrying out public affairs activities; and (7) planning and administering conference operations.

U.S. MISSION TO THE EUROPEAN OFFICE OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, GENEVA

The United States maintains a permanent mission in Geneva under the direction of a U.S. Representative, with the rank of Ambassador, who is accredited to the European Office of the United Nations and to the UN specialized agencies and other international organizations with headquarters in Geneva. The mission is responsible for the representation of U.S. interests at the UN European headquarters, in UN subsidiary bodies located in Geneva (such as UNCTAD, UNHCR, ECE, and the UN Disaster Relief Office); in the four specialized agencies which have their headquarters in Geneva (WHO, WMO, ITU, and WIPO); and in other international bodies such as GATT, CCD, and the Intergovernmental Committee for Migration. The mission also maintains liaison, as appropriate, with resident delegations of other nations in Geneva, as well as with a large number of nongovern-

mental or voluntary organizations involved in humanitarian affairs, such as the International Committee of the Red Cross.

The mission maintains liaison on a continuing basis with the executive heads and members of secretariats of international bodies, reports on developments relating to them, monitors their programs and budgets, and makes policy and program recommendations to the Department of State.

The mission staff includes economic, political, financial, budgetary, scientific, agricultural, health, public affairs, humanitarian, and administrative advisers. In 1985, about 135 Americans, including personnel detailed by U.S. Government Departments other than the Department of State, were assigned to the staff, and 50 local employees were hired full time.

The Ambassador often heads or serves as alternate on delegations to large conferences, and other officers of the mission either represent the United States in smaller international meetings or serve on the U.S. Delegations to these.

OTHER U.S. MISSIONS

The United States also maintains a mission at the Headquarters of the United Nations and IAEA in Vienna, an observer mission to UNESCO in Paris, a mission to the UN Agencies for Food and Agriculture in Rome, a mission to ICAO in Montreal, and a liaison office with UNEP in Nairobi.

Appendix 4

United States Representatives

Permanent Representative and Chief of Mission to the United Nations: Jeane J. Kirkpatrick (through April 1, 1985); Vernon A. Walters (from May 17)

Deputy Permanent Representative to the United Nations: Jose S. Sorzano (through July 23); Herbert S. Okun (from November 21)

Deputy Permanent Representative to the Security Council: Richard Schifter (through June 28); Ambassador Patricia M. Byrne (from November 21)

Representative on the Economic and Social Council: Alan L. Keyes (through November 5); Ambassador Joseph V. Reed (from November 21)

Alternate Permanent Representative for Special Political Affairs: Harvey Feldman (through August 31); Ambassador Hugh Montgomery (from September 1)

U.S. Representative to the European Office of the United Nations and Other International Organizations: Gerald P. Carmen (from April 12, 1984)

U.S. Mission to International Organizations in Vienna: Richard S. Williamson (through January 15); Bruce Chapman (from August 1)

Appendix 5

Scale of Assessments for the Apportionment of the Expenses of the United Nations

The scale of assessments for the contributions of Member States to the UN budget for the financial years 1986, 1987, and 1988 shall be as follows:

Member State	Percent	Member State	Percent
Afghanistan	0.01	Cyprus	0.02
Albania	0.01	Czechoslovakia	0.70
Algeria	0.14	Democratic	0.01
Angola	0.01	Kampuchea	
Antigua and Barbuda	0.01	Democratic Yemen	0.01
Argentina	0.62	Denmark	0.72
Australia	1.66	Djibouti	0.01
Austria	0.74	Dominica	0.01
Bahamas	0.01	Dominican Republic	0.03
Bahrain	0.02	Ecuador	0.03
Bangladesh	0.02	Egypt	0.07
Barbados	0.01	El Salvador	0.01
Belgium	1.18	Equatorial Guinea	0.01
Belize	0.01	Ethiopia	0.01
Benin	0.01	Fiji	0.01
Bhutan	0.01	Finland	0.50
Bolivia	0.01	France	6.37
Botswana	0.01	Gabon	0.03
Brazil	1.40	Gambia	0.01
Brunei Darussalam	0.04	Germany, Dem. Rep.	1.33
Bulgaria	0.16	of	
Burkina Faso	0.01	Germany, Fed. Rep. of	8.26
Burma	0.01	Ghana	0.01
Burundi	0.01	Greece	0.44
Byelorussian S.S.R.	0.34	Grenada	0.01
Cameroon	0.01	Guatemala	0.02
Canada	3.06	Guinea	0.01
Cape Verde	0.01	Guinea-Bissau	0.01
Central African Rep.	0.01	Guyana	0.01
Chad	0.01	Haiti	0.01
Chile	0.07	Honduras	0.01
China	0.79	Hungary	0.22
Colombia	0.13	Iceland	0.03
Comoros	0.01	India	0.35
Congo	0.01	Indonesia	0.14
Costa Rica	0.02	Iran, Islamic Rep. of	0.63
Cuba	0.09	Iraq	0.12

Member State	Percent	Member State	Percent
Ireland	0.18	Rwanda	0.01
Israel	0.22	St. Christopher and Nevis	0.01
Italy	3.79	St. Lucia	0.01
Ivory Coast (Cote d'Ivoire)	0.02	St. Vincent and the Grenadines	0.01
Jamaica	0.02	Samoa	0.01
Japan	10.84	Sao Tome and Principe	0.01
Jordan	0.01	Saudi Arabia	0.97
Kampuchea	0.01	Senegal	0.01
Kenya	0.01	Seychelles	0.01
Kuwait	0.29	Sierra Leone	0.01
Laos	0.01	Singapore	0.10
Lebanon	0.01	Solomon Islands	0.01
Lesotho	0.01	Somalia	0.01
Liberia	0.01	South Africa	0.44
Libya	0.26	Spain	2.03
Luxembourg	0.05	Sri Lanka	0.01
Madagascar	0.01	Sudan	0.01
Malawi	0.01	Suriname	0.01
Malaysia	0.10	Swaziland	0.01
Maldives	0.01	Sweden	1.25
Mali	0.01	Syrian Arab Republic	0.04
Malta	0.01	Tanzania, United Rep. of	0.01
Mauritania	0.01	Thailand	0.09
Mauritius	0.01	Togo	0.01
Mexico	0.89	Trinidad and Tobago	0.04
Mongolia	0.01	Tunisia	0.03
Morocco	0.05	Turkey	0.34
Mozambique	0.01	Uganda	0.01
Nepal	0.01	Ukrainian S.S.R.	1.28
Netherlands	1.74	U.S.S.R.	10.20
New Zealand	0.24	United Arab Emirates	0.18
Nicaragua	0.01	United Kingdom	4.86
Niger	0.01	United States	25.00
Nigeria	0.19	Uruguay	0.04
Norway	0.54	Vanuatu	0.01
Oman	0.02	Venezuela	0.60
Pakistan	0.06	Vietnam	0.01
Panama	0.02	Yemen	0.01
Papua New Guinea	0.01	Yugoslavia	0.46
Paraguay	0.02	Zaire	0.01
Peru	0.07	Zambia	0.01
Philippines	0.10	Zimbabwe	0.02
Poland	0.64		
Portugal	0.18		
Qatar	0.04		
Romania	0.19	Grand total	100.00

In accordance with Rule 160 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly, States which are not Members of the United Nations but which participate in certain of its activities shall be called upon to contribute toward the 1986, 1987, and 1988 expenses of such activities on the basis of the following rates:

Non-member State	Percent	Non-member State	Percent
Holy See	0.01	Nauru	0.01
Korea, Dem. People's Rep. of	0.05	San Marino	0.01
Korea, Rep. of	0.20	Switzerland	1.12
Liechtenstein	0.01	Tonga	0.01
Monaco	0.01	Tuvalu	0.01

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