

# U. S. Participation in the UN

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Report by the President to the Congress for the Year 1974



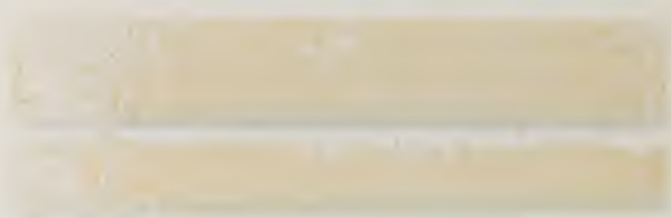
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Report by the President to the Congress for the Year 1974

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ACRONYMNS AND SHORT FORMS

AEC	--U.S. Atomic Energy Commission
AID	--U.S. Agency for International Development
ACABQ	--Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions
ACASTD	--Advisory Committee on the Application of Science and Technology to Development
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
CCD	--Conference of the Committee on Disarmament
DOT	--U.S. Department of Transportation
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 Tariffs and Trade
HEW	--U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare
IAEA	--International Atomic Energy Agency
IBRD	--International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
ICAO	--International Civil Aviation Organization
ICRC	--International Committee of the Red Cross
IDA	--International Development Association
ILO	--International Labor Organization
IMCO	--Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization
IMF	--International Monetary Fund
IOC	--Intergovernmental Oceanographic Commission
ITU	--International Telecommunication Union
JIU	--Joint Inspection Unit
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
PLO	--Palestine Liberation Organization
UNCITRAL	--UN Commission on International Trade Law
UNCTAD	--UN Conference on Trade and Development
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
UNFPA	--UN Fund for Population Activities
UNHCR	--Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	--UN Children's Fund
UNIDO	--UN Industrial Development Organization
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
UNTSO	--UN Truce Supervision Organization
UPU	--Universal Postal Union
WFP	--World Food Program
WHO	--World Health Organization
WIPO	--World Intellectual Property Organization
WMO	--World Meteorological Organization

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PART I.  
POLITICAL AND SECURITY AFFAIRS

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Under the UN Charter, responsibility for consideration of the world's political problems is vested in both the Security Council and the General Assembly and is also carried out through a wide range of subordinate bodies of their creation.

It is to the Security Council that the Charter gives primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. It is also in this 15-member Council that the Charter assigns a special role to the five permanent members--China, France, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, and United States--requiring their concurring votes in all Council actions on substantive matters. The UN Charter requires that the Security Council be so organized as to enable it to function continuously and empowers it to take various types of action with respect both to the pacific settlement of disputes and to threats to the peace, breaches of the peace, and acts of aggression. In the pacific settlement area, the Council can only recommend, but when it considers threats to the peace, breaches of the peace, and acts of aggression, the Council can make decisions that under the Charter are binding on all UN members. The UN Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP), the second UN Emergency Force in the Middle East (UNEF) established after the 1973 "October War," the UN Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF), and the Rhodesian Sanctions Committee are examples of instrumentalities established by the Security Council in carrying out its responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.

The General Assembly may consider any matter within the scope of the Charter, but it may not make recommendations on disputes or situations under active consideration in the Security Council unless the Council asks that it do so. The Assembly meets at least annually--in the fall--and has frequently held either

(1)

special sessions, emergency special sessions, or resumed sessions at other times in the year. In 1974, the Assembly held its sixth special session, devoted to economic matters, from April 9 to May 2 and its 29th regular session from September 17 to December 18. The Assembly's regular sessional work is carried out, in the first instance, through seven main committees of the whole, established on a subject-matter basis. The Assembly has also established numerous subsidiary bodies whose meetings extend beyond regular Assembly sessions. Among the more important of these concerned with political questions are the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations, the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, and the Special Committee on the Situation with Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (see Part III).

The situation in Cyprus occupied a major part of the Security Council's attention in 1974, being the subject of 18 of its 52 meetings. Three of these meetings--in May and in December--were concerned with the extension of UNFICYP's mandate. The remainder took place in the summer, following the coup d'etat led by elements of the Greek Cypriot National Guard and the Turkish military action that followed, and were directed toward obtaining a cease-fire, an end to foreign military intervention, and the resumption of negotiations among the parties.

The Middle East problem, which had dominated the Council's deliberations in 1973, was the subject of only nine meetings in 1974. Two of these--in April and October--extended the mandate of UNEF in the Israel-Egypt sector. Two meetings in May established UNDOF in the Israel-Syria sector, and a fifth, in November, extended UNDOF's mandate another 6 months. The Council's other meetings on the Middle East situation were concerned with a Lebanese complaint of retaliatory action by Israeli armed forces against Lebanon following a terrorist attack in Israel, which the Israelis charged came from Lebanon.

Four Security Council meetings early in 1974 devoted to an Iraq-Iran border dispute resulted in the



appointment by the UN Secretary General of a special representative to investigate the situation and, subsequently, an agreement by the parties to delimitation and demarcation of the border line through bilateral discussions.

Six Council meetings in 1974 concerned the admission of new UN members. The Council recommended to the General Assembly the admission of three applicants-- Bangladesh, Grenada, and Guinea-Bissau.

Aside from two procedural meetings and two on the Namibian question (see Part III), the rest of the Council's 1974 meetings concerned the relationship between the United Nations and South Africa. During the 29th General Assembly, the Council, as the result of U.S., U.K., and French negative votes, rejected a proposal recommending to the General Assembly the immediate expulsion of South Africa from the United Nations. The three states took the position that not only was expulsion an ineffectual way to deal with the problems which had inspired the proposal, but also that it would create a dangerous precedent which could gravely damage the United Nations. Subsequently the General Assembly voted to uphold the ruling of its President that its decision to reject the credentials of the South African delegation was a decision to refuse to permit that delegation to participate in its work. This ruling, which was opposed by the United States and 21 other UN members, was contrary to that of the President of the 25th General Assembly who had ruled that the Assembly's rejection of the South African credentials was an expression of displeasure but not a decision to unseat the South African delegation.

The 29th General Assembly took a number of political actions that were opposed by the United States and others--notably, its invitation to the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) to speak in plenary as "the representative of the Palestinian people," its invitation to the PLO to participate as an observer in the work of the General Assembly and of all General Assembly sponsored international conferences, and its decision to limit debate on the Palestine question.

These and other Assembly decisions taken despite the opposition of the United States and other members led the U.S. Representative, in an address to the General Assembly on December 6, to deplore the Assembly's growing tendency to "adopt one-sided, unrealistic resolutions that cannot be implemented" and to ignore its "true function" of reconciling opposing views and trying to bridge the differences among members. Nevertheless, on two highly political issues of major concern to the United States--the questions of Korea and of Khmer representation--the U.S. view prevailed.

The problem of how to realize the benefits of nuclear technology without contributing to the proliferation of nuclear weapons was one of the major challenges of worldwide concern that Secretary Kissinger outlined in his address to the General Assembly on September 23. In line with the Secretary's call for practical steps to augment the safeguards on nuclear materials, U.S. representatives participated actively in the discussion of this problem and supported a resolution calling for effective measures for the cessation of the nuclear arms race, the prevention of the further proliferation of nuclear weapons, and consideration of the arms control implications of nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes. Another major topic of discussion at the 29th General Assembly was nuclear-weapon-free zones, which accounted for seven of the 21 disarmament resolutions adopted. The United States cosponsored a resolution endorsing the enlargement of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament (CCD), which continued to give serious consideration to many of the disarmament issues during 1974. The United States voted in favor of 10 of the resolutions, including those looking toward possible limitations on chemical weapons, calling for a comprehensive study of nuclear-free zones under the auspices of the CCD, requesting further views on questions related to the reduction of military budgets, and commending proposals for establishing nuclear-free zones in Africa and the Middle East. The United States abstained on several other resolutions, including two competing resolutions on a South Asian nuclear-free zone, two resolutions relating to a "zone of peace" in the Indian Ocean, a resolution expressing views on the U.S.-U.S.S.R. SALT talks, and a

resolution calling on the CCD to achieve, in the form of an appropriate international convention, effective measures to prohibit action to influence the environment and climate for military and other hostile purposes. In all of these cases, however, the United States explained the reasons why it could not support the draft resolutions despite its sympathetic attitude toward the objectives stated by their proponents.

The United States continued its active participation in the Outer Space Committee and other UN bodies dealing with outer space matters, and proposed a set of draft principles covering the use of satellites for direct television broadcasting. Following a compromise acceptable to the United States on the marking of space objects, the General Assembly approved a draft convention on the registration of objects launched into outer space, but discussions were inconclusive with respect to a draft treaty on the moon and other celestial bodies and with respect to the legal implications of remote sensing of the earth from satellites.

The Third UN Conference on the Law of the Sea held its first substantive session in Caracas, Venezuela during the summer of 1974. While not producing any final treaty language, the session did begin to lay the foundations for later agreement and narrowed many of the differences on territorial sea and economic zone matters. The United States tabled three major papers at the session, on dispute settlement, mineral resource development in the international deep seabed area, and the economic zone, including fisheries and the continental shelf. On December 17 the General Assembly adopted a resolution approving the convening of the next session of the Conference in Geneva in the spring of 1975 and noting that there would be a final meeting in Caracas at an appropriate date to sign the documents adopted by the Conference.

## PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT

### MIDDLE EAST

This year marked significant progress toward a negotiated settlement of the Middle East dispute, particularly through the achievement of the Egyptian-Israeli and Israeli-Syrian agreements on disengagement of forces. UN peacekeeping forces effectively exercised their responsibilities in supervising the implementation of these agreements. The General Assembly decided again to finance the UN Emergency Force (UNEF) in the Egypt-Israel sector and the UN Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF) in the Israel-Syria sector through the assessment of each member state, thus implicitly reaffirming the principle of collective responsibility for international peacekeeping.

At the same time, there were intensified attempts, which further complicated efforts to move the Middle East dispute toward resolution, to bring the Palestinian question to the attention of the UN General Assembly and to obtain recognition by international organizations for the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) as the sole spokesman for the Palestinian people.

### Security Council Consideration

#### Egyptian-Israeli Disengagement Agreement

In accordance with a decision of the Geneva Peace Conference, convened in December 1973 under the co-chairmanship of the United States and the U.S.S.R., military representatives from Egypt and Israel formed a working group with the UN Secretary General's military representative, UNEF's Commander, Lt. General Ensio P. H. Siilasvuo of Finland, to begin immediate discussions on the disengagement of forces and report their findings and recommendations to the conference.

These technical discussions established the confidence necessary to lead to indirect negotiations between

Israel and Egypt, using the good offices of Secretary of State Kissinger, on a disengagement of forces agreement. On January 18, the UN Secretary General informed the Security Council that the Egyptian-Israeli Agreement on Disengagement of Forces in Pursuance of the Geneva Peace Conference had been signed by Israel, Egypt, and the UN Representative. It provided, inter alia, for the scrupulous observance of the cease-fire called for by the UN Security Council including the cessation of all military and paramilitary activities against each other. The agreement called for the return of both sides of the Suez Canal to Egypt's control with a zone of disengagement between Egyptian and Israeli lines occupied by UNEF. In addition, areas of limited armaments and forces were created on both sides on the UNEF buffer zone, to be inspected by UNEF. Details on the extent of the limitations imposed by the agreement were not made public. The text of the agreement emphasized that it was not a final peace agreement but "a first step toward a final, just and durable peace according to the provisions of Security Council resolution 338 and within the framework of the Geneva Conference."<sup>1/</sup> Upon notification of the disengagement agreement by the Secretary General, UNEF immediately undertook the functions assigned it by the agreement. The Secretary General reported to the Security Council regularly on the operations of UNEF, but the Council did not meet to discuss UNEF until April when it was called upon to renew its 6-month mandate.

#### Extension of UNEF

By a vote of 13 to 0, with the P.R.C. and Iraq not participating, the Security Council adopted on April 8 a resolution extending the mandate of UNEF for 6 months, or until October 24. The resolution, introduced by the Council President following consultations, also implicitly

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<sup>1/</sup> Resolution 338 of Oct. 22, 1973, established the cease-fire, called for implementation of resolution 242 of Nov. 22, 1967, in all its parts, and called for negotiations between the parties aimed at establishing a just and durable peace in the Middle East.



authorized UNEF to participate in an Israeli-Syrian disengagement, if such agreement should be achieved.

Controversy had arisen over (1) Israel's denial of access to Israeli-occupied territory for UNEF contingents whose governments do not have diplomatic relations with Israel and (2) the uneven rate of reimbursement for extra costs to governments contributing to UNEF (e.g., the Scandinavian troop contributors submitted higher claims for expenses than did the African troop contributors.) Compromise language in the resolution did not make explicit reference to these issues, but noted with satisfaction the Secretary General's efforts to solve the problems of UNEF, "including the urgent ones referred to in paragraph 71 of his report" to the Council; paragraph 71 dealt with these two issues.

Speaking after the vote, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador John Scali, welcomed the extension and pledged that the United States would continue to support the efforts of UNEF to implement its mandate and the relevant Security Council resolutions. He commended all of those associated with UNEF for their constructive role in the implementation of the cease-fire and the subsequent Egyptian-Israeli disengagement agreement. Commenting on the complex problems of maintaining a peacekeeping force in the Middle East, Ambassador Scali asserted that the contributions of UNEF to peace far outweighed any difficulties caused by differences of opinion regarding financing or operations, and he supported the Secretary General's efforts to solve outstanding problems on an equitable and practical basis.

#### Lebanese Complaint Against Israel

On April 11, 1974, the Israeli Representative addressed a letter to the UN Secretary General describing the massacre of 18 inhabitants of the town of Qiryat Shemona by terrorists who allegedly entered Israel from Lebanon. The letter said that in a statement issued in Beirut the terrorist organization known as the Popular Front-General Command had announced its responsibility for the attack. The Israeli Representative concluded that the Lebanese Government must bear full responsibility for permitting terrorist attacks to be initiated and carried out from its territory against Israel.

In a letter of April 12 to the Secretary General, the Lebanese Representative denied Lebanon's responsibility for the attack. He pointed out that the statement of the Popular Front-General Command had been issued outside of Lebanon, in Europe and elsewhere in the Middle East, although published in Beirut as well as other places. Neither the Lebanese Government nor the Lebanese people could be held responsible for the actions of non-Lebanese operating outside Lebanon, whether in Israel or anywhere else.

On April 13, Lebanon requested a Security Council meeting to consider the situation resulting from retaliatory action taken by Israeli armed forces during the night of April 12-13 in which, following advance warning to the inhabitants, they demolished 31 houses in several villages in southern Lebanon, reportedly killing 2 civilians, wounding 2, and abducting 13.

The Security Council met four times on the Lebanese complaint between April 15 and 24. Following extensive negotiations, a resolution emerged from consultations and was adopted on April 24 by a vote of 13 to 0, with the P.R.C. and Iraq not participating. In its operative paragraphs the resolution:

"(1) Condemns Israel's violation of Lebanon's territorial integrity and sovereignty and calls once more on the Government of Israel to refrain from further military actions and threats against Lebanon;

"(2) Condemns all acts of violence, especially those which result in the tragic loss of innocent civilian life, and urges all concerned to refrain from any further acts of violence;

"(3) Calls on all Governments concerned to respect their obligations under the Charter of the United Nations and international law;

"(4) Calls on Israel forthwith to release and return to Lebanon the abducted Lebanese civilians;

"(5) Calls upon all parties to refrain from any action which might endanger negotiations aimed at achieving a just and lasting peace in the Middle East."



Prior to the vote on this resolution Ambassador Scali proposed an amendment to paragraph (2) to insert a specific reference to Qiryat Shemona. The amendment was rejected by a vote of 6 in favor (Australia, Austria, Costa Rica, France, U.K., U.S.) to 7 opposed (Cameroon, P.R.C., Indonesia, Iraq, Kenya, Mauritania, Peru), with 2 abstentions (Byelorussian S.S.R., U.S.S.R.).

In a statement after the vote, Ambassador Scali emphasized the progress toward a negotiated peace in the Middle East that had been achieved in the previous few months, urged the Security Council to contribute to the climate of peace and mutual good will indispensable to successful negotiations, and declared that the terrorist group that claimed responsibility for the murders at Qiryat Shemona was categorically opposed to the process of negotiation for an equitable and durable Middle East settlement.

The U.S. Representative condemned the massacre at Qiryat Shemona as well as the violence undertaken in southern Lebanon by Israeli forces in retaliation. He regretted that the U.S. amendment had not been adopted, but asserted that the resolution did condemn all violence, whatever its origin, including the tragedy at Qiryat Shemona. He pledged that the United States would continue its efforts to move the parties toward peace on the basis of Security Council resolution 242.

#### Establishment of UNDOF

On May 30, following the announcement of the Agreement on Disengagement Between Israeli and Syrian Forces,<sup>2/</sup> the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Scali, requested an urgent Security Council meeting to consider the situation in the Middle East. The Secretary General submitted to the Council the texts of the disengagement agreement, which was similar to the earlier one between Egypt and Israel, and a protocol to the agreement concerning the establishment of UNDOF. The protocol calls for a 1,250-man UNDOF

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<sup>2/</sup> Signed May 31, 1974.

to use its best efforts to maintain the cease-fire and to supervise the agreement with regard to the areas of separation and limitation. UNDOF is to carry out inspections under the agreement and report to the parties at least once every 15 days and whenever requested to do so by either party.

By a vote of 13 to 0, with the P.R.C. and Iraq not participating, the Security Council on May 31 adopted a resolution, cosponsored by the United States and the U.S.S.R., welcoming the disengagement agreement and deciding to set up immediately under its authority a UN Disengagement Observer Force for an initial period of 6 months. The Secretary General informed the Council that UNDOF would be organized on the basis of the same general principles as UNEF and that its personnel would be drawn from UN military personnel already in the area. UNEF's Austrian and Peruvian contingents, as well as elements of the Canadian and Polish logistical contingents, were designated for UNDOF under the interim command of Peruvian Brigadier General Gonzalo Briceño. Contingents began to move to the Golan sector on June 3.

In his statement before the Council on May 31 Ambassador Scali welcomed the disengagement agreement which, together with Egyptian-Israeli disengagement, would open the way for progress in Geneva toward the achievement of an enduring settlement in the Middle East. He underscored President Nixon's pledge that the United States would continue working with all governments in the area toward that goal. Congratulating Israel and Syria for their statesmanship in resolving great differences, the U.S. Representative noted that the United States was privileged to help bring about the agreement and expressed appreciation for the cooperation of the Soviet Union as reflected in the recent meetings between Secretary of State Kissinger and Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko. He emphasized the vital role of the United Nations in the execution of the disengagement agreement and expressed confidence that with the aid of the United Nations, and in particular the Security Council, steady progress could be made toward lasting peace in the Middle East.

### UNEF Renewal in October

On October 23, the Security Council, by a vote of 13 to 0, with the P.R.C. and Iraq not participating, adopted a resolution extending UNEF another 6 months, or until April 24, 1975.

The resolution commended UNEF and the governments supplying contingents to it for their contribution toward the achievement of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East; expressed confidence that UNEF would be maintained with maximum efficiency and economy; and reaffirmed that UNEF should be able to function "as an integral and efficient military unit in the whole Egypt-Israel sector of operations without differentiation regarding the United Nations status of the various contingents," requesting the Secretary General to continue his efforts to that end. (The latter point was a reference to the still existing problem of restrictions on the freedom of movement of certain contingents.)

All Council members spoke in explanation of vote after the resolution was adopted, and most stressed that UNEF should not become a substitute for lasting peace. The U.S. Representative affirmed that extending UNEF's mandate allowed time for indispensable negotiations. He noted that the parties now realized that the only realistic way to settle their disputes was through a step-by-step negotiating process based on Security Council resolutions 242 and 338. The only way to break through existing stalemates was through a progressive series of agreements that would help change attitudes and create new situations in which further steps toward an equitable and permanent settlement could be agreed on. The U.S. Representative urged the Secretary General to continue to keep UNEF costs as low as possible consistent with efficient operation and fair compensation to troop-contributing governments.

### UNDOF Renewal in November

On November 29 the UN Secretary General reported to the Security Council on the first 6 months of UNDOF's operation. He noted that the two UN peacekeeping forces in the area were important factors in reducing tension.

He warned, however, that if progress toward a settlement through negotiations was not achieved in the near future the danger of new military confrontation would steadily increase.

The Security Council adopted on November 29 a resolution renewing the UNDOF mandate for another 6 months, or until the end of May 1975. The vote was 13 to 0, with the P.R.C. and Iraq not participating. The resolution also called on the parties concerned to implement resolution 338 and asked the Secretary General to report in 6 months on "developments in the situation and measures taken to implement Security Council resolution 338."

All members of the Council, plus Israel and Syria, spoke at the meeting. A common theme was the urgent hope that the next 6 months would be used to move toward a settlement of the underlying problems in the Middle East conflict. Many warned against allowing the UN forces to become permanent substitutes for peace settlements and emphasized the need for renewed negotiations.

Speaking after the vote, Ambassador Scali noted:

"I have spoken already of the patience and good will that are so indispensable to peace in the Middle East. These qualities were sorely needed in the recent negotiations leading to agreement on the extension of UNDOF. My government is pleased to have been of assistance in this effort. May I take this opportunity, on behalf of my government, to pay a sincere tribute to the Governments of Syria and Israel for their determination to overcome all obstacles in the cause of peace and justice for their peoples."

He ended his remarks by saying:

"The Secretary General in his report and many members of this Council in their statements have emphasized the importance of moving toward settlement of the underlying problems of the Middle East conflict. My government shares this sense of urgency. In the months ahead we shall be bending every effort to advance step by step along the road that leads to a just and lasting peace in the Middle East."

(For the General Assembly's consideration of financing for UNEF and UNDOF see p. 419.)



General Assembly Consideration

Question of Palestine

In September 56 states, including all the Arab states, requested the inscription of a new item entitled "Question of Palestine" on the agenda of the 29th General Assembly. The purpose of this action was to obtain recognition of the Palestine question as a political issue rather than a refugee issue. (The report of the Commissioner General of the UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East has been on the Assembly's agenda since 1950. See p. 17.)

The General Committee considered the request on September 19 and 20 and decided without objection to recommend the item's inscription on the agenda and its consideration by the Assembly in plenary session, without reference to a main committee. On September 21 the Assembly accepted the recommendation without objection.

On October 14 the General Assembly adopted a resolution, sponsored by 72 states, inviting the PLO to participate in this debate as "the representative of the Palestinian people." The rollcall vote was 105 to 4 (Bolivia, Dominican Republic, Israel, U.S.), with 20 abstentions. In explaining the U.S. position, Ambassador Scali said that the negative vote "in no way reflects a lack of understanding or sympathy for the very real concerns and yearning for justice of the Palestinian people. Rather, it reflects our consistent conviction that the justice they seek will come only as part of a peace that is just for all the parties." He said that it also reflected "a deep concern" that the resolution could be interpreted as prejudging the negotiating process and make a durable settlement more difficult to achieve. He concluded by expressing the U.S. Government's concern over the resolution's departure from the longstanding precedent that only representatives of governments should be allowed to participate in plenary deliberations, in contrast to the main committees where nongovernmental representatives have often been invited to participate as observers.

The debate on Palestine began November 13 with the highly publicized appearance of Yasir Arafat, head of the PLO. He gave a long and impassioned speech detailing his view of the world struggle against imperialism

and colonialism and the injustices perpetrated on the Palestinians. He called for the creation of a secular, democratic state in Palestine where Moslem, Jew, and Christian could live together in equality. He ended his speech by saying that he stood before the world with an olive branch in one hand and a gun in the other, and he asked that the olive branch not be allowed to drop from his hand.

Over 80 states took part in the 10-day debate. Most speakers reiterated that the problems of the Palestinians had to be dealt with in achieving the peace in the Middle East so desired by everyone.

Both the Israeli and the Syrian Representatives asked to speak on each day of the debate. However, the Assembly's rules of procedure permit its President to propose and the Assembly to decide to limit the time allowed to each speaker and the number of times a representative may speak on any question. On November 14 the President, Abdelaziz Bouteflika of Algeria, proposed that the right of each state to speak in the debate should be limited to a single intervention, and the Assembly adopted the proposal by a recorded vote of 75 to 23(U.S.), with 18 abstentions. All representatives, however, including Israel and Syria, continued to enjoy the right of reply under the Assembly's rules of procedure.

Speaking in opposition to the President's proposal and in favor of "the right of unlimited debate," the U.S. Representative on November 14 said that "we do not dispute the right of the President in consultation with the Assembly" to make a proposal of this character, but he expressed the hope that the President in exercising this right "would reflect a standard of reasonableness in keeping with the seriousness of the issue under debate." In the U.S. view, he continued, it was not "frivolous or unreasonable to desire to make known a point of view at least several times in the circumstances," and he appealed to the President "to exercise his judgment as to the number of appropriate times with utmost flexibility in view of the magnitude of the problem that we are discussing."

Ambassador Scali made his substantive statement on November 21. Noting that the 1973 war in the Middle East

had demonstrated for the fourth time in a quarter of a century that military force could not resolve the issues dividing Arab and Israeli, he stressed that the sole alternative to the sterile pursuit of change through violence was negotiation. The acceptance by the parties of the negotiating process set in motion by Security Council resolution 338 had led to the convening of the Geneva Peace Conference and the disengagement agreements. He reaffirmed that a primary objective of the United States was to maintain the momentum of the negotiating process and cautioned that if any of the parties questioned the right to exist of any of the other parties, "our best hopes for negotiation and for peace are lost."

He expressed the hope that all UN members would reaffirm their support for resolutions 242 and 338 and expressed the U.S. Government's "firm conviction" that the way to move toward a situation more responsive to Palestinian interests was by weaving these interests into the give-and-take of the negotiating process. He concluded by urging the General Assembly to help establish an international climate in which the parties would be encouraged to maintain the momentum toward peace.

The Palestinian debate ended with the adoption of two resolutions on November 22. The first, dealing with the rights of the Palestinians, was cosponsored by 47 African, Asian, Eastern European, and Latin American states, including all the Arab states. It reaffirmed the rights of the Palestinians to self-determination, to national independence and sovereignty, and to return to their homes and property; emphasized that full respect for these rights was indispensable for the solution of the question of Palestine; recognized the Palestinians' right to regain their rights by all means in accordance with the purposes and principles of the UN Charter; and requested the Secretary General to contact the PLO on all matters concerning the question of Palestine. The resolution was adopted by a rollcall vote of 89 to 8 (U.S.), with 37 abstentions.

The second resolution, sponsored by 36 states, including all the Arab states, invited the PLO to participate as an observer in the sessions and the work of the General Assembly and all international conferences



convened under the auspices of the General Assembly, and considered that the PLO was "entitled to participate as as observer in the sessions and the work of all international conferences convened under the auspices of other organs of the United Nations." The resolution was adopted by a recorded vote of 95 to 17 (U.S.), with 19 abstentions.

### PLO Observer Status in the UN System

During 1974 the PLO sought observer status within the UN system, in accordance with its policy of achieving increased international recognition. In May 1974 ECOSOC approved, without a vote, an "umbrella formula" to invite national liberation movements recognized by the OAU and the League of Arab States (without mentioning the movements by name) to participate as observers in the World Population Conference and the World Food Conference. Under the same formula the PLO gained observer status in the UPU, WHO, and ITU. Concerned over air hijacking, the United States opposed the use of this formula for the PLO in ICAO. Nevertheless, a resolution was adopted by the ICAO Assembly by which the liberation movements falling under the "umbrella formula" may participate in meetings of that agency dealing with matters "pertaining to their respective territories."

The United States voted against the resolutions at the UN General Assembly (as noted above) and at UNESCO, which also granted observer status to the PLO by name.

During 1974 the PLO was also invited under the "umbrella formula" to participate in the deliberations of the Third UN Conference on the Law of the Sea, the Conference of the International Women's Year, and the UN Conference on the Representation of States in Their Relations with International Organizations (the latter two to be held in 1975). (See also pp. 98, 272, and 396.)

### UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Middle East

Special contributions by the United States and the EC, together with some sharply increased regular

contributions, particularly by individual European countries and Japan, enabled UNRWA to end 1974 without incurring any further addition to its deficit.

The Special Political Committee of the 29th General Assembly devoted seven meetings between November 29 and December 6 to UNRWA and associated topics. Its agenda consisted of the report of the UNRWA Commissioner General, Sir John Rennie; the report of the Working Group on the Financing of UNRWA; the report of the UN Conciliation Commission for Palestine (PCC); and a report by the Secretary General on the implementation of an earlier resolution.

Some 50 delegations participated in a debate which considered numerous aspects of the Arab-Israeli issue as well as humanitarian assistance to the refugees. In accordance with the Assembly's November 22 resolution (see p. 16 ), a representative of the PLO also took part.

The Assembly adopted five resolutions. Three of these--on the UNRWA Working Group, humanitarian assistance to persons displaced in 1967, and UNRWA's general role--the latter sponsored by the United States--paralleled resolutions of the 28th General Assembly. A new resolution transferred salaries of UNRWA's international staff to the UN regular budget, and a resolution on Israeli practices in regard to refugee camps in occupied territories contained new language concerning Israeli military attacks on refugee camps elsewhere.

#### U.S. Draft Resolution

The U.S. Representative, Ambassador William E. Schaufele, Jr., speaking on December 5, pointed out that UNRWA's difficulties were not abstract issues in management and financing, but problems of people--"because the money which must be found and effectively disbursed is the indispensable means to continue education programs, to provide or to improve housing, and to assure necessary health services." He noted that UNRWA faced a financial crisis of "unprecedented seriousness" in the year ahead, stated that the United States intended to do its share, and called on governments with vastly increased resources to contribute more than in the past.

Ambassador Schaufele introduced a draft resolution that (1) noted with deep regret that repatriation or compensation of the refugees as provided for in paragraph 11 of resolution 194 adopted by the 3d General Assembly on December 11, 1948, had not been effected and that no progress had been made in the program of reintegrating the refugees either by repatriation or resettlement, as called for by the Assembly in 1952; (2) thanked the Commissioner General and his staff, the specialized agencies, and private organizations for their work in assisting the refugees; (3) noted with regret that the PCC was unable to find a means of achieving progress in the implementation of resolution 194 (see below, p. 22 ) and requested it to continue its efforts and to report thereon not later than October 1, 1975; (4) directed attention to the unprecedented seriousness of UNRWA's financial position; (5) noted with concern that UNRWA's income continued to fall short of the funds needed to cover essential budget requirements despite the successful efforts of the Commissioner General to collect additional contributions; (6) called upon all governments urgently to make "the most generous efforts possible" to meet UNRWA's needs in light of the deficit projected in the Commissioner General's report; and (7) extended UNRWA's mandate until June 30, 1978.

The Committee approved the resolution on December 6 by a vote of 106 (U.S.) to 0, with 2 abstentions, and the Assembly adopted it on December 17 by a recorded vote of 122 (U.S.) to 0, with 3 abstentions (Barbados, Israel, Malawi).

#### Resolutions on Displaced Persons and Israeli Actions in Gaza

On December 5 Sweden introduced a resolution eventually sponsored by 19 states, over half from Western Europe. Essentially identical with resolutions adopted annually since 1967, it endorsed the temporary emergency relief provided by UNRWA to persons displaced in 1967 and strongly appealed to governments, organizations, and individuals to contribute to UNRWA to enable it to continue this work. The Committee approved the resolution on December 6, and the Assembly adopted it on December 17, both without vote.

The Special Political Committee had before it a report by the Secretary General on Israeli compliance with a resolution of the 28th General Assembly calling for the return of persons displaced in 1967 and the cessation of certain Israeli actions in the Gaza Strip. The report consisted primarily of a note verbale dated August 20, 1974, from the Permanent Representative of Israel and related information from the Commissioner General of UNRWA. With respect to the return of persons displaced in 1967, the note verbale reported, inter alia, that some 53,000 such persons had been permitted to return. It also noted that conditions in the area did not permit a large-scale return because Israeli willingness to permit such returns had been exploited by infiltrating terrorists. UNRWA's records, on the other hand, showed that only about 8,000 displaced persons had been permitted to return since 1967. Concerning Israeli activities in the Gaza Strip, the Israeli note verbale and the information from the Commissioner General differed both on the extent of resettlement of refugees whose shelters had been demolished by the Israeli authorities, and on the purposes for which some of the demolition had been carried out.

On December 5 Tanzania introduced a draft resolution on these subjects which was eventually sponsored by 14 states, most of them from Asia and Africa. Most of this resolution closely followed the resolution of the 28th General Assembly on these issues. In a preambular paragraph it continued the assertions made in earlier resolutions that certain Israeli actions in the occupied territories violated the 1949 Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, and in its operative paragraphs it reaffirmed the right of the displaced persons to return to their homes and camps, called on Israel immediately to facilitate this return, and requested the Secretary General to report to the 30th Assembly on Israel's compliance. In new preambular and operative paragraphs, the resolution also noted and deplored repeated Israeli military attacks on refugee camps.

The Committee approved the resolution on December 6 by a rollcall vote of 97 to 5 (U.S.), with 15 abstentions, and the Assembly adopted it on December 17 by a recorded vote of 105 to 6 (Barbados, Bolivia, Costa Rica, Israel, Nicaragua, U.S.), with 17 abstentions. The United States



opposed the resolution because it was unbalanced. It deplored only the Israeli military attacks instead of all acts of violence, which would include the raids against Israel. A number of other countries, including some that voted for the resolution as a whole, made similar reservations on the new paragraphs.

### UNRWA Finances

The Working Group on the Financing of UNRWA<sup>3/</sup> was established by the 25th General Assembly in 1970 and continued by the 26th, 27th, and 28th Assemblies.

The Working Group concluded in its report of November 1 that special additional contributions, particularly \$4.2 million from the United States and \$7.9 million from the EC, had made it possible for UNRWA to maintain its services throughout 1974, but that the Agency faced a 1975 deficit of some \$39 million. It endorsed the Commissioner General's view that extraordinary efforts would be required in 1975 to avoid reductions in UNRWA's services which could have serious implications. The Working Group called on governments that had not contributed in the past or had contributed inadequately to give generously to UNRWA.

India introduced a draft resolution on December 5 that was ultimately sponsored by 17 states, most of them from Asia or Western Europe. It expressed grave concern at UNRWA's financial situation, emphasized the need for extraordinary efforts to maintain UNRWA's activities, commended the Working Group, and continued it for another year. Without vote, the resolution was approved by the Committee on December 6 and adopted by the Assembly on December 17.

On December 5 Norway introduced a draft resolution sponsored by the five Scandinavian countries which, as finally approved, decided that the salaries of UNRWA's

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<sup>3/</sup> France, Ghana, Japan, Lebanon, Norway, Trinidad and Tobago, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States.

international staff should be financed by the UN regular budget. The Committee approved the resolution on December 6, and the Assembly adopted it on December 17, both without a vote.

### Pledging Conference

UNRWA's annual pledging conference was held on December 3. Some 46 nations attended and most, including the United States, announced pledges totaling \$56.4 million in cash, food, and services in support of UNRWA's 1975 program.

In announcing a U.S. pledge of \$24.94 million in cash for 1975, the U.S. Representative praised the dedication of the Commissioner General and his staff and stressed the unprecedented nature of the financial crisis UNRWA faced in 1975.

The U.S. pledge was subject to Congressional approval and to two conditions: (1) that UNRWA comply with the conditions imposed by Section 301(c) of the Foreign Assistance Act, which states it should "take all possible measures to assure that no part of the United States contribution shall be used to furnish assistance to any refugee who is receiving military training as a member of the so-called Palestine Liberation Army or any other guerrilla-type organization or who has engaged in any act of terrorism"; and (2) that the U.S. contribution not exceed 70% of all contributions from governments.

### UN Conciliation Commission for Palestine

The General Assembly asked the PCC<sup>4/</sup> in 1973 to report to the 29th Assembly on the implementation of paragraph 11 (on repatriation or compensation of the refugees) of General Assembly resolution 194. On

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<sup>4/</sup> General Assembly resolution 194 adopted by the 3d General Assembly on Dec. 16, 1948, established the PCC. Its members are France, Turkey, and the United States.

October 4, the Secretary General circulated the PCC's report for the period September 30, 1973, to September 29, 1974. The PCC reported that, pursuant to its decision in 1972 that interested parties could have access to certain documents of the Commission relating to property in the former Palestine mandate, it had supplied copies of such documents to Egypt and had accepted a request from Jordan for the same documents. The Commission recalled its conclusion in earlier reports that changes in the prevailing situation in the Middle East, which had been further complicated by the events of 1967 and thereafter, would be necessary before paragraph 11 of resolution 194 could be implemented. The Commission noted that recent developments in the area encouraged it to hope that such changes might now be at hand, and it declared that it remained determined to carry forward its work vigorously at the first opportunity.

The U.S.-sponsored resolution (p. 19 ) requested the PCC to report again to the 30th Assembly.

### Human Rights in Occupied Territories

The Special Political Committee considered the agenda item "Report of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories" at five meetings between November 8 and November 12. Representatives of about 40 states participated in the discussion.

The 23d General Assembly, in a resolution adopted on December 19, 1968, had established the three-member Special Committee, which was not constituted until September 1969 when the Secretary General announced that Sri Lanka, Somalia, and Yugoslavia would be the members. However, the Special Committee has never been permitted to visit either Israel or the occupied territories because Israel considers it and its mandate biased. In 1972 the 27th General Assembly called upon Israel to implement the recommendations of the Special Committee, increased the number of issues that the Committee was to investigate, and decided to inscribe the Committee's report on the agenda of the 28th Assembly. The 28th



Assembly asked the Committee to continue its work and placed its report on the agenda of the 29th Assembly. In April 1974 Senegal replaced Somalia on the Committee.

### Special Committee's Report

The Special Committee reported that in addition to its previous practice of monitoring information available from the Israeli and foreign press, it had decided that it would travel to the Middle East to hear the testimony of persons who had "first-hand and corroborative evidence of conditions in the occupied territories." The Committee held meetings for this purpose between May 3 and May 17 in Geneva, Damascus, and Beirut. In addition, between September 7 and 12 the Committee investigated the question of the destruction of Quneitra, which Syria alleged had been caused by Israeli forces before their withdrawal under the agreement on disengagement of forces. The investigation included a visit to the city. The Committee was again unable to enter the occupied territories.

The report reviewed at some length the information gathered by the Committee on alleged Israeli violations of human rights and concluded that Israel continued to be in violation of the 1949 Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War.

The Special Committee devoted a large portion of its report to the destruction of the Syrian city of Quneitra and concluded that Israel was responsible for the deliberate destruction of the city. Most of the debate on the report in the Special Political Committee of the General Assembly was devoted to this subject.

### General Assembly Action

On November 11 Afghanistan introduced two resolutions. The first was eventually sponsored by 11 African and Asian states and the second by 13 states from all areas except Eastern Europe. On November 12 Mali introduced a third resolution eventually sponsored by seven African and Asian states. All were subsequently adopted by recorded votes.

The first resolution inter alia called upon Israel to admit the Special Committee to the occupied territories, expressed the gravest concern at the continuing Israeli violations of the Fourth Geneva Convention, and other applicable international instruments, in nine specified ways; declared these Israeli policies in violation of the UN Charter; called upon all states and international organizations not to recognize Israeli changes in the occupied territories and to avoid actions which Israel might use in pursuing illegal practices there, and placed the item on the agenda of the 30th General Assembly. The resolution was approved by the Committee on November 12 by a vote of 82 to 4 (U.S.), with 25 abstentions, and adopted by the General Assembly on November 29 by a vote of 95 to 4 (U.S.), with 31 abstentions.

The second resolution reaffirmed that the 1949 Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War applied to the occupied territories, called once more upon Israel to respect and comply with the Convention, and urged all parties to the Convention to ensure respect for and compliance with it. This resolution was approved in the Committee on November 12 by a vote of 102 (U.S.) to 0, with 5 abstentions. The Assembly adopted it on November 29 by a vote of 121 (U.S.) to 0, with 7 abstentions.

In its final form, the third resolution endorsed the Special Committee's conclusion that Israel was responsible for the destruction of Quneitra; regarded this action as a grave breach of the Fourth Geneva Convention and condemned Israel for it; and requested the Special Committee to survey the destruction in Quneitra and assess the nature, extent, and value of the damage. The Special Political Committee approved this resolution on November 12 by a vote of 79 to 4, with 28 abstentions (U.S.), and the Assembly adopted it on November 29 by a vote of 89 to 4, with 36 abstentions (U.S.).

Ambassador Clarence Clyde Ferguson, Jr., explained in the Special Political Committee that the United States had voted against the first resolution because, as in previous years, it could not accept that resolution's allegations as sufficiently verified. However,

the United States had voted for the second resolution in accordance with its traditional policy on the applicability of the Fourth Geneva Convention. It had abstained on the third resolution because although it regarded the sort of action alleged to have taken place in Quneitra as very serious, it considered that the Special Committee had lacked sufficient time and expertise for the kind of investigation required, and it believed that a pre-ambular reference to the Nuremberg Tribunal was irrelevant and unjustified.

## CYPRUS

The UN peacekeeping force on Cyprus (UNFICYP) continued to operate on the island throughout 1974, although with considerably changed functions after the coup d'etat of July 15 led by the Greek Cypriot National Guard and the Turkish military action on July 20. The intercommunal talks between Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot representatives, with the assistance of constitutional experts from Greece and Turkey and in the presence of the UN Secretary General's Special Representative (B. F. Osorio-Tafall and later Luis Weckmann-Muñoz), continued, with interruptions in April-May, but were broken off following the July events.

### Intercommunal Talks

The Secretary General stated in his May 22 report on the UN operation in Cyprus that, prior to the suspension of the talks on April 2, progress had been made on the question of the structure and functions of local government bodies as part of an emerging "package" of agreements concerning the structure of the state, the division of powers, and the degree of local authority to be granted the Turkish Cypriots in exchange for their renunciation of certain rights under the 1960 constitution. The talks were suspended by the Greek Cypriot side in reaction to a call for a federal state on Cyprus by the Prime Minister of Turkey. Talks were resumed in three meetings on June 11 and 18 and July 9, the latter in the presence of the Secretary General's new Special Representative, Ambassador Weckmann-Muñoz. These talks on

constitutional matters were again broken off with the outbreak of fighting in mid July. In August, the Secretary General visited Cyprus and succeeded in getting representatives of the two communities to begin humanitarian talks concerning prisoners of war, refugees, missing persons, and other compassionate cases. These talks resulted, inter alia, in the exchange and release of all prisoners of war, and they were continuing as the year ended.

#### UN Humanitarian Activities

On August 20 the Secretary General designated the High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) to coordinate international humanitarian relief efforts on Cyprus. A UNHCR team was established on Cyprus to coordinate the receipt and distribution of relief supplies and services from a variety of multilateral and bilateral donors. These efforts succeeded in meeting the emergency needs of refugees and displaced persons through the end of the year. UNFICYP provided major support for this program by delivering supplies, arranging evacuation and medical care, and providing escorts for relief teams. (For further on humanitarian relief see section on UNHCR, p. 217.)

#### Renewal of UNFICYP in May

The Security Council met on May 29 to consider the Secretary General's May 22 report on Cyprus. The Council adopted a resolution similar to those of previous years extending the mandate of UNFICYP for another 6 months and urging the parties to act with the utmost restraint and to continue to accelerate determined cooperative efforts to reach a peaceful settlement. The resolution was adopted by a vote of 14 to 0, with 1 abstention (P.R.C.).

The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Schaufele, expressed appreciation to UNFICYP's commander, Major General Prem Chand, to his officers and men, and to Mr. Osorio-Tafall who was retiring as the Secretary General's Special Representative. He went on to "reaffirm the support of the United States for the

intercommunal talks as the best available means of achieving a just solution based on the concept of a single, sovereign, and independent Cyprus with appropriate guarantees for the safety and welfare of all its people."

#### Council Consideration of Events of the Summer

The Security Council met 15 times between July 16 and August 30 to consider the situation created by the coup d'etat and the subsequent Turkish military action. It adopted eight resolutions.

A major statement by Ambassador Scali during the Council meeting on July 19 explained the approach taken by the United States throughout the series of meetings. After stating continuing U.S. support for the independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of Cyprus, he reemphasized that the United States does not consider union between Greece and Cyprus an acceptable solution. He then said:

"We do not consider military intervention by any party for any reason to be justified in the present situation. In our view, . . . the first and very important step is that all interested parties continue to exercise the utmost restraint . . . . In particular, the U.S. Government is firmly opposed to any attempt to bring about a military solution to the present problem. Such attempts would severely, perhaps irretrievably, set back the negotiating process, which alone can bring about the peaceful and constitutional solution which we all desire."

On July 20 the Security Council unanimously adopted a resolution calling for a cease-fire and an immediate end to foreign military intervention; requesting the withdrawal of foreign troops except those authorized by international agreements; and calling on Greece, Turkey, and the United Kingdom to enter into negotiations at once. A resolution unanimously adopted on July 23 reaffirmed this resolution and demanded that all parties to the fighting comply with the call for a cease-fire.



While the Council continued to meet almost daily, the Foreign Ministers of Greece, Turkey, and the United Kingdom met in Geneva from July 25 to 30, adopting on the latter date a Declaration calling for various actions to stabilize the situation, including the establishment, in consultation with UNFICYP, of a security zone which would be entered by no forces other than those of UNFICYP. The three Foreign Ministers also agreed that negotiations as called for by the Security Council on July 20 should be carried on with the least possible delay, and that these talks should begin on August 8 at Geneva.

The Secretary General on July 31 took note of this tripartite Declaration, and reported to the Security Council that he had asked his Special Representative and the Commander of UNFICYP to give him a preliminary assessment of the practical implications of the Declaration for UNFICYP. He further reported that the total strength of UNFICYP at that time was 3,484 men. The Secretary General requested that UNFICYP troop levels be further augmented in response to the new situation and appealed for special contributions to finance the cost of the larger force. When all pledged reinforcements arrived, by about the middle of August, troop strength totaled 4,443.

In a resolution adopted on August 1 by a vote of 12 to 0, with 2 abstentions (Byelorussian S.S.R., U.S.S.R.), with China not participating, the Security Council requested the Secretary General to "take appropriate action" in the light of his statement and to present a full report to the Council, taking into account that the cease-fire would be the first step in the full implementation of the July 20 resolution.

In an emergency session on August 14 after fighting again broke out in Cyprus, the Security Council unanimously adopted a U.K.-sponsored resolution demanding that all parties cease all firing and military action forthwith and calling for the resumption of negotiations. The next day, after a number of casualties were reported among the UNFICYP troops, the Council adopted two more resolutions. The first, adopted unanimously, insisted on full implementation of the Council's resolutions and on immediate and strict observance of the cease-fire. The second, sponsored by Australia, Austria, France, Peru, and Cameroon, deplored UNFICYP's casualties and



demanded respect for its international status and cooperation with it in all its tasks, including humanitarian ones. This resolution was adopted by a vote of 14 to 0, with China not participating.

On August 16 the Council adopted, by a vote of 11 to 0, with 3 abstentions (Byelorussian S.S.R., Iraq, U.S.S.R.), and China not participating, a resolution sponsored by France that recorded the Council's "formal disapproval" of the unilateral military actions against the Republic of Cyprus and urged the parties to comply with all previous resolutions and to resume the negotiations.

The Council met again two weeks later on August 30 to consider the humanitarian situation on Cyprus. It adopted unanimously a resolution sponsored by Austria, France, and the United Kingdom that, after noting the Secretary General's appointment of the UNHCR as coordinator of international relief assistance to Cyprus, expressed appreciation to the Secretary General for his efforts in arranging talks on humanitarian questions between leaders of the two Cypriot communities; called upon all parties to alleviate human suffering, seek solutions for the plight of the refugees, and cooperate with the Secretary General and UNFICYP; and requested the Secretary General to continue to provide emergency UN humanitarian assistance to Cyprus.

#### General Assembly Consideration

On September 17 Cyprus requested that the "Question of Cyprus" be included on the agenda of the 29th General Assembly. The Assembly decided on September 21 that the issue would be considered in plenary meetings, but that the Special Political Committee would convene to hear representatives of the two Cypriot communities. The Special Political Committee met on October 29 for this purpose.

The Assembly considered Cyprus at six meetings between October 28 and November 1; 45 states took part in the debate. On November 1 it adopted by a recorded vote of 117 (U.S.) to 0, with no abstentions, a resolution that had been developed by a group of five nonaligned

states--Algeria, Guyana, India, Mali, and Yugoslavia-- and was also sponsored by Argentina, Nepal, Syria, and Uganda. The resolution, inter alia, called upon all states to respect the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity, and nonalignment of the Republic of Cyprus; urged the speedy withdrawal of foreign troops; considered that the constitutional system of Cyprus concerned both Cypriot communities and commended the negotiations then taking place between them on an equal footing; considered that all refugees should return to their homes in safety; and expressed the hope that, if necessary, further negotiations could take place within the framework of the United Nations.

Addressing the Assembly on this question on November 1, Ambassador Scali said that "if the world community is to contribute constructively to the improvement of this problem, it must do more than review the past and deplore the present. That is too easy. Neither can we here hope and presume to dictate the specific ingredients of a better future. What we can and should do is to help create an atmosphere where meaningful negotiation, flexibility, and compromise are possible." He praised the role of the Secretary General and his Special Representative and pointed out that the talks begun under their auspices had laid a foundation of confidence for broadened discussion. Noting the contributions of the United States in assisting the UN efforts to effect resumption of the talks and to the UN humanitarian activities, Ambassador Scali emphasized that only the parties immediately involved could achieve a settlement and that it was the obligation of all of the friends of Cyprus to help them do so.

#### UNFICYP Cease-Fire Supervision

In his December 6 report, the Secretary General noted that UNFICYP was confronted with an entirely new situation involving not just intercommunal conflict but hostilities arising from action by armed forces of another state. The Force was now trying pragmatically to maintain surveillance of the cease-fire called for by the Security Council, to report forward movements, and to persuade the parties to avoid cease-fire violations. UNFICYP also established patrols to protect the civilian population of both communities who found themselves under the military control of the other side.

### UNFICYP Extension

On December 13 the Security Council adopted two further resolutions on the Cyprus situation. The first, adopted by a vote of 14 to 0, with China not participating, urged the parties to act with the utmost restraint and to accelerate determined cooperative efforts to achieve the Council's objectives, and extended UNFICYP's mandate to June 15, 1975, "in the expectation that by then sufficient progress towards a final solution will make possible a withdrawal or substantial reduction of the Force."

The second resolution, adopted by consensus, endorsed the General Assembly's resolution of November 1 and urged the parties to implement it as soon as possible.

Ambassador Schaufele at this meeting noted that the need for a negotiated settlement that would bring justice and peace to the people of Cyprus was clear, and he expressed the hope of the United States that the parties would use the time made available by the renewal of UNFICYP to pursue immediate negotiations toward that goal.

### UNFICYP Staffing and Finances

As of December 4, 1974, UNFICYP was composed of 4,335 men from Australia, Austria, Canada, Denmark, Finland, Ireland, Sweden, and the United Kingdom. The Force included both military personnel and civilian police.

As in the past, UNFICYP was supported entirely by voluntary contributions. The U.S. regular pledge toward the Force's 1974 expenses was \$4.8 million, bringing its total cash pledge to \$71.3 million since UNFICYP was established in March 1964. In addition the United States also provided air transport services in 1964-65 valued at \$1.3 million. In response to the Secretary General's special appeal for contributions to finance the larger force, the United States indicated it would consider an additional \$4.8 million contribution.

In his December 6 report to the Security Council the Secretary General noted that the UNFICYP operational deficit was then \$27.2 million. He also estimated that the cost of extending UNFICYP for another 6 months at its current strength would be \$13.7 million.

#### IRAQ COMPLAINT AGAINST IRAN

On February 12, Iraq requested an urgent meeting of the Security Council "to consider the continuing acts of aggression launched by Iranian armed forces against the territorial integrity of Iraq." An enclosure with the letter listed a number of alleged incursions of Iranian troops into Iraqi territory. The same day the Iranian Representative submitted to the President of the Security Council a copy of a note delivered to the Iraqi Embassy in Tehran alleging incursions by Iraqi forces into Iranian territory.

The Council met on February 15 and heard an extended exchange of charges between the parties. In a further meeting on February 20, Yemen (Aden), Libya, and the United Arab Emirates spoke in support of Iraq and in condemnation of Iran's alleged expansionist intentions in the Persian Gulf and in particular the Iranian occupation of three islands in the Gulf in 1972. A further protracted exchange of accusations took place between Iran and Iraq.

Following consultations, the Council met for the third time on February 28 and adopted a consensus statement read out by the President. This statement, inter alia, recorded the Council's conclusion from the available information that an important cause of the dispute was the fact that "the legal basis for the delimitation of the boundary between the parties is contested." The Council requested the Secretary General to appoint a special representative to investigate and to report to the Council within 3 months. The statement further noted that China dissociated itself from the consensus because it did not favor UN involvement in any form in a boundary dispute. The P.R.C. Representative confirmed this position during the meeting.

The Secretary General appointed Ambassador Luis Weckmann-Muñoz as his Special Representative. Ambassador Weckmann-Muñoz's report, conveyed by the Secretary General's report, was submitted to the Council on May 20. Between April 3 and 25 he had visited both countries several times, including visits to the border from both sides. He concluded that delimitation and demarcation of the border line were essential, and that until this could be accomplished through bilateral talks there should be strict observance of the cease-fire agreed upon on March 7, simultaneous withdrawal of troops from the border, and complete avoidance by each side of hostile actions against the other. The Secretary General noted that the Special Representative had informed him on May 16 that the parties had agreed through the Special Representative to implement these conclusions and to an early resumption without preconditions of bilateral discussions to resolve the dispute. After receiving the Secretary General's report, the Council on May 28 adopted a resolution by a vote of 14 (U.S.) to 0, with China not participating. The resolution welcomed the agreement of Iran and Iraq to the conclusions reached by the Special Representative in the exercise of the Secretary General's good offices and expressed the hope that the parties would implement this agreement as soon as possible.

Speaking for the United States, Ambassador Schauffele congratulated the Secretary General and praised the hard work and diplomatic skill of Ambassador Weckmann-Muñoz. Noting that this was an excellent example of the effective work for international understanding and peace of which the United Nations is capable, he said:

"All too often, the successes of the United Nations, such as this one, go unheeded, while its difficulties receive abundant attention. It is therefore appropriate that we note on this occasion that the United Nations has fulfilled the aspirations of its founders in the quiet resolution of potential conflict and the skillful use of its role as a third party through whom nations may find a way to help settle their differences."



KOREA

On November 28, 1973, the 28th UN General Assembly approved a consensus statement on Korea which: (1) announced that neither of two draft resolutions (one submitted by Algeria and 34 other states and the other by the United States and 26 other states) would be put to a vote; (2) noted with satisfaction the 1972 joint communique issued by South and North Korea and urged continuation of the dialogue between the two states; and (3) decided to dissolve the UN Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea<sup>5/</sup> immediately, as the Commission itself had recommended in its annual report of August 30, 1973.

In view of this consensus statement and the willingness of the United States and other friends of the Republic of Korea to consider alternative arrangements for the UN Command<sup>6/</sup> provided the 1953 Korean Armistice Agreement was maintained, the United States saw no reason for a debate on Korea at the 29th General Assembly.

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5/ The Commission was established by a General Assembly resolution on Oct. 7, 1950, to represent the United Nations in bringing about a unified, independent, and democratic Korea. Its members were Australia, Chile, Netherlands, Pakistan, Philippines, Thailand, and Turkey. Chile withdrew on Nov. 14, 1970; Pakistan withdrew on Nov. 21, 1972.

6/ The UN Command was established by a Security Council resolution on July 7, 1950, which requested UN members providing military forces and other assistance pursuant to earlier Security Council resolutions to make such forces available to "a unified command under the United States," requested the United States to designate the commander of such forces, and authorized the use of the UN flag.

inscription of Item on Agenda

On August 16, 1974, however, Algeria and 31 other states (later joined by 2 more) requested inclusion on the provisional agenda of the 29th Assembly of an item on Korea entitled: "Withdrawal of all the foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the flag of the United Nations." Inter alia, the explanatory memorandum charged that the United Nations had committed military intervention in the Korean war of 1950; stated that the withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the UN flag was a key to the achievement of the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea; and added that such withdrawal should occur "without delay." No draft resolution accompanied the request for the item.

Since this request made a debate on Korea virtually unavoidable, Japan, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Thailand, the United Kingdom, and the United States (later joined by 13 others) on September 3, to ensure a balanced debate, submitted their own request for an item entitled: "Urgent need to implement fully the consensus of the 28th session of the General Assembly on the Korean question and to maintain peace and security on the Korean peninsula." Accompanying the explanatory memorandum was a draft resolution which, in its operative paragraphs: (1) reaffirmed the wishes of the UN members, as expressed in the consensus statement adopted by the 28th General Assembly, and urged both South and North Korea to continue their dialogue to expedite the peaceful reunification of Korea; and (2) expressed the hope that the Security Council, "bearing in mind the need to ensure continued adherence to the Armistice Agreement and the full maintenance of peace and security in the area," would in due course give consideration, in consultation with the parties directly concerned, to those aspects of the Korean question, "including the future of the United Nations Command," which fall within its responsibility. Subsequently, nine other countries joined in cosponsoring the draft resolution, raising the total to 28.

On September 16 Algeria and 36 other countries submitted a draft resolution which, in its operative paragraphs: (1) considered that it was necessary to withdraw

all the foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the UN flag; and (2) expressed confidence that the parties directly concerned would take appropriate steps for the "solution of the questions related to" such withdrawal. Three other countries later joined as co-sponsors, raising the total to 40.

On September 19 the General Committee decided by a vote of 16 to 0, with 7 abstentions (U.S.), to inscribe the Algerian item on the agenda, and by a vote of 16 (U.S.) to 6, with 1 abstention, to inscribe the item proposed by the United States and others. By a vote of 9 (U.S.) to 7, with 8 abstentions, it decided to combine the two as subitems under a single item entitled "Question of Korea," and it recommended allocation of the item to the First Committee. The plenary Assembly adopted these recommendations on September 21, and on October 7 both draft resolutions were issued as First Committee documents.

#### Assembly Consideration

Having reached agreement by consensus to invite representatives of South and North Korea to participate in its deliberations on Korea, the First Committee debated the question at 10 meetings between November 25 and December 9. Statements were made by over 70 countries. The P.R.C. and the U.S.S.R. were among the delegations that spoke in favor of the 40-power Algerian draft resolution, of which they were cosponsors. A number of states strongly supported the 28-power draft resolution.

In a long and acrimonious speech on November 25 the North Korean Representative termed withdrawal of all foreign troops from South Korea a prerequisite for peaceful reunification of Korea and said that the 40-power draft resolution reflected the will of "the Korean people and the peace-loving peoples of the world." He charged that the draft resolution submitted by the United States and others was designed to realize "the permanent occupation of South Korea by United States troops." The North Korean Representative combined a series of harsh attacks on the United States and the Republic of Korea with an offer to negotiate with the United States "at any time

on the problems that may arise in connection with the withdrawal" of U.S. troops.

On November 29 the Representative of the Republic of Korea stated that the 28-power draft resolution would encourage full implementation of the 28th General Assembly's consensus statement on Korea and would also contribute greatly to the maintenance of peace and security on the Korean peninsula. He added, "It represents the most appropriate and constructive action that the United Nations can take at this time." He also said that the 40-power draft resolution would undermine the UN role in Korea, would seriously disrupt the structure of security for the Republic of Korea, and would make resumption of South-North dialogue more difficult. "In the final analysis," he said, "it would jeopardize peace and security in the Far East."

Speaking for the United States on December 2, Ambassador W. Tapley Bennett, Jr., said that the 40-power draft rested on assumptions that were dangerous for the maintenance of international peace and security.

". . . This resolution would precipitately dismantle the arrangements which have for so many years preserved peace and security in Korea. It fails even to mention the need to maintain peace. It fails to mention the need to maintain the Armistice Agreement which has maintained peace in that area. And it fails to reaffirm in its operative portions the need for continuing dialogue and mutual accommodation between the two Koreas, by which peace can best be maintained in the future.

"Fortunately, this session of the General Assembly has an alternative before it. . . .

"This resolution, which my government and 27 other member states have cosponsored, reaffirms the consensus reached last year by the General Assembly to urge the two Koreas to continue their dialogue and to expedite the peaceful reunification of Korea.

"It recognizes the continuing importance of the Armistice Agreement of 1953 for the maintenance of peace and security in the Korean peninsula.

"It seeks to have the parties directly concerned discuss how peace and security on the peninsula is to be maintained, before the present arrangements are changed.

"These are important steps. They ensure that the existing equilibrium on the Korean peninsula, within which the first tentative steps toward reconciliation have already been taken, will not be altered to the disadvantage of one side or the other.

"This resolution would also encourage the parties directly concerned to discuss those aspects of the Korean question which fall within the responsibility of the Security Council, the most important of which is the UN Command and its relationship to the Armistice Agreement.

"The U.S. Government and the Republic of Korea have both made it clear that they are willing to consider an alternative to these present arrangements, one which would help preserve the present armistice between the two sides and the machinery which supports it. . . ."

On December 4 the Liberian Representative announced that the sponsors of the 28-power draft had accepted an amendment submitted by France which in operative paragraph (2) replaced the words "including the future of the United Nations Command" with the words "including the dissolution of the United Nations Command in conjunction with arrangements to maintain the Armistice Agreement."

On December 9 the Saudi Arabian Representative introduced a revised amendment, originally proposed on December 4, which incorporated the French amendment and would have operative paragraph (2) of the 28-power draft read:



"Expresses the hope that the Security Council, bearing in mind the need to ensure continued adherence to the Armistice Agreement and the full maintenance of peace and security in the area, will in due course give consideration, in consultation with the parties directly concerned, to those aspects of the Korean question which fall within its responsibilities, including the dissolution of the United Nations Command in conjunction with appropriate arrangements to maintain the Armistice Agreement which is calculated to preserve peace and security in the Korean peninsula, pending negotiations and conciliation between the two Korean Governments leading to a lasting peace between them."

#### Assembly Action

On December 9 the Committee voted first on a proposal by Cuba that voting priority be given the 40-power draft. This proposal was defeated by a vote of 48 to 50 (U.S.), with 33 abstentions.

The Committee then voted on the revised amendment presented by Saudi Arabia which the cosponsors of the 28-power draft had announced they would support. The amendment was adopted by a rollcall vote of 57 (U.S.) to 43, with 35 abstentions. The resolution as amended was approved by a rollcall vote of 61 (U.S.) to 42, with 32 abstentions.

The Committee then rejected, by a rollcall vote of 48 (U.S.) to 57, with 30 abstentions, a proposal by Barbados made earlier in the meeting that in the event the 28-power draft resolution was adopted, the Committee would not vote on the other draft.

Finally the Committee took a recorded vote on the 40-power draft resolution which resulted in a tie: 48 in favor to 48 opposed (U.S.), with 38 abstentions. The draft was therefore not adopted. (The Rules of Procedure provide that a proposal receiving a tie vote in committee is regarded as rejected.)

On December 17 the General Assembly in plenary session adopted, by a vote of 61 (U.S.) to 43, with 31 abstentions, the revised draft resolution that had been cosponsored in the First Committee by the United States.

Those in favor were:

Australia	Federal Republic	Netherlands
Austria	of Germany	New Zealand
Bahamas	Greece	Nicaragua
Barbados	Grenada	Norway
Belgium	Guatemala	Oman
Bolivia	Haiti	Panama
Brazil	Honduras	Paraguay
Canada	Iceland	Philippines
Central African Republic	Iran	Portugal
Chad	Ireland	Qatar
Chile	Israel	Saudi Arabia
Colombia	Italy	Spain
Costa Rica	Ivory Coast	Swaziland
Denmark	Japan	Sweden
Dominican Republic	Jordan	Thailand
Ecuador	Khmer Republic	Tunisia
El Salvador	Lesotho	Turkey
France	Liberia	United Kingdom
Gabon	Luxembourg	United States
Gambia	Mauritius	Uruguay
	Morocco	Venezuela

Those opposed were:

Albania	Guinea	Sierra Leone
Algeria	Guinea-Bissau	Somalia
Botswana	Hungary	Sudan
Bulgaria	Iraq	Syria
Burundi	Kuwait	Tanzania
Byelorussian S.S.R.	Libya	Togo
China	Malagasy Republic	Uganda
Congo	Mali	Ukrainian S.S.R.
Cuba	Malta	U.S.S.R.
Czechoslovakia	Mauritania	Upper Volta
Dahomey	Mongolia	Yemen (Aden)
Egypt	Poland	Yemen (San'a)
Equatorial Guinea	Romania	Yugoslavia
German Democratic Republic	Rwanda	Zambia
	Senegal	

Those abstaining were:

Afghanistan	Ghana	Niger
Argentina	Guyana	Nigeria
Bahrain	India	Pakistan
Bangladesh	Indonesia	Peru
Bhutan	Jamaica	Singapore
Burma	Kenya	Sri Lanka
Cameroon	Lebanon	Trinidad and Tobago
Cyprus	Malawi	United Arab Emirates
Ethiopia	Malaysia	Zaire
Fiji	Mexico	
Finland	Nepal	

Laos, Maldives, and South Africa were absent.

#### SOUTH AFRICAN POLICIES OF APARTHEID

As in previous years, the General Assembly at its 29th session referred its agenda item on "Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa" to the Special Political Committee.

Acting on the request of the Special Committee on Apartheid, <sup>7/</sup> the Special Political Committee on September 26 without vote recommended that the General Assembly invite representatives of the African National Congress of South Africa and the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania to participate in the capacity of observers in the Special Political Committee's debate. On October 3 the Assembly approved the recommendation without vote.

The Committee's substantive consideration of the question took place at 29 meetings between October 7 and November 28. Nearly 100 states took part in the debate. Five draft resolutions were proposed and all were

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<sup>7/</sup> Members of the Apartheid Committee in 1974 were Algeria, Ghana, Guinea, Haiti, Hungary, India, Malaysia, Nepal, Nigeria, Peru, Philippines, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Trinidad and Tobago, and Ukrainian S.S.R.

subsequently adopted by the General Assembly on December 16. The United States supported one, opposed two, and abstained on two.

On November 4, Norway introduced a draft resolution entitled "UN Trust Fund for South Africa," which was eventually sponsored by 35 states. On November 22 the Committee approved without objection the resolution, which appealed to states, organizations, and individuals to make more generous annual contributions to the Trust Fund and to make direct contributions to the voluntary agencies engaged in assistance to the victims of apartheid and racial discrimination in South Africa, Namibia, and Southern Rhodesia. The General Assembly adopted the resolution without objection.

The remaining four resolutions were all introduced on November 26, approved by rollcall votes on November 28, and adopted by the Assembly by recorded votes on December 16.

Egypt introduced a draft resolution entitled "Arms embargo against South Africa," which was eventually sponsored by 58 states. The resolution requested the Security Council urgently to resume consideration of the question of race conflict in South Africa "with a view to taking action under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations to ensure the complete cessation by all states of the supply of arms, ammunition, military vehicles, spare parts thereof, and any other military equipment whatsoever to South Africa, as well as any military cooperation with South Africa." The Committee approved the resolution by a vote of 100 to 1 (U.S.), with 10 abstentions, and the Assembly adopted it by a vote of 109 to 1 (U.S.), with 9 abstentions.

In an explanation of vote in the Committee on November 28, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Barbara White, said that the United States believed sanctions would not be effective in causing South Africa to alter its racial policies. She added, however, that the United States continued to bar the sale of military equipment to South Africa and that it had not collaborated with South Africa on military or naval matters for over a decade and had no intention of beginning such cooperation in the future.

A draft resolution entitled "Release of political prisoners," was introduced by Jamaica and eventually sponsored by 63 states. In its first operative paragraph, the resolution called on South Africa (a) to grant unconditional amnesty to all persons imprisoned or restricted because of their opposition to apartheid or acts arising from such opposition, (b) to repeal all repressive laws and regulations restricting the right of the people to strive for an end to racial discrimination, and (c) to enable the people of South Africa as a whole to exercise their right to self-determination. In its second operative paragraph, the draft resolution appealed to all states and organizations to provide appropriate political, moral, and material assistance to the people of South Africa and their liberation movements in their struggle for the eradication of apartheid.

The United States requested a separate vote on the second operative paragraph, which was adopted by 97 to 1 (U.S.), with 7 abstentions. The United States voted against it because it opposed the extension of aid to liberation movements by international organizations. The resolution as a whole was then approved by a vote of 111 to 0, with 3 abstentions (Malawi, U.S., Uruguay). The Assembly subsequently adopted it by a vote of 118 to 0, with 2 abstentions (Malawi, U.S.).

Yugoslavia introduced a draft resolution entitled "Program of work of the Special Committee on Apartheid," which was ultimately sponsored by 46 states. Inter alia, the resolution (1) commended the Special Committee for its work; (2) appealed to all governments to intensify action against apartheid; (3) requested the Special Committee to give greater attention to (a) promoting more assistance to South African liberation movements, (b) ending collaboration by banks and national and transnational companies with the South African regime and companies registered in South Africa, and (c) ending all cultural, educational, scientific, sporting, and other contacts with South Africa and with organizations in South Africa that practice apartheid; (4) changed the name of the Committee to "Special Committee against Apartheid"; and (5) decided to expand the membership of the Special Committee and requested the Assembly President, in consultation with the regional groups, to appoint additional members. The Committee approved the resolution



by a vote of 106 to 0, with 10 abstentions (Belgium, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Israel, Italy, Malawi, Netherlands, U.K., U.S., Uruguay). The Assembly subsequently adopted it by a vote of 111 to 0, with 10 abstentions (Belgium, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Israel, Italy, Luxembourg, Malawi, Netherlands, U.K., U.S.). The United States abstained because it could not subscribe to the calls for assistance by international organizations to liberation movements and for the isolation of South Africa, which, in the U.S. view, would not be likely to have a beneficial effect.

The last resolution, entitled "Situation in South Africa," was introduced by Cuba and sponsored by 45 states. The draft resolution, similar to those of previous years, inter alia (1) reaffirmed the legitimacy of the struggle of the South African people "by all available means"; (2) condemned collaboration by states and organizations with South Africa; (3) called on France to cease military collaboration with South Africa and to stop the supply of arms to South Africa; (4) called on the United Kingdom to cease military collaboration with South Africa and abrogate the Simonstown Agreement; (5) recommended that South Africa be totally excluded from participation in all international organizations and conferences; and (6) requested all governments to ratify the Apartheid Convention, 8/ to prohibit contacts with South Africa, and to end the exchange of military and naval attachés with South Africa. The Committee approved the resolution by a vote of 90 to 13 (Belgium, Denmark, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Norway, Sweden, U.K., U.S.), with 15 abstentions, and the Assembly adopted it by a vote of 95 to 13 (Belgium, Denmark, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, U.K., U.S.), with 14 abstentions.

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8/ The International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid was adopted and opened for signature at New York, Nov. 30, 1973. It is not in force.

The United States opposed the resolution's implicit sanction of the use of force to end apartheid, the calls to isolate South Africa, and particularly the recommendations to exclude South Africa from international organizations and conferences. (For consideration of the question of South African participation see p. 112.)

## DISARMAMENT AND ARMS CONTROL

### CONFERENCE OF THE COMMITTEE ON DISARMAMENT

The U.S. and Soviet Representatives serve as co-chairmen of the CCD,<sup>9/</sup> which held two sessions in 1974-- April 16-May 23 and July 2-August 22. The American delegation was led by Ambassador Joseph Martin, Jr.

#### Chemical Weapons

At the outset of the spring session the U.S. Representative declared that while the United States remained "firmly committed to the objective of achieving effective international restraints on chemical weapons," it still believed that careful study of the complex problems involved was required.

#### Japanese Draft Convention

Most of the discussion of this subject in 1974 focused on a draft convention submitted by Japan on April 30, which would prohibit the development, production, stockpiling, and possession of chemical weapons. Although this was a comprehensive treaty, the Japanese did not think it realistic to expect complete prohibition at the outset. They therefore included provisions permitting parties to exclude certain chemical agents from the

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<sup>9/</sup> The 26 members of the CCD in 1974 were Argentina, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, Ethiopia, France, Hungary, India, Italy, Japan, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Netherlands, Nigeria, Pakistan, Poland, Romania, Sweden, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, United States, and Yugoslavia. France has never participated in the work of the Conference.

initial prohibition. The scope of these excluded agents would be gradually reduced by amendments after the convention came into force. Primarily for this purpose, the convention included provisions for conferences to review the operation of the convention and to take into account any new scientific and technological developments. Observance of the convention would be verified by a combination of national and international means. An International Verification Agency would supervise the destruction of existing stocks or their diversion to peaceful purposes. It would also receive reports from the parties and could undertake inspections if breaches of the convention were charged.

The Japanese Representative explained that the initial scope of the prohibition would depend on the extent to which effective verification methods could be found. As he had previously suggested, supertoxic organophosphorus compounds should be prohibited from the outset, and it would also be desirable to ban mustard-type agents. The term "chemical agents" referred to "asphyxiating, poisonous or other gases, and . . . all analogous liquids, materials or devices," as specified in the Geneva Protocol.<sup>10/</sup> It did not include "powder, propellants, smoke, napalm, etc." The draft convention envisaged further agreements for the reduction of stockpiles and the reduction of the list of exempted agents.

The U.S. Representative welcomed the Japanese draft convention as a constructive step. He found the gradual approach consistent with the principle that the scope of limitation should be related to the possibilities for effective verification. He observed that the primary obstacle to an agreement for the complete elimination of stockpiles was the possible retention of undeclared or hidden stockpiles.

The Soviet Representative considered the draft convention a positive contribution. He attributed the failure to specify the initial exceptions to the prohibition to the lack of agreement among the Western

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<sup>10/</sup> Protocol for the Prohibition of the Use in War of Asphyxiating, Poisonous, or Other Gases, and of Bacteriological Methods of Warfare, signed at Geneva on June 17, 1925.

powers. Asserting that the verification problem could be solved if the Western powers were ready to prohibit chemical weapons, he declared that the Soviets were prepared to seek a solution on the basis of the safeguards they had previously proposed. But he called verification a secondary problem and stressed the danger of industrial espionage if foreign access to chemical enterprises should be permitted. In the Soviet view, international supervision was therefore impracticable. Even the presence of foreign observers during the conversion of stocks to peaceful uses could lead to the disclosure of weapons technology. National supervisory bodies could, however, act in accordance with international rules and standards.

Although his position was challenged by Canada, Sweden, and others, the Soviet Representative maintained that international observation of the destruction of stockpiles could lead to the disclosure of military secrets and thus to the proliferation of chemical weapons. The U.S. Representative noted that observation was the only known way to verify destruction of declared stocks. He pointed out that it could be carried out at sites chosen by the state destroying the agents, well removed from other military installations.

#### U. S. Working Papers

From July 17 to 22 the CCD held informal meetings with the participation of chemical-warfare (CW) experts from the United States and 12 other nations. In connection with these informal meetings several participants submitted working papers.

The United States submitted three working papers on July 16. The first examined in detail practical problems in establishing a toxicity criterion for CW agents, which had been proposed by Canada and Japan. These included defining the toxicity level, the experimental animal, and the route by which the chemical is administered and developing a standardized method to reduce experimental variability. The paper also discussed the problem of applying a toxicity criterion so as to distinguish between single-purpose CW agents and dual-purpose chemicals, which could be either CW agents or drugs for medicinal use. A Japanese paper of July 12 also



discussed these problems, among others, and concluded that a decision on the prohibition of supertoxic agents which had not been used for military purposes depended on a judgment concerning their potential for such use.

The second U.S. paper discussed the problem of possible diversion of commercial chemicals for weapons. Verification of a ban on the production of CW agents would have to insure that single-purpose agents and precursors (chemical compounds used as intermediates in the production of supertoxic agents) were not being produced and that dual-purpose agents and precursors were not being diverted to nonpeaceful uses. In order to deter the diversion of phosphorus for nerve-agent production, a multilevel control system could be devised. Individual enterprises would follow authorized handling procedures, maintain accounting records, and report to a national control agency. The national body would verify to an international control agency that enterprises under the jurisdiction of the state have complied with all provisions of the control system. The international agency would oversee the entire system. Technical inspection should be an integral part of the procedure, and a standard records audit would not suffice. The paper also pointed out possible methods of evasion, both within and outside the control system, and presented a preliminary evaluation of the effectiveness of the proposed system. The Japanese paper listed a wide variety of verification procedures which might help to deal with these problems.

The third U.S. paper reviewed U.S. Army procedures and experience in destroying mustard gas stocks. It concluded that although a number of means for misleading observers exist, technical methods of inspection could provide a high degree of assurance that no evasion was taking place when declared stocks were destroyed. The Canadians also introduced on July 16 a paper describing their experience in destroying mustard gas.

At their Moscow summit meeting in the summer of 1974, President Nixon and General Secretary Brezhnev had agreed to consider a joint initiative in the CCD on the "conclusion, as a first step, of an international Convention dealing with the most dangerous, lethal means of chemical warfare." In his closing statement at the CCD the Soviet Representative noted that his country had



always shown great interest in a total ban on chemical weapons. In view of the difficulties in reaching this solution, however, it believed that a step-by-step approach was feasible, as the summit statement indicated.

### Comprehensive Test Ban

The U.S. Representative reaffirmed that the United States remained fully committed to the objective of a comprehensive test ban with adequate verification, and it still believed that some on-site inspections would be required. Pursuing its related seismic research program, the United States had selected eight sites for the new seismic research observatories. It was also continuing studies on the use of unmanned seismic observatories.

The Soviet Representative again stated that his country favored "the cessation of nuclear weapon tests, including underground tests, everywhere and by all." He maintained that a comprehensive test ban should be verified by national means of detection and identification, and he asserted that American insistence on compulsory inspection obstructed progress. There could, however, be international cooperation in the exchange of seismic data, in the context of a comprehensive test ban.

At their Moscow summit meeting, President Nixon and General Secretary Brezhnev on July 3 signed a treaty and protocol on the Limitation of Underground Nuclear Weapon Tests (threshold test ban). In the treaty the United States and the Soviet Union agreed to prohibit underground nuclear-weapon tests with a yield of more than 150 kilotons, beginning March 31, 1976. They agreed to limit underground nuclear-weapon tests to a minimum and to continue negotiations toward complete prohibition. Compliance with the treaty would be verified by national technical means. To facilitate this, the protocol to the treaty provided for the exchange of seismic and other data on weapon test sites. The treaty would not apply to underground explosions for peaceful purposes, which would be regulated by a separate agreement which, it was understood, would be negotiated before the test-ban treaty entered into force.

The treaty and protocol were reported to the CCD by the cochairmen on July 16. The U.S. Representative pointed out that the proposed agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union on peaceful explosions was intended to insure that such explosions were not used for weapons development or other military testing. But the agreement, which was between two nuclear-weapon states, would not be applicable to states in the early stages of development of nuclear technology. As Secretary of State Kissinger had said to the Subcommittee on Foreign Operations of the Senate Committee on Appropriations, it was "unrealistic to make a distinction at the early stages of nuclear development between peaceful uses and potential military applications because any capacity to produce an explosion has obvious military application, no matter what purpose the country concerned asserts it is attempting to serve."

The U.K. Representative welcomed the treaty and announced that the United Kingdom would abide by its provisions. However, while there was some support for the treaty, it was criticized by Sweden and others because of its bilateral nature and the level of the threshold, which was appreciably higher than the thresholds previously discussed in the CCD by Japan and other nations. The Swedish Representative also recalled that the Soviet Union had formerly opposed the threshold approach. The Soviet Representative replied that the agreement limited the possibility of "developing and perfecting the most powerful and consequently the most dangerous types of weapons." There had been a time when a threshold ban "carried a certain political risk," but changes in the international situation had made it possible as a first step toward a comprehensive test ban. Moreover, at an earlier date the lack of adequate technical means would probably have made it difficult to monitor a threshold agreement, especially since the threshold was then defined in terms of seismic magnitude rather than yield.

The NPT<sup>11/</sup> and the Indian Nuclear Explosion

On May 18, India carried out its first underground nuclear explosion. It announced that the explosion was a part of a program to study the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. Reaffirming its opposition to the military uses of nuclear explosions, India stated that it had no intention of producing nuclear weapons. Pakistan, however, viewed the Indian explosion with great concern and called for stronger security assurances to nonnuclear-weapon nations.

In the CCD Canada, Japan, the Netherlands, Sweden, the United Kingdom, and others criticized the Indian explosion and pointed out that there was no way of distinguishing between a nuclear explosion for peaceful purposes and a nuclear-weapon test. There was wide interest in strengthening the NPT, which prohibited nuclear explosions by nonnuclear-weapon countries. India is not a party to the treaty, which it considers discriminatory, and it has asserted the right to develop nuclear-explosive technology for peaceful purposes.

The U.S. Representative reaffirmed American opposition to the proliferation of nuclear-explosive devices. He emphasized that the American view concerning the relationship between nuclear-explosive devices for peaceful purposes and nuclear weapons remained unchanged. Continued nuclear cooperation between the United States and other countries depended on the assurance that existing undertakings not to use safeguarded nuclear material for explosions would be respected. The United States still supported the NPT and urged states that had not yet adhered to the treaty to do so. It intended to work to strengthen the NPT, and it still believed that the overwhelming endorsement of the NPT by the General Assembly and the subsequent adherence to it by more

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<sup>11/</sup> Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, done at Washington, London, and Moscow, July 1, 1968; entered into force Mar. 5, 1970. More than 80 countries were party to the NPT in 1974, including the U.S., U.K., and U.S.S.R. The P.R.C., France, and India are not parties.

than 80 countries represented "the collective judgment" that it was "in the best interest of the entire world community to limit the spread of nuclear explosive devices and technology."

The Soviet Representative called on all near-nuclear states to ratify or adhere to the NPT. He could not agree with those who opposed it or called it discriminatory. Peaceful nuclear explosions still had no practical application because of inadequate technology, but the IAEA had started preliminary work for the implementation of treaty provisions on an international service for peaceful nuclear explosions. He considered it essential to speed up the implementation of international safeguard systems under the NPT.

### Nuclear-Free Zones

On May 23 the Nigerian Representative recalled that the African heads of state and government had 10 years previously adopted a declaration on the denuclearization of Africa. The Africans now intended to take a second look at the declaration. There was also a brief discussion of proposals by Pakistan for a South Asian nuclear-free zone and by Iran (joined by Egypt) for a nuclear-free zone in the Middle East.

The U.S. Representative commented that the United States had welcomed the previous African initiative. He recalled that the United States had already suggested four criteria for nuclear-free zones: (1) the initiative should be taken by the states in the region concerned; (2) the zone should preferably include all states in the area whose participation was considered important; (3) the creation of the zone should not disturb necessary security arrangements; and (4) provision should be made for adequate verification.

### Small Nuclear Weapons

During the discussions in August 1973, the Swedish Representative had addressed several questions to the nuclear powers about the possible development of "mini-nukes" (low-yield tactical nuclear weapons). She was



concerned that their development might blur the distinction between conventional and nuclear weapons, jeopardize a comprehensive test ban, and affect the bases of the NPT.

The British Representative had replied later the same month that the United Kingdom remained very conscious of the distinction between nuclear and conventional arms, and his country had made no decision to develop small nuclear weapons. At the same time, the possibility of their development showed the importance of adequate verification of a comprehensive test ban. In the British view, the Security Council resolution of June 19, 1968, concerning security assurances to non-nuclear-weapon parties to the NPT applied to "nuclear aggression of any type whatsoever."

The Swedish Representative raised the issue again on May 7, 1974, and the U.S. Representative said on May 23 that the United States had no intention of treating tactical nuclear systems as interchangeable with conventional arms. It was still willing to ban all nuclear tests. It considered that the U.S.-U.S.S.R. agreement on the prevention of nuclear war and the Security Council resolution also applied to conflicts in which only "mini-nukes" were used. The Soviet Representative made a similar statement. The Swedish Representative described the statements of the delegates of the three nuclear powers as reassuring and concluded that under the present circumstances the issue could be considered closed in the CCD.

### Military Expenditures

A Swedish paper of May 14 stated that collection and presentation of data on defense expenditures would increase mutual confidence among states and reduce the risks of an arms race resulting from suspicion and misunderstanding. The Soviet Representative reaffirmed the U.S.S.R. proposal, made at the 28th General Assembly in 1973, for a 10% reduction of military expenditures by the five permanent members of the Security Council. The U.S. Representative pointed out that the problem of military expenditures was being studied by a group of experts convened by the UN Secretary General, and he



expressed the hope that they would arrive at a generally accepted definition of what was to be understood by military budgets. The United States would welcome greater openness, and it agreed that greater knowledge would be useful. The British Representative also considered openness important and noted that reduction could take place only against a known base. He hoped that other states would follow the British example and publish detailed information on their military budgets.

### Conventional Weapons

At the opening on April 16 the U.S. Representative called attention once again to the desirability of considering the question of effective restraints on conventional weapons, which accounted for most of the military expenditures of the world. However, there was little further discussion of conventional weapons.

### Enlargement of the CCD

The cochairmen and the other members agreed to invite the German Democratic Republic, the Federal Republic of Germany, Iran, Peru, and Zaire to join the CCD. They reported this agreement to the General Assembly for its endorsement.

### Adoption of Report

On August 22 the CCD adopted, for submission to the General Assembly, a progress report on its deliberations during 1974 on the questions before it, together with the pertinent documents and records. This report was before the 29th General Assembly during its consideration of disarmament matters.

### GENERAL ASSEMBLY

The 29th General Assembly had 12 items on its agenda relating to disarmament, all of which were considered by the First Committee. They covered the following

subjects: (1) reduction of military budgets, (2) napalm and other incendiary weapons, (3) chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons, (4) cessation of nuclear tests, (5) implementation of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace, (6) world disarmament conference, (7) general and complete disarmament, (8) prohibition of action to influence the environment and climate for military and other purposes incompatible with the maintenance of international security, human well-being, and health, (9) signature and ratification of Additional Protocol I of the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America, (10) signature and ratification of Additional Protocol II of the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America, (11) establishment of a nuclear-free zone in South Asia, and (12) establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Middle East.

The First Committee held a general debate on these items from October 21 to November 11. Twenty-one resolutions were subsequently introduced and approved in the First Committee, and the General Assembly adopted all of them on December 9. The United States supported or voted in favor of 11 resolutions and abstained on the rest. The increase in the number of resolutions on disarmament as compared to 1973, when 12 were adopted, largely reflected new or revived interest in nuclear-free zones: seven resolutions on this subject were adopted under five different agenda items. The 21 resolutions adopted in 1974 call for reports on or consideration of 16 different items at the 30th General Assembly.

#### Reduction of Military Budgets

In 1973 the General Assembly adopted a resolution proposed by the U.S.S.R. recommending that the permanent members of the Security Council reduce their military budgets by 10% and use a part of the funds thus saved for development assistance. The same Assembly session also adopted a resolution introduced by Mexico requesting the Secretary General to prepare, with the help of qualified experts, a report on the reduction of military budgets dealing not only with permanent members of the Security Council but also with other states having a major economic and military potential. The United States abstained on both resolutions.

A report, to which a U.S. expert contributed, was prepared during the summer of 1974 and transmitted by the Secretary General to the General Assembly on October 14, 1974. It examined a number of questions, including the objectives of military budget reductions, technical problems--such as the need for a uniform definition of military budgets and for a standardized system for reporting military expenditures--and possible uses of funds saved through reductions, but reached no conclusions and made no recommendations.

On November 22 Mexico introduced a resolution, also sponsored by Ethiopia, Nigeria, Sweden, and Cameroon, noting that governments had not had enough time to study the report thoroughly and that therefore it would be desirable for the General Assembly to postpone its assessment. The resolution requested the Secretary General to arrange for the report to be issued as a UN publication and widely distributed. It also invited states to communicate to the Secretary General "their views and suggestions on all those points they deem pertinent with regard to the matters covered in the report," including such questions as the definition of military budgets, procedures by which a "system of standardized military budgets" could be established, the percent reduction of military budgets advisable, the part of the resources released that should be allotted to development assistance, and the "international system or mechanism, within the framework of the United Nations, which should be employed" to assure the best use of the additional assistance made available. The resolution asked the Secretary General to circulate the responses by August 1, 1975.

The resolution was approved by the First Committee on November 22 by a vote of 89 (U.S.) to 2, with 13 abstentions. The General Assembly adopted the resolution on December 9 by a recorded vote of 99 (U.K., U.S.) to 2 (Albania, P.R.C.), with 12 abstentions (France, U.S.S.R.).

The United States supported the resolution because of the overall approach to the question, despite some reservations with respect to some of the items on which governments were asked to comment. The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Joseph Martin, Jr., explained that

the United States understood that the resolution concerned a possible standardized system of reporting on military budgets rather than standard military budgets. The United States also continued to question the usefulness of efforts to link military budget levels to economic assistance.

### Napalm and Other Incendiary Weapons

The General Assembly adopted two resolutions under its agenda item "Napalm and other incendiary weapons and all aspects of their possible use." The Assembly had before it a report by the Secretary General on the consideration of the question by the Diplomatic Conference on the Reaffirmation and Development of International Humanitarian Law Applicable in Armed Conflicts. The Conference, which was convened by the Swiss Government and met in Geneva from February 20 to March 29, 1974, considered several aspects of the question but made no specific recommendations. The Assembly also had available, late in its session, the report of the Conference of Government Experts, held at Lucerne, Switzerland, from September 24 to October 18, 1974, under the auspices of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), which was convened to study in depth the question of the prohibition or limitation of the use of conventional weapons that may cause unnecessary suffering or have indiscriminate effects.

Continuing its previous initiatives in this field, Sweden on November 20 introduced a draft resolution that was eventually sponsored by 12 countries. In its preambular paragraphs the resolution noted the reports mentioned above, stated the Assembly's awareness of the complexity of the issues and the need to examine thoroughly all data available, and noted with appreciation the readiness of the ICRC to convoke another Conference of Government Experts to receive and consider new information on such conventional weapons as might become the subject of proposed bans or restrictions.

The resolution in its principal operative paragraphs urged all governments to examine the facts now available on the matter and to compile such supplementary data as may be required in order to focus upon specific proposals for prohibitions or restrictions,



invited the Diplomatic Conference to continue its consideration of the question of the use of napalm and other incendiary weapons as well as other specific conventional weapons which may be deemed to cause unnecessary suffering or to have indiscriminate effects and its search for agreement on possible rules prohibiting or restricting the use of such weapons, and requested the Secretary General to report to the 30th General Assembly on the work of the Diplomatic Conference relevant to this resolution.

This resolution was approved by the First Committee on November 21 by a recorded vote of 100 (P.R.C.) to 0, with 14 abstentions (France, U.S.S.R., U.K., U.S.). The General Assembly adopted the resolution on December 9 by a recorded vote of 108 (P.R.C.) to 0, with 13 abstentions (France, U.S.S.R., U.K., U.S.). Ambassador Martin explained before the vote in the First Committee that the United States regretted having to abstain on the resolution and had hoped to achieve consensus on a resolution reflecting general understanding of the appropriate approach to the next stage of international consideration of this question. He stated that the United States considered that the operative paragraph inviting the Diplomatic Conference to continue its search for possible rules prohibiting or restricting the use of such weapons "sets an over-ambitious goal for the Conference, a goal that is unrealistic especially in light of the recognized need for further expert examination of various aspects of the use of these weapons." He noted that the United States had participated actively in the first session of the ICRC Conference of Government Experts and it believed that a second session, in which it also expected to participate, "is necessary to explore further the many complex questions concerning specific conventional weapons, including incendiaries, that may cause unnecessary suffering or have indiscriminate effects." These questions cut across a wide range of fields of expertise--military, medical, legal, and technological--and expert views on these questions "would be prerequisites for further serious examination of possible rules concerning the weapons in question." While this would not preclude participants in the Diplomatic Conference from putting forward their views on the matter, Ambassador Martin reiterated that it is "our strong view that the Diplomatic Conference should primarily pursue



the humanitarian goals embodied in the two protocols [on international and noninternational armed conflicts] under consideration."

The second resolution was introduced by Syria on November 22. It was subsequently revised twice. In its final form it emphasized in a preambular paragraph the consensus of the Conference of Government Experts that "severe burn wounds are probably the most painful type of wound and . . . may result in permanent disability." In its operative paragraphs it condemned the use of napalm and other incendiary weapons in armed conflicts; urged all states to refrain from the production, stockpiling, and use of such weapons pending the conclusion of agreements on the prohibition of these weapons; invited all governments, the ICRC, UN specialized agencies, and other international organizations to send to the Secretary General all information about the use of napalm and other incendiary weapons in armed conflicts; and requested the Secretary General to prepare a report based on this information.

The resolution was approved by the First Committee on November 27 by a rollcall vote of 81 (P.R.C.) to 0, with 25 abstentions (France, U.S.S.R., U.K., U.S.). The General Assembly adopted the resolution on December 9 by a rollcall vote of 98 (P.R.C.) to 0, with 27 abstentions (France, U.S.S.R., U.K., U.S.).

Explaining his vote in the First Committee, Ambassador Martin referred to his statement on the previous resolution regarding the proper approach to the next stage of constructive international consideration of this subject and said: "The resolution now before us clearly runs contrary to such an approach. It prejudices the outcome of the deliberations which will take place during the coming year; in particular, it fails to take account of the many complex questions concerning incendiary weapons which must be examined at the second session of the Conference of Experts . . . before any firm conclusions can be drawn regarding the scope of possible restrictions on the use of napalm and other incendiaries." He added that pending the outcome of the experts' work, "We cannot accept the categorical conclusion in the present resolution regarding the need for prohibition of the use of all incendiary weapons."

### Chemical and Biological Weapons

In its consideration of the agenda item on "Chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons," the Committee had before it the CCD's report to the General Assembly. On November 18 Poland introduced a draft resolution, sponsored by 21 nations, that reaffirmed the objective of reaching agreement on the effective prohibition of the development, production, and stockpiling of all chemical weapons and on their elimination; urged states to facilitate agreement on this goal; requested the CCD as a matter of high priority to continue negotiations with a view to reaching early agreement on effective measures for such prohibition; invited all states to sign and ratify the Biological Weapons Convention;<sup>12/</sup> and invited all states to accede to or ratify the Geneva Protocol of 1925.

Prior to its formal submission, the draft resolution had been the subject of much discussion and negotiation. The United States supported the resolution which was consistent with the U.S. commitment pursuant to the Biological Weapons Convention to seek effective prohibition of chemical weapons. In the U.S. view, effective prohibition requires provision for adequate verification of compliance. On November 18 the First Committee adopted the resolution without a vote; the P.R.C. did not participate in the adoption. The resolution was adopted by the General Assembly on December 9 without a vote.

### Cessation of Nuclear and Thermonuclear Tests

Under the agenda item, "Urgent need for cessation of nuclear and thermonuclear tests and conclusion of a treaty designed to achieve a comprehensive test ban," New Zealand on November 8 introduced a resolution

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<sup>12/</sup> Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production, and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on Their Destruction, opened for signature at Washington, London, and Moscow on Apr. 10, 1972. The Convention is not yet in force.

eventually sponsored by 17 countries. In the resolution's operative paragraphs, the Assembly condemned all nuclear-weapon tests in whatever environment they may be conducted, reaffirmed the Assembly's concern at the continuance of such testing and at the lack of progress toward a comprehensive test ban agreement, called upon all states not yet parties to adhere to the Limited Test Ban Treaty,<sup>13/</sup> emphasized the urgency of concluding a comprehensive test ban, reminded the nuclear-weapon states of their special responsibility to initiate proposals to this end, called upon all states to refrain from the testing of nuclear weapons in any environment, and requested the CCD to give highest priority to concluding a comprehensive test ban agreement and to report to the 30th Assembly on the progress achieved.

The draft resolution was approved in the First Committee on November 14 by a recorded vote of 72 to 3 (Albania, P.R.C., France), with 30 abstentions (U.S.S.R., U.K., U.S.). The resolution was adopted by the General Assembly on December 9 by a recorded vote of 95 to 3 (Albania, P.R.C., France), with 33 abstentions (U.S.S.R., U.K., U.S.). In the debate on this item several countries disassociated themselves from the paragraph that condemned all nuclear-weapon tests and from the paragraph expressing concern at the lack of progress toward a comprehensive test ban, since the resolution did not take note of the U.S.-U.S.S.R. threshold test ban treaty (see p. 50 ).

In an explanation of vote in the First Committee, Ambassador Martin reaffirmed the long-standing U.S. commitment to a comprehensive test ban, pursuant to an adequately verified treaty--a commitment the United States believed had been advanced in 1974 by the conclusion of the threshold test ban treaty between the United States and the Soviet Union. He pointed out, however, that achievement of the goal depended upon resolution of the complex problem of verification, without which it would not be useful to call for the urgent conclusion of a comprehensive test ban.

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<sup>13/</sup> Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space, and Under Water, signed at Moscow, Aug. 5, 1963; entered into force for the United States on Oct. 10, 1963.

## Indian Ocean Peace Zone

In 1971 the General Assembly adopted a resolution declaring the Indian Ocean to be a "zone of peace." A subsequent resolution in 1972 established a 15-member<sup>14/</sup> Ad Hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean to seek ways to implement the resolution. In 1973 the Assembly asked the Secretary General, with the assistance of consultative experts, to prepare a "factual statement of the great powers' military presence in all its aspects, in the Indian Ocean, with special reference to their naval deployments, conceived in the context of great power rivalry." The final report, issued in July (the original version, released in May, was widely criticized and subsequently revised and scaled down), formed the basis of the Ad Hoc Committee's 1974 work. On November 1 the Committee reached agreement on a draft resolution, which was introduced in the First Committee on November 11 by Ad Hoc Committee chairman H. S. Amerasinghe of Sri Lanka.

In preambular paragraphs, the resolution noted the experts' report on the Indian Ocean and expressed deep concern that a competitive expansion of great power military presence there would constitute a serious intensification of the arms race, leading to an increase of tension in the area. In its operative paragraphs the resolution, inter alia, urged Indian Ocean states, the permanent members of the Security Council, and other major users of the Indian Ocean to give tangible support to the establishment of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace; called upon the great powers to refrain from increasing and strengthening their military presence in the area; requested the littoral and hinterland states of the Indian Ocean region to begin consultations with a view to convening a conference on the Indian Ocean; asked the Ad Hoc Committee to continue its work; and invited all states, especially the great powers, to cooperate with the Ad Hoc Committee in a practical manner.

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<sup>14/</sup> Australia, P.R.C., India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Japan, Malagasy Republic, Malaysia, Mauritius, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Tanzania, Yemen (San'a), Zambia.



The First Committee approved the resolution on November 14 by a vote of 79 to 0, with 27 abstentions (U.S.). The General Assembly adopted the resolution on December 9 by a recorded vote of 103 (P.R.C.) to 0, with 26 abstentions (France, U.S.S.R., U.K., U.S.).

The U.S. abstention reflected the position it has held on this question since 1971; namely, that the imposition of a special legal regime--a "zone of peace"--on a certain part of the high seas by a regional group of states has serious implications for traditional high seas freedoms and is not the proper approach for dealing with complex arms control questions.

On November 20 Mauritius introduced a resolution providing for the expansion of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean by three members. The resolution was approved without vote by the First Committee on November 21, and was adopted by the General Assembly on December 9, also without vote. The three countries designated by the Chairman of the First Committee to join the Ad Hoc Committee were Bangladesh, Kenya, and Somalia.

#### World Disarmament Conference

In December 1973, the 28th General Assembly unanimously adopted a resolution providing for an Ad Hoc Committee composed of 40 nonnuclear-weapon states to examine the views and suggestions of all governments on the convening of a world disarmament conference, including conditions for the realization of such a conference, and to submit a report, on the basis of consensus, to the 29th Assembly.

The Ad Hoc Committee met three times during 1974: May 7-10 to organize its activities, June 24-27 for substantive discussions and the appointment of a 10-member working group to draft a report, and September 9-13 to consider and revise the working group's report. The final report quoted excerpts from submissions of various states on five principal aspects: general views on convening a world disarmament conference and on conditions for its realization, main objectives of such a conference, adequate preparations for it, its agenda, and its



organization. The U.S. position was reflected in excerpts from several previous statements on the issue in the General Assembly and at the CCD, which emphasized that such a world conference, while it could be useful at an appropriate stage in the future, would be more harmful than helpful to real progress on disarmament at this time.

On November 27, Mexico introduced a draft resolution, sponsored by seven states, which provided that the Ad Hoc Committee should resume its work in accordance with the procedure established by the previous Assembly's resolution (i.e., on the basis of consensus) and should give priority to (1) preparing and submitting to the 30th General Assembly an analytical report, including any pertinent conclusions and recommendations, concerning the comments by states on the main objectives of a world disarmament conference and (2) maintaining close contact with the representatives of nuclear-weapon states so as to keep informed of any change in their positions. The resolution, on which there had been extensive consultation prior to its submission, was approved without a vote by the First Committee on November 27 and adopted unanimously by the Assembly on December 9.

The United States was able to support the resolution because, like the 1973 resolution, it was acceptable to all the nuclear-weapon states and because it only continued the Ad Hoc Committee's work of analyzing and commenting on the views of states, without taking any decision on preparing for or convening such a conference. In fact, a preambular paragraph of the resolution noted that "it does not yet seem possible to reach a final conclusion with regard to the convening of a world disarmament conference." As Ambassador Martin stated in the general debate, the United States does not believe that "such a conference now or in the near future would produce useful results," since "it is not the lack of a suitable forum, but the lack of political agreement, which prevents us from taking more far-reaching steps toward disarmament."

#### General and Complete Disarmament

Under the agenda item "General and complete disarmament" the Assembly adopted seven resolutions covering

(1) the Disarmament Decade, (2) enlargement of the CCD, (3) strategic arms limitation talks (SALT), (4) nonproliferation and peaceful nuclear explosions, (5) security assurances for nonnuclear-weapon states, (6) a nuclear-free zone in Africa, and (7) a study of nuclear-free zones. The United States supported or voted in favor of all of these resolutions with the exception of that relating to SALT, on which it abstained.

Nigeria introduced the resolution on the Disarmament Decade,<sup>15</sup> sponsored by 12 states, on November 13. This resolution reaffirmed the purposes and objectives of the Disarmament Decade, invited member states' to report on measures and policies they have adopted to achieve those purposes and objectives, and requested the Secretary General and governments to report to the 30th General Assembly on the actions they have taken to publicize the Disarmament Decade with the general public.

The resolution was approved without a vote by the First Committee on November 14. China stated subsequently that if there had been a vote it would not have participated. The General Assembly adopted the resolution without a vote on December 9.

The second resolution concerned the enlargement of the CCD (see p.55 ). On November 15 Mexico introduced

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<sup>15/</sup> On December 16, 1969, the 24th General Assembly adopted a resolution that declared the decade of the 1970s a "Disarmament Decade"; called upon governments to intensify their efforts for effective measures relating to cessation of the nuclear arms race and to nuclear disarmament and the elimination of other weapons of mass destruction, and for a treaty on general and complete disarmament under effective international control; requested the CCD to work out a comprehensive program dealing with general and complete disarmament; recommended that consideration be given to channelling a substantial part of the resources saved by disarmament into promoting the economic development of developing countries; and requested the Secretary General and governments to publicize the Disarmament Decade by all appropriate means.

a draft resolution, sponsored by the 25 participating members of the CCD, that endorsed the agreement to invite the German Democratic Republic, Federal Republic of Germany, Iran, Peru, and Zaire to join the CCD. The resolution was approved without a vote on the same day. France explained that if there had been a vote it would have abstained; China explained that it would not have participated. The General Assembly adopted the resolution without a vote on December 9.

The third resolution, on SALT, was introduced by Mexico on November 18 and sponsored by 10 countries. Recalling that the SALT negotiations contemplated agreement on the subsequent reduction in nuclear arms and bearing in mind that efforts to this effect had not yet yielded the desired results, the resolution quoted excerpts from the speeches before the General Assembly of Secretary of State Kissinger on September 23 (see p. 448 for complete text) and Soviet Minister of Foreign Affairs Gromyko on September 24, urged the Soviet Union and the United States to broaden the scope and accelerate the pace of their strategic arms limitation talks, stressed the necessity of reaching agreement on qualitative limitations and substantial reductions of their strategic nuclear-weapon systems, and invited the two governments to keep the General Assembly informed in good time of the results of the negotiations.

After a very brief discussion, the First Committee approved the SALT resolution by a vote of 88 to 1, with 21 abstentions (U.S.).

In his explanation of vote, Ambassador Martin stated that the United States welcomed the interest shown by the world community in the SALT negotiations and reaffirmed the U.S. objectives of braking the momentum of ever increasing levels of armaments; controlling certain qualitative aspects, particularly MIRVs; moderating the pace of new deployment; and ultimately achieving reductions in force levels. He explained that the United States abstention merely reaffirmed its conviction that in order to accomplish these goals most expeditiously the SALT negotiations should proceed along lines established by the parties themselves. The resolution was adopted by the General Assembly on December 9 by a recorded vote of 105 to 1 (Albania), with 23 abstentions (France, U.S.S.R., U.K., U.S.). China did not participate.

The other four resolutions concerned nuclear-free zones and nonproliferation and are discussed below under those headings.

### Environmental Modification

The general subject of environmental warfare was discussed by the United States and the U.S.S.R. at the 1974 Moscow summit meeting. In a joint statement issued on July 3, the two countries recognized that the use of environmental modification techniques for military purposes could have widespread, longlasting, and severe effects harmful to human welfare and therefore advocated effective measures to overcome the dangers of the use of such techniques. They also agreed to meet together during the year to explore the problem and discuss steps that might be taken to bring about such effective measures.

Prior to the first bilateral meeting, however, the Soviet Foreign Minister proposed, in an August 7, 1974, letter to the Secretary General, that an item entitled "Prohibition of action to influence the environment and climate for military and other purposes incompatible with the maintenance of international security, human well-being, and health" be added to the agenda of the 29th General Assembly. On September 21 the Assembly, on the recommendation of its General Committee, decided to include the Soviet item on the agenda. On September 24 the U.S.S.R. submitted a draft resolution to which a draft convention was annexed. The resolution was subsequently revised slightly and cosponsored by 23 other states.

In its principal operative paragraphs, the revised resolution considered it "necessary to adopt, through the conclusion of an appropriate international convention, effective measures to prohibit action to influence the environment and climate for military and other hostile purposes, which are incompatible with the maintenance of international security, human well-being, and health"; took note of the Soviet draft convention and other suggestions in this regard; and requested the CCD to proceed as soon as possible to achieve agreement on the text of such a convention and to report on the results achieved to the 30th General Assembly.



The First Committee approved the draft resolution on November 22 by a rollcall vote of 102 (U.K., U.S.S.R.) to 0, with 7 abstentions (France, U.S.). The General Assembly adopted the resolution on December 9 by a rollcall vote of 126 (U.S.S.R., U.K.) to 0, with 5 abstentions (France, U.S.). China did not participate in these votes.

Ambassador Martin made clear in his statement to the First Committee on October 30 that environmental modification techniques, which are as yet little understood and largely hypothetical, could have considerable potential for hostile as well as peaceful purposes. He mentioned the promising progress in localized and limited efforts to modify the weather, and also concerns expressed by scientists about future possibilities of triggering earthquakes, generating tidal waves, and inducing long-term climatic changes. He reaffirmed that the United States "would not use climate modification techniques for hostile purposes even if such techniques came to be developed in the future," and recalled that in the joint statement issued at the U.S.-U.S.S.R. summit meeting in 1974 "we expressed our willingness to examine with the Soviet Union what measures could be effective to overcome the dangers of the use of environment modification techniques for military purposes." He concluded that "if it is the general view that this question should be referred by the Assembly to the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, we could support referral if it were accomplished without prejudgments of the Committee's consideration of the question."

In explaining the U.S. abstention on the resolution, Ambassador Martin stated on November 22 that the United States attached considerable importance to this question but that: "Even with the commendable changes accepted by the Soviet delegation the resolution as it now stands still appears to prejudge important aspects of the subject. For example, we believe it is premature to conclude that a convention would necessarily be feasible or effective. . . . In our view, we must define the problem and formulate the measures which will effectively deal with it before we can consider the advisability of adopting an international instrument on the subject. In any case, we are not persuaded that the Soviet draft convention annexed to the present draft resolution



provides a suitable basis for the discussion of this question." He concluded by stating that the United States would "participate actively and positively in further discussions of this matter in the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament and elsewhere."

### Nuclear Nonproliferation

Concern over the dangers of an increase in the number of countries possessing nuclear explosive capability, highlighted by India's May 18 explosion of a nuclear device, emerged as a major theme of the disarmament debate. Statements by many delegations addressed not only this general problem but also specific issues such as the future of the NPT, the question of peaceful nuclear explosions, and the need to strengthen safeguards designed to prevent the diversion of nuclear materials from peaceful to military purposes.

The United States played a leading role in these discussions. In his address to the General Assembly on September 23, Secretary Kissinger underscored the importance the United States attached to cooperative international efforts to deal with the problems of nuclear energy and said: "The challenge before the world is to realize the peaceful benefits of nuclear technology without contributing to the growth of nuclear weapons or to the number of states possessing them." Speaking on the same subject in the Assembly's First Committee on October 21, Senator Stuart Symington stated that "we are now at an important juncture, perhaps a decisive one," and he suggested several tasks that members of the international community, individually and collectively, should undertake to meet the challenge: (1) cooperation in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy should be continued; (2) the search for effective measures to curb the competition in nuclear arms should be intensified; (3) steps should be taken to insure the widest possible adherence to the NPT; (4) thorough international consideration should be given to the question of peaceful nuclear explosions; (5) the system of international safeguards against the diversion of nuclear materials and technology to the manufacture of nuclear explosives should be strengthened; (6) steps should be taken to insure the physical security of nuclear

facilities and materials; and (7) the development of regional arrangements which contribute to nonproliferation objectives should be supported and encouraged.

### Nonproliferation and Peaceful Nuclear Explosions

The principal resolution on this subject was initiated by Canada, Japan, and the Netherlands. It was introduced in the First Committee on November 13 by the Netherlands and ultimately sponsored by 16 countries.

In its main operative paragraphs the resolution appealed to all countries, especially those possessing nuclear weapons, "to exert concerted efforts in all the appropriate international forums with a view to working out promptly effective measures for the cessation of the nuclear arms race and for the prevention of the further proliferation of nuclear weapons"; requested the IAEA "to continue its studies on the peaceful applications of nuclear explosions, their utility and feasibility, including legal, health, and safety aspects"; called upon the CCD to consider, in connection with the question of a comprehensive nuclear test ban, "the arms control implications of peaceful nuclear explosions"; and expressed the hope that the NPT Review Conference to be held in May 1975 would also examine the role of peaceful nuclear explosions. An additional operative paragraph, proposed by Mexico and incorporated into the resolution, invited the United States and the Soviet Union to inform the NPT Review Conference of the steps they had taken or planned to take for the conclusion of "the special basic international agreement on nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes which is envisaged in article V" of the NPT.

A number of recorded votes were taken on this resolution in the First Committee on November 20. At the request of India, separate votes were held on three of the resolution's preambular paragraphs. The first of these, a paragraph "noting with concern that, in the course of this year, six states have engaged in nuclear testing," was approved by a vote of 74 (U.K., U.S.) to 2 (India, France), with 25 abstentions (U.S.S.R.). The second, which expressed "great concern" that "the possible diversion of nuclear energy from peaceful to

military uses would present a serious danger for world peace and security," was approved by a vote of 89 (U.S.S.R., U.K., U.S.) to 1 (India), with 10 abstentions (France). The third, which considered that "the planning and conducting of peaceful nuclear explosions should be carried out under agreed and nondiscriminatory international arrangements," such as those envisaged in the NPT, was approved by a vote of 91 (U.S.S.R., U.K., U.S.) to 1 (India), with 11 abstentions (France).

Separate votes were also taken on the additional operative paragraph proposed by Mexico and a preambular paragraph also proposed by Mexico referring to statements made in 1968 by U.S. and Soviet representatives concerning article V of the NPT. The former was approved by a vote of 81 to 1 (India), with 19 abstentions (France, U.S.S.R., U.K., U.S.), and the latter by a vote of 89 (U.S.S.R.) to 1 (India), with 10 abstentions (France, U.K., U.S.). China did not participate in any of these separate paragraph votes. Finally, the Committee approved the resolution as a whole by a vote of 91 (U.S.S.R., U.K., U.S.) to 3 (Albania, P.R.C., India), with 11 abstentions (France).

After similar votes on the separate paragraphs cited above, the General Assembly adopted the resolution on December 9 by a recorded vote of 115 (U.S.S.R., U.K., U.S.) to 3 (Albania, P.R.C., India), with 12 abstentions (France).

In the First Committee Ambassador Martin explained that the affirmative U.S. vote reflected its strong support for the resolution as a constructive step toward common nonproliferation objectives. He also explained the U.S. position on a preambular paragraph asserting "that it has not yet proven possible to differentiate between the technology for nuclear weapons and that for nuclear explosive devices for peaceful purposes." He stated:

"For countries in the early stage of developing a nuclear explosive capability, we cannot see how it would be possible to develop such a capability for peaceful purposes without in the process acquiring a device which could be used as a nuclear weapon. In the case of advanced nuclear-weapon states, however, it may

be possible, under certain conditions, to develop criteria that would be adequate to ensure that nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes are not used to further nuclear-weapon development. But, I should add, if such criteria could be developed they would not be applicable to the problem posed by the development of a nuclear explosive capability by a nonnuclear-weapon state."

### Security Assurances for Nonnuclear-Weapon States

On November 21 Pakistan introduced a resolution declaring the General Assembly's "firm support for the independence, territorial integrity, and sovereignty of nonnuclear-weapon states" and recommending "to member states to consider in all appropriate forums, without loss of time, the question of strengthening the security of nonnuclear-weapon states." The resolution was approved by the First Committee without a vote on November 22 and adopted without a vote by the General Assembly on December 9.

### Nuclear-Free Zones

The potential role of nuclear-free zones in various parts of the world in supporting nonproliferation objectives received a great deal of attention in the disarmament debate. The Assembly adopted seven resolutions on this general subject under several different agenda items.

Senator Symington addressed the nuclear-free zone question on October 21, observing that "while the NPT has played a central role in efforts to curb nuclear proliferation, the United States believes that complementary tools should also be used to serve that objective." He reiterated the four basic criteria (see p. 53) that the United States would take into account in assessing specific regional arrangements for nuclear-free zones. The United States would also take into account the treatment of peaceful nuclear explosions in any nuclear-free-zone proposal, he said, recalling that the United States had adhered to Additional Protocol II of the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in



Latin America<sup>16/</sup> "with the understanding that the treaty does not permit nonnuclear states party to the treaty to develop peaceful nuclear explosive devices."

#### Protocols I and II of the Treaty of Tlatelolco

The first two nuclear-free-zone resolutions, introduced by Mexico on behalf of 19 Latin American and Caribbean sponsors, concerned the two protocols to the Treaty of Tlatelolco. Countries adhering to additional Protocol I undertake to apply the treaty's statute of denuclearization to territories within the treaty area for which they are *de facto* or *de jure* internationally responsible. Only four countries are involved: the United Kingdom and the Netherlands, which have adhered to the Protocol, and the United States and France, which have not. The resolution on Protocol I urged the two states that had not adhered to do so as soon as possible. The first Committee approved the resolution on November 19 by a vote of 84 to 0, with 18 abstentions (U.S.). The General Assembly adopted it on December 9 by a recorded vote of 115 (P.R.C., India, Netherlands, U.K.) to 0, with 17 abstentions (France, U.S.S.R., U.S.).

The U.S. abstention reflected its consistent position that the United States does not wish to have the treaty's denuclearization statute apply to the U.S. Virgin Islands because they constitute U.S. territory, or to the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico because of its integral relationship with the United States. U.S. willingness to have the treaty's provisions apply to the naval base at Guantanamo, Cuba, is conditioned upon Cuba's adherence to the treaty. Cuba has not adhered to it. The United States has indicated its willingness to have the treaty apply to the Canal Zone, provided that well-established transit rights are not affected.

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<sup>16/</sup> Done at Tlatelolco (Mexico City), Feb. 14, 1967; entered into force Apr. 22, 1968. This treaty, also known as the Treaty of Tlatelolco, established a Latin American nuclear-weapon-free zone.



However, in the U.S. view, it would be inappropriate to do so while negotiations with the Republic of Panama concerning the Canal Zone are under way.

The other resolution on this subject concerned Additional Protocol II to the treaty, by which nuclear-weapon states undertake to respect the zone's nuclear-free status and commit themselves not to use or threaten the use of nuclear weapons against parties to the treaty. The resolution noted that France and China had deposited instruments of ratification during 1974 (the United Kingdom and the United States had done so in 1969 and 1971 respectively) and urged the Soviet Union to sign and ratify the Protocol. The resolution was approved by the First Committee on November 19 by a vote of 83 (U.S.) to 0, with 14 abstentions, and adopted by the General Assembly on December 9 by a recorded vote of 114 (P.R.C., France, India, U.K., U.S.) to 0, with 15 abstentions (U.S.S.R.).

#### South Asian Nuclear-Free Zone

The most contentious debate on nuclear-free-zone proposals occurred in connection with a Pakistani initiative for the creation of a nuclear-free zone in South Asia. Separate resolutions embracing different approaches to the question were introduced in the First Committee on November 15 by India and Pakistan.

The Indian resolution simply considered "that the initiative for the creation of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the appropriate region of Asia should come from the states of the region concerned, taking into account its special features and geographical extent."

The Pakistani resolution, inter alia, noted the affirmation by states in the region not to acquire or manufacture nuclear weapons; endorsed, in principle, the concept of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in South Asia; invited the states concerned to initiate consultations aimed at establishing such a zone; and requested the Secretary General to convene a meeting for these consultations.

The First Committee approved the Indian resolution on November 20 by a recorded vote of 90 (U.S.S.R.) to 0,

with 32 abstentions (P.R.C., France, Pakistan, U.K., U.S.); the Assembly adopted it on December 9 by a recorded vote of 104 (U.S.S.R.) to 1 (Dahomey), with 27 abstentions (P.R.C., France, Pakistan, U.K., U.S.). The First Committee also approved the Pakistani resolution on November 20 by a recorded vote of 84 (P.R.C.) to 2 (Bhutan, India), with 36 abstentions (France, U.S.S.R., U.K., U.S.), and the Assembly adopted it on December 9 by a vote of 96 (P.R.C.) to 2 (Bhutan, India), with 36 abstentions (France, U.S.S.R., U.K., U.S.).

The United States abstained on both resolutions because in its view General Assembly action on the two resolutions, reflecting very different approaches to the question, would not advance the prospects for the achievement of the goal.

#### African Nuclear-Free Zone

The fifth of the nuclear-free-zone resolutions, introduced by Nigeria on November 20 and sponsored by 26 African states, was based on resolutions on the denuclearization of Africa adopted by the General Assembly in 1961 and 1965 and on a declaration on the same subject issued by the heads of state and of government of the OAU in 1964. In its major operative paragraphs the resolution (1) reaffirmed the Assembly's call on all states to respect the continent of Africa as a nuclear-free zone and (2) reiterated its "call upon all states to refrain from testing, manufacturing, deploying, transporting, storing, using, or threatening to use nuclear weapons on the African continent." The resolution also requested the Secretary General to render assistance to the OAU toward the realization of the aims and objectives of the resolution.

The First Committee approved the resolution on November 21 by a vote of 108 to 0, with 3 abstentions (France, U.K., U.S.). In explaining the U.S. abstention, Ambassador Martin welcomed the initiative but noted that the United States could not subscribe at this early stage of the development of the zone to the particular set of undertakings contained in the second of the operative paragraphs cited above.

Before the Committee-recommended resolution was voted on in plenary, the United States undertook to review its position. On the basis of a statement by the Nigerian Representative affirming that the resolution was procedural in character and that no additional obligations were meant to be imposed on any state, the United States decided to support the resolution, which was adopted in plenary by a recorded vote of 131 to 0, with no abstentions. In a statement explaining the changed vote, the U.S. Representative, Joseph M. Segel, asserted the U.S. understanding that states were not being called upon to make commitments in advance of the negotiation of a formal nuclear-free-zone arrangement for Africa.

#### Nuclear-Free-Zone Study

The sixth nuclear-free-zone resolution was introduced by Finland on November 21, with Gabon cosponsoring. In the resolution the Assembly decided to undertake a "comprehensive study of the question of nuclear-weapon-free zones in all of its aspects," requesting that the study be carried out by a group of qualified governmental experts under the auspices of the CCD and that the results be transmitted to the 30th General Assembly. The resolution was approved by the First Committee on November 22 by a recorded vote of 114 (U.S.) to 0, with 2 abstentions (Cuba, France). The General Assembly adopted the resolution by consensus on December 9.

#### Middle East Nuclear-Free Zone

The final nuclear-free-zone resolution, and perhaps the one arousing the greatest political interest, stemmed from an Iranian initiative for the establishment of a nuclear-free zone in the Middle East. On November 21 Iran introduced a resolution, cosponsored by Egypt, that, inter alia, commended the idea of establishing a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the region of the Middle East; considered that, in order to advance the idea, it was "indispensable that all parties concerned in the area proclaim solemnly and immediately their intention to refrain, on a reciprocal basis, from producing, testing, obtaining, acquiring, or in any other way possessing nuclear

weapons"; called upon the parties concerned in the area to accede to the NPT; expressed the hope that all states, especially the nuclear-weapon states, would lend their full cooperation for the realization of the idea; and requested the Secretary General to "ascertain the views of the parties concerned with respect to the implementation of the present resolution" and to report to the Security Council and subsequently to the 30th General Assembly.

The First Committee approved the resolution on November 22 by a rollcall vote of 103 (U.S.) to 0, with 3 abstentions (Israel, Norway, Sweden). The General Assembly adopted the resolution on December 9 by a rollcall vote of 128 (U.S.) to 0, with 2 abstentions (Burma, Israel).

In explaining the U.S. vote, Ambassador Martin said in the First Committee that the United States supported the concept of a nuclear-free zone in the Middle East and believed "it could make a considerable contribution to stability and nonproliferation in the area." He added, however, that the United States was dubious about the approach taken in the resolution of urging states in the region to undertake immediate commitments in advance of actual negotiations and the conclusion of an agreement establishing a nuclear-free zone. He concluded by noting:

"Notwithstanding that reservation, we are prepared to lend our full cooperation to efforts to realize the aims of the draft resolution. We assume that in the further formulation of the zone it will be made clear that the prohibitions of the zone apply to the development of nuclear explosive capability for any purpose."

The Israeli Representative, explaining his country's abstention, called the initiative worthy of the most serious consideration. He believed that the best way to achieve progress would be for direct consultations among the states of the region, and considered the method of indirect consultation between the Secretary General and the states of the region to be "not practical and indeed self-defeating." He indicated that Israel would readily participate in any direct multilateral consultations of the states of the region to further the goals of the proposal.



## OUTER SPACE

During 1974, the United States continued its active participation in the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, the Committee's subsidiary bodies,<sup>17/</sup> and the General Assembly's consideration of outer space items on its agenda.

### WORKING GROUP ON REMOTE SENSING

The Working Group on Remote Sensing of the Earth by Satellites,<sup>18/</sup> established in 1971 on the initiative of the United States, held its third session in New York from February 25 to March 5. The meeting was largely devoted to (1) an assessment of the experience gained by countries

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<sup>17/</sup> The 37-member Outer Space Committee is composed of Albania, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, Chad, Chile, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, France, German Democratic Republic, Federal Republic of Germany, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Italy, Japan, Kenya, Lebanon, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nigeria, Pakistan, Poland, Romania, Sierra Leone, Sudan, Sweden, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, United States, and Venezuela. The four subsidiary bodies which met in 1974, each of which has the same membership as the Committee, are the Legal Subcommittee, Scientific and Technical Subcommittee, Working Group on Direct Broadcast Satellites, and Working Group on Remote Sensing of the Earth by Satellites, the last being a subgroup of the Scientific and Technical Subcommittee.

<sup>18/</sup> The following definition was agreed upon by the Working Group for the purposes of its report: "Remote sensing of the earth from space is a methodology to assist in characterizing the nature and condition of the natural resources, natural features and phenomena, and the environment of the earth by means of observations and measurements from space platforms. Specifically, at present, such methods depend upon the emission and reflection of electromagnetic radiation."



possessing ground stations for acquiring remote sensing data and of the utility of available data, (2) a review of possible alternative means for the dissemination and utilization of remote sensing data, and (3) consideration of possible principles concerning the dissemination of remote sensing data acquired from space. Much of the Working Group's discussion on these subjects was based on responses from member states to a questionnaire circulated by the Secretary General in 1973.

From the experience of member states and the data available, the Working Group concluded that remote sensing of the earth from outer space has a great potential to meet national, regional, and global needs for data on the earth's natural environment. For example, the Working Group noted the use of space imagery in analyzing and combatting desertification in the Sahelian region of Africa. Interest in using remote sensing data is spreading rapidly, and it was noted that in 1973 the United States Earth Resources Observation System (EROS) Data Center responded to 13,630 requests from other countries for such data. During the session, members of the Working Group visited the EROS Center at Sioux Falls, South Dakota, at the invitation of the United States. So far, the widest use of remote sensing data has been for mapping and cartography, and data on natural features of many of the earth's land areas are available through U.S. programs. There is also a strong interest in data for agriculture-related uses, geology, hydrology, and ecology, most of which require repetitive coverage.

Regarding the technical and organizational aspects of achieving the best utilization of remote sensing data, the Working Group examined various possible systems for collecting the data. Three possible means of disseminating such data were discussed: national centers, owned and operated by national authorities; regional centers, either on a cooperative or joint venture basis; and an international center within the UN framework. The discussion covered the technical, cost-effective, legal, and organizational aspects of each of these alternatives. The Working Group again noted the U.S. offer (made in 1973) to make available to an international center or centers a master copy of data received from its experimental remote sensing satellite program, but it did not consider the proposal in detail since the possibility of establishing such a center or centers was still being

explored. The Working Group also made a preliminary examination of the possible investment and operating costs of an operational remote sensing earth resources satellite.

In discussing the legal aspects of remote sensing of the earth by satellites, the Working Group again noted the interdependence between organizational aspects and legal arrangements. Five countries (Argentina, Brazil, Canada, France, U.S.S.R.) have submitted proposals on principles or draft agreements covering the utilization and legal aspects of remote sensing. The Working Group also reviewed the answers to the Secretary General's questions on this matter, but it-discussed legal aspects only in a general way.

On February 25, the U.S. Representative, Leonard Jaffe, explained that in its experimental programs the United States has maintained a policy of open availability of data to the entire international community. He pointed out that this was consistent with the Outer Space Treaty<sup>19/</sup> and emphasized the technical problems of attempting to restrict the acquisition and dissemination of remotely sensed data. He said that the United States saw no justification for the theory that a state's permanent sovereignty over natural resources included control over all information about those resources. In addition, he emphasized the fact that "limiting the data availability to conform to national boundaries would destroy many of the most useful functions of a satellite remote sensing system, inasmuch as ecological systems, pollution, river valleys, soil moisture conditions, rift systems, vegetation and soil patterns, and most other sensing objectives of satellites such as ERTS-1 /Earth Resources Technology Satellite/ must be studied on a regional or global basis if they are usefully to be understood." He indicated that while the United States does not wish to impose its data on other states, the U.S. Government would have no basis

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<sup>19/</sup> Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, Including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies, done at Washington, London, and Moscow, Jan. 27, 1967; entered into force Oct. 10, 1967.

under its domestic law for denying remote sensing data to U.S. citizens, even if the international community should decide to oppose open dissemination practices. In conclusion, he repeated the U.S. willingness "to enter into consideration of possible guidelines or principles designed to facilitate the maximum international availability and effective utilization of data derived from satellite remote sensing systems."

#### WORKING GROUP ON DIRECT BROADCAST SATELLITES

The Working Group on Direct Broadcast Satellites (DBS)<sup>20/</sup> held its fifth session in Geneva from March 11 to 22. The Working Group follows an interdisciplinary approach to its subject, addressing technical and economic factors as well as political and legal questions; its 1974 session, however, concentrated on the latter.

The major task before the Working Group was consideration of various proposed principles for the use of DBS in order to make specific recommendations to the Outer Space Committee's Legal Subcommittee. Three sets of principles were considered. The first, introduced by the Soviet Union, was a recasting in the form of principles of 14 articles originally tabled as a draft international convention. The second was a declaration of principles submitted to the Working Group's 1973 session by Canada and Sweden. The third was a set of 11 principles introduced by the United States on March 13. In addition to these, Argentina presented a working paper detailing a broad range of legal and political problems and suggested means of resolving them.

The draft U.S. principles sought to identify and reflect interests and areas of understanding shared by all members of the Working Group. Their main provisions

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<sup>20/</sup> Strictly defined, a direct broadcast satellite is one capable of transmitting television signals directly to individual television sets; such satellites do not yet exist. However, in international usage the term is more loosely interpreted to include satellites that can broadcast to community receivers or television sets augmented with special receivers.

are that direct broadcasting from satellites should be conducted in accordance with international law and within the technical parameters of the ITU Convention and Radio Regulations; that it should be carried out in a manner that is compatible with the maintenance of international peace and security and that will encourage the free and open exchange of information and ideas while taking account of differences among cultures; that every state is entitled to carry out international direct broadcasting and to participate in its benefits, which should increasingly include opportunities for access to the technology for sending as well as receiving broadcasts; that states and international organizations should cooperate to strengthen the capability of interested states to use this technology as it may become available; that states with shared interests should give particular attention to practical approaches to the use of this technology on a regional or other international basis; that states should encourage the potential contributions of professional associations through the use of this technology; that states should recognize the desirability of creating favorable conditions for cooperation among broadcasters and broadcasting associations; that any disagreements over DBS should be resolved through consultation and established dispute settlement procedures; and, finally, that the United Nations and member states should review the use of DBS if practical experience indicates a need to do so.

These principles, designed to establish voluntary standards that would not unduly restrict development of this technology, especially before any practical experience with it is gained, contrasted in several respects with the Soviet, Canadian-Swedish, and Argentine proposals. One of the major differences is the inclusion in these other proposals of a principle of prior consent, which would prohibit broadcasts to the territory of any country without that country's express permission. The United States has consistently rejected this idea as incompatible with the right, affirmed in Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, to "receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers." U.S. representatives have also noted the technical difficulties that such a principle would pose, pointing out that a state wishing to receive broadcasts could be prevented from doing so if a



neighboring country objected to "spillover"<sup>21/</sup> onto its territory.

In introducing these principles, the U.S. Representative, Lee T. Stull, briefly reviewed the development of U.S. experimental programs in the DBS field. He discussed the planned use of the ATS-F satellite [Applications Technology Satellite7] to evaluate the potential of satellite broadcasts for educational and community service applications in the Rocky Mountain area, Alaska, and the Appalachian area of the United States, and subsequently for a year of cooperative experiments with the Government of India. In this connection he stated: "We feel that the international cooperative approach being demonstrated in this experiment offers a promising precedent for further steps to maximize the beneficial use of this new technology. For us, such international sharing is central to the overall approach of our space program."

The Working Group's discussions encompassed the purposes and objectives of DBS, the applicability of international law, the rights and benefits of states, international cooperation, state responsibility, prior consent and participation, spillover, "illegal" broadcasts, program content, the duty and right to consult, the peaceful settlement of disputes, protection of copyright, notification to the UN system, and prevention of interference. While divergent views characterized the discussion of most of these subjects, the Working Group did agree on some points, including the applicability of such international agreements as the Outer Space Treaty; the right of all states to carry out direct satellite broadcasting and to share in its benefits, including opportunities for access to satellites for sending as well as receiving broadcasts; and the need for international cooperation to maximize the benefits of the pertinent technology. However, the Working Group was unable to agree on a set of recommendations to the Legal Subcommittee.

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<sup>21/</sup> "Spillover" refers to television signals that incidentally reach the territory of states other than those for whom they are intended.



SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL SUBCOMMITTEE

The Scientific and Technical Subcommittee held its 11th session in New York from April 15 to 26. Discussions focused primarily on remote sensing and the UN space applications program.

Following a discussion of the report of the Working Group on Remote Sensing, the Subcommittee recommended that the UN Secretary General prepare the following studies concerning remote sensing data: (1) a summary of available cost-effectiveness studies; (2) the organizational and financial requirements for the establishment of an international center under UN auspices; (3) organizational and financial requirements for the establishment of one or more regional data storage and dissemination centers under UN auspices; (4) organizational and financial implications of attaching an education and training facility to the regional centers; and (5) a preliminary assessment of the organizational and financial requirements of a space program for global coverage operated by an international organization, either independently or under UN auspices.

The Subcommittee approved the substance of the UN space applications program on the understanding that the UN expert on space applications would seek to operate the program within the same financial limits as for the 1974 program, namely \$87,000. Some countries voiced a desire to expand the program, but the United States urged that the review of the UN space applications program be approached cautiously since financial and budgetary constraints should continue to govern all UN programs and activities. The Subcommittee also decided to seek members' views concerning a possible second UN conference on space applications and recommended that the Secretary General prepare a comprehensive report on the interests, priorities, and specific types of assistance desired by member states, especially the developing countries, to be based largely on answers to a questionnaire. This report is expected to contribute to in-depth consideration of the UN space applications program and its effective coordination at the 1975 session of the Subcommittee.

The Subcommittee also expressed appreciation for the participation in its session of representatives of UN

bodies, and it noted that the reports and materials presented by UNDP, UNEP, FAO, UNESCO, WMO, ITU, IMCO, IBRD, and the nongovernmental International Astronautical Federation were helpful to the Subcommittee in fulfilling its role as a focal point of international cooperation in this field.

#### LEGAL SUBCOMMITTEE

The 13th session of the Legal Subcommittee, held in Geneva from May 6 to 31, was devoted to four major subjects: (1) a draft convention on the registration of objects launched into outer space, (2) a draft treaty relating to the moon, (3) the draft principles relating to direct television broadcasting by satellites, and (4) the legal implications of earth resources surveys by remote sensing satellites. Although the General Assembly's 1973 resolution on outer space called for highest priority to be given to the draft moon treaty and the draft registration convention, the Subcommittee was only able to reach agreement on the latter.

The one major issue remaining in the negotiations of a convention on registration of objects launched into outer space was the question of mandatory versus voluntary marking of space objects. The longstanding U.S. position was that requiring marking was unfeasible on both technical and economic grounds. The United States preferred that the convention contain no provision relating to marking. After much discussion and negotiation, the Subcommittee agreed to a compromise proposed by Canada which provided that if a space object was marked with a designator or registration number, that fact should be reported in submitting registration information to the Secretary General; however, the marking itself was not to be compulsory. This cleared the way for unanimous acceptance of a draft convention by the Legal Subcommittee.

Consideration of the Soviet proposal for a treaty governing activities on the moon again led to inconclusive discussions on two main issues of contention.

The first was whether the treaty should include only the moon (as proposed by the Soviet Union) or all other

celestial bodies in the solar system, as proposed by the United States in order to preclude a plethora of treaties on each celestial body. A number of compromise proposals were made during the session, and there was a clear movement to broaden the scope of the treaty. However, no treaty text was found which was acceptable to all participants.

The second and more difficult issue concerned rights to the exploitation of the natural resources on the moon and other celestial bodies. Certain countries supported the idea that such resources were the "common heritage" of all mankind and that therefore all countries should benefit from their exploitation. There were proposals that there should be a moratorium on exploitation of any natural resources until there was agreement on the regime to govern such exploitation. The United States generally opposed a moratorium on the exploration and development of the moon's resources and favored an approach that would permit countries to have equal access to development of natural resources of the moon. In view of the sharp divergence of views on this question, the United States suggested that the treaty should exclude any reference to the legal status of natural resources on the moon, but this suggestion was not generally accepted.

The Legal Subcommittee considered the report of the Working Group on Direct Broadcast Satellites, including the draft principles submitted by the United States, Canada and Sweden, and the Soviet Union, and the paper submitted by Argentina. A working group of the Subcommittee attempted to formulate agreed principles regarding five areas: applicability of international law, rights and benefits of states, international cooperation, responsibility of states, and peaceful settlement of disputes. The drafting group was unable to reach full agreement in any of these areas. During the session the United States noted that neither the U.S. Government nor private broadcasting groups have any current plans to develop an operational satellite direct television broadcasting system, that such direct television broadcasting does not constitute a threat to anyone, and that more than adequate opportunity exists for governmental control at the receiving end if such is desired. Consequently, while the United States respects the technical restraints on broadcasting under the ITU Convention and Radio Regulations, it could not accept the assertion that state control

over mass media within national territory overrides all other considerations. Unable to achieve further agreement, the Subcommittee recommended that this subject be a priority item at its next session.

The Subcommittee also considered the report of the Working Group on Remote Sensing, which had specifically requested the Subcommittee's views on the legal implications of earth resource surveys by remote sensing satellites. Three different points of view were advocated: complete freedom of remote sensing and nondiscriminatory availability of the data obtained; freedom of remote sensing but restrictions on the distribution of data obtained; and restrictions on both the acquisition and the dissemination of remote sensing data. However, the Subcommittee did not have sufficient time to formulate a response to the Working Group's request.

#### OUTER SPACE COMMITTEE

Meeting in New York from July 1 to 12, the Outer Space Committee reviewed and approved the reports of its subsidiary bodies. It also adopted for submission to the General Assembly the text of the draft convention on the registration of objects launched into outer space, after agreeing to delete a preambular paragraph referring to a moon treaty on the understanding that work on such a treaty would be completed as early as possible.

The Committee decided that its Legal Subcommittee should consider as matters of high priority at its next session the draft treaty relating to the moon, the elaboration of principles governing the use by states of earth satellites for direct television broadcasting, and the legal implications of the remote sensing of the earth from space.

The Committee endorsed the recommendations of the Scientific and Technical Subcommittee calling for studies on the organizational and financial aspects of remote sensing, with the exception of the proposed study on a space program for global coverage operated by an international organization. The Committee suggested that this latter study be reconsidered at the Subcommittee's next meeting in the light of the results of the other studies.



The Committee took the position that further studies of financial and organizational questions should proceed concurrently with consideration by the Legal Subcommittee of the legal aspects of remote sensing. The Committee also endorsed the Scientific and Technical Subcommittee's recommendations concerning the UN space applications program, including the circulation of questionnaires by the Secretary General regarding a possible UN conference and a comprehensive report on member states' interests and needs.

There was considerable discussion about the possibility of reconvening the Working Group on Direct Broadcast Satellites, either alone or in conjunction with a working group of the Legal Subcommittee, in order to attempt to achieve larger agreement on principles governing direct broadcast satellites. However, the Committee was not able to reach agreement on any of the several suggestions put forward at the meeting. The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Bennett, stated that the United States held an "essentially neutral view" on reconvening the Working Group, and that the object of the United States would continue to be "to seek to maximize agreement and to continue to promote the beneficial use of a technology which could promise much to many countries, particularly those in earlier stages of development."

In considering the 1975 schedule of meetings for the Committee and its subsidiary bodies, the Soviet Union formally proposed that the Legal Subcommittee should henceforth hold all of its sessions at Geneva and that the existing system of rotating those sessions between New York and Geneva be discontinued. Consideration of this proposal was postponed until the Committee's next session with a request that the Secretariat prepare an estimate of comparative costs of holding the Subcommittee's meetings in Geneva and New York.

#### GENERAL ASSEMBLY

At 10 meetings from October 11 to 18 the First Committee considered its two agenda items on outer space: "International cooperation in the peaceful uses of outer space" and "Preparation of an international convention on principles governing the use by states of artificial



earth satellites for direct television broadcasting." There were no sharp controversies in the debate during the 29th Assembly, although interested countries continued to maintain their respective views.

Two draft resolutions, both cosponsored by the United States and over 30 others, were introduced by Austria on October 17: a lengthy omnibus resolution dealing with all aspects of the Outer Space Committee's work, and a resolution approving the draft Convention on the Registration of Objects Launched into Outer Space.

Most controversial aspects of the Committee's work were resolved by the cosponsors of the resolutions in meetings outside the formal debate. The question of reconvening the Working Group on Direct Broadcast Satellites was again raised by several delegations, but the operative paragraph in the final resolution recommended doing so only if or when the Outer Space Committee deemed it useful. On the question of priorities in the agenda of the Legal Subcommittee, the resolution confirmed the Outer Space Committee's decision to give equal priority to the draft treaty relating to the moon, the elaboration of principles governing the use of artificial satellites for direct television broadcasting, and the legal implications of remote sensing of the earth from space.

The U.S. Representative, Thomas H. Kuchel, spoke in the First Committee on October 15. He cited the draft Convention on the Registration of Objects Launched into Outer Space as an agreement "accommodating diverse interests, which will prove to be a useful addition to the developing body of international law relating to the peaceful exploration and use of outer space." Concerning a possible treaty on the exploration of and activities on the moon and other celestial bodies, he stated: "We hope that acceptable solutions will be found to the few remaining issues, particularly that concerning the natural resources of celestial bodies, and that this agreement will soon be successfully completed and approved by the United Nations."

Mr. Kuchel referred to the set of voluntary principles that the United States had introduced into the Working Group on Direct Broadcasting as an effort "to encourage the free and open exchange of information and ideas while respecting the differences among cultures and maximizing

the beneficial use of new space communications technologies." Regarding the thorny problem of prior consent by states to such broadcasts, by which one state in a region might block a broadcast to a nearby state, Mr. Kuchel said that the United States "does not believe that the international community's interests would be well served by establishing a right to prohibit an international direct television broadcast by withholding advance consent . . . to such broadcasts." He explained that "the solution to those concerns lies in the future development and use of this technology in an effective and constructive way, rather than in the inhibition of what contains at least the potential for great contributions; for example, in the educational and social communications fields."

Regarding the question of remote sensing, he pointed out that the U.S. "policy of providing open access to the data derived from remote sensing activities is in specific conformity with a major goal of the 1967 Outer Space Treaty; namely, that states should conduct activities in outer space for the benefit and in the interests of all countries." Noting that "it is technologically and economically infeasible to separate the images from these satellites along the lines of political borders," and that restricted dissemination of data would inevitably lead to imbalanced dissemination, he reaffirmed that the "United States has no intention of imposing our data on anyone who does not desire it. But, on the other hand, we do not wish to deny to our own citizens the data derived from a possible future U.S. program."

In concluding, Mr. Kuchel reviewed the highlights of U.S. cooperation in international space activities, citing especially the Skylab program, the experimental remote sensing satellites, and numerous cooperative and cost-reimbursable space launchings by NASA.

The First Committee approved both resolutions unanimously on October 18 after making a few minor editorial changes in the draft registration convention.

The General Assembly in plenary session on November 12 unanimously adopted both the omnibus resolution and the

resolution commending the Convention on the Registration of Objects Launched into Outer Space and requesting the Secretary General to open it for signature.<sup>22/</sup>

## LAW OF THE SEA

### LAW OF THE SEA CONFERENCE

The Third UN Conference on the Law of the Sea held an organizational session in New York, December 3-15, 1973, to consider its structure and rules of procedure. The first substantive session of the Conference convened in Caracas, Venezuela, on June 20, 1974, for a 10-week session that ended on August 29. The chief of the U.S. delegation was Ambassador John R. Stevenson, Special Representative of the President.

The Conference was the result of over 3 years of intensive preparatory work in the UN Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Seabed and Ocean Floor Beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction (Seabed Committee). The Seabed Committee was dissolved by the 28th General Assembly on December 3, 1973--the date of the inauguration of the Conference.

The basic Conference structure remained the same as that of the Seabed Committee. In addition to the plenary Conference (presided over by the President, H. S. Amerasinghe of Sri Lanka), there were three main committees. Committee I (chaired by Paul Engo of Cameroon) dealt with the principles and machinery for the exploitation of the deep seabed; Committee II (chaired by Andres Aguilar of Venezuela) dealt with the territorial sea, straits, the continental shelf, fisheries, the high seas, archipelagoes, islands, and the rights of land-locked, shelf-locked, and broad-shelf

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<sup>22/</sup> The Convention was opened for signature at UN Headquarters in New York on Jan. 14, 1975, and was signed by the United States on Jan. 24.

states; and Committee III (chaired by Alexander Yankov of Bulgaria) addressed the subjects of marine pollution, scientific research, and related questions of the transfer of technology.

The Conference agreed that there should be another session at Geneva in the spring of 1975 as well as a meeting in Caracas to sign the final act and other instruments adopted by the Conference. Although the Caracas session did not result in the conclusion of a comprehensive law of the sea treaty, it began to lay the foundation for later agreement and, at least in Committee II, narrowed the differences on many issues through private, informal discussions.

#### Conference Committee I

There was general agreement that there should be a new international authority to manage the exploitation of the resources of the deep seabed. The main debate in Committee I centered on the issue of who may exploit the area. The United States continued to support a system by which the international authority would license qualified applicants on a nondiscriminatory basis. Some states expressed a willingness to have a system that would permit different types of exploitation arrangements in the early years of operation, but with a gradual phasing out of these systems in favor of direct exploitation by the international seabed authority alone. Other states supported a system that would permit both licensing and direct exploitation by the authority.

The inclusion of conditions of exploitation in the eventual treaty was widely accepted, although the proposals differed in details and specifics. Another major area of debate was whether the international authority should have the power to regulate prices and production. Developing nations became increasingly aware that the interests of their consumers could be damaged in exaggerated attempts to keep prices high in order to favor a small number of land-based producers of some of the same resources found in the seabed.



## Conference Committee II

In Committee II, wide support was expressed for a territorial sea of 12 miles and a 200-mile economic zone. Acceptance of both was generally conditioned upon the existence of an otherwise satisfactory and comprehensive treaty. There was increased support for unimpeded passage of international straits. Little progress was made on the issue of the right of land-locked states to access to the sea and to benefits from the resources of the economic zone. The Bahamas, Fiji, Indonesia, Mauritius, and the Philippines all strongly advocated an archipelago concept whereby states consisting of mid-ocean islands could claim sovereignty over all waters enclosed by baselines connecting the outermost points of their islands.

On the issue of the economic zone, the United States and a number of other major maritime powers announced for the first time support for the concept of the 200-mile economic zone as part of a satisfactory and comprehensive law of the sea treaty. The United States also tabled new articles on the economic zone, including fisheries (see below, p. 97). There was general support for an economic zone of 200 miles, coupled with (1) coastal state rights and duties regarding living and non-living resources; (2) exclusive coastal state rights over artificial islands and installations related to economic uses; and (3) exclusive coastal state rights over deep drilling for all purposes. It was generally agreed that freedom of navigation and overflight would apply in the economic zone.

Among the areas remaining to be agreed in the negotiations on the economic zone were (1) coastal state rights with regard to scientific research and vessel-source pollution (both issues within the mandate of Committee III), (2) the legal status of the economic zone, (3) coastal state duties with respect to conservation and full utilization of fishery stocks, (4) appropriate treatment for anadromous (e.g., salmon) and highly migratory (e.g., tuna) fish, and (5) the outer limit of coastal state jurisdiction over the continental shelf.



There were two major positions with respect to coastal fisheries. One favored exclusive rights for coastal states over coastal fish stocks; the other favored exclusive coastal state control over stocks, but with an obligation both to conserve them and to ensure their full utilization.

The question of coastal state jurisdiction over the continental shelf beyond 200 miles was frequently the subject of debate and many states tabled draft articles. A number of states, including a majority of land-locked and other "geographically disadvantaged" states, opposed extending coastal state jurisdiction beyond 200 miles. On the other hand, broad margin states generally supported coastal state jurisdiction over the natural resources of the continental shelf beyond the 200-mile economic zone. The issue of delimitation of continental shelf boundaries between adjacent and opposite states was also discussed and was complicated by the question of what rights islands should have to an economic zone and over the continental shelf.

Committee II also discussed the compulsory settlement of disputes, considered by many, including the United States, as an indispensable element of any successful treaty. Ambassador Reynaldo Galindo Pohl of El Salvador and Ambassador Ralph Harry of Australia chaired a 30-state working group, which included the United States, that began negotiations on this issue.

### Conference Committee III

Draft articles were tabled, *inter alia*, on general and particular obligations of states to prevent pollution, on global and regional cooperation, on technical assistance, and on the relevance of economic factors in determining the obligations of developing countries with regard to pollution. Work began on defining the rights of states to set and to enforce standards for vessel-source pollution. The negotiations made clear that many states were willing to discuss realistic solutions to these difficult issues.

The most important issue in connection with scientific research concerned research in the economic zone. Four different views received support. The first maintained that all research in the economic zone required specific coastal state consent. The second, based generally on the 1958 Convention on the Continental Shelf, held that while consent was required to conduct research in another state's economic zone, this consent should not normally be withheld provided certain conditions specified in the treaty were met. The third favored an agreed set of international requirements for the conduct of research in another state's economic zone. The fourth favored total freedom to carry out research in the economic zone, except that research aimed directly at the exploration and exploitation of living and nonliving resources should remain subject to coastal state consent.

#### U.S. Proposals

The United States tabled three major papers at Caracas. These were in addition to those that had been submitted in previous years to the UN Seabed Committee and that remained before the Conference.

The first, cosponsored with Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Colombia, El Salvador, Luxembourg, Netherlands, and Singapore, was a working paper on dispute settlement. The issues outlined in the paper concerned the obligation to settle disputes under the treaty by peaceful means; settlement by means chosen by the parties; applicability of other dispute settlement agreements; settlement by procedures not entailing a binding decision; the obligation to resort to settlement resulting in a binding decision; the relationship between general and functional approaches (i.e., whether recourse would be had from a special functional forum, such as the dispute settlement tribunal within the seabed authority, to general procedures established by the treaty); who could be parties to a dispute (e.g., international organizations, natural and juridical persons); exhaustion of local remedies; advisory jurisdiction; the law applicable and right of parties to seek a settlement ex aequo et bono; and the possibility of exceptions and reservations to the dispute settlement provisions.

The second U.S. proposal was a draft appendix to the law of the sea treaty concerning mineral resource development in the international deep seabed area. These articles dealt with legal relationships between the seabed authority and those wishing to explore and exploit mineral deposits; the right of all states and natural or juridical persons to conduct commercial prospecting; the right of contracting parties or natural or juridical persons sponsored by a contracting party to receive, under certain conditions, from the seabed authority exclusive rights to mine; work requirements during the evaluation phase to assure due diligence; suspension and transferability of the right to mine; and revenue commitments of contracting parties and sponsoring states to provide income to the seabed authority.

The third major U.S. proposal was a set of draft articles for a chapter on the economic zone, fisheries, and the continental shelf. These articles, replacing earlier U.S. articles on fisheries and the coastal seabed economic area, set forth the details of a 200-mile economic zone system which it could support as part of a satisfactory overall settlement of related issues, including unimpeded transit of straits and correlative coastal state duties. The duties would include conservation of fisheries, permission for foreign fishing under coastal state regulations where a coastal fishery resource was not fully utilized, and international and regional cooperation to establish for highly migratory species equitable conservation and allocation regulations (e.g., fees to and special allocations for the coastal state). Special rights were reserved to the coastal state of origin for anadromous species.

The draft articles would provide that the coastal state would exercise exclusive control over artificial islands and installations in the economic zone for the exploration or exploitation of natural resources or for other economic purposes. The coastal state would have the exclusive right to authorize and regulate deep drilling. It could also establish, with respect to installations and seabed activities under its jurisdiction, standards and requirements for the protection of the marine environment additional to, or more stringent than, those required by applicable international standards. None of the enumerated rights or powers in

the economic zone, however, would affect the rights of freedom of navigation and overflight beyond the territorial sea.

With respect to the continental shelf, the U.S. draft articles would recognize the exclusive rights of the coastal state for the purpose of exploring and exploiting its natural resources out to a limit yet to be defined in the treaty. The legal status of the waters or of the air space above the continental shelf, however, would remain unaffected.

#### GENERAL ASSEMBLY

The 29th General Assembly considered its agenda item on the "Third UN Conference on the Law of the Sea" at a single meeting in plenary session on December 17. The brief discussion was limited to procedural matters and the question of future sessions.

H.S. Amerasinghe, President of the Conference, introduced a draft resolution sponsored by 21 states. Before the resolution was submitted there had been considerable informal consultation on whether there should be provision for another session in addition to the one at Geneva. In its final form the resolution made no specific allowance for this. In a preambular paragraph it noted the decision of the Conference to invite national liberation movements recognized by the OAU and by the League of Arab States operating in their respective regions to participate as observers without the right of vote, and in its operative paragraphs it (1) approved the convening of the next session of the Conference for the period March 17-May 10, 1975; (2) requested the Secretary General to invite Papua New Guinea, the Cook Islands, Netherlands Antilles, Niue, Surinam, the West Indies Associated States, and the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands to attend as observers or participating states, as appropriate; and (3) noted the decision of the Conference to hold the final meeting in Caracas at an appropriate date to sign the documents adopted by the Conference.

Speaking before the vote, the U.S. Representative, John R. Stevenson, noted that the conference had been



called "one of the most important held since the creation of the United Nations." He said that the United States would have strongly preferred that the resolution give the Secretary General specific authority to schedule a second substantive session in 1975, if necessary; however, the United States believed that the resolution as it stood would not preclude additional intersessional work. He noted that in any negotiation there was a time when its course either moved rapidly forward toward perceived solutions or a breakdown occurred, and he believed that that moment must come at Geneva. "If the will is there to make the decisions and the accommodations that are necessary, we will have the momentum to move to a successful conclusion."

The General Assembly adopted the resolution on December 17 by a vote of 132 to 0, with no abstentions.

## GENERAL POLITICAL PROBLEMS

### MEMBERSHIP

Acting unanimously on the opening day of its 29th session, the General Assembly admitted three new members to the United Nations--the People's Republic of Bangladesh, Grenada, and the Republic of Guinea-Bissau. This raised the total UN membership to 138.

### Bangladesh

Bangladesh had applied for UN membership in August 1972 but its admission at that time was prevented by a Chinese veto in the Security Council. Previously East Pakistan, Bangladesh had become independent as a result of the 1971 hostilities between India and Pakistan. Although more than 80 countries had extended diplomatic recognition to the new state by the summer of 1972, these did not include Pakistan or the People's Republic of China, which took the position that consideration of the admission of Bangladesh was premature until the



implementation of the 1971 UN resolutions concerning the India-Pakistan hostilities with specific reference to withdrawal of troops and release of prisoners of war.

The 27th General Assembly subsequently adopted two resolutions together without vote and without debate concerning Bangladesh and the situation on the Sub-continent. The first of these expressed the Assembly's desire that Bangladesh be admitted to the United Nations "at an early date." The second expressed the Assembly's desire that the parties concerned make all efforts to reach a fair settlement of pending issues and called for the return of prisoners of war in accordance with the 1949 Geneva Conventions and the 1971 Security Council resolution.

Intermittent negotiations between and among the parties ensued. An agreement between India and Pakistan in August 1973 and an agreement among India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh in April 1974 largely disposed of the prisoner-of-war issue, and in February 1974 Pakistan recognized Bangladesh. In May the Prime Minister of Pakistan visited Peking and the joint communique issued on May 14 noted that agreements had been reached among the parties concerned on the Subcontinent that had led to the implementation of the relevant UN resolutions. In a letter, also dated May 14, to the UN Secretary General, the Foreign Minister of Bangladesh requested renewed Security Council consideration of the 1972 Bangladesh membership application.

On June 7, the Security Council met to act on this request. In introducing the agenda item, the Council President stated that on the basis of prior consultation it appeared that members of the Council "were generally prepared to reexamine the request from the People's Republic of Bangladesh," and that therefore the Council meeting had been convened. Without debate the Council decided again to refer the 1972 Bangladesh application to its Committee on the Admission of New Members (a committee of the whole) under Rule 59 of its provisional rules of procedure.

The committee met in closed session that same day and decided to recommend to the Security Council the admission of Bangladesh. On June 10, the Council met

to consider the committee's report and adopted without vote a resolution recommending to the General Assembly that Bangladesh be admitted to membership in the United Nations. Following this decision, members of the Council spoke as did certain other delegations that had requested to be heard.

Ambassador Schaufele noted that the United States had recognized the Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh on April 4, 1972, and had had continuous representation in Dacca since 1949. He expressed his government's "particular satisfaction in the development of the excellent bilateral relations which now exist between our two countries." With respect to the admission of Bangladesh to the United Nations and developments on the Subcontinent, he said:

"The existence of Bangladesh has not been a matter of dispute during the unusually long period taken to consider the application just decided upon by this Council. Rather the questions raised by some members have concerned the settlement of issues that were still unresolved at the time of the cessation of hostilities. We join others in expressing gratification regarding the return of prisoners of war in accordance with the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and with the 1971 Security Council resolution.

"My government considers that the efforts of the former belligerents in South Asia to initiate a process of regional reconciliation deserve the encouragement and admiration of all peaceloving nations. We fully endorse the concept that regional problems should be solved by negotiation among the nations most immediately involved in the region itself. The determination of the Governments of Bangladesh, India, and Pakistan to do so has given new life to the hope that historic rivalries in the Subcontinent can soon give way to fruitful cooperative relationships.

"We should note that the Government of Bangladesh, under the leadership of Prime Minister Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, has played

a statesmanlike role in these developments. Bangladesh has over the past 2 1/2 years clearly demonstrated its dedication to the ideals and to the Charter of this organization.

"The U.S. Government looks forward with sincere pleasure to the assumption by Bangladesh of its rightful place in this community of nations. . . ."

At the 29th General Assembly, the United States was among the 68 cosponsors of the resolution admitting Bangladesh to UN membership, as were both India and Pakistan.

### Grenada

In agreement with the United Kingdom, the British associated state of Grenada attained full independence on February 7, 1974, and its Prime Minister in a May 30 letter to the UN Secretary General applied for UN membership. The Security Council met on June 17 to consider Grenada's application and decided without discussion to refer the application to its Committee on the Admission of New Members. The committee met in closed session on June 19 and decided unanimously to recommend to the Council that Grenada be admitted to membership. On June 21, the Council without discussion voted unanimously to accept the committee's recommendation.

Speaking after the vote, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Scali, referred to the "warm and cooperative relations through the years" of the American and Grenadan peoples. "We have been and will continue to be good neighbors," he said. He then declared: "We now look forward to the opportunity of welcoming our colleagues from Grenada to the United Nations," where, he said, he was confident "that it will play a constructive role."

The United States was among the 47 cosponsors of the 29th General Assembly resolution admitting Grenada to membership in the United Nations.

Guinea-Bissau

On July 29, 1974, the UN Secretary General circulated a letter dated July 16 from representatives of Guinea-Bissau requesting UN membership for Guinea-Bissau, at that time the colony of Portuguese Guinea.

Since 1961, the African Party for the Liberation of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands (PAIGC) had been waging a guerrilla war to end Portuguese control of Portuguese Guinea. On September 24, 1973, the insurgents in "liberated areas" of the territory declared the independence of Guinea-Bissau which was subsequently recognized by over 80 nations, but not the United States which considered the attributes of statehood lacking.

At the time Guinea-Bissau submitted its application for UN membership, its representatives were negotiating with the Portuguese Government for Portugal's recognition of independence and withdrawal of its administrative and military forces. Subsequently, on August 9, the PAIGC and the Portuguese Government reached agreement on a "transfer of powers" from Portugal to Guinea-Bissau. The Portuguese Government on August 11 stated that it would soon recognize Guinea-Bissau and requested friendly governments to recognize it.

On August 8 the Security Council decided without discussion to refer Guinea-Bissau's application to its Committee on the Admission of New Members. The committee met in closed session on August 12 and unanimously decided to recommend that Guinea-Bissau be admitted to membership. Later the same day the Security Council considered the committee's report and unanimously adopted a resolution recommending Guinea-Bissau for membership. Speaking after the vote, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Schaufele, said, "My government warmly welcomes the agreement for the independence of Guinea-Bissau and strongly supports the admission of Guinea-Bissau to the United Nations." He went on to read from a statement by President Ford issued that day by the White House:

"The Government and the people of the United States welcome the agreement in principle reached on August 9 between the

Portuguese Government and representatives of Guinea-Bissau. We extend our congratulations to the leaders of both governments. We look forward to a productive and friendly relationship with Guinea-Bissau."

Representatives of Portugal and Guinea-Bissau signed the formal agreement in Algiers on August 26, 1974, providing for de jure recognition of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau as a sovereign state by the Portuguese on September 10, 1974.

At the 29th General Assembly, 72 states, including Portugal, sponsored the resolution admitting Guinea-Bissau to UN membership.

#### KHMER REPRESENTATION

On December 5, 1973, the 28th General Assembly decided to defer to the 29th Assembly an item entitled "Restoration of the lawful rights of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia in the United Nations." Albania and 32 other states had introduced a draft resolution which would have recognized Prince Norodom Sihanouk's Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia (GRUNK) as the sole lawful government of Cambodia and expelled the Government of the Khmer Republic from the seat "they illegally occupy in the United Nations and in all organizations related to it." The vote on deferment was 53 (U.S.) to 50, with 21 abstentions. On December 17, 1973, the General Assembly defeated a proposed amendment to the Credentials Committee report that would have rejected the Khmer Republic's credentials. The vote was 50 to 55 (U.S.), with 17 abstentions.

On September 19, 1974, the General Committee of the 29th General Assembly decided without objection to recommend inscription of the deferred Albanian item on the agenda and consideration by plenary. On September 21 the plenary accepted this recommendation without objection.

On October 1 the 33 cosponsors of the 1973 draft resolution resubmitted it unaltered and in its entirety.



Chad, Guinea-Bissau, Malta, and Uganda later joined in cosponsoring it.

On October 18 a second draft resolution was submitted by 22 states (Bahamas, Barbados, Bolivia, Canada, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Fiji, Grenada, Guatemala, Haiti, Indonesia, Japan, Malaysia, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, United Kingdom, Uruguay--later joined by Australia). This group of 23 sponsors included the five members of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN).23/

In its operative paragraphs the 23-power sponsored draft (1) urged the indigenous parties directly concerned to hold talks with a view to achieving a peaceful settlement in Cambodia, based on respect for the sovereign rights of the Khmer people; (2) requested member states and the UN Secretary General to lend appropriate assistance to the parties; (3) called upon all member states to respect the outcome of the talks, and decided not to take any other action until the results of these efforts were considered by the 30th Assembly. On November 13 the cosponsors revised the draft resolution to omit the phrase "member states and" from operative paragraph (2).

On November 21 the Thai Representative, on behalf of the cosponsors of this draft resolution, requested voting priority for it in accordance with rule 91<sup>24/</sup> of the General Assembly's Rules of Procedure.

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23/ Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand.

24/ Rule 91 says: "If two or more proposals relate to the same question, the General Assembly shall, unless it decides otherwise, vote on the proposals in the order in which they have been submitted. . . ."

### General Assembly Consideration

The General Assembly in plenary session considered the question of Khmer representation at five meetings between November 26 and 29. Statements were made by 47 countries. The P.R.C., Algeria, and Cuba were among the delegations speaking in support of the 37-power draft resolution, of which they were cosponsors. The United States strongly supported the draft resolution submitted by the 23 powers.

In a speech on November 26 the P.R.C. Representative termed Prince Sihanouk's GRUNK the sole legitimate government of Cambodia and sought to refute allegations that it was a regime-in-exile. He voiced support for Prince Sihanouk's rejection of the Khmer Republic's July 9, 1974, offer of negotiations without conditions. He called upon member states to vote for the 37-power draft resolution and said that the "true intent" of the 23-power draft "is to continue the usurpation of the lawful seat of the GRUNK" by the Khmer Republic in the United Nations.

In an address on November 26 the Thai Representative pointed out that the Khmer people on March 18, 1970, had deposed Prince Sihanouk and installed the present government in accordance with their constitutional processes. He said that the Government of the Khmer Republic continued to have effective control and support of the major portion of the Khmer people while the GRUNK was a regime-in-exile with its headquarters in the capital of another state. The Thai Representative stated that the 37-power draft resolution would impose an exile regime on Cambodia and, if adopted, would violate Article 2(7) of the UN Charter and two declarations adopted by the General Assembly in 1965<sup>25/</sup> and 1970<sup>26/</sup> at its 20th and 25th sessions. He added that such action would constitute

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25/ Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention in the Domestic Affairs of States and the Protection of Their Independence and Sovereignty.

26/ Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Cooperation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

flagrant interference in a member state's domestic affairs, create a gravely dangerous precedent, and condemn the Khmer people to prolonged agony and further bloodshed.

Speaking on November 27 the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Scali, said, in part:

"The issue presented to this Assembly by the two resolutions before us is in essence very simple. One resolution proposes negotiations without preconditions for a peaceful settlement of the tragic conflict in Cambodia. The other demands a one-sided solution and offers only the prospect of continued war and more suffering by the Cambodian people. . . .

". . . [The latter] resolution would have the Assembly itself decide for the Khmer people that Cambodia is to be represented not by its present government, but by an exile regime located over 2,000 miles from Phnom Penh. . . .

"The other resolution is sponsored by 23 nations, five of whom are among Cambodia's closest neighbors. . . . This resolution, unlike the other, does not call on the United Nations or anyone else to prejudge the decision of the Cambodian people. Instead, it proposes that the United Nations contribute positively to settlement in Cambodia by calling on the parties themselves to begin negotiations. . . .

. . . . .

"The U. S. Government believes that the United Nations has a fundamental obligation to support the process of negotiation as the best means of resolving disputes and settling conflicts, wherever and whenever they arise. We are convinced that such a process serves the real interests of all parties to a dispute, in Cambodia as elsewhere. A negotiated settlement in Cambodia is overdue. This process should begin now."

On November 26 the Saudi Arabian Representative offered almost identical draft amendments to both draft resolutions. The principal provisions of these amendments were contained in two preambular and two operative paragraphs. The preambular paragraphs read: (1) "Taking into account that, while the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia, presided over by Prince Norodom Sihanouk, exercises authority over a segment of Cambodia, the Government of the Khmer Republic still has control over a preponderant number of the Cambodian people"; and (2) "Considering that the lawful rights of the two Governments are only valid if it is determined that these rights emanate from the sovereign people of Cambodia as a whole." The two operative paragraphs, which would replace the existing texts in both drafts, read: (1) "Calls upon all the Powers which have been influencing the two parties to the conflict to use their good offices for conciliation between these two parties with a view to restoring peace in Cambodia"; and (2) "Requests the Secretary General, after due consultation, to lend appropriate assistance to the two contending parties claiming lawful rights in Cambodia and to report on the results to the General Assembly at its 30th session."

On November 27 the Saudi Arabian Representative explained the purpose of his amendments as an effort to construct a bridge between the two opposing draft resolutions. Speaking on behalf of the sponsors of the 23-power draft, the Thai Representative stated that they were "in principle" prepared to accept the Saudi amendments.

The President then drew the Assembly's attention to the fact that it must first act on the request by the cosponsors of the 23-power draft resolution that it be given voting priority before considering either resolution or the proposed amendments thereto. The Assembly approved the request for voting priority by a rollcall vote of 58 (U.S.) to 56, with 20 abstentions.

The Thai Representative announced that the cosponsors of the 23-power draft resolution had agreed to accept the Saudi amendments, but proposed that there be an additional operative paragraph, which would read: "Decides not to press for any further action until member states have an opportunity to examine the report

of the Secretary General." Saudi Arabia, in turn, accepted this operative paragraph.

The Mexican Representative requested separate votes on the second preambular paragraph of the Saudi Arabian amendment and on the new operative paragraph proposed by Thailand. After a prolonged procedural discussion, the Assembly took a separate vote on the second preambular paragraph, which resulted in a tie, with 51 in favor (U.S.), 51 opposed, and 31 abstaining. The paragraph was therefore not adopted and the President noted that under rule 95 of the Rules of Procedure a second vote would have to be taken on the paragraph within 48 hours.

The Assembly then adopted, by a vote of 54 (U.S.) to 53, with 27 abstentions, the operative paragraph proposed by Thailand. After further debate on procedures, the Iraqi Representative moved adjournment of the meeting. The motion was defeated by a vote of 54 in favor to 58 against (U.S.), with 21 abstentions, and the full text of the resolution, as amended, but without the paragraph on which there had been a tie vote, was adopted by a rollcall vote of 56 (U.S.) to 54, with 24 abstentions.

Those in favor were:

Argentina	Grenada	Morocco
Australia	Guatemala	Netherlands
Austria	Haiti	New Zealand
Bahamas	Honduras	Nicaragua
Barbados	Indonesia	Oman
Belgium	Iran	Panama
Bolivia	Ireland	Paraguay
Brazil	Israel	Philippines
Canada	Italy	Qatar
Chile	Ivory Coast	Saudi Arabia
Colombia	Japan	Singapore
Costa Rica	Jordan	Spain
Denmark	Khmer Republic	Swaziland
Dominican Republic	Lesotho	Thailand
Ecuador	Liberia	Turkey
El Salvador	Luxembourg	United Kingdom
Fiji	Malawi	United States
Federal Republic of Germany	Malaysia	Uruguay
	Mexico	Venezuela



Those opposed were:

Afghanistan	German Democratic	Romania
Albania	Republic	Senegal
Algeria	Guinea	Sierra Leone
Bhutan	Guinea-Bissau	Somalia
Bulgaria	Guyana	Sri Lanka
Burundi	Hungary	Sudan
Byelorussian S.S.R.	Iraq	Syria
Cameroon	Kuwait	Tanzania
Central African	Libya	Togo
Republic	Malagasy Republic	Uganda
Chad	Mali	Ukrainian S.S.R.
China	Malta	U.S.S.R.
Congo	Mauritania	Upper Volta
Cuba	Mauritius	Yemen (Aden)
Czechoslovakia	Mongolia	Yemen (San'a)
Dahomey	Nepal	Yugoslavia
Equatorial Guinea	Niger	Zaire
Gabon	Pakistan	Zambia
Gambia	Poland	

Those abstaining were:

Bahrain	Iceland	Portugal
Bangladesh	India	Rwanda
Botswana	Jamaica	Sweden
Burma	Kenya	Trinidad and
Cyprus	Laos	Tobago
Ethiopia	Lebanon	Tunisia
Finland	Nigeria	United Arab
France	Norway	Emirates
Greece	Peru	

Egypt, Ghana, Maldives, and South Africa were absent.

On November 29 the General Assembly took up the draft preambular paragraph which had failed of adoption on November 27. The Thai Representative announced that the sponsors of the 23-power draft resolution would vote against the preambular paragraph in order to facilitate

the Assembly's work and because they regarded the paragraph as immaterial to the substance of the matter. The paragraph was then rejected by a rollcall vote of none in favor, 102 against (U.S.), with 32 abstentions.

The 23-power draft resolution, as amended, therefore stood adopted.<sup>27/</sup>

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27/ The final text of the resolution read:

The General Assembly,

Recalling the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations,

Recognizing that the situation in Cambodia is of concern to all Member States and especially to the countries situated close to the area,

Taking into account that, while the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia, presided over by Prince Norodom Sihanouk, exercises authority over a segment of Cambodia, the Government of the Khmer Republic still has control over a preponderant number of Cambodian people,

Believing that the Cambodian people themselves should be allowed to solve their own political problems peacefully, free from outside interference,

Believing also that such political settlement should be reached by the indigenous parties concerned, without external influence,

1. Calls upon all the Powers which have been influencing the two parties to the conflict to use their good offices for conciliation between these two parties with a view to restoring peace in Cambodia;

2. Requests the Secretary General, after due consultation, to lend appropriate assistance to the two contending parties claiming lawful rights in Cambodia and to report on the results to the General Assembly at its 30th session;

3. Decides not to press for any further action until Member States have an opportunity to examine the report of the Secretary General.

### Credentials Committee Report

Supporters of Prince Sihanouk's GRUNK renewed their attack on the Khmer Republic when the Credentials Committee convened on December 12. Under rule 28 of the Rules of Procedure, the Credentials Committee has the limited and precise role of examining the credentials of member states' representatives which, under rule 27, shall be issued either by the Head of the State or Government or by the Minister for Foreign Affairs. Senegal and Tanzania proposed, however, that no action be taken on the credentials of the Khmer Republic. They contended that the General Assembly resolution of November 29 did not accord legitimacy to the Khmer Republic, and that operative paragraph (3) of the resolution required that no action of any kind--including that by the Credentials Committee--be taken on any aspect of the Cambodian question. Their proposal to except the Khmer Republic's credentials from the Committee's report to plenary recommending acceptance of all credentials was defeated by a vote of 4 in favor (China, Senegal, Tanzania, U.S.S.R.) to 5 against (Belgium, Costa Rica, Philippines, U.S., Venezuela).

When the General Assembly considered the report of the Credentials Committee on December 16, Syria introduced an amendment to the draft resolution approving the Committee's report which would have added the phrase, "except with regard to the credentials of the representatives of the so-called Khmer Republic." The General Assembly defeated the draft amendment by a roll-call vote of 53 to 61 (U.S.), with 19 abstentions.

### SOUTH AFRICAN PARTICIPATION

Each year from 1970 to 1973 the General Assembly voted to amend the report of its Credentials Committee in order to reject the South African delegation's credentials. In each case, the Assembly President ruled that the vote constituted a severe condemnation of and warning to South Africa, but that the South African delegation could continue to participate in the Assembly. The Credentials Committee in 1974 for the first time itself rejected the South African delegation's credentials and, after the Assembly upheld the Committee's

action, the Assembly President ruled that the South African delegation could no longer participate in the 29th General Assembly.

#### Credentials Committee Action

At the second meeting of the Credentials Committee, on September 27, the Representative of Senegal stated that his delegation objected to acceptance of the credentials of the representatives of South Africa as that delegation and its government represented only a small fraction of South Africa's population. The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Schauffele, pointed out that the duty of the Committee was to determine whether the credentials of representatives had been issued in conformity with rules 27 and 28 of the Assembly's Rules of Procedure (see p. 112). In the absence of criteria in the rules of procedure to determine the degree of representativeness of a government, he said, the Committee was not in a position to make a decision in the matter. However, by a vote of 5 (P.R.C., Philippines, Senegal, Tanzania, U.S.S.R.) to 3 (Belgium, Costa Rica, U.S.), with 1 abstention (Venezuela), the Committee adopted a draft resolution that accepted all the credentials it had examined except those of the South African delegation.

On September 30 the General Assembly considered and, by a recorded vote of 98 to 23 (U.S.), with 14 abstentions, adopted a resolution accepting the Credentials Committee's report. Joining the United States in opposing the resolution were Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Canada, Costa Rica, Denmark, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Norway, Portugal, South Africa, Sweden, United Kingdom, and Uruguay.

Those abstaining were Botswana, Brazil, Chile, Dominican Republic, Greece, Guatemala, Honduras, Japan, Malawi, Mexico, New Zealand, Paraguay, Spain, and Venezuela.

In an explanation of vote, Ambassador Scali, after reiterating the U.S. disapproval of apartheid, went on to state:

". . . The purpose of evaluating the authenticity of the credentials submitted to the Secretary General is clearly to insure that the individuals representing states in this body have been authorized to do so by the government of the country they are here to represent.

"The policies of those governments are not a legitimate consideration in this context. . . ."

#### Referral to the Security Council

Immediately following the adoption of this resolution, the President of the Assembly put to the vote a draft resolution on the "Relationship between the United Nations and South Africa," which was sponsored by 52 states. The resolution recalled that South Africa had not heeded any of the Assembly's previous resolutions concerning its credentials and had continued to practice its policy of apartheid, reaffirmed that the policy of apartheid was a violation of the principles of the Charter, noted South Africa's refusal to abandon its policy of apartheid "in compliance with relevant resolutions and decisions of the General Assembly," and called upon the Security Council "to review the relationship between the United Nations and South Africa in the light of the constant violation by South Africa of the principles of the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights."

The Assembly adopted the draft resolution on September 30 by a recorded vote of 125 to 1 (South Africa), with 9 abstentions (France, Iran, Israel, Malawi, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Spain, U.K., U.S.).

Ambassador Scali said that the United States did not vote against the resolution because others wished to discuss the matter in the Security Council and added that the U.S. abstention was without prejudice to the position the United States might take in the Council.



## Security Council Consideration

The Security Council considered the question of the relationship between the United Nations and South Africa at 11 meetings between October 18 and 30. Thirty-five states, in addition to South Africa and all Council members, spoke with a large majority of them advocating the expulsion of South Africa from the United Nations.

## South African Statement

The South African Representative, Ambassador R. F. Botha, spoke on October 24 to rebut the charges against his government. He reviewed its accomplishments and said it was making sincere and positive efforts to improve and develop the economic, social, and political conditions of all its people. Ambassador Botha admitted there were discriminatory practices, but said that South Africa would do everything in its power to move away from discrimination based on race or color. He further detailed the contributions of his country to progress in Namibia (the former Mandate of South-West Africa), expressing the view that self-determination there could come considerably sooner than the 10 years that had been estimated during talks with the UN Secretary General in 1973. Observing that changes were taking place in South Africa in a peaceful and orderly way, he said that if the United Nations genuinely wanted these changes to take place it should "encourage them by communication, by discussion and understanding, not by threats and a course of confrontation." Expelling South Africa from the United Nations would merely make it more difficult for "a country equipped and prepared to play a positive role in the development of southern Africa to do so."

## U.S. Position

Ambassador Scali presented the U.S. views on October 30, toward the end of the debate. He reaffirmed that the United States opposes apartheid "categorically and absolutely." He declared that the system of legislated racial discrimination and associated repressive legislation in South Africa was "an indefensible affront to the spirit and principles of the Charter and to human

dignity around the world" and that South Africa's denial of basic human rights was compounded by its illegal occupation of Namibia. At the same time, however, he said that the United States was heartened by the statement of the South African Representative which implied that South Africa was responding to condemnation of its policies within the United Nations. Expressing the belief that a just solution of South Africa's racial dilemma lay within the country itself, he noted that, with the changed situation in southern Africa from 6 months earlier, South Africa had no alternative but to reassess its position. Ambassador Scali then called on South Africa to make good its assurance to allow the people of Namibia to exercise their right of self-determination, to withdraw from Namibia, to end its apartheid policies, and to fulfill its Charter obligations with regard to the sanctions against Rhodesia. He maintained that the best way to accomplish these objectives was not to expel South Africa from the United Nations, but to constantly expose it to the blunt expression of the abhorrence of mankind for apartheid. "We believe," Ambassador Scali declared, "that the United Nations must continue its pressure upon South Africa, moving step by step until right has triumphed." Like his British and French colleagues, Ambassador Scali also noted that the expulsion of South Africa would set a dangerous precedent which could gravely damage the UN structure.

#### Security Council Vote

On October 30 the Council voted on a draft resolution sponsored by Iraq, Kenya, Mauritania, and Cameroon. In preambular paragraphs, the draft inter alia recalled South Africa's alleged violations of the Charter and noted its refusal to withdraw from Namibia and its support for Southern Rhodesia in contravention of Security Council resolutions. In its only operative paragraph, it recommended to the General Assembly "the immediate expulsion of South Africa from the United Nations in compliance with Article 6 of the Charter."28/

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28/ Article 6 says: "A Member of the United Nations which has persistently violated the Principles contained in the present Charter may be expelled from the Organization by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council."

The United States, France, and the United Kingdom vetoed the draft resolution; Austria and Costa Rica abstained; and the remaining 10 members of the Security Council voted for it. It was the first time that any proposed resolution had been vetoed by as many as three states.

#### Further General Assembly Action

On November 12 the General Assembly discussed the Security Council's report of its consideration of the relationship between the United Nations and South Africa. Speaking on behalf of the African group, the Tanzanian Representative requested Assembly President Bouteflika's guidance "on the effect of the decision of the General Assembly to reject the credentials of the apartheid regime." After hearing a number of speakers, the President observed that in 1970 Assembly President Edvard Hambro (Norway) had ruled that "the amendment [to the Credentials Committee's report] as it is worded at present would not seem to me to mean that the South African delegation is unseated or cannot continue to sit in this Assembly." Mr. Bouteflika inferred that Hambro's ruling was based on the exact words of the decision adopted by the General Assembly at that time and did not mean that if the amendment had been worded in some other way it might not have had different consequences for the participation of the South African delegation. He noted that the Credentials Committee had now for the first time taken the initiative of rejecting the South African delegation's credentials. He then ruled that: "On the basis of the consistency with which the General Assembly has regularly refused to accept the credentials of the delegation of South Africa, one may legitimately infer that the General Assembly would in the same way reject the credentials of any other delegation authorized by the Government of the Republic of South Africa to represent it, which is tantamount to saying in explicit terms that the General Assembly refuses to allow the delegation of South Africa to participate in its work."

Ambassador Scali challenged the Assembly President's ruling on the grounds that in effect it constituted a suspension of South Africa in violation of Charter

Articles 5<sup>29/</sup> and 6 which expressly lay down the procedures for the suspension or expulsion of a member.

The Assembly upheld the President's ruling by a recorded vote of 91 to 22 (Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Costa Rica, Denmark, El Salvador, Finland, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Sweden, U.K., U.S.), with 19 abstentions (Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Fiji, Greece, Guatemala, Iran, Japan, Lesotho, Malawi, Mexico, Paraguay, Portugal, Spain, Turkey, Venezuela).

During the remainder of the session, South Africa did not attempt to participate in the Assembly.

#### PEACEKEEPING GUIDELINES

The 33-member Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations<sup>30/</sup> was established in 1965 to undertake a comprehensive review of the whole question of peacekeeping operations in all their aspects. In subsequent years the Assembly from time to time refined this general mandate in light of the progress of the Committee. In

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29/ Article 5 says: "A Member of the United Nations against which preventive or enforcement action has been taken by the Security Council may be suspended from the exercise of the rights and privileges of membership by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council. The exercise of these rights and privileges may be restored by the Security Council."

30/ Members are Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Brazil, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, France, Hungary, India, Iraq, Italy, Japan, Mauritania, Mexico, Netherlands, Nigeria, Pakistan, Poland, Romania, Sierra Leone, Spain, Thailand, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, United States, Venezuela, and Yugoslavia.



1973 the 28th General Assembly adopted unanimously a resolution requesting the Committee and its Working Group<sup>31/</sup> to intensify their efforts to complete by the 29th session their task of achieving agreed guidelines for carrying out peacekeeping operations in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations.

### Peacekeeping Committee

The full Committee met only twice during 1974, but the Working Group met 16 times between April 4 and October 8. It devoted some of its time to studying on-going UN peacekeeping operations in the Middle East as practical examples of procedures that might serve as a basis for general guidelines. It concentrated, however, on the elaboration of formulas for articles, using as a starting point 12 draft articles prepared by its chairman. The Working Group compiled a number of complementary or alternative formulas for 13 articles of agreed guidelines, but emphasized that the texts were still preliminary, not necessarily exhaustive, and subject to further consideration. The compilation reflected different views on such questions as the respective roles of the Security Council and the Secretary General in the authorization and conduct of peacekeeping operations, the allocation of costs of such operations, and the composition of peacekeeping forces. The Working Group acknowledged that the draft formulas were not definitive and in some cases contained mutually exclusive language, but it believed that their preparation represented definite progress in the difficult task of achieving agreed guidelines, and in its report to the full Committee it expressed its willingness to continue its efforts toward this end.

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<sup>31/</sup> Members are the 6 officers of the Committee (Chairman--Nigeria; Vice Chairmen--Brazil, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Japan; Rapporteur--Egypt), plus Argentina, France, India, Pakistan, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, and United States.



The full Committee adopted its report to the General Assembly on October 31, noting that the Working Group had made progress during 1974 on UN peacekeeping operations under the authority of the Security Council, and recommending that the 29th General Assembly renew the Committee's mandate.

### General Assembly

As in previous years, the 29th General Assembly referred the report of the Peacekeeping Committee to the Special Political Committee which considered it at four meetings between November 15 and 20.

One of the major areas of continuing disagreement with respect to guidelines was the problem of defining the decisions that should be the primary responsibility of the Security Council and those for which the Secretary General should retain flexibility and independence of action. The United States continued to stress that the Secretary General must be ensured enough flexibility to be able to conduct the peacekeeping operation efficiently without day-to-day intervention by the Security Council.

This position was set forth in the Special Political Committee on November 19 by the U.S. Representative, Joseph M. Segel. He noted that the Security Council was responsible for authorizing peacekeeping operations and bore the ultimate responsibility for the direction of each operation, and added:

" . . . We believe that in exercising this general responsibility the Security Council should, in the formula proposed for article 1 of the draft guidelines, 'determine the purpose and mandate of a peacekeeping force, its approximate size, the duration of its existence and manner of its termination, and such other matters as it considered necessary in establishing the purpose and terms of the mandate.'"

In addition to these responsibilities, he stated that the United States was prepared to include approval of the peacekeeping force commander and of the force's composition in the list of Security Council responsibilities. Once an operation was under way, the

United States believed that the Security Council could best exercise its responsibilities by requiring regular reports from the Secretary General, who would retain the discretion to make necessary decisions for the direction of the force's activities under its mandate.

The U.S. Representative also reaffirmed the importance the United States attached to the work of the Peacekeeping Committee, and said that after 9 years of work, while the end was not yet in sight, it was necessary to persevere to a successful conclusion.

On November 15 the Canadian Representative introduced in the Special Political Committee a resolution, ultimately sponsored by 13 states, that noted the report of the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations and requested it and its Working Group to renew efforts toward the completion of agreed guidelines for submission to the 30th session of the General Assembly. The resolution was approved without a vote on November 20 and adopted by the General Assembly, also without a vote, on November 29.

#### STRENGTHENING INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

In 1969 the Soviet Union proposed a new agenda item for the General Assembly on "Strengthening international security," and in 1970 a declaration on this topic was adopted. Each year since then the Assembly has had on its agenda an item, "Implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security."

In 1974, as in previous years, the item was referred to the First Committee which considered it, as its last item of business for the 29th session, at five meetings between December 10 and 13. Twenty-eight states, including all the Eastern Europeans, made statements during the general debate.

On December 11 the Algerian Representative introduced a draft resolution, eventually sponsored by 31 states from all areas except Western Europe, that substantially repeated the resolution on the subject adopted by the General Assembly in 1973.

In its first operative paragraph the resolution reaffirmed the 1970 declaration and appealed to all states to implement the declaration, to broaden the scope of détente to cover the entire world, to stop the arms race, and to take steps to reduce armaments. The second paragraph reaffirmed the right of all states to participate on a basis of equality in the settlement of major international problems. The third reaffirmed "that any measure or pressure directed against any state while exercising its sovereign right freely to dispose of its natural resources constitutes a flagrant violation of the right of self-determination of peoples and the principle of nonintervention, as set forth in the Charter, which, if pursued, could constitute a threat to international peace and security." The fourth paragraph reaffirmed the legitimacy of the struggle for self-determination and appealed to all states to implement the 1960 Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and similar UN resolutions. The UN Secretary General was once again asked to report to the next Assembly on the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security.

The draft resolution was approved by the First Committee on December 13 by a vote of 79 to 1 (U.S.), with 12 abstentions. The General Assembly adopted the resolution on December 17 by a rollcall vote of 119 to 1 (U.S.), with 14 abstentions.

The U.S. vote against the resolution was based in large measure on its third operative paragraph, concerning measures or pressures against states disposing of their natural resources. Joseph B. Norbury, Jr., in explaining the U.S. vote in the First Committee, noted that such language could inhibit states from making any attempt to influence the actions of other states in connection with the disposition of their natural resources, even where permitted by international law. The United States could not agree, for example, that the use of peaceful diplomatic or judicial channels to present a state's point of view on an economic or political question of this kind would in any way be "a flagrant violation of the right of self-determination" or a "threat to international peace" as the resolution asserted.

## STRENGTHENING ROLE OF THE UNITED NATIONS

For the third consecutive year the General Assembly at its 29th session had on its agenda a Romanian item, "Strengthening of the role of the United Nations with regard to the maintenance and consolidation of international peace and security, the development of cooperation among all nations, and the promotion of the rules of international law in relations between states." The item was again referred directly to plenary for consideration.

### Views of Members

The 27th Assembly in 1972 had requested members to make known to the Secretary General their views and suggestions on strengthening the UN role; 18 states, including the United States, had responded. Seven more states had replied to a similar request by the 28th General Assembly, and another seven had elaborated on their earlier responses. As in the previous year, substantial differences among member states in their approach to the problem and in their primary concerns were evidenced by the replies received in 1974.

### General Assembly Consideration

When the General Assembly began its consideration of this item on December 6, it had before it two draft resolutions. Under the first, introduced by Romania and eventually sponsored by 53 states from all areas (about three-fourths from Africa and Asia), the Assembly (1) reiterates its previous requests for the views, suggestions, and proposals of members; (2) transmits to its 30th session for consideration the Secretary General's "systematized" report (prepared in response to the 28th Assembly's request) on the views, suggestions, and proposals received in 1973 and 1974, together with those to be submitted in 1975; and (3) draws the Secretary General's report to the attention of the other principal UN organs for their consideration in the process of improving their own activities and functioning and invites them to keep the Assembly informed on this subject.

The second draft resolution, introduced by Australia and ultimately sponsored by 14 states (about three-fourths from Western Europe and Asia), was entitled "Peaceful settlement of international disputes." In the resolution's final form, the Assembly (1) draws attention to established machinery under the UN Charter for the peaceful settlement of disputes; (2) urges states not already parties to the instruments establishing the various facilities and machinery available for this purpose to become parties and recognizes the desirability that states study the possibility of accepting the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice with as few reservations as possible; (3) calls upon members to make full use of and to seek the implementation of the means and methods provided for in the UN Charter and elsewhere "for the exclusively peaceful settlement of any dispute or situation, the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, including negotiation, inquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements, good offices including those of the Secretary General, or other peaceful means of their own choice"; (4) requests the Secretary General to prepare an up-to-date report on the machinery established under the Charter for peaceful settlement, with particular reference to the following General Assembly resolutions: (a) the April 28, 1949, resolution establishing the Panel for Inquiry and Conciliation, (b) the November 3, 1950, "Uniting for Peace" resolution that established the Peace Observation Commission, (c) the November 14, 1958, resolution regarding the establishment of arbitral procedure for settling disputes, (d) the December 18, 1967, resolution establishing a UN register of experts for factfinding, and (e) the October 24, 1970, resolution approving the Friendly Relations Declaration;<sup>32/</sup> and (5) invited the attention of the Security Council, the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations, the International Court of Justice, and the Secretary General to this resolution.

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<sup>32/</sup> See p. 106, footnote 26.



The Assembly devoted five meetings to consideration of this agenda item, but the discussion, in which 47 states participated, was devoted more to various aspects, as members saw them, of the general problem of strengthening the role of the United Nations than to the two draft resolutions.

A number of developments during the 29th Assembly, particularly the suspension of South Africa from participation in the session and certain Assembly actions in the context of the Palestine question and of "the new international economic order," had aroused the serious concern of some members that the Assembly had lost sight of one of the purposes of the United Nations as stated in its Charter: "To be a center for harmonizing the actions of nations."

On December 6, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Scali, voiced his concern in speaking on strengthening the role of the United Nations. He recalled that the previous year the U.S. delegation had called attention to the growing tendency to "adopt one-sided, unrealistic resolutions that cannot be implemented," and he saw this trend as accelerating. The true function of the General Assembly, he said, is to reconcile opposing views and try to bridge the differences among its members. Noting that most General Assembly resolutions are only advisory in nature, not compulsory in the sense of national legislation, he emphasized that resolutions calling for actions that the membership is not prepared to take erode the authority of the United Nations. "Far more serious," he added, "they encourage disrespect for the Charter and for the traditions of our organization." In conclusion, the U.S. Representative declared:

"If the United Nations ceases to work for the benefit of all its members, it will become increasingly irrelevant. It will fade into the shadow world of rhetoric, abandoning its important role in the real world of negotiation and compromise.

"We must join to prevent this. The reasons for which this world organization was founded remain as valid and as compelling today as they were in 1945. . . .

"If we are to succeed, we must now renew our commitment to the central principles of tolerance and harmony upon which the United Nations Charter was built. We must redouble our efforts to use this organization as the world's ultimate instrument for compromise and negotiation. . . ."

Similar concerns were expressed by the representatives of a number of other western nations, including the United Kingdom and France. At the same time, representatives of many "third-world" members set forth their points of view. At the conclusion of the discussion, the U.S. Representative, after announcing that the United States would vote in favor of both draft resolutions, thanked those who had spoken and stated:

"I am encouraged that the debate has turned into a constructive dialogue with much sober reflection. If we can maintain this willingness to listen carefully to one another, we can write a record that peoples everywhere can applaud."

#### General Assembly Action

On December 12, the Assembly adopted the 53-power text introduced by Romania by consensus, as it had the resolutions adopted on this item at its two previous sessions. The 14-power text introduced by Australia was then adopted by a recorded vote of 68 (U.S.) to 10 (Bulgaria, Byelorussian S.S.R., Cuba, Czechoslovakia, German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Mongolia, Poland, Ukrainian S.S.R., U.S.S.R.), with 35 abstentions. The Soviet Representative took the position that the Australian draft resolution bypassed the provisions of the Charter with respect to peaceful settlement, and particularly the Security Council's role therein. He also argued that the draft substituted third party intervention for direct negotiations, contrary to the Charter, and expressed categorical disagreement with the draft's encouragement of acceptance of the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court. Finally he expressed serious objection to the fourth operative paragraph of the draft because the majority of the resolutions referred to had been adopted in the "years of the cold war" and

over the objection of the Soviet Union, other socialist countries, and a number of other states.

## CHARTER REVIEW

The General Assembly at its 29th session again had on its agenda an item entitled, "Need to consider suggestions regarding the review of the Charter of the United Nations." The same item had been on the agenda of the 27th General Assembly which had decided only to continue its consideration of the item at its 29th session. For any amendment of the Charter, a two-thirds vote of the General Assembly is required, together with ratification by two-thirds of all members, including all the permanent members of the Security Council.

### Background

In compliance with Article 109 of the UN Charter, the General Assembly had first considered the question of Charter review in 1955 at its 10th session. At that time it adopted a resolution deciding in principle that a conference to review the Charter should be held "at an appropriate time" and establishing a committee of the whole to keep the matter under review. This committee had last reported to the Assembly in 1967, recommending only that it be kept in being so as to be available should it appear that the "appropriate time" referred to in the 10th General Assembly resolution had arrived. Though this committee has not met since, the question of Charter review reappeared on the 25th General Assembly's agenda as the result of a 1969 Colombian initiative. At its 25th session, the Assembly decided to request the Secretary General to invite members to submit their views on the need to review the Charter and to report to the 27th session, which adopted a similar resolution with respect to the 29th session.

The only amendments of the Charter to date are those adopted in 1963 enlarging the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council and in 1971 further enlarging the latter. These amendments, which became effective in 1965 and 1973, respectively, were adopted under

Article 108 of the Charter which provides for the adoption of specific amendments without involving overall Charter review.

### Views of Members

Only 32 members had submitted their views prior to the 27th General Assembly and only 6 more did so prior to the 29th session, plus the Philippines which elaborated on its earlier reply. These views ranged from outright opposition to review on the part of the U.S.S.R., five states of Eastern Europe, Mongolia, and Cuba to support for review on the part of 10 members, most of them from Latin America and Asia, including China. The other replies were essentially negative, with a number of members expressing a preference for the Article 108 ad hoc approach to amendment of the Charter. France, the United Kingdom, and the United States expressed serious reservations with respect to any effort at review, with the two latter at the same time indicating their willingness to consider amendment on a case-by-case basis. The United States also indicated, as it had in the past, its willingness to participate in an effort at overall review if a substantial majority of the UN membership favored it.

### General Assembly Consideration

When the Assembly's General Committee on September 19, 1974, considered the adoption of the agenda for the 29th session, the Soviet Union proposed that the item on Charter review not be included. The Soviet Representative argued that efforts to review the Charter would inevitably complicate the work of the United Nations, and he urged that the General Assembly concentrate instead on specific problems of maintaining peace and strengthening international security. The Soviet proposal was immediately opposed by the P.R.C. Representative and others, and when put to a vote was defeated by 3 in favor to 19 opposed (U.S.), with 2 abstentions. On September 21, without further discussion or vote, the General Assembly accepted the General Committee's recommendation that the item be included on its agenda and referred to its Sixth (Legal) Committee.

The sixth Committee considered this item at 10 meetings between December 3 and 9, 1974. Over 60 members participated in the debate, the majority of them favoring Charter review.

The Committee had four draft resolutions before it. The first, sponsored by the U.S.S.R. and five other Eastern European states, would have the General Assembly consider it "inadvisable" at this time to "take any steps" toward review of the UN Charter.

The second, introduced by the Philippines and ultimately sponsored by 35 states (most of them from Africa and Latin America), would establish an ad hoc committee on the UN Charter to report to the 30th Assembly.

The third draft, sponsored by Saudi Arabia, would (1) appeal to all states to comply with "the spirit and letter" of the UN Charter, (2) further appeal to all states to try "to judge controversial issues on their merits rather than on the formal solidarity of groups regardless of ideological systems or narrow national interests," and (3) postpone until a future date, after intensive informal exchanges among members, the question of Charter review.

The fourth draft, resulting from Canadian amendments to the Saudi draft which were accepted by Saudi Arabia, would have added a preambular paragraph in which the Assembly considered that the item had been only briefly discussed at a very late stage of its 29th session, retained the original operative paragraphs concerning compliance with the Charter and judgement of controversial issues on their merits, invited governments to submit or bring up to date their observations on Charter review, and decided to include this same item on the agenda of the 30th Assembly with the recommendation that it be given "sufficient time for full consideration."

#### U.S. Position

Speaking for the United States on December 5, Robert Rosenstock stressed the extraordinary capacity of



the Charter to provide "the basic ground rules within which we all can agree to attempt to solve our common problems," but also recognized that organizational problems continued to exist. He suggested that "those problems are solvable by full and proper use of the machinery we have, rather than by creating new machinery." He also stressed the flexibility of the present Charter and the "constructive evolution" that had occurred under it "in which all members have participated," citing numerous concrete examples of this development. He then stated:

"If we proceed pellmell into a review exercise without the requisite broad agreement, we shall encourage states to harden positions; we shall widen the difference among us and reduce our own flexibility to compromise. We shall harm the chances for continued evolutionary change. A review exercise may well prove the greatest impediment to change rather than a catalyst for change."

Noting that the United States had "participated, in some cases by leading, in the many evolutionary changes that have taken place since 1945," the U.S. Representative declared:

". . . At no time have we sought to oppose this concept of the Charter as a living, breathing document which must be made to respond flexibly to the contemporary needs of the organization."

He pointed out that not only had the United States been in the forefront of those who supported the amendments that have been adopted, but that the United States had also "sought to retain an open mind on the concept of Charter review." Recalling the U.S. reply to the Secretary General in 1972 on this subject in which it had expressed a willingness to participate in such a review if the UN membership generally believed the outcome of such a conference would be constructive, he stated:

". . . I think it fair to say that there is not such a feeling that an overall review would solve problems. There is certainly no broad agreement at this time on what specific changes might be desirable. There does seem to be

widespread recognition that very great damage could be done to confidence in the basic fabric of the United Nations if considerable care is not exercised to ensure very broad support before any type of review of the Charter is undertaken.

"It is the view of my delegation that such broad support can most realistically be amassed if we approach Charter review on a case-by-case basis. We have amended the Charter successfully in the past by this approach, enlarging the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council when the requisite measure of consensus has been achieved.

"We are dealing, in this field of international cooperation, with an activity based essentially not on the ability of some states to compel action by others, but rather, on our ability to find standards of behavior and ground rules for cooperation to which we are all willing to adhere.

"We have all freely accepted the Charter. We must obviously take great care to develop that consensus, particularly for changes so significant as those to the United Nations Charter, if we intend to maintain it as a realistic instrument by which all member states will be guided. This may be a cautious approach, but it emphatically is not a negative approach. We have amended the Charter in the past; we can, and presumably will, amend the Charter in the future."

With specific reference to the draft resolutions before the Sixth Committee, he said that the United States strongly opposed the 35-power text because:

"In our view the establishment of the proposed ad hoc committee would almost inevitably result in a general, wide-ranging review of the Charter. Even among the few replies received from states and among the fewer still which urge change, there is a very broad range of

suggestions for modification of the Charter, many of them mutually exclusive."

The United States was, on the other hand, he said, prepared to vote in favor of the six-power draft "or any other text which commands sufficiently broad support and which does not endanger the foundations of our institution." The Saudi Arabian-Canadian text also commended itself, he observed, "not because it perfectly expresses our view but because we would hope it is a middle ground toward which the overwhelming majority could move."

In conclusion, the U.S. Representative declared:

"Let us above all do nothing to erode the foundations of the only international institution concerned with peace and security which through its flexible adaptability to the contemporary needs of the world community has stood the test of over a quarter of a century."

#### General Assembly Action

On December 9, the Soviet Representative informed the Sixth Committee that the sponsors of the six-power resolution would not insist that it be put to the vote. A Saudi Arabian proposal that priority be given its joint text with Canada was rejected by a rollcall vote of 50 (France, U.S.S.R., U.K., U.S.) to 60 (P.R.C.), with 17 abstentions. The 35-power text was then adopted by a rollcall vote of 77 to 20 (U.S.), with 32 abstentions. The joint Saudi Arabian-Canadian text was not put to a vote.

As approved by the Sixth Committee, the draft resolution established a 32-member ad hoc committee to be appointed by the General Assembly President with due regard for equitable geographic distribution and with the following aims:

"(a) To discuss in detail the observations received from Governments;

"(b) To consider any additional, specific proposals that Governments may make with a view to enhancing the ability of the United Nations to achieve its purposes;

"(c) To consider also other suggestions for the more effective functioning of the United Nations that may not require amendments to the Charter;

"(d) To enumerate the proposals which aroused particular interest in the Ad Hoc Committee."

The resolution further invited governments to submit or bring up to date their views, if possible by May 31, 1975; invited the Secretary General to submit to the ad hoc committee his views on the experience acquired in the application of the Charter provisions with respect to the Secretariat; requested him to prepare for the use of the ad hoc committee an analytical paper containing the observations received from governments and the views expressed at the 27th and 29th General Assemblies; requested the ad hoc committee to report to the 30th Assembly; and decided to include this report on the provisional agenda for that Assembly.

When the committee-recommended text came before the plenary on December 17, Colombia introduced an amendment raising to 42 the ad hoc committee's membership, and Saudi Arabia proposed the deletion of the invitation and request to the Secretary General as "dangerous" in that they would tend to "embroil" the Secretary General and the Secretariat with the member states. The Colombian amendment was adopted by a vote of 76 to 0, with 58 abstentions (U.S.). After rejection of the Saudi-proposed deletions (which the United States supported), the amended resolution was adopted by a vote of 82 to 15 (U.S.), with 36 abstentions.

Those in favor were:

Albania	Gambia	Nicaragua
Algeria	Ghana	Niger
Argentina	Guatemala	Nigeria
Australia	Guinea	Pakistan
Barbados	Guyana	Panama
Bhutan	Honduras	Paraguay
Bolivia	India	Peru
Brazil	Indonesia	Philippines
Burma	Iran	Rwanda
Burundi	Italy	Senegal
Cameroon	Ivory Coast	Sierra Leone
Central African Republic	Jamaica	Singapore
Chad	Japan	Somalia
Chile	Kenya	Spain
China	Khmer Republic	Sudan
Colombia	Lebanon	Tanzania
Congo	Lesotho	Thailand
Costa Rica	Liberia	Togo
Cyprus	Malagasy Republic	Trinidad and Tobago
Dahomey	Malaysia	Tunisia
Dominican Republic	Mali	Uganda
Ecuador	Malta	Upper Volta
El Salvador	Mauritania	Uruguay
Equatorial Guinea	Mauritius	Venezuela
Ethiopia	Mexico	Yugoslavia
Fiji	Morocco	Zaire
Gabon	Nepal	Zambia
	New Zealand	

Those opposed were:

Bulgaria	German Democratic Republic	Saudi Arabia
Byelorussian S.S.R.	Hungary	Ukrainian S.S.R.
Cuba	Mongolia	U.S.S.R.
Czechoslovakia	Poland	United Kingdom
France		United States
		Yemen (Aden)



Those abstaining were:

Afghanistan	Grenada	Norway
Austria	Guinea-Bissau	Oman
Bahrain	Iceland	Portugal
Bangladesh	Iraq	Qatar
Belgium	Ireland	Sri Lanka
Botswana	Israel	Swaziland
Canada	Jordan	Sweden
Denmark	Kuwait	Syria
Egypt	Laos	Turkey
Finland	Libya	United Arab
Federal Republic	Luxembourg	Emirates
of Germany	Malawi	Yemen (San'a)
Greece	Netherlands	

Bahamas, Haiti, Maldives, Romania, and South Africa were absent.

At the end of the year the members of the ad hoc committee had not yet been appointed.



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PART II.

ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, SCIENTIFIC, AND  
HUMAN RIGHTS AFFAIRS

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UN responsibility for world economic, social, and human rights affairs is vested in the General Assembly and, under its authority, in the Economic and Social Council. ECOSOC is charged with coordinating the activities of the specialized agencies and certain other bodies of the UN system, including various subordinate standing and advisory committees, functional commissions and subcommissions, and the five regional economic commissions. It also does much of the preparatory work for the General Assembly, debating economic and social issues and considering reports that are usually forwarded, with recommendations for further action, to the General Assembly where they are generally considered in the Second Committee (Economic and Financial) or the Third Committee (Social, Humanitarian, and Cultural).

In the past, major trade, financial, and developmental issues were considered for the most part in organizations outside the UN system or in autonomous UN specialized agencies such as the Bretton Woods family of international financial institutions (IMF, IBRD, IFC, IDA) where there is weighted voting. In recent years, however, the developing countries have made ECOSOC--recently expanded to 54 members, permitting much greater participation by the developing countries--and particularly the General Assembly the chosen forums for furthering their views on economic issues. As a result, the division between the developed and developing countries as reflected in voting patterns has become more evident. The rapid expansion of the United Nations in the last 15 years combined with a growing tendency toward bloc voting has enabled the developing countries to command a large majority on virtually any economic issue they choose.

In 1974 this trend reached a climax when the President of Algeria requested the convening of a



special session of the General Assembly in April to consider the broad question of raw materials and development, as a response to the developed countries' reaction to the oil crisis. The developing country majority pushed through, without a vote and with little effort to negotiate differences with the developed countries, their agreed program in resolutions on a Declaration and Program of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order. The United States and a number of other industrialized countries had numerous reservations to these resolutions and took the position that they were not bound by them. The developing countries, on the other hand, maintained that the Program of Action for a New International Economic Order was a blueprint that the UN community was committed to strive to attain.

The United States also regretted that the developing countries forced to a vote during the 29th General Assembly their version of a Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States which contained several provisions unacceptable to most of the industrialized countries. The United States and five others voted against the Charter and 10 countries abstained on it. There had been 2 years of intensive negotiations on the draft charter, and the United States had hoped that further negotiations would narrow the differences so that it might have been adopted with universal support at the 30th Assembly in 1975. A resolution seeking to continue the negotiations was rejected, however, as were the amendments to the draft Charter proposed by industrial countries. The United States affirmed its willingness to reopen negotiations.

Despite the cleavage on a number of significant issues between the developed and developing countries, 1974 demonstrated that negotiations in UN forums on some economic and social issues could have constructive results. The World Population Conference in Bucharest in August achieved for the first time an agreed Plan of Action on population growth by all members of the United Nations. The World Food Conference in Rome in November was a positive step with worldwide implications reflecting the serious attitude with which most governments approached the task of

solving the world food problem. A major accomplishment of the 29th General Assembly was its endorsement of the resolutions of the World Food Conference, and its establishment of a 36-member World Food Council as an advisory and policy coordinating body.

The United States was also pleased at the action of the General Assembly in adopting U.S.-sponsored resolutions that were designed to strengthen the UN Disaster Relief Office and to ensure that women were given a role in economic development projects. The United Nations began a systematic consideration of the part played by transnational corporations in development by establishing in December a seventh functional commission of ECOSOC to advise in this regard and a center in the UN Secretariat for research, information, and technical assistance on this subject.

### ECOSOC

As is its custom, ECOSOC held two full sessions in 1974, a spring session in New York (the 56th, April 22 to May 17) and a summer session in Geneva (the 57th, July 3 to August 2), preceded by an organizational session in January and followed by a resumed session of the 57th session in the fall to take up a few incompletd items.

The spring session focused on social questions, human rights, narcotics, and certain other technical matters, such as cartography and container standards for multimodal transports. It also dealt with preparations for the World Population Conference, the World Food Conference, and the International Women's Year scheduled for 1975. It adopted a number of resolutions on the latter subject and specifically on an international conference that was to be the highlight of the year.

Both the spring and summer sessions considered the questions of permanent sovereignty over natural resources, and of raw materials and development;

both adopted resolutions calling for economic assistance to the Sudano-Sahelian region of Africa, Ethiopia, and Zambia, all of which suffered special economic hardships; and both dealt with questions pertaining to coordination and program review.

The summer session took up a range of economic and developmental questions including follow-up on the Program of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order, the operational activities of various UN developmental programs and regional commissions, cooperation in environment, industrial development, science and technology, housing, and disaster relief. It also approved, for adoption by the General Assembly, a draft agreement between the United Nations and the World Intellectual Property Organization that makes the latter the 14th specialized agency in the UN system.

Most of these subjects are discussed separately in the chapters that follow.

### Inter-Agency Coordination

During 1974, a major effort was made by ECOSOC to examine ways of improving its machinery for coordinating the economic and social activities of the United Nations and the specialized agencies. An effort was made to reach an agreement whereby ECOSOC's Policy and Program Coordination Committee (PPCC)-- a sessional committee of the whole--would assume the functions of the 21-member standing Committee for Program and Coordination (CPC)<sup>1/</sup> and meet inter-sessionally as often as deemed necessary. After several meetings on this subject during the 57th ECOSOC, an interim agreement embodied in a draft decision initiated by the United Kingdom, cosponsored

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<sup>1/</sup> Members of the CPC are elected for a term of 3 years by ECOSOC on the basis of equitable geographical distribution; the United States is a member.

by Japan, and including a third paragraph proposed by the United States, was adopted without vote on August 1. The decision provided that (1) the question of machinery for program and coordination would be taken up by ECOSOC at its 58th session in 1975, (2) the CPC would confine its substantive agenda in the spring of 1975 to an examination of the UN program budget for 1976-77 and the medium-term plan for 1976-79, and (3) pending a decision on the future machinery for program and coordination, the remaining functions of the CPC would be assumed by the PPCC during 1975.

Another matter of interest to the United States was a report from the ACC<sup>2/</sup> concerning the development of a computerized Common Register of Development Activities (CORE), a facet of inter-agency coordination relying on a common information base. At the 57th ECOSOC the United States introduced a resolution, also sponsored by the Netherlands and the United Kingdom, that called for the accelerated development of CORE, requested the United Nations and the specialized agencies to make budgetary provision for its development and implementation, called on the Governing Council of the UNDP to take the necessary measures for the full participation of the UNDP in CORE by the end of 1975, and provided guidelines for determining the content of CORE. The resolution provided for 2 additional years of development work on CORE before the progress would be fully evaluated by ECOSOC at its summer session in 1976. The resolution was adopted on July 31 by a vote of 37 (U.S.) to 0, with 6 abstentions.

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<sup>2/</sup> The Administrative Committee on Coordination is composed of the UN Secretary General and the executive heads of the specialized agencies and the IAEA. The heads of other UN organs are invited to participate as appropriate.



SIXTH SPECIAL SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

In a letter of January 30, 1974, to the UN Secretary General, the President of Algeria formally requested the convening of a special session of the General Assembly. He proposed that the session deal with one subject: the study of the problems of raw materials and development. His call came in the wake of the Washington Energy Conference of major oil consumers and a French proposal for a world energy conference under UN auspices. A large majority of UN members, when notified of the Algerian request, concurred in holding the special session and it met from April 9 to May 2.

It was the intent of the Algerian Government, as reflected in its formal request, that the special session put the crisis resulting from the quadrupling of crude oil prices in the context of the broader question of commodity trade problems of developing countries. The developing countries themselves, as they quickly prepared for the meeting through consultations among their delegations in New York, broadened the scope of the special session to cover almost the totality of their economic concerns. By the time the session opened raw materials per se had become a minor theme in the papers they had prepared and the question of the impact of the oil price rise was avoided.

In the event, the special session was dominated by the idea of establishing a "new international economic order." A secondary theme concerned both emergency and longer-term special programs for that group of resource-poor developing countries who were the "most seriously affected" by the current economic conditions and who acquired the collective title of "MSA's."<sup>3/</sup> Several other initiatives, in the form

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<sup>3/</sup> Later in 1974 the Secretary General named 32 countries to a "provisional list" of MSA's: Bangladesh, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Dahomey, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, India, Ivory Coast, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Laos, Lesotho, Malagasy Republic, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Pakistan, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Tanzania, Upper Volta, Yemen (Aden), and Yemen (San'a).



of draft resolutions, were not acted upon by the Assembly, but were referred to ECOSOC for consideration.

### U.S. APPROACH TO THE SPECIAL SESSION

The United States followed the preparations for the special session closely. Recognizing that the initiative for the session came from the developing countries, it sought to approach the meeting in a manner responsive to their concerns. In contrast to other major international conferences, however, there were no formal preparatory meetings and many delegations arrived at the special session largely unaware of the positions other groups would take.

In an address on April 15, Secretary of State Kissinger spoke on "The Challenge of Interdependence," emphasizing that not only the energy crisis but other issues involved in improving the quality of human life formed part of an interrelated global problem. He pledged the United States to a major effort in support of development and identified six problem areas requiring urgent solution. He elaborated the need for (1) an expanding supply of energy at an equitable price; (2) avoidance of the cycle of raw material surplus and shortage; (3) a balance between world food production and population growth; (4) protection of the poorest nations from economic threats to their survival; (5) expanded technical and scientific cooperation; and (6) a healthy trade, monetary, and investment system.

He proposed that an international group of experts be established to undertake a comprehensive survey of the earth's resources and help develop a global early warning system on impending surpluses and scarcities. The Secretary also announced that the U.S. Government would make a major effort to increase the quantity of food aid over the level provided the preceding year.

The United States sought to have the Assembly focus on the problems of those developing countries whose economic welfare was severely threatened by the rise in the cost of oil and other essential imports. Later in the session the United States proposed the establishment

of a \$4 billion global target over the next 18 months for additional assistance to the MSA's (see below, p. 149).

### ESTABLISHING A "NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER"

In their pre-session meetings, the developing countries had prepared two documents for consideration at the session. The first, a declaration of principles, to a large extent put forward principles adopted in 1964 at the first UN Conference on Trade and Development, as well as developing country positions on similar principles under negotiation in the UNCTAD Working Group on the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States (see p. 156). The second document, a program of action to complement the declaration of principles, was a composite restatement of developing country views on policy issues in the fields of trade, monetary policy, development assistance, and other areas of economic relations. The first and shorter of these documents was the subject of intensive negotiation during the 3-1/2 weeks of the special session and emerged as the "Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order." The second document, the "Program of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order," was discussed extensively by the Assembly's Ad Hoc Committee (a committee of the whole), but negotiation of its text in a smaller contact group was restricted to a period of a few days. These negotiations were far from completed when they were terminated by the developing countries in order to avoid prolonging the session.

The texts, reflecting the revisions that had been agreed up to that point, were then forwarded to the plenary Assembly for adoption. Although the developing countries sought to have the texts adopted without reservation, or at least as formal expressions of a consensus of the membership, this was not acceptable to the United States and some other developed countries. As a result, the plenary Assembly simply agreed, without objection, to adopt the texts in the form of two resolutions. The statements by representatives of developed countries that followed included both general

reservations and numerous reservations with respect to various specific points contained in the two resolutions.

The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Scali, specifically stated that "the word 'consensus' cannot be applied" to the Assembly's action in adopting the resolutions. He declared that the United States strongly disapproved of some provisions "and has in no sense endorsed them." While noting that there were many other provisions that the U.S. Government could not support, Ambassador Scali formally placed into the record some of the most important U.S. reservations. These included the Declaration's failure to balance its assertion of the right to nationalize with the duty to pay compensation in accordance with international law; its stated opposition to the exertion of economic pressure for some ends without condemning generally the exercise of economic pressure; the advocacy of producer associations (cartels) as a viable means of promoting development; and the call for regulation of transnational corporations without any indication that the regulation would be nondiscriminatory and otherwise conform to international law. He cited among the most objectionable features of the Program of Action the emphasis on marketing arrangements for primary products that excluded the interests of consumers; the impractical proposal, termed "indexation," to establish artificial and fixed relationships between prices of exports and imports of developing countries; and the call for developed countries to allocate a specified share of their markets for developing countries.

#### Further Action in Other UN Meetings

In subsequent UN meetings, the question of the import of the Declaration and Program of Action became a major point of controversy between the United States and leading developing countries. At the summer session of ECOSOC the developing countries pressed an omnibus draft resolution that in essence called on all governments and UN bodies to implement the Declaration and Program of Action. Since the developing countries would agree to no qualifying language in the resolution which would adequately reflect the objections and substantive reservations of the United States and other

developed countries to the two documents, the United States voted against the proposal, which was adopted on August 2 by a vote of 44 to 1, with 6 abstentions. The six abstentions were entered by major developed countries.

The issue arose again at the 14th session of the UNCTAD Trade and Development Board (August-September 1974). A resolution was proposed that, in its first operative paragraph, as in the first paragraph of the ECOSOC resolution, called on all governments to implement the Declaration and Program of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order. The United States, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, and the United Kingdom voted against the paragraph because of their reservations to portions of the Declaration and Program of Action; seven other states abstained. The United States and 11 other developed countries abstained on the resolution as a whole, which was adopted on September 13 by a vote of 47 to 0, with 12 abstentions.

During the 29th regular session of the General Assembly in the fall, the developing countries introduced no overall resolution dealing with the Declaration and Program of Action, but references to the "new international economic order" were strewn through a large number of drafts on other topics, sometimes with significant connotations that were unacceptable to the United States. The negotiation of these references to render them acceptable to the United States was a significant and time-consuming irritant in the work of the 29th Assembly, but it did not become an insurmountable obstacle to negotiation on most issues.

#### SPECIAL PROGRAM FOR MSA'S

A Working Party of the Whole was established by the Ad Hoc Committee of the sixth special Assembly session to consider proposals made by various delegations during the general debate with respect to other matters than the Declaration and Program of Action. In the Working Party, which concentrated its



attention on the problems of the MSA's, the Assembly began to come to grips with immediate issues. A proposal to establish a Special Program for the MSA's was expanded during negotiations, however, to include as well long-range concerns for development, not only of the MSA's but eventually of other developing countries as well.

This proposal called for the creation of a new UN Special Fund and enumerated a series of special measures that the industrialized countries and other potential contributors might take, including long-term financial assistance, establishment of a link between the IMF Special Drawing Rights and development finance, and debt renegotiation on a case-by-case basis.

The United States sought to focus attention on immediate emergency needs and, in order to meet them quickly, the use of existing organizations. The developing countries, on the other hand, insisted on establishing a new UN institution and decided to project the continuation of the special measures for an extended period of time. The Special Program was attached to the draft Program of Action as the last of its 10 major parts.

Two days before the end of the special session, the United States offered as a counterproposal a draft resolution that would have established a \$4 billion target for additional assistance to the MSA's over the following 18 months. The target could be met by various forms of bilateral and multilateral assistance that could be drawn down rapidly, including commodity assistance on concessional terms. The developing countries, maintaining that the U.S. proposal had been submitted too late, refused to give it formal consideration and, although it was circulated as a conference document, it was not discussed during the special session. (Six other draft resolutions put forward were referred to ECOSOC for consideration.)



Further Action on the Special Fund

Under the terms of the Special Program, a 36-state Ad Hoc Committee<sup>4/</sup> held two sessions (June 10-25 and September 9-October 7) to develop, inter alia, the scope, machinery, and modes of operation of the Special Fund established by the Assembly at the sixth special session. Although the United States participated in the Ad Hoc Committee, it announced at the first session that it did not intend to contribute to the Special Fund.

On December 18 the 29th General Assembly, on the recommendation of its Second Committee, adopted without vote a resolution containing the terms of reference and organizational arrangements for the Special Fund agreed in the Ad Hoc Committee. These provided that the Special Fund serve as a central monitoring body for bilateral and multilateral assistance to the MSA's, that its resources come from voluntary contributions in cash or kind, and that its policies and procedures be formulated by a 36-state Board of Governors, elected for a term of 3 years with one-third of the members retiring each year. The Board will report annually to the General Assembly through ECOSOC. The chief executive officer of the Special Fund is to be an Executive Director, appointed by the UN Secretary General and confirmed by the General Assembly. The Special Fund is empowered to make grants and loans, to participate in investments, and to allocate assistance in kind under its control to the MSA's. The Board of Governors is instructed to review periodically the eligibility of potential beneficiaries, "other than the least developed among the developing countries and the landlocked developing countries."

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<sup>4/</sup> Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Brazil, Chad, Costa Rica, Czechoslovakia, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Guyana, India, Iran, Japan, Kuwait, Malagasy Republic, Nepal, Netherlands, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Paraguay, Philippines, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Swaziland, Syria, Turkey, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, United States, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Zaire.

At the time of the resolution's adoption, the United States announced that it would not stand for election to the Board of Governors. The U.S. decision was based principally on its preference not to be involved in the operations of a Fund of which it disapproved and to which it would not contribute.

### UN Emergency Operation

Acting under other provisions of the Special Program, the UN Secretary General on May 9 launched an "Emergency Operation" by issuing an appeal to 45 selected potential contributors. The goal of the Emergency Operation was to stimulate relief for the MSA's through bilateral or multilateral channels over the next 12 months. The United States took part in several meetings of potential donors which the Secretary General called in connection with this Emergency Operation.

In his address to the 29th General Assembly on September 18 (see Appendix I, p. 441), President Ford announced that the United States would, in response to the Secretary General's appeal, substantially increase its assistance to agricultural production programs in other countries and increase the amount it spends for food shipments to nations in need.

### OTHER PROPOSALS

Of the six draft resolutions that had been proposed to the sixth special session of the General Assembly and referred to ECOSOC, two were adopted without vote by ECOSOC on May 14 during its 56th session.

The first of these, sponsored by New Zealand and Sri Lanka, concerned emergency measures in regard to the supply of fertilizers and pesticides. It requested FAO to draw up a plan to increase the supply of fertilizers to the developing countries, called upon developed countries manufacturing fertilizers and pesticides to expand their exports to the developing countries, and requested the World Food Conference to consider the mid-term and long-term aspects of the fertilizer problem. The second resolution, sponsored by Bolivia, Colombia,

France, Japan, Indonesia, Kenya, Philippines, and Zaire, invited states to contribute voluntarily to the UN Revolving Fund for Natural Resources Exploration, which the General Assembly had established in 1973, so as to facilitate the early start of its operations.

During July, at its 57th session, ECOSOC held a preliminary discussion of the other draft resolutions--the U.S. proposal for a group of eminent persons to study natural resources; French proposals for a UN economic observatory and for a committee to consider problems in exploitation of energy resources; and a Saudi Arabian proposal to establish ministerial groups on energy, other mineral resources, and agricultural products--but it did not take action on any of them.

#### WORLD FOOD CONFERENCE

The World Food Conference, which the United States had proposed and the 28th General Assembly had authorized on December 17, 1973, was held in Rome from November 5 to 16, 1974. It was preceded by three Preparatory Committee sessions which conducted an extensive assessment of the world food problem and proposed a number of programs to meet the challenge ahead. Although the time available for preparation was short--major conferences often have more than a year for advance preparation--the World Food Conference secretariat, appointed by the UN Secretary General after consultation with FAO and UNCTAD, was most effective. The Secretary General for the Conference, Sayed Marei (Egypt), made personal efforts to obtain views representing all geographic regions and from many individual countries and leaders. He was assisted by three deputies--John Hannah (U.S.), Alexi Roslov (U.S.S.R.), and Sartaj Aziz (FAO).

The United States played a leading role in pre-Conference discussions and negotiations. Ambassador Edwin M. Martin was appointed Coordinator of U.S. Participation in the Conference and through wide-ranging inter-agency consultations and exchanges of

information drew on many sources of experience and capability to develop the specific proposals that the United States put forward at the Conference.

As planning for the Conference progressed, it was decided to utilize plenary sessions for general country statements and final Conference decisions, but to work in three committees to analyze the many individual proposals that had resulted from the Preparatory Committee deliberations. Committee I weighed measures for increasing food production in both developing and developed countries, recommended the means for improving consumption patterns in all countries, and prepared a draft Declaration on the Eradication of Hunger. Committee II was assigned the responsibility for the wide-ranging proposals designed to strengthen world food security and arrangements for follow-up action. Committee III handled matters in the field of international trade and adjustment, including measures for trade stabilization and the expansion of markets for developing country exports.

The U.S. delegation to the Conference, headed by Secretary of Agriculture Earl L. Butz, included Senators, Congressmen, and representatives of U.S. agencies with responsibility for food, development, and trade matters. The Conference, attended by representatives of 133 states and many international and other organizations, opened with addresses by the UN Secretary General; the President of Italy, Giovanni Leone; and Dr. Marei. Dr. Guiseppi Medici of Italy was elected President of the Conference, and Ambassador S. A. Jabati (Sierra Leone), Dr. Roy D. Morey (U.S.), and Dr. Conrado Beckmann (Argentina) were elected chairmen of the three substantive committees.

Secretary Kissinger delivered a keynote address in the afternoon session of the opening day. Stressing his full confidence in man's capability of solving the world food problem through international cooperation, he outlined a number of specific proposals for Conference consideration. These included provision of increased resources for the development of new agricultural technologies, the creation of an international coordinating group for food production and investment, establishment of a global nutrition surveillance system, and



creation of a coordinating group to negotiate a detailed agreement on an international system of nationally held grain reserves to ensure against food shortfalls. He concluded by asking the Conference to "proclaim a bold objective--that within a decade no child will go to bed hungry, that no family will fear for its next day's bread, and that no human being's future and capacities will be stunted by malnutrition." The Conference subsequently adopted these words of the Secretary as its accepted goal and incorporated them into a resolution on "Objectives and strategies of food production." The pledge of U.S. cooperation was much acclaimed and other U.S. proposals found acceptance and were incorporated in some of the 20 substantive resolutions that the Conference adopted without vote on such subjects as priorities for agricultural and rural development; fertilizers; agricultural research, extension, and training; nutrition; scientific water management; women and food; pesticides; a global information and early warning system on food and agriculture; food aid policy; and world food security.

Two of the more important resolutions adopted concerned the establishment of an International Fund for Agricultural Development and of a Consultative Group on Food Production and Investment in Developing Countries. The former was sponsored chiefly by the developing countries, but was also strongly supported by Australia, the Netherlands, and New Zealand. The resolution took note of the need for a substantial increase in the flow of assistance to agriculture in developing countries and decided to set up the new Fund on a voluntary basis. The Conference agreed that the Fund would become operational as soon as the UN Secretary General determined, in consultation with representatives of the countries having pledged contributions to the Fund, that it held promise of generating sufficient additional resources and that its operations had a reasonable prospect of continuity.

The Consultative Group on Food Production and Investment in Developing Countries, which followed upon a proposal by Secretary Kissinger, would be composed of bilateral and multilateral donors and selected representatives of developing countries, and staffed



jointly by the IBRD, FAO, and UNDP. The main purposes of the Consultative Group would be to (1) encourage a larger flow of external resources for food production, (2) improve the coordination of multilateral and bilateral food production activities, and (3) ensure a more effective use of available resources.

In considering arrangements for follow-up action, the Conference recommended that the General Assembly establish a World Food Council as an organ of the United Nations to report to the General Assembly through ECOSOC. The Council would review and coordinate all food policy matters in the areas of food production, nutrition, security, trade, food aid, and other related matters. Representation on the Council would be at the ministerial or plenipotentiary level, and the Council would have its headquarters in Rome where it would be serviced within the framework of FAO.

ECOSOC reviewed the Conference resolutions and recommendations in late November and passed them intact to the General Assembly. The Second Committee of the 29th Assembly subsequently, on December 11, approved without objection a draft resolution that, inter alia, endorsed the resolutions adopted at the World Food Conference, urged member governments and the organizations of the UN system to act speedily to implement them, and established a 36-state World Food Council as recommended by the Conference. The members of the new Council are to be nominated by ECOSOC and elected by the Assembly for 3-year terms, taking into consideration balanced geographic representation,<sup>5/</sup> with one-third of the members retiring every year and retiring members eligible for reelection. On December 17 the plenary Assembly adopted the resolution without vote. On the same day, without balloting, it elected the following states which had been nominated by ECOSOC on December 16: Argentina, Australia, Bangladesh, Canada, Chad, Colombia,

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5/ The Assembly decided that nine members should be from African states, eight from Asian states, seven from Latin American states, four from Eastern European states, and eight from Western European and other states.

Cuba, Egypt, France, Gabon, Federal Republic of Germany, Guatemala, Guinea, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Italy, Japan, Kenya, Libya, Mali, Mexico, Pakistan, Romania, Sri Lanka, Sweden, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, United Kingdom, United States, U.S.S.R., Venezuela, Yugoslavia, and Zambia. The People's Republic of China was the only permanent member of the Security Council which did not stand for election to the World Food Council. (See also section on FAO, p. 288.)

### ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

#### CHARTER OF ECONOMIC RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF STATES

The Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States, cosponsored by 90 of the 100 UN members who belong to the Group of 77 ("third world" developing countries), was adopted by the General Assembly on December 12, 1974.

This action was the culmination of 2 years of negotiations following the initiative of President Luis Echeverria of Mexico at UNCTAD III. The United States participated in all these negotiations. A 40-member UNCTAD working group had been formed for the purpose of considering the Mexican initiative. It held two sessions in 1973 and met twice again in 1974, during February in Geneva and during June in Mexico City. While progress was made at each session, a number of key issues remained unresolved. Negotiations on the unresolved issues were continued in a small, informal consultative group that met in Geneva in early September, and in further informal talks held in New York in October and again in November during the General Assembly session. These talks did not result in substantive progress and the Group of 77 proposed to present its own draft for adoption at the 29th session of the General Assembly. In a last effort at compromise, the Western developed countries (including Japan) participating in these informal consultations presented a

unified set of proposed changes to the representatives of the Group of 77. These proposals were a compromise which did not necessarily reflect the preferred position of many of the countries participating. The Group of 77, however, rejected any compromise on the disputed articles.

The principal sticking points pertained to the Group of 77's preambular language which attempted to give a legal character to the Charter (the cosponsors did modify this somewhat prior to final adoption of the Charter) and its insistence on articles (1) treating foreign investment and expropriation without regard to international obligations; (2) endorsing producer organizations (i.e., cartels); (3) calling for restitution for alleged losses resulting from colonialism, "neo-colonialism," racial discrimination, and "all forms of foreign aggression"; and (4) endorsing a system of adjustments in prices of developing country exports in relation to their imports (i.e., "indexation"). There were a number of other issues of lesser magnitude on which agreement could not be reached, including those pertaining to collective economic security, disarmament, generalized preferential treatment in fields of economic cooperation other than trade, most-favored-nation treatment in trade for all countries, and regulation of seabeds and their resources.

In 1973 the General Assembly had considered the reports of the UNCTAD working group on its first and second sessions and adopted a resolution urging the working group to complete "the elaboration of a final draft Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States to be considered and approved by the General Assembly at its 29th session." In 1974 the Second Committee considered the draft Charter at 14 meetings between September 23 and October 8 (in the context of its general debate) and at 12 meetings between November 25 and December 9.

On November 27 the Mexican Representative on behalf of the Group of 77 introduced their draft Charter and later introduced a few revisions. The draft Charter, while reflecting much of what had been agreed during the UNCTAD negotiations, contained, for those provisions upon which agreement had not been reached, the language of the Group of 77. The Committee also had before it

the unified set of 18 amendments sponsored by from 8 to 14<sup>6/</sup> countries, including in all cases the United States.

On December 6 France introduced a draft resolution sponsored by the nine members of the European Community (and supported by the United States) calling for continued negotiations on the Charter with a view to action on a generally agreed Charter at the next General Assembly. The Committee rejected this draft resolution at the same meeting by a recorded vote of 20 in favor (U.S.) to 81 opposed, with 15 abstentions. The Committee then rejected the U.S.-cosponsored amendments (two of which had been withdrawn) in 17 separate recorded votes and adopted all provisions of the draft Charter proposed by the Group of 77 in a series of separate paragraph and article-by-article votes, separate voting having been requested by the United States. In this voting the United States opposed or abstained on four introductory provisions and 13 of the 34 articles of the Charter, covering inter alia the points at issue mentioned above.

The Charter as a whole was approved in the Committee by a rollcall vote of 115 to 6 (Belgium, Denmark, Federal Republic of Germany, Luxembourg, U.K., U.S.), with 10 abstentions (Austria, Canada, France, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Netherlands, Norway, Spain). A number of countries, including some which had voted for the Charter, made explanations of vote.

The U.S. Representative, Senator Charles Percy, expressed regret that the United States could not support the Charter since it had sympathized with the general concept as proposed by Mexican President Echeverria. He explained the U.S. efforts at negotiating an agreed Charter and said that the United States could support many provisions of the Charter, but that there were others it found unacceptable, such as those on foreign investment, producer cartels, and indexation

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6/ Australia, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, United Kingdom, United States.



of prices. He noted that all the amendments proposed by the United States and others had been rejected, and the result was "a draft Charter which is unbalanced and which fails to achieve the purpose of encouraging harmonious economic relations and needed development." He regretted that the draft resolution which would have continued the negotiations had been rejected, but affirmed that if in the future others came to the conclusion that an agreed Charter would be preferable, the United States was still prepared to resume negotiations on a Charter that could command the support of all countries.

When the draft Charter as recommended by the Second Committee was considered by the plenary Assembly on December 12, it was adopted by a rollcall vote of 120 to 6 (U.S.), with 10 abstentions. The negative votes and the abstentions were the same as in the Second Committee.

#### TRANSNATIONAL CORPORATIONS

In a resolution of July 28, 1972, ECOSOC had requested the Secretary General to appoint a group of eminent persons to study the impact on the development process and on international relations of multinational, or transnational, corporations (TNC's). The group consisted of 20 members from business, government, and academic circles and included two U.S. citizens, Senator Jacob Javits and J. Irwin Miller, Chairman of Cummins Engine Company.

The group's report was presented to ECOSOC at its 57th session in the summer of 1974. It considered the role of TNC's in development, the impact of TNC's on international relations, issues of control and ownership involving TNC's, and their implications for international finance, technology, employment and labor, consumer protection, and competition. It also indicated the international action and machinery the group believed to be necessary as a result of its study. In examining these issues, specific recommendations were proposed for each problem area.



ECOSOC made a preliminary study of the report at its 57th session and decided to keep the full range of issues relating to TNC's, and in particular the subject of regulation of and control over their activities, under close supervision on a continuing basis. In a resolution introduced by Pakistan and sponsored by 21 developing countries, which was adopted without vote on August 2 after it was modified to meet certain U.S. objections, ECOSOC decided in principle to establish permanent machinery to assist it in dealing with TNC's and to establish within the UN Secretariat an information and research center on TNC's. It also decided to convene a Special Intersessional Committee of ECOSOC to consider the proposals of the group of eminent persons, the views of governments on the report, and a report of the Secretary General on UN activities closely related to the subject of TNC's. The Intersessional Committee was requested to report to ECOSOC at its resumed 57th session.

In November, the United States submitted to the Secretary General its written views on the report of the group of eminent persons. It said that it believed the report to be a useful start in addressing the question of the relationships between the TNC's and development. The United States had reservations regarding much of the substance of the report, however, and did not concur in a number of its recommendations. A fundamental assumption underlying much of the report, which the United States could not accept, was that there was basically an adversary relationship between TNC's and host countries. Nevertheless, the United States hoped that permanent UN machinery would contribute to a constructive dialogue and that it would help to further understanding of the legitimate interests of governments and corporations alike.

After considering the recommendations of the Intersessional Committee, ECOSOC on December 5, 1974, adopted without vote a resolution establishing a new functional commission of 48 states to act as an advisory body on TNC's to ECOSOC. The members are to be elected

by ECOSOC on a broad and fair geographical basis,<sup>7/</sup> the term of office is 3 years, and members may be reelected.

In addition, the Commission on Transnational Corporations shall select qualified persons from trade unions, business, public interest groups, and universities who will, in a private capacity, assist the Commission and participate in its discussions. The Commission is to meet annually and submit an annual report to ECOSOC at its summer session. The Commission will also guide the activities of the Information and Research Center on TNC's. The Commission is to submit to ECOSOC at its 60th session (spring 1976) a draft detailed program of work on the full range of TNC issues, including a statement of its proposed priorities. This program is to include the development of a comprehensive information system; preliminary work on formulating a code of conduct; studies on the political, economic, and social impact of TNC's; and the definition of TNC's.<sup>8/</sup> (For more on TNC's see Part IV, p. 398.)

#### ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR EUROPE

ECE was established in 1947 to assist with the reconstruction of the war-ravaged European economy. Its original concerns were with the basic sectors of the economy and the fundamental problems of production, distribution, and trade. Today, when almost all of its members have highly industrialized economies, ECE has become a forum where East and West discuss and act on common problems of trade, environment, and transportation; exchange technical information and

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7/ 12 from African states, 11 from Asian states, 10 from Latin American states, 5 from Eastern European states, and 10 from Western European and other states.

8/ Members of the Commission were elected by ECOSOC in January 1975; the United States is a member.

draft technical conventions; and review economic developments in the region. ECE is composed of the European members of the United Nations, the United States, Switzerland, and Canada.

The United States takes a very active part in virtually all of the constituent bodies of ECE. These include the principal committees (such as the committees on Housing, Building, and Planning; Timber; Water Problems; Chemical Industry; Gas; Inland Transport; Steel; and Development of Trade) and the three senior advisory bodies (Science and Technology, Environmental Affairs, and the Senior Economic Advisors). In 1974 the United States was represented in virtually all of the constituent bodies and, in many cases, in their subsidiary working groups, seminars, and study tours as well. The United States also participated in ECE's annual plenary session, which in 1974 was held in Bucharest.

In and under the auspices of the Committee on the Development of Trade, the United States continued to take part in ECE work on the improvement of international trade procedures. Meetings were held of the Working Party on Facilitation of International Trade Procedures and its subsidiary groups, the Group of Experts on Automatic Data Processing and Coding, and the Group of Experts on Data Requirements and Documentation. The work of these groups is designed to reduce the heavy cost of paperwork in international trade.

The United States maintained its strong interest in the activities of the Committee on Housing, Building, and Planning. The U.S. delegation to the committee's 1974 session extended an invitation, on behalf of the U.S. Government, to a seminar on the Impact of Transportation on Settlement Planning. The seminar, to be held in 1976, will include a study tour of the most advanced developments in mass transit in the United States.

An ECE symposium on the use of computer techniques and automation for water resources systems was held at the Department of State in Washington from March 26 to April 4, 1974, under the auspices of the ECE Committee on Water Problems. The program included a

study tour of TVA facilities in East Tennessee and a visit to Ohio River installations at Cincinnati. U.S. sponsorship of the symposium was arranged by the U.S. Water Resources Council, with the cooperation of several U.S. agencies concerned with water problems.

U.S. experts were also active throughout the year in ECE activity concerned with vehicle safety, container transport, transport of dangerous goods, and transport by ship-borne barge.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COMMISSION FOR ASIA AND  
THE PACIFIC

At its 30th plenary session, held at Colombo, Sri Lanka, from March 27 to April 6, 1974, the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East adopted by consensus a resolution recommending to ECOSOC that its name be changed to Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP). The new name reflects member governments' concern for social improvements in addition to economic development and includes by specific reference the growing membership of countries of the Pacific Ocean area. ECOSOC approved the change of name on August 1, 1974.

Established in 1947, ESCAP today has 31 members, of which five (France, Netherlands, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, United States) are from outside the region. The regional members are in the vast area from Iran in the west to the island countries of the Pacific in the east, and from Mongolia south to New Zealand. There are also eight associate members, including the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. ESCAP's headquarters are in Bangkok, Thailand, although some subsidiary organizations and activities are in other Asian cities.

Much of the 30th plenary session was devoted to a discussion of the economic adversities experienced by the regional member states as a result of the energy crisis, food and fertilizer shortages, and inflation. Two resolutions on economic problems were adopted by consensus.



The first of these resolutions called for consultations with relevant international organizations and member governments with a view to formulating for consideration by the World Food Conference later in the year concrete proposals for establishing a world fertilizer fund to assist developing countries procure supplies at reasonable prices and to help expand production. The second economic resolution urged the international financial institutions and the developed countries to give fullest assistance to countries hurt by recent economic developments in order to help finance the balance of payments needs and long-term development requirements of the developing countries.

In other actions the Commission (1) decided to set up in the Philippines an Asian Center for Agricultural Machinery that could inter alia maximize the benefits of the green revolution and extend them to the majority of Asian small farmers, and (2) requested assistance from the UNDP and other UN agencies and organizations in the early establishment of a regional center for training and research in social welfare and development.

A proposal initiated in 1973 to reform the committee and conference structure of ESCAP was approved by the 30th plenary. These reforms were designed to limit the number of committees and committee meetings, replace standing subcommittees with ad hoc subsidiary bodies, and improve the efficiency of meetings. They were implemented during the committee meetings in the fall of the year.

Much of the Commission's work continued to be done throughout the year in specialized sub-bodies. Although participation in some of the groups was restricted to regional members, the United States took part in meetings having to do with trade, industry, natural resources, offshore prospecting, typhoons, economic development, transport and communications, facilitation of international traffic, population, and statistics.



ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR LATIN AMERICA

Established in 1948 as a center for planning and programs related to the economic development of Latin America, ECLA is composed of 26 Western Hemisphere members (including the United States and Canada), 3 nonregional members (France, Netherlands, and United Kingdom), and 2 associate members (West Indies Associated States and Belize). In addition to its headquarters in Santiago, ECLA maintains small branch offices in six Latin American cities and in Washington.

There was no plenary session of ECLA in 1974; such meetings take place only every 2 years. However, ECLA convened two extraordinary-sessions of the Committee of the Whole. At the session in January 1974 the Committee approved by consensus the proposal advanced the previous year to bring the Latin American Institute for Economic and Social Planning (ILPES) into the ECLA secretariat as a permanent institution that would retain its own identity, but be responsible directly to the ECLA Executive Secretary who will represent it before member governments and may negotiate contracts or arrangements for the provision of ILPES's services. The Committee also approved holding a meeting in the fall of 1974 to prepare for the Second General Conference of UNIDO (see p. 177) and supported action taken by the Executive Secretary to strengthen ECLA's regional and national offices.

In the spring ECLA convened a regional consultative group to prepare for the World Population Conference (see p. 199). The consultative group, including the United States, met in San José, Costa Rica, in April 1974. Three-fourths of the ECLA members were present, evidence of Latin American concern and interest in the matter of population.

In October another extraordinary session of the Committee of the Whole convened in New York to consider the Honduran disaster following the September hurricane. An all-inclusive resolution was unanimously adopted asking members and international organizations to give special consideration to Honduran rehabilitation and reconstruction needs. This resolution was

subsequently endorsed by the General Assembly, without a vote, on November 29. A second resolution was unanimously adopted requesting the ECLA secretariat and the UN Disaster Relief Office (see p. 209) to develop for the rest of Latin America plans for disaster prevention and assistance similar to that worked out for the Andean subregion. A third resolution, also adopted unanimously, asked the Executive Secretary, in cooperation with the Disaster Relief Office and the UNDP, to send a mission to evaluate the damage done in the West Indies Associated State of Antigua by the earthquake that had occurred on October 8 and to submit proposals for assistance.

In November and December, two ECLA meetings were held in Mexico City, the first to prepare for the UNIDO General Conference and the second to consider problems of the transfer of technology to the developing countries. The UNIDO preparatory meeting adopted, with some reservations by the United States and other delegations, a Declaration on Industrialization in Latin America. The Regional Meeting on Science and Technology adopted four resolutions on transfer of technology and on the exodus of qualified persons from Latin America and the least developed countries. The United States expressed reservations on two of these resolutions--one in each field.

#### ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR AFRICA

ECA was established by ECOSOC in 1958. Full membership is limited to independent African countries, but the United Kingdom, France, and Spain are associate members. The United States, while not a member, supports the Commission's activities by maintaining liaison with ECA headquarters in Addis Ababa, attending a number of its meetings as an observer, and providing technical and economic assistance.

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 of economic development; (4) collecting, evaluating, and disseminating economic and technical information; and (5) helping

formulate policies to promote economic development. The Commission also provides advisory services to its members in various economic and social fields.

The United States sent observer delegations to a number of ECA conferences and meetings during 1974. The following partial list is indicative of the specialized range of U.S. interests in the ECA: Meeting on Training in Demography and Population Programs; Regional Conference on the Petroleum Industry and Manpower Requirements in the Field of Hydrocarbons; Second Session of the Conference of African Demographers; Meeting of Donor Agencies Interested in the African Regional Plan; Working Group on Methodology, Organization, and Content of Household Surveys; Fourth Meeting of the Consultative Group on the African Census Program; Third Meeting between Industrialized Countries and the Trans-Africa Highway Bureau.

The United States continued to provide bilateral assistance to ECA in 1974 by financing (1) U.S. experts to assist ECA in trade promotion, livestock development, and agricultural economics programs; (2) training for African officials in the United States; and (3) ECA meetings of voluntary agencies working in Africa. In addition, the United States provided financing for ECA activities promoting the creation of women's bureaus in African countries, publication of an ECA newsletter on women's activities, and the launching of a Pan-African Women's Center. During the year the United States also continued to provide census specialists to the ECA-administered African Census Program, which assists individual African countries with their census operations.

In addition to this continuing assistance, the United States is financing special multi-disciplinary development advisory teams, initially for 2 years, which will service planning needs primarily of the relatively least developed of the developing countries of Africa. Under this program, the United States is paying for the services of up to 12 senior-level experts in agriculture, finance, and industrial development to work with ministries of ECA member governments.

ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR WESTERN ASIA

ECWA came into existence on January 1, 1974. The August 1973 ECOSOC resolution that approved its establishment provided that "the Commission shall consist of the states members of the United Nations situated in Western Asia which at present call on the services of the United Nations Economic and Social Office in Beirut." That wording limited the membership to 12 Arab states<sup>9/</sup> and effectively excluded Israel, even though it is a UN member of the region involved, because it had not used the UN office in Beirut. The United States considered that this was contrary to the terms of and practice under the UN Charter, but its motion to refer the issue to the International Court of Justice for an advisory opinion was defeated.

ECWA held its first plenary session in Beirut, the site of the previous UN office, June 3-8, 1974. The United States was invited to send an observer and did so. The discussions concentrated on organizational matters such as adoption of a work program, preparation of a budget, adoption of rules of procedure, and selection of a permanent location for the Commission's headquarters. The latter proved to be the major issue, and the question was ultimately postponed for consideration at a special session, held September 9-10. At the special session a resolution was unanimously adopted designating Beirut as the provisional headquarters of ECWA for 5 years, during which time a permanent site would be selected and premises constructed. Member states willing to act as host were urged to submit their proposals as early as possible.

ECWA's work program, adopted in June and endorsed by ECOSOC on August 1, called for the initiation of activities similar to those of the other regional economic commissions in the fields of agriculture, environment, human settlements, industrial development, population, public administration and finance, science and technology, social development, trade, and transport.

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<sup>9/</sup> Bahrain, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Syria, United Arab Emirates, Yemen (Aden), and Yemen (San'a).



## UNITED NATIONS DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM

The UNDP is the world's largest program of grant technical assistance. Established in 1966 through the merger of two earlier programs, the UN Special Fund and the Expanded Program of Technical Assistance, it is the hub for all technical assistance activities in the UN system and disburses over two-thirds of the technical assistance funds expended by the various international organizations involved in such activities. The UNDP responds to requests from developing countries for technical assistance and preinvestment studies designed to provide public infrastructure for modernization and the necessary basis for the development of sound capital projects which can then be financed by either public or private investment capital. All states that are members of the United Nations, the specialized agencies, or the IAEA are, in principle, eligible for assistance, and UNDP projects are underway in some 117 countries and 27 territories.

Projects of from 2- to 5-year duration in such fields as agriculture, industry, education, health, economic policy and planning, transportation, and natural resource exploration comprise the major part of the UNDP program. In addition, the UNDP undertakes smaller projects designed either to train nationals by means of fellowships or to provide countries with required expertise through the use of advisers. Both types of projects are ordinarily executed for the UNDP by one of the organizations of the UN system. The UNDP also undertakes a limited number of regional, interregional, and global projects.

The UNDP has its headquarters in New York. Rudolph A. Peterson, former President of the Bank of America and Chairman of the President's Task Force on International Development in 1969-70, is Administrator of the Program.

### Policy and Advisory Bodies

The UNDP's policies are established and its programs and budget approved by a Governing Council that meets twice a year, ordinarily at New York in January and at Geneva in June. As provided in various decisions of the UN General Assembly, the Council also has become the governing body for the UN Fund for



Population Activities, the UN Capital Development Fund, and the recently established UN Revolving Fund for Natural Resources Exploration, as well as for the small program of technical assistance financed from the regular UN budget. The Governing Council is composed of representatives from 48 states--21 developed and 27 developing. The United States has been a member of the Governing Council since the UNDP's establishment.

In addition, the UNDP receives advice from an Inter-Agency Consultative Board (IACB). The IACB, which provides other organizations of the UN system with consultative participation in the UNDP's decision-making and policy-making process, is composed of the UN Secretary General and the executive heads of the specialized agencies, IAEA, UNCTAD, and UNIDO. The IACB ordinarily meets twice each year to advise the Administrator on major issues pertaining to UNDP policy formulation and program direction and to assist in bringing about maximum coordination and integration of all UNDP-related activities of the UN system.

### Field Organization

At over 100 field offices in developing countries, UNDP resident representatives advise their host governments on development planning and UN assistance and coordinate the operation of programs within their countries of assignment financed by the UNDP and the Fund for Population Activities. Designated by the General Assembly in 1970 as overall leaders of the UN technical assistance teams in their respective countries, many of the resident representatives have on their staffs representatives of the FAO and UNIDO in the roles of senior agricultural and industrial advisers. During 1974, 13 U.S. citizens served as resident representatives.

### Financing

The financial resources of the UNDP come principally from voluntary contributions pledged by governments. For 1974, 135 governments pledged \$357 million and the assisted governments were assessed an additional

\$14.5 million for local costs over and above their counterpart contributions to each project, which, on average, total more than one-half of total project costs. Since 1970, when the U.S. contribution of \$86.3 million represented 38% of total voluntary contributions to the UNDP, other donors had increased their pledges by 91% to a total of \$267 million. The United States, which has always been the highest contributor, pledged \$90 million in 1974 (the same level as in 1973) subject to the availability of funds. However, only \$70.8 million was made available by the Congress. This represented 21% of total voluntary contributions and a decrease of 18% from the 1970 level. At the pledging conference for 1975, held on November 5, 1974, pledges and indicated pledges totalled \$401 million. This included an assumed U.S. contribution of at least \$90 million--the amount pledged for 1974.

#### Development Assistance

During 1974, the UNDP had underway approximately 7,600 projects, of which some 1,000 were large-scale projects costing an average of more than \$2 million each. Cost of these projects to completion was estimated at over \$4 billion, with recipient governments providing more than half in counterpart contributions. Actual program costs during 1974 totalled about \$316.8 million, while administrative and overhead costs totalled an additional \$83.3 million.

While the majority of UNDP projects relate to a single country, of the 6,573 projects approved (and not yet completed) as of June 30, 1974, 525 were regional, 109 were interregional, and 11 were large research projects with global implications. Of the country and regional projects, 1,808 were in Africa; 1,646 in Asia and the Far East; 1,628 in Europe, the Mediterranean area, and the Middle East; and 1,371 in Latin America. Major sectors of concentration were agriculture, forestry, and fisheries (1,384 projects); industry (1,386); central economic and social policy and planning (788); transport and communications (636); education (508); science and technology (471); health (438); labor, management, and employment (254); social services (251); and natural resources (191).

## New Program Directions

During 1974, the UNDP continued implementing reforms begun in 1971 as a result of a consensus decision taken by the Governing Council based on the comprehensive study of the UN development system undertaken by Sir Robert Jackson of Australia. The Governing Council approved 27 more country programs during 1974 (including two for the second cycle), bringing to 107 the number of countries where this completed exercise has provided a framework for the establishment or reordering of priorities, elimination of marginal projects, and greater coordination of the efforts of the 14 UN agencies executing technical assistance projects funded by the UNDP.

In preparation for the second programming cycle (1977-81), the Governing Council approved new guidelines for the allocation of the expanded UNDP resources projected for the second cycle. These guidelines provide a significant monetary and percentage increase in resources for the lower income countries, particularly the least developed countries.<sup>10/</sup> The relatively wealthy recipient countries, on the other hand, will receive no monetary increase in the level of UNDP assistance and a substantially lesser amount of real aid due to the effects of inflation. Their share of country program resources is projected to drop from 18% to 9% and they will all be expected to become net contributors to the Program as soon as possible by pledging more money to the UNDP than they receive from it.

Paralleling increased UNDP assistance to the poorest countries is increased emphasis on the social content of the program. Country programs recently

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<sup>10/</sup> The 25 least developed countries, as designated by the Committee for Development Planning--24 experts appointed by ECOSOC for 3-year terms--and approved by the General Assembly in 1971, are Afghanistan, Bhutan, Botswana, Burundi, Chad, Dahomey, Ethiopia, Guinea, Haiti, Laos, Lesotho, Malawi, Maldives, Mali, Nepal, Niger, Rwanda, Sikkim, Somalia, Sudan, Tanzania, Uganda, Upper Volta, Western Samoa, and Yemen (San'a).

approved by the UNDP Governing Council have placed greater stress on such fields as rural education, health care and nutrition, provision of government services for rural credit and land reform, and other programs designed to help the poorest segments of the population.

During 1974 the UNDP also gave considerable attention to the question of technical cooperation among developing countries. The Governing Council received a report from a working group established in 1973 to consider the matter and, on the basis of that report, requested the Administrator to set up a special unit within UNDP to promote such cooperation. The special unit became operational in late 1974.

#### UN Regular Program

Provision is made annually in the UN regular (or assessed) budget for a small program of technical assistance. Known as the "Regular Program of Technical Assistance," its funding in 1974 amounted to \$8.7 million of which \$1.8 million was designated for a unified system of regional and subregional advisory services; \$1.5 million was designated for industrial development projects which were reviewed and approved by the Industrial Development Board of UNIDO (see p. 177); and the remaining \$5.4 million was for a variety of projects in human rights, social development, public administration, development planning, public finance, natural resources, transportation, housing, statistics, and other fields.

The UNDP Governing Council provides general policy guidance for the UN Regular Program. As a result of the Council's recommendations, the Regular Program has been concentrating those of its resources not specifically designated by the General Assembly on such areas as human rights and public administration, where its distinct contribution could be more readily seen, and restricting its aid largely to a limited number of least developed countries.

Although sympathetic with the effort to use the Regular Program to provide additional assistance to the least developed countries, the United States has



continued to advocate that all technical assistance for development be eliminated from the UN assessed budget and be funded through the UNDP. This would restrict the Regular Program to those few programs, such as human rights, for which there are no other sources of funds.

### UN Volunteers

The 25th General Assembly in 1970 established, as of January 1, 1971, a corps of UN Volunteers (UNV). The UNDP Administrator is also the Administrator of the UNV, and John Gordon, former head of the Canadian University Service Overseas, is Coordinator of the UNV. The UNV has its headquarters in Geneva.

UN Volunteers work on projects funded by the UNDP. These projects include most development activities, although they are primarily in the rural sector. At the end of 1974, 179 UN Volunteers were stationed in the developing countries of Africa, the Middle East, the Caribbean, Latin America, and Asia. Sixty-eight of the Volunteers were from developing countries while 111 Volunteers came from developed countries, 19 from the United States.

At the 18th session of the UNDP Governing Council in June 1974, UNV Coordinator Gordon presented a program designed to (1) increase the number of UN Volunteers in the field to 300 by mid-1975 and 500 by mid-1976; (2) field teams of Volunteers in selected countries; (3) concentrate activities in the least developed countries; (4) increase recruitment of Volunteers from developing countries; (5) increase the capacity of the offices of the UNDP resident representatives to deal with the UNV Program; and (6) increase work with local youth and voluntary programs in cooperation with other organizations having an interest in this field.

The Coordinator also announced the intention of the UNV to rely principally on its own resources for recruiting efforts after the contract with the International Secretariat for Volunteer Services for recruitment, selection, and training of volunteers



expired on June 30. To implement this expanded program, the UNV Coordinator proposed additional staff which included two field representatives stationed in Africa. During the Governing Council's discussion of the UNV the United States supported the proposed program and offered assistance in training, project development, and recruitment.

While the living expenses of UN Volunteers in their country of assignment are ordinarily borne by the host government, external costs are, as a general rule, borne by the sponsoring organization or agency in their home country. To provide for Volunteers for whom no such sponsor funding is available, the 25th General Assembly invited governments, nongovernmental organizations, and private individuals to contribute to a special voluntary fund. In 1974 pledges to this fund were \$263,017. Although the United States did not make a pledge in 1974, total prior year U.S. pledges to the fund amount to \$400,000.

#### Capital Development Fund

The General Assembly established the UN Capital Development Fund in 1966 over the opposition of the United States and most other developed countries. The United States considered that what was required was not another institution to provide capital development financing at less than the market rates but greater use of existing institutions such as IDA and the regional development banks. The United States and some other developed countries also objected to the fact that the administrative expenses of the Fund were to be covered in the UN assessed budget.

In 1967 the General Assembly placed the Fund under the management of the Administrator and the Governing Council of the UNDP, because pledges to the Fund were not sufficient to make a separate administration economical.

In 1973 the General Assembly reaffirmed the views of the Governing Council, expressed in 1972 and 1973 at its 14th and 15th sessions, that the resources of the Fund should be concentrated on projects designed

to benefit first and foremost the least developed countries. Under this new orientation, emphasis is placed on assistance in the fields of small-scale industry and integrated rural development. Funds are utilized largely for refinancing local credit institutions serving low income groups for a variety of purposes such as crop financing, cooperatives, capital investment in farms, crop and livestock insurance plans, and financing of artisans and small businessmen. The Fund finances projects that involve relatively greater risks than other agencies might be willing to assume. Most assistance is on a grant basis. In a resolution adopted on December 4, 1974, by a vote of 113 to 0, with 19 abstentions (U.S.), the General Assembly again supported this approach. It also called upon the Administrator of the UNDP to continue, as an interim measure, to bear the administrative costs of the Fund and invited all countries, especially the developed countries which have not so far done so, to contribute to the Fund.

In 1974 the Fund's commitments were entirely in the least developed countries with approximately two-thirds of this assistance going to Chad, Ethiopia, Mali, Niger, and Upper Volta in the Sudano-Sahelian zone of Africa. Some 80% of the Fund's commitments were channeled to the agricultural sector in an effort to benefit low income groups. Twenty-four projects totaling \$16.9 million have been approved. These commitments stress drought relief, small scale agricultural and industrial production, and social services.

By the end of 1974, 57 countries had pledged or contributed to the Fund a total of \$15.3 million which was increased shortly after the end of the year by a \$2.4 million contribution from Sweden for total resources of \$17.7 million. Other major donors have been Denmark, Netherlands, and Norway from the industrialized countries and Egypt, India, Pakistan, and Yugoslavia.

UN INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT ORGANIZATION

UNIDO was established by the General Assembly in 1966 as an autonomous organization within the United Nations to promote and accelerate the industrialization of the developing countries. Membership in UNIDO is open to all members of the United Nations, the specialized agencies, and the IAEA. The United States has been a member since the beginning.

UNIDO helps to promote industrial development chiefly by providing technical assistance, preinvestment studies, research, and publications; it does not provide capital assistance. A headquarters staff in Vienna collects and disseminates information on industry, organizes conferences and in-plant training, and stimulates contacts between businessmen and government officials in both developed and developing countries.

Program Activities

UNIDO carries out its program activities primarily as an implementing agency for industrial development projects funded by the UNDP, but it also receives operational funds from the UN Regular Program of Technical Assistance. Its Special Industrial Services program is financed by the program reserve fund of the UNDP. In addition, a number of countries make direct voluntary contributions to the UNIDO General Trust Fund or pay for specific projects that they sponsor jointly with UNIDO. In his annual report for 1974, UNIDO's Executive Director reported that as of October 31, 1974, there were 1,957 projects approved and underway at an estimated total value of \$95.8 million, of which the UNDP was providing over 80%. These projects included providing advice, equipment, and training facilities in addition to scores of experts to advise in factories, training centers, research and development institutes, and government agencies concerned with industrialization.

UNIDO's administrative and research activities are funded out of the UN regular budget. In 1974

these cost \$16.76 million, with \$36,198,000 currently budgeted for the 1974-75 biennium.

The United States supported UNIDO financially in 1974 through its annual voluntary contribution to the UNDP and through its assessed contribution to the UN regular budget. It did not make a direct voluntary contribution to the UNIDO General Trust Fund or have any funds-in-trust projects. However, AID, in collaboration with the University of North Carolina, continued to plan with the UNIDO Secretariat a jointly sponsored special training course on industrial environmental issues scheduled for early 1975. The course was first offered in 1973.

#### Industrial Development Board

UNIDO's Industrial Development Board (IDB), the 45-state policy-formulating body which meets annually to review past activities and approve future programs and budgets, held its eighth session in Vienna May 2-14, 1974. The subsidiary organ of the IDB, the Permanent Committee, held its fourth session immediately preceding the IDB (April 17-26) and the first part of its fifth session December 2-13. All these sessions focused primarily on preparations for UNIDO's Second General Conference (UNIDO II), scheduled for Lima, Peru in 1975 (see below). The IDB, however, adopted five resolutions on various aspects of the UNIDO program.

The first resolution requested the UNIDO Executive Director to explore the possibility of obtaining additional industrial development field advisers, to be financed from sources other than the UNDP, and to report to the next session of the IDB. This resolution was adopted unanimously after the United States, in an early intervention, had made clear its view that any increases in the number of field advisers should be on the basis of need as reflected in the program budget.

The second resolution, on the Special Industrial Services program, inter alia invited the UNDP Administrator and the UNIDO Executive Director to examine



the establishment of a separate account for this program. This resolution was adopted without vote after the United States and other industrialized countries had stated their view that creation of such separate accounts limits flexibility in the use of UN development assistance resources and had entered a reservation that acceptance of the resolution would not prejudice the question of whether the proposed action was feasible, desirable, or legal. The UNDP Representative at the IDB session had earlier announced that the UNDP agreed to changes in the program guidelines designed to insure full utilization of \$3.5 million made available annually and permit the carryover of unspent balances.

The remaining resolutions were all adopted unanimously. The third resolution requested the Executive Director to draw up a detailed program of action for the benefit of the least developed of the developing countries. The fourth endorsed the report of the Ad Hoc Committee on a Long-Range Strategy and requested The Executive Director of UNIDO to submit it, as well as the earlier report of the Group of High-Level Experts, to UNIDO II. In explaining its vote on this resolution, the United States stated its view that the adoption of the report of the Ad Hoc Committee should be linked to the task of bringing up to date the program budget for 1974-75 and elaborating the program budget for 1976-77 and the medium-term plan for 1976-79.

The last resolution, concerning implementation of the decisions of the sixth special session of the General Assembly, called on the Executive Director to submit a report to the fifth session of the Permanent Committee on the possible role, activities, and programs of UNIDO in fulfilling the objectives set out by the Declaration and Program of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order.

During the Board session the United States pushed hard for a full airing of UNIDO's evaluation activities, but was unsuccessful in getting widespread support. The issue was left open for consideration by the Permanent Committee. In November 1974 the United States assigned an AID expert in evaluation to the U.S. mission to UNIDO so that a month-long, comprehensive study of



UNIDO evaluation activities might be made; the UNIDO secretariat lent its cooperation to the study. The Permanent Committee, however, did not consider the question during its subsequent meetings in 1974.

#### Administrative Autonomy and Creation of an Industrial Development Fund

Pursuant to a decision of the 28th General Assembly, the UN Secretary General submitted to the 29th Assembly reports on the "question of the separate preparation and submission of the program and budget of UNIDO and of administrative autonomy for UNIDO" and on the "establishment of a UN industrial development fund." On the recommendation of its Second Committee, the 29th Assembly on December 14 adopted without a vote a resolution taking note of the Secretary General's report and requesting UNIDO II "to consider the establishment of an industrial development fund to be financed on the basis of voluntary contributions, including the basic guidelines for its functioning." The United States, although not calling for a vote, explained that it generally opposed the proliferation of funds in the United Nations and was extremely skeptical about the need for a fund for UNIDO.

The Secretary General's report on administrative autonomy for UNIDO was considered by both the Second Committee and the Fifth (Administrative and Budgetary) Committee. The Second Committee recommended transmitting both of the Secretary General's reports to UNIDO II for its consideration. In light of this recommendation the Fifth Committee recommended without objection postponing consideration of the question until the 30th Assembly. The General Assembly approved this decision on December 18 without a vote.

#### Preparations for UNIDO II

In preparatory meetings for UNIDO II, the United States stressed the need for providing the UNIDO secretariat with guidelines for the preparation of

documentation for the conference and called for adequate consultations between the developed and developing countries prior to Lima in order to enhance the possibility of arriving at a consensus on a Declaration and Plan of Action for Industrial Development and Cooperation as called for by the 28th General Assembly.

In addition to the meetings of the IDB and the Permanent Committee, other preparatory work was carried out by groups of states. The regional economic commissions sponsored a series of regional meetings in Cairo, Bangkok, and Mexico City between December 1973 and November 1974 with a view to elaborating a Declaration and Plan of Action for Industrial Development and Cooperation. The industrialized countries met within the OECD framework in November for the same purpose.

UNIDO's Permanent Committee spent most of its fifth session in recess (from December 5 to 11) so that the regional groups might draft declarations of principles and plans of action. For the developing countries this meant an amalgamation of the three regional drafts. The industrialized countries submitted to the Committee, as a working document, a draft "Preliminary Notes for a Declaration of Principles on Industrial Development and a Plan of Action" and emphasized the importance of narrowing differences prior to Lima if UNIDO II were to be a success. The Group of 77 was not willing to make a formal submission of its paper, however, and explicitly ruled out any discussion of it, although it held out the possibility of "informal and unofficial" talks during a resumed session in January 1975. The Group of 77 further decided to meet in Algiers in February 1975 to approve a final version of its draft document which it would then submit directly to Lima.

On December 14, by a vote of 119 to 0, with 3 abstentions (U.S.), the 29th General Assembly adopted a resolution on UNIDO II that had been sponsored in the Second Committee by 58 developing countries. Inter alia the resolution (1) urged implementation of the Program of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order, in respect of international

cooperation for the industrial development of the developing countries, (2) agreed that the right of the developing countries to take full advantage of and to use freely their natural resources should be respected, and (3) further agreed that UNIDO II should define quantitative targets to achieve substantially higher participation of developing countries in world industrial production. The United States abstained because of references to portions of the Declaration and Program of Action adopted at the sixth special Assembly session on which it had reservations.

#### New Executive Director

Dr. Abderrahmane Khene (Algeria) was appointed Executive Director of UNIDO by the UN Secretary General for a term of 4 years to begin January 1, 1975. The appointment was confirmed by the 29th General Assembly on December 18. Dr. Khene replaced Ibrahim Helmi Abdel-Rahman (Egypt), who had held the office since December 1966.

#### UN CONFERENCE ON TRADE AND DEVELOPMENT

UNCTAD is an organ of the General Assembly concerned with the trade and related economic problems of the developing countries. Established in 1964, conference sessions convene every 4 years. The most recent, UNCTAD III, met in Santiago, Chile, in 1972. UNCTAD IV will be held in Nairobi, Kenya, in May 1976. Membership is open to any country that is a member of the United Nations, the specialized agencies, or the IAEA. At the end of 1974 UNCTAD had 146 members--the 138 members of the United Nations plus 8 other states that were members of specialized agencies.

UNCTAD has permanent machinery that functions between conference sessions. The senior body is the 68-member Trade and Development Board (TDB) which held its 14th session in Geneva, August 20-September 14, 1974. The TDB has six main committees--Commodities, Manufactures, Invisibles and Financing Related

to Trade, Shipping, Preferences, and Transfer of Technology--and a number of other subsidiary bodies. TDB members are elected on the basis of a specified number of seats for each of four groups, defined along generally geographic lines. Membership on the main committees is open to all UNCTAD members. The United States is a member of the TDB, of the six main committees, and, with a few exceptions, of the other subsidiary bodies.

(For the outcome of UNCTAD's work on a Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States, see p. 156).

### Commodities

Commodity trade issues, specifically indexation and a proposal for an integrated program for commodities, were the principal substantive issues discussed at the 14th session of the TDB.

The 28th General Assembly in 1973 had requested the UNCTAD Secretary General "to prepare, after consultation with the President of the IBRD, a comprehensive study on the indexation of prices of commodities produced in, and exported by, developing countries and to examine ways and means whereby unit prices of manufactured imports from developed countries and unit prices of exports from developing countries could be automatically linked"--a concept generally referred to as "indexation"--and to submit a report on the findings of the study through the TDB to the 29th Assembly.

The attitudes of many developed countries, including the United States, were critical toward the concept of indexation, particularly with regard to its feasibility and financial and economic implications. Due to its late distribution and its complex and technical nature, the UNCTAD study was discussed only briefly and the TDB adopted a resolution in which it requested the UNCTAD Secretary General to submit further studies on indexation to the February 1975 meeting of the Committee on Commodities in order to permit fuller assessment of the subject, including its feasibility, practicability, and effects.



Although the program for subsequent study and consideration of indexation appeared to be settled by this resolution, which was negotiated with difficulty, the issue was reopened at the 29th General Assembly. Sudan, on behalf of 33 developing countries, introduced in the Second Committee a draft resolution that requested the UNCTAD Secretary General, in pursuance of the TDB resolution, "to convene a group of experts to examine the issue of indexation in all its aspects, with a view to identifying practical and feasible schemes for implementation," taking into account the discussion of the subject by the Committee on Commodities and the Assembly's Second Committee, and to report to the TDB at its 15th session "for such action as the Board may deem necessary." The resolution was approved by the Second Committee on November 21 by a vote of 116 to 1 (U.S.), with 8 abstentions, and adopted by the Assembly on December 14 by a vote of 122 to 1 (U.S.), with 4 abstentions. The United States opposed the resolution principally because it believed that the mandate given the expert group was ambiguous and subject to conflicting interpretations, such as possibly authorizing the group of experts to formulate indexation schemes for implementation. The United States considered that it would be premature to judge indexation desirable, feasible, or practical until governments have thoroughly considered the UNCTAD indexation studies. It also believed that the implementation of any indexation scheme would have to involve negotiations among governments and could not be merely the result of a resolution or the report of an expert group.

The "Program of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order," adopted by the General Assembly at its 6th special session in the spring of 1974, called inter alia for "preparation of an overall integrated program, setting out guidelines and taking into account the current work in this field, for a comprehensive range of commodities of export interest to developing countries." In response to this, the UNCTAD Secretary General presented to the TDB a brief proposal for a multicommodity, multi-technique integrated program for commodities.

After considering this proposal, the TDB adopted a resolution in which it requested the Secretary General to develop the program further including, inter alia, more detailed elaboration of techniques that might be applicable to specific commodities or groups of commodities; their feasibility, practicality, and economic effects; and suggestions regarding the applications of the techniques. The follow-up work was to be presented to UNCTAD's Committee on Commodities for priority consideration at its session scheduled for February 1975.

Code of Conduct for Liner Conferences<sup>11/</sup>

The second session of the UN Conference of Plenipotentiaries on a Code of Conduct for Liner Conferences was held in Geneva, March 11 - April 6, 1974, under the auspices of UNCTAD. The first session of the conference had been held in November - December 1973. On April 6 the conference adopted, by a rollcall vote of 72 to 7 (U.S.), with 5 abstentions, a convention setting forth international rules to govern maritime shipping conference practices. All developing countries and Communist countries, as well as a handful of Western European and other developed countries, voted in favor.

The rules of the code cover four principal subjects: relations among conference members; relations between conferences and shippers; general freight rate increases and other rate matters; and a mandatory conciliation procedure applicable to certain types of disputes arising out of the code.

Of particular significance are the rules which (1) permit conferences to restrict membership, especially of third-country shipping lines; (2) establish a fairly rigid mathematical formula for cargo

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<sup>11/</sup> Liner conferences are two or more shipping lines grouped together to fix uniform freight rates and sometimes to concert their business activities in other ways. Most U.S. shipping lines are conference members.

sharing in conference pools (generally 40% of the cargo for each of the national shipping lines at either end of the trade and 20% for third-country shipping lines); (3) permit a government role in the consultation and conciliation procedures; and (4) require a 15-month interval between general freight rate increases.

The United States participated in all preparatory work on the convention and in most of the negotiating groups at the conference in the expectation of reaching agreement on a convention that would have permitted the United States to vote for the code. However, despite substantial efforts and various U.S. compromise offers toward achieving this objective, the final version of the code was unacceptable.

Certain major provisions, particularly those on closed conferences, mandatory cargo sharing, conference responsibilities, and undue restrictions on freight rate increases, remained objectionable to the United States on substantive and philosophical grounds. They reflect an approach based on central planning, economic control, and allocation of markets which is not only markedly different from, but inimical to, U.S. economic policy, which emphasizes the role of competition and the value of commercial judgment.

The convention was opened for signature in New York from July 1, 1974, to June 30, 1975. It will enter into force when it has been ratified or adhered to by at least 24 countries with at least 25% of the world's liner tonnage. By the end of 1974 only six states had signed the convention, and none had ratified it. Ratification by signatories or adherence by other states can continue after the closing date for signature of the convention.

### Containerization

The intergovernmental preparatory group on a convention on international intermodal transport, established by UNCTAD in 1973 at the request of ECOSOC, held its second session in Geneva, November 11-29, 1974. However, there was only a very limited

discussion of the issues raised by the UNCTAD secretariat's studies on various problems relating to intermodal transport, including those of documentation and liability. No progress was made toward defining the scope of a possible convention or preparing draft articles thereon. A third session of the preparatory group was scheduled for early 1976. Failure to achieve substantial progress at that session could doom this latest multilateral effort to formulate international guidelines to govern intermodal transport movements.

On May 14, 1974, the 56th ECOSOC without a vote adopted terms of reference for, and requested the UNCTAD Trade and Development Board to convene, a 48-member ad hoc intergovernmental group to review the work of the nongovernmental International Organization for Standardization with respect to the establishment of international standards for freight containers. The ad hoc group is expected to be convened the latter half of 1976, following completion of preparatory work by the UNCTAD secretariat and will consider, inter alia, whether there is a need for an international agreement on container standards.

### Multilateral Trade Negotiations

The benefits to be derived by the developing countries from the multilateral trade negotiations (MTN) and the role of the UNCTAD secretariat in this regard continued to be a major issue at UNCTAD meetings during the year.

At the TDB's 14th session, the developing countries proposed a draft resolution on this subject which had been earlier considered by the Committee on Manufactures but not adopted. It reiterated the request of UNCTAD III that the UNCTAD Secretary General and the GATT Director General coordinate their activities to assist the developing countries to participate fully in the MTN, and asked that the necessary action be taken without further delay to enable the UNCTAD Secretary General (1) to attend the meetings of the Trade Negotiations Committee (TNC) and its subsidiary bodies, and (2) to receive all documentation from the GATT secretariat concerning the MTN.



The United States and other developed countries opposed blanket approval for UNCTAD attendance at all meetings and receipt of all documents because the nature of the MTN as a negotiating forum requires confidentiality of some meetings and documentation. They also opposed the implication in the draft resolution that the TDB could instruct the MTN participants on these issues. Extensive discussion resulted in the adoption by consensus of a resolution requesting the TNC "to find solutions enabling the Secretary General of UNCTAD: (a) to attend, as appropriate, meetings of the TNC and its subsidiary bodies; [and] (b) to receive relevant documentation from the GATT secretariat concerning the negotiations."

The demand for full UNCTAD participation in the MTN was raised again at the 29th General Assembly when it was included in a draft resolution circulated in the Second Committee in October by 22 developing countries. After negotiations a compromise resolution was agreed to that called upon all members of the TNC to take the necessary measures to ensure that the schedule laid down in the Tokyo Declaration was adhered to and reiterated portions of the Tokyo Declaration relating to the benefits for the developing countries, but omitted reference to the question of UNCTAD participation. Without a vote this compromise was approved in the Second Committee on November 21 and adopted by the plenary Assembly on December 14.

However, on November 21 Yugoslavia introduced another draft resolution, sponsored by 28 developing countries and circulated only the day before, based on the paragraph that had been dropped from the compromise. The new draft called for the full participation of the UNCTAD Secretary General along the lines set out in the original proposals made in earlier UNCTAD meetings. The new draft was approved on November 21 by a vote of 104 to 12 (U.S.), with 7 abstentions, and adopted by the Assembly on December 14 by a vote of 106 to 13 (U.S.), with 7 abstentions.

Canada, Japan, New Zealand, and the members of the EC joined the United States in voting against the resolution.<sup>12/</sup>

### Transfer of Technology

UNCTAD's Intergovernmental Group on Transfer of Technology, established in 1970, held its third session in Geneva, July 15-26, 1974. It discussed, and adopted resolutions on, the feasibility of an international code of conduct and the role of the international patent system in the transfer of technology to developing countries. The first resolution, adopted by a vote of 31 to 4 (U.S.), with 4 abstentions, asked the UNCTAD Secretary General to convene a group of governmental experts to prepare a draft outline to serve as a basis for the preparation of "a universally applicable code of conduct corresponding to the needs and conditions prevalent in developing countries." The other resolution, adopted by a vote of 28 to 1, with 11 abstentions (U.S.), called for a group of governmental experts to study "all relevant aspects of the international patent system which have a bearing on the development process of developing countries with a view to providing a better understanding of the role of that system in the context of a possible future revision of the system aimed at reflecting the special needs of developing countries."

The United States and other developed countries, both at the Intergovernmental Group and subsequently at the 14th TDB, strongly affirmed their opposition to a legally binding code of conduct in this field. Since the transfer of technology is largely a matter of private commercial relationships, the United States believed that it was not amenable to regulation through international legislation.

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<sup>12/</sup> The TNC in Feb. 1975 decided to provide UNCTAD with MTN documentation which received general distribution to all participants, to invite the UNCTAD Secretary General as an observer to its meetings as appropriate, and to allow its subsidiary bodies similar discretion.

With regard to further work on patents, the United States and other developed countries believed the resolution adopted by the Group did not adequately recognize UNCTAD's limited role in this field, particularly in relation to the functions of the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO). The United States also believed that the reference in the resolution to "possible future revision of the system" prejudged the conclusion of international review of the terms of the Paris Convention for the Protection of Industrial Property, one of the principal treaties of WIPO.

On September 14 the TDB, acting on a recommendation of the Group, decided to terminate the Group and establish in its place a new main Committee on Transfer of Technology. This action, taken without objection, gave concrete expression to UNCTAD's important role in the consideration of transfer of technology issues within the UN system. The new committee is scheduled to hold its first meeting in late 1975, at which time it will consider the reports of the groups of governmental experts on the draft code of conduct and on patents.

#### GENERAL AGREEMENT ON TARIFFS AND TRADE

The membership of the GATT remained at 83 nations throughout 1974, while the Philippines and Tunisia still maintained their provisional accession. Seventeen other nations also adhere to the General Agreement on a de facto basis. Working groups were set up in 1974 to study the possible accession to the GATT of Paraguay and Colombia. As a provisional agreement designed to spur the economic growth of its contracting parties by reducing trade barriers and laying down agreed rules for international trade, the GATT continues to be the principal multilateral instrument involving U.S. economic interests in the field of international trade.

The GATT consists of (1) a framework of general rules to promote trade relations among the contracting parties on a fair and equitable basis, (2) procedures

for the application of these rules, and (3) concessions agreed upon in trade negotiations in the form of schedules of tariff rates extended by individual contracting parties to other contracting parties. The GATT contracting parties have established forums in which general and specific trade problems and disputes may be discussed.

While not formally a part of the UN system, the GATT Contracting Parties, functioning as an institutional entity, cooperate closely with UN organizations. For example, the GATT Contracting Parties and UNCTAD jointly direct an International Trade Center to assist developing countries in promoting their exports.

Since entering into force on January 1, 1948, the GATT has provided the framework for seven multilateral rounds of tariff negotiations. The seventh, most ambitious and far-reaching to date, was officially launched with the unanimous adoption of the Tokyo Declaration in September 1973. This round differs from previous negotiations in that a number of non-GATT countries are participating while a few GATT members are not.

The Tokyo Declaration is a broad statement of aims and principles which provides the essential basis for conducting the negotiations. It specifies, inter alia, that the negotiations are to cover tariffs and nontariff trade barriers as well as other measures that impede or distort international trade in both industrial and agricultural products, including tropical products and raw materials, whether in primary or processed form. The negotiations are to deal with trade barriers affecting all products, particularly those of export interest to developing countries, with a view to obtaining additional benefits for the trade of the developing countries to facilitate a substantial increase in their foreign exchange earnings and the diversification of their exports. In a more general sense, consideration is to be given to improving the international trading system.

The Declaration created a Trade Negotiations Committee which is responsible for planning and



directing the negotiations. The first two sessions of the Committee in October 1973 and in February 1974 were devoted to a discussion of procedural arrangements and technical work to be undertaken in the preparatory stages of the negotiations. Six working groups were established to undertake preparatory studies in the areas of tariffs, nontariff barriers, sectors, multilateral safeguards, agricultural products, and tropical products. The Committee met again in July to review the work of these groups. The Trade Act of 1974, which became law in January 1975, allows the United States to participate in the substantive stage of the negotiations which got underway in February 1975.

While the trade negotiations in the GATT have liberalized international trade over the last 25 years, equally important has been the role of GATT in the functioning of the international trading system. The regular sessions of the Contracting Parties are the highest forum of the GATT and, as such, decide upon the direction of future work conducted under GATT auspices. At the 30th session, held in Geneva, November 19-21, 1974, the U.S. delegation, led by Harald B. Malmgren of the Executive Office of the President, stressed that this session was taking place against the background of the most serious economic difficulties the world had faced since the establishment of the postwar economic structure. The structure had stood the test of time during periods of rapid economic change and should be preserved by all nations facing the present challenges in a spirit of international cooperation. The United States had taken a leading role in urging the world trading community to forego restrictive trade measures in the face of the present economic difficulties and continued to believe that cooperative international approaches were preferable to unilateral policies. However, the trading system had to be adapted to the changed circumstances. The United States concluded by stressing that the multilateral trade negotiations should be a forum and a vehicle for improving the trading system and for ensuring that the momentum and the benefits of the open trading system are maintained.

A major accomplishment of the GATT in 1974 was the formation of the Textile Surveillance Body,

implementing the Arrangement Regarding International Trade in Textiles which was concluded in December 1973. This new body, which has been meeting regularly since its formation in April, helps monitor world trade in cotton, wool, and manmade-fiber textiles to ensure the orderly growth of trade while averting disruption or the threat thereof to domestic markets. The Textile Surveillance Body is the first such body ever established to carry out an international textile trading arrangement. The United States has undertaken the renegotiation of bilateral textile agreements with its major textile trading partners to bring those agreements into conformity with the terms of the Arrangement.

In 1974 negotiations concerning the trade effects of the enlargement of the EC from six to nine (by the accession of Denmark, Ireland, and the United Kingdom) were substantially completed within the GATT framework. In the negotiations, provided for under Article XXIV:6 of the General Agreement, the United States and other contracting parties sought concessions in the form of reductions in the EC's Common External Tariff as compensation for the changes in tariff commitments of the United Kingdom, Denmark, and Ireland resulting from the realignment of their tariffs with that of the EC. In May 1974, the enlarged EC agreed as a result of such negotiations with the United States to reduce duties on a number of agricultural and industrial products, including 28 of special interest to the United States, in particular unmanufactured tobacco, fresh oranges and grapefruits, photographic film, kraft paper, nonagricultural tractors, excavating machinery, diesel and marine engines and outboard motors, measuring instruments, and pumps. It is intended that the benefits to U.S. trade from the new reduced tariff will offset the disadvantages caused by tariff increases on certain items resulting from the adoption of the Common External Tariff by the three new EC members. The United States reserved its rights to continue negotiations on cereals and if necessary to make compensatory withdrawals; this maintains the status quo in this area.

The GATT continued to review trading arrangements between the EC and other nations to determine their

compatibility with GATT rules and procedures governing international trade. In 1974, for example, GATT working parties examined EC agreements with Norway, Turkey, Lebanon, Cyprus, Egypt, and Finland. A separate group was set up to review the implications for international trade of the new Caribbean Common Market, and reviews were conducted of trade measures taken by Bangladesh, Chile, Ghana, Israel, Greece, Yugoslavia, Peru, and Tunisia for balance of payments reasons.

Both Italy and Iceland imposed import deposit schemes in 1974 in an attempt to alleviate their severe balance of payments problems. GATT working parties met to examine the impact these trade restrictions were likely to have on the other contracting parties.

#### COMMODITY TRADE

The United Nations has long occupied an important position in international commodity activities because of the substantive work of its subsidiary bodies and the FAO, and because of its servicing and coordinating functions. In this way it facilitates both the consideration of individual primary products and the evaluation of policy implications of general commodity trade problems.

FAO's Committee on Commodity Problems reviews developments in global agricultural production and trade and also focuses on particular commodities, primarily in its formally established intergovernmental study groups, but also in ad hoc meetings for those commodities that are not covered by study groups.

UNCTAD's Committee on Commodities has a similar review function with particular regard to the problems of commodity trade. It also receives for its consideration the reports of the UN Committee on Tungsten, FAO commodity activities, the autonomous commodity study groups (cotton, lead-zinc, rubber, and wool), and the independent commodity councils

(coffee, cocoa, olive oil, sugar, tin, and wheat). In addition, the UNCTAD Secretary General may also convene, upon request of the interested parties and by recommendation of the UNCTAD Trade and Development Board, negotiating conferences leading to formal international commodity agreements.

The United States participates in most of the intergovernmental commodity activities, particularly the commodity study groups, and is a member of the coffee and wheat agreements. Although not a member of the international agreements for cocoa, sugar, olive oil, and tin, the United States cooperates, as appropriate, with the administering councils of these agreements.

World commodity trade in the first half of 1974 continued the trend of the preceding year: the situation for most commodities was one of increasingly tight supply, and in some instances shortages. Upward pressure on prices for industrial raw materials and agricultural commodities resulted from record global demand and supply difficulties. In the last half of 1974, however, the prices of many commodities declined from the record levels set in the first half of the year due to the catching up of supplies for some commodities and the slowdown in world industrial production which reduced demand for other commodities.

The developments of the year focused international attention on problems of commodity trade. Industrialized countries were concerned about the continued availability of raw materials at reasonable prices. Developing countries, concerned about both the price declines of many commodities and the rising costs of their essential imports, demanded action to solve their problems.

Following are highlights of the year's activities on particular products important in the world commodity trade. (See also p. 183 for additional discussion of commodity trade issues.)



### Wheat

The International Wheat Agreement of 1971 consists of two instruments: the Wheat Trade Convention and the Food Aid Convention. The United States belongs to both. Early in 1974 the International Wheat Council, the Agreement's administering body, decided that both conventions of the Agreement, which was to expire June 30, 1974, should be extended for 1 year. Resolutions of the World Food Conference as well as other food policy proposals made subsequent to the extension are expected to have a major bearing on the substance of any future international agreement on wheat.

### Coffee

The International Coffee Agreement of 1968, which had expired in September 1973, was extended for 2 years, but without its operative economic provisions which had been designed at a time of over-production and accumulated surpluses. In September 1974 the International Coffee Council recommended to member governments a protocol to extend the Agreement in its current form for another year, until September 1976, to allow additional time for negotiating a new agreement in 1975. A meeting to prepare for the negotiation was convened in the last quarter of 1974 and additional preparatory meetings were scheduled for the first half of 1975.

In the absence of operative economic provisions in the extended agreement, and with a view to stemming the decline in coffee prices (resulting from a larger coffee crop in 1974/1975), a number of producing countries began to concert their efforts to limit coffee supplies through stock retention schemes. Efforts to maintain 1973's high price levels were not successful, however, and prices continued to move downward through the end of 1974.

### Cocoa

The International Cocoa Agreement, adopted by the UN Cocoa Conference on October 20, 1972, entered into force on June 30, 1973. Due to the high prices

prevailing on the world cocoa market, the buffer stock and export quota provisions of the Agreement have not been operative. However, exporters have been depositing one U.S. cent per pound on all cocoa exports into a fund to finance eventual market support purchases for the cocoa buffer stock when and if needed. In 1974 the Cocoa Council raised the price range for operation of the Agreement from 23-32 cents per pound to 29 1/2 - 38 1/2 cents per pound.

Although the United States participated actively in the conferences which led to the Agreement, it did not become a party. This decision was made after careful assessment of all the costs and benefits of participation indicated that the benefits of membership were outweighed by the economic deficiencies of the provisions on price, quotas, and buffer stocks and the absence of authority to deal with production problems. Although not a member, the United States supplied statistics to the International Cocoa Council on a reciprocal basis and participated as an observer at Statistical Committee meetings.

### Sugar

The operative provisions of the 1968 International Sugar Agreement, which expired in 1973, were designed primarily to cope with surpluses and low prices. The new Agreement adopted in 1973 did not contain any economic provisions, but kept intact the International Sugar Organization as a consultative forum. The United States participates as an observer only. With the record prices for sugar in 1974--over 400% higher in November than one year earlier--there was no incentive among producers for resuming negotiations for an agreement with economic provisions.

The movement of the United States onto the world market for sugar with the expiration on December 31, 1974, of the 40-year-old United States Sugar Program substantially increased the volume of trade falling within the purview of the now skeletal Sugar Agreement.

## Tin

Demand for tin continued strong in 1974, with tin prices reaching record highs by mid-year. Prices moderated somewhat during the second half of 1974, but at year's end remained substantially higher than at the beginning of the year. Efforts during early 1974 to restrain the rapid price rise through operations of the International Tin Agreement's buffer stock were minimal inasmuch as virtually all the buffer stock had been sold during the previous year; however, sales of excess tin from the U.S. stockpile bridged the gap between tin production and consumption, thereby helping to dampen prices. The United States is not a party to the International Tin Agreement, which will expire in 1976. However, it participates as an observer in the International Tin Council's Statistical Committee and provides information on U.S. consumption, production, and stocks.

## Other Commodities

A series of intensive ad hoc intergovernmental consultations were held on 14 commodities.<sup>13/</sup> The first, on tungsten, was held in October 1973; the others in 1974. These intensive consultations were organized by the UNCTAD Secretary General as instructed by UNCTAD III with the aim of reaching concrete and significant results on trade liberalization and pricing policy early in the 1970's. Consultations on agricultural commodities, except cotton and hides and skins, were undertaken by the FAO intergovernmental study groups concerned. The cotton consultation was held under the auspices of the autonomous Cotton Advisory Committee and that for hides and skins was convened jointly by UNCTAD and FAO. UNCTAD convened

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<sup>13/</sup> Tungsten; citrus fruit; rice; jute, kenaf, and allied fibers; hard fibers; tea; bananas; hides and skins; oilseeds, oils, and fats; tobacco; phosphates; manganese; grains (excluding wheat); cotton.

the consultations on the three mineral commodities. Reports on the results of the various consultations were forwarded to member governments of UNCTAD for their consideration. The consultations clarified the problems facing specific commodities and indicated a number of possible solutions for the consideration of governments. For several commodities, proposals were made for follow-up work, generally consisting of in-depth studies.

## POPULATION

### Final Preparations for Conference

The Population Commission, designated by ECOSOC as the intergovernmental preparatory body for the World Population Conference, held its third special session in New York, March 4-15, 1974. At that meeting the United States made a formal submission of its views that the style and substance of the World Population Plan of Action should be succinct and goal-oriented to demographic measurements and the development of programs needed to achieve these quantitative goals. These proposals had been approved by the U.S. Inter-Agency Committee for the World Population Conference and remained the basis of U.S. negotiations through the Conference, which was held August 19-30 in Bucharest, Romania. Although both the Commission and the UN Secretariat were responsive to many of the substantive suggestions made by the United States prior to and at the third special session, the Commission endorsed, instead, the more diffuse World Population Plan of Action that had been drafted by the UN Secretariat.

During April and May the United States took part in four of the final consultative meetings--those in Latin America, Asia, Africa, and Europe--called by the regional economic commissions to review the draft Plan of Action. Only the Asian meeting produced a convergence of views calling for a further strengthening of the draft. The other meetings generally appeared to endorse the UN draft.



## World Population Conference

The third World Population Conference was the first to be held at the intergovernmental level. It was attended by representatives from 136 countries. A separate nongovernmental conference, the Population Tribune, met in Bucharest simultaneously with the Conference and provided a productive interaction with the governmental delegations. Of the 1,350 who attended the Tribune, 400 were U.S. citizens.

The consensus atmosphere that had characterized pre-conference meetings and consultations did not develop in Bucharest until the final hours of the conference. Over 300 amendments were proposed to the draft Plan of Action, and the Conference's Working Group on the World Population Plan of Action had to create four sub-groups in order to handle the documentation and merge and reconcile the diverse views on various important portions of the plan. The United States was represented on all four sub-groups.

The head of the U.S. delegation, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare Caspar W. Weinberger, said in the August 20 plenary: "My delegation will suggest in the Working Group on the World Population Plan of Action national goals together with a world goal of replacement level of fertility by the year 2000." In addition to putting the U.S. position on record, this statement contributed to its negotiating position on quantitative goals for the more immediate future.

The end result was an explicitly stated goal, for countries with the highest mortality levels, of an infant mortality rate of less than 120 per thousand by 1985 and a life expectancy of 50 years; and the implicitly stated goal, for the world as a whole, of a life expectancy of 62 years by 1985 and 74 years by 2000. To achieve these goals the birth rate would need to decline from 38 to 30 per thousand by 1985 in the developing countries as a whole while remaining at around 15 per thousand in the developed countries.

These goals are consistent with an anticipated population growth rate decline from the current 2.4%

to 2% by 1985 in the developing countries, and with a growth rate remaining below 0.7% in the developed countries. The worldwide rate of population growth would thus decline from its present 2% to about 1.7%. These findings and projections are in accordance with the second UN Inquiry on Population and Development, an inquiry that has been undertaken at 10-year intervals between UN-sponsored world population conferences. It provided a strong empirical base for the quantitative goals of the Plan of Action. The overall growth figures for 1985 and their implications for 2000 are the same as those the United States had used and developed in its model for the plan of action.

The United States played a significant role both prior to and at the Conference in stressing the relationship between improvements in the status of women and control of fertility rates. The final Plan of Action strongly recognized the right of women to complete integration in the development process, particularly by means of an equal participation in educational, social, economic, cultural, and political life. An entire new section in the recommendations concerned strengthening the status of women as essential in its own right and conducive to lower fertility. In this area, as in other social and economic areas that influence population matters, the United States worked closely with other delegations--particularly Asian, Western European, and some Latin American countries--to integrate more fully and explicitly population measures with overall development. The U.S. delegation made clear its belief that family planning programs are an essential part of overall social and economic development and that any country wishing to succeed in either would be wise to press both.

A subject which threatened at times to overwhelm the plans and documentation for the Conference was the Declaration and Program of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order that had been adopted by the sixth special session of the UN General Assembly. The discussion in all three main Conference committees--concerned with population change and economic and social development; population, resources, and the environment; and population and the family--included many references to a new international economic

order; some of these views found their way into resolutions adopted by the committees. The United States repeated the reservations it had made at the special session and subsequently at other UN meetings.

The Conference adopted the World Population Plan of Action by the acclamation of 135 governments with only the Holy See not participating because, as it had earlier said, it could not be a party to consensus because of the direct fertility control measures mentioned in the Plan of Action. In his closing plenary statement, Secretary Weinberger concluded that the Plan "is a real triumph for the process of international negotiations under UN auspices and that it can lead to a better future for all peoples and all countries."

#### General Assembly Action

When the Second Committee of the 29th General Assembly considered the report of the World Population Conference, the United States took an active part in drafting a resolution which it cosponsored with 37 other countries. In the draft resolution the General Assembly affirmed that the World Population Plan of Action was "an instrument of the international community for the promotion of economic development, quality of life, human rights and fundamental freedoms within the broader context of the internationally adopted strategies for national and international progress." Other operative paragraphs provided for UN institutional responses to the Plan of Action during 1975 and beyond. However, one operative paragraph, added to the resolution at the initiative of Brazil with the cosponsorship of Uruguay, stressed that "the implementation of the World Population Plan of Action should take full account of the Program of Action on the Establishment of the New International Economic Order, and thus contribute to its implementation." A U.S. proposal to delete the last six words was defeated by a vote of 11 (U.S.) to 61, with 38 abstentions, and the Second Committee approved the addition of the paragraph by a vote of 72 to 17 (U.S.), with 21 abstentions. In the U.S. view this language violated the consensus reached in Bucharest, and it conflicted with the strong reservations the United States has to major portions

of the resolutions on a new international economic order. Solely because of its opposition to that paragraph, the United States abstained on the resolution as a whole, which was approved by the Committee on December 5 by a vote of 108 to 0, with 2 abstentions (U.S.), and adopted by the Assembly on December 17 by a vote of 131 to 0, with 1 abstention (U.S.).

A second draft resolution, sponsored by Sweden and 10 other states, was adopted without vote by the Committee on December 5 and by the Assembly on December 17. It requested the Secretary General to provide facilities for coordinated multidisciplinary research aimed at synthesizing, integrating, and advancing knowledge on the relationships between population, resources, environment, and development, in order to assist member states and UN organizations in their efforts to cope with the complex and multidimensional problems of social and economic development.

#### Fund for Population Activities

The UN Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA), established in 1967 by the Secretary General as a special trust fund and brought under the General Assembly's own authority in 1972, has operated under the overview of the Governing Council of the UNDP since 1973. The Council concerns itself with "the financial and administrative policies relating to the work program, the fund-raising methods, and the annual budget of the Fund."

Fund-raising by the UNFPA is based on voluntary contributions by governments. In 1974, \$54 million was raised, of which the United States contributed \$20 million. A total of 72 countries, including 52 developing countries, had contributed to UNFPA by the end of the year.

Since the creation of the Fund nearly 1,000 projects in more than 90 countries have been supported, including regional projects. Chile, Colombia, Egypt, Indonesia, Kenya, Republic of Korea, Mexico, Pakistan, Philippines, and Thailand had programs approved above a \$1 million level for 1974. Of several comprehensive



country agreements signed in 1974, one with India for \$40 million over 5 years is by far the largest signed to date.

A decision to provide \$4.5 million over 3 years for the World Fertility Survey, being carried out by the nongovernmental International Statistical Institute in cooperation with appropriate national organizations, was particularly compatible with U.S. interests. The U.S. Agency for International Development is the largest other donor to the survey. Together with the African Census Program, of which the UNFPA is the major supporter, the survey is intended to assist in the procurement of more reliable demographic and other economic and social information.

The UN Secretary General gave the UNFPA the responsibility for promoting World Population Year, 1974. In addition to supporting specific projects and programs in connection with the Year and providing over half the funds for the World Population Conference, the UNFPA established a small secretariat to stimulate worldwide media coverage, provide information, and underwrite pamphlets, posters, books, and films about population problems. These activities contributed to increasing world awareness of various population matters. Some 60 countries, including the United States, set up national population commissions for the observance of the Year; many are expected to remain as standing bodies.

The combined effect of the Year and the Conference was to increase the demand for the resources of the UNFPA to such an extent that by year's end the Executive Director of the Fund was considering asking donors for an additional \$200 million over the next 4 years in addition to the \$316 million for that period already projected in UNFPA's planned program of work. The nine major donors, of which the United States is the largest, were reluctant to commit themselves to such a quantum leap and suggested, among other alternatives, that the newly wealthy countries be asked to make significant contributions.

SOCIAL ISSUES

DRUG ABUSE CONTROL

UN organizations in 1974 maintained the momentum of their worldwide efforts to eradicate drug abuse by strengthening programs previously underway and launching activities in new fields seen as relevant to the goal.

Commission on Narcotic Drugs

The Commission on Narcotic Drugs<sup>14/</sup> held its third special session in Geneva, February 18-March 1. Its discussion of its agenda item on poppy cultivation led to a general consensus that while there may be a shortage of opium for legitimate medical and scientific uses, particularly the preparation of codeine, the problem is not one of such nature as to create alarm within the international community. The Commission emphasized that the current shortages must be eliminated in a manner that does not endanger control procedures developed over many years. It was further agreed that the UN Narcotics Laboratory in Geneva should coordinate international research on means to increase the production of codeine to the maximum per unit of cultivated area, concentrating on production and processing from unincised and incised poppy straw, while bearing in mind the continuing need for production controls. The Commission decided to keep the supply question under review and asked the International Narcotics Control Board (INCB) to continue providing advice on the supply and demand situation.

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<sup>14/</sup> Members in 1974 were Argentina, Australia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Egypt, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Jamaica, Japan, Kenya, Mexico, Morocco, Nigeria, Pakistan, Peru, Romania, Sweden, Switzerland, Thailand, Togo, Turkey, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, United States, and Yugoslavia.

The Commission's consideration of the questions of illicit drug traffic, drug abuse, and scientific research publicized the latest information in all these fields. The discussion of the report of the INCB emphasized the Commission's recognition of the contribution the Board makes to drug control and to strengthening international support for control measures. The consideration of the operations of the UN Fund for Drug Abuse Control elicited constructive criticism which should benefit the Fund in the future. The Commission also recommended that ECOSOC adopt various resolutions concerning drug control matters.

### ECOSOC

The Social Committee of the 56th session of ECOSOC considered the world drug abuse situation on May 2 and 3, 1974. Statements were delivered by Dr. Sten Martens, Director of the UN Division of Narcotic Drugs and Acting Executive Director of the UN Fund for Drug Abuse Control; Sir Harry Greenfield, retiring president of the INCB; and representatives of 24 member states and 2 specialized agencies. The general tenor of the speeches reflected continued international concern about the current drug abuse epidemic and an increasing realization that drug abuse is a world problem.

The United States introduced a draft resolution, sponsored by 10 states, commending the work of the INCB. It was approved without a vote on May 3 and adopted by the plenary ECOSOC on May 15. Six other resolutions, recommended to ECOSOC by the Commission on Narcotic Drugs, were also adopted on May 15. The following were the most significant of these.

The first, adopted by a vote of 46 (U.S.) to 0, with 6 abstentions, recommended, *inter alia*, that governments give urgent attention to the problem of the abuse of customs transit systems by drug smugglers and that they ensure the most expeditious and full exchange of information--bilaterally, regionally, and with INTERPOL--concerning investigations and control.

The second, adopted by a vote of 47 (U.S.) to 0, with 5 abstentions, requested the UN Secretary General

to convene regular meetings of operational heads of national narcotics law enforcement agencies of countries in the Far East to promote regional cooperation in drug law enforcement.

The third, adopted without a vote, recommended that the Governments concerned take intensified measures both separately and in cooperation, to reduce coca cultivation, to eliminate the clandestine manufacture of and the illicit traffic in cocaine, and to abolish coca leaf chewing.

The fourth, adopted by a vote of 43 (U.S.) to 0, with 9 abstentions, urged governments, in particular those of countries directly related to the manufacturing and production of and trade in psychotropic substances, to ratify or accede to the 1971 Convention on Psychotropic Substances as soon as possible.

#### General Assembly

The discussion of narcotics by the 29th General Assembly's Third Committee at four meetings in early November included statements by 12 members, most of which stressed the seriousness of the international drug abuse problem, called for international cooperation to combat it, and expressed support for international organizations seized of the problem. A representative of the Secretary General described the status of ratifications for the three drug control treaties and urged countries that had not yet done so to accede to them.

Speaking on November 4, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Ferguson, affirmed that "The United States intends to persevere [in the struggle against drug abuse], both domestically and in cooperation with other governments and international organizations. We intend to strengthen the bilateral programs developed over recent years, and we plan to maintain our vigorous support for the international organizations seized of the problem of drug control."

The Committee approved two resolutions. One, initiated by Turkey, was sponsored by 14 states,



including the United States. Among other provisions, it called for increased international cooperation to combat illicit trafficking and drug abuse and noted that the use of the poppy straw process for harvesting was a production method that lent itself to more effective control of illicit traffic when accompanied by efficient enforcement procedures. The resolution was adopted without a vote in the Committee on November 5 and by the plenary Assembly on December 10.

The other resolution, initiated by the United States and sponsored by 12 states, urgently appealed to governments for generous and sustained contributions to the UN Fund for Drug Abuse Control. It was approved on November 5 by a vote of 100 (U.S.) to 0, with 11 abstentions, and adopted by the Assembly on December 14 by a vote of 113 (U.S.) to 0, with 13 abstentions.

#### Fund for Drug Abuse Control

Under Acting Executive Director Dr. Sten Martens, the UN Fund for Drug Abuse Control continued its efforts to combat drug abuse on all fronts--supply, trafficking, and demand. It has launched a total of 79 projects since its establishment in 1971. Of the approximately \$4 million allocated by it in 1974, 27% was used to strengthen control measures, 9% to reduce illicit demand, 28% to reduce illicit supply, 22% to support research, and 14% to finance program development and fund administration. The U.S. Government has contributed \$10 million of the \$13.6 million collected by the Fund so far.

The crop substitution program in Thailand, devised to identify alternative crops that could be raised in place of opium, began to make headway in 1974 despite obstacles, and its management acquired experience and expertise. The law enforcement assistance project in Afghanistan made a significant contribution to that country's capacity to interdict the illicit narcotics traffic. Research programs were underway to investigate whether papaver bracteatum might be a less abusable source of codein than the opium poppy, and to improve the poppy straw process,

which involves the collection of the whole poppy pod rather than simply the opium gum and is a more controllable method of deriving opiates from the poppy than the lancing process. The Fund also responded quickly to a request from the Government of Turkey for advice and technical assistance in establishing control procedures required by its decision to resume poppy cultivation. The Fund financed a mission to Turkey, led by Sir Harry Greenfield, which recommended to Turkey that it not permit the harvesting of opium, but rather adopt the poppy straw process which is less subject to illicit diversion. The Government of Turkey accepted the recommendation and subsequently effected it by decree.

### Other Activities

The Commission on Narcotic Drugs' Subcommittee on Illicit Traffic in the Near and Middle East visited countries within its compass in March and April to study illicit traffic in the context of law enforcement and prepared a report for the Commission recommending steps to improve regional coordination. Following ECOSOC's authorization, the Secretary General convened a meeting of operational heads of national narcotics law enforcement agencies in the Far East region to foster bilateral cooperation at the operational level. The first meeting, held in Bangkok in September, proposed various actions to increase the effectiveness of law enforcement agencies in the region.

The ACC's Inter-Agency Advisory Committee on Drug Abuse Control met in Geneva in March and September to follow up on the suggestions of the Commission's third special session concerning means to improve coordination on drug control matters within the UN system.

### DISASTER RELIEF

During 1974 the UN Disaster Relief Office (UNDRO) provided assistance and helped coordinate relief efforts for disasters that included floods in Algeria,

Bangladesh, Bolivia, Burma, Chile, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Rwanda, Sudan, and Syria; epidemics in Malawi and Sri Lanka; drought in Somalia and Sudan; landslides in Colombia; a hurricane in Honduras; and a fire in Yemen (Aden).

The United States has consistently sought to strengthen the UNDRO operation. It considered that UNDRO's staff was inadequate to perform the important tasks assigned it by the 26th General Assembly in 1971 in the fields of disaster relief coordination and pre-disaster planning and prevention.

On July 31 ECOSOC adopted without a vote a resolution on disaster relief that was introduced by the Netherlands and cosponsored by five other states, including the United States. The resolution (1) requested the Secretary General to investigate the feasibility of measures to strengthen the disaster prevention, pre-disaster planning, and coordinating roles of UNDRO and to submit his findings to ECOSOC in 1975; and (2) recommended that the 29th General Assembly reconsider the proposals of the Secretary General for additional staff resources.

At the 29th General Assembly, Secretary of State Kissinger on September 23 called for strengthening UNDRO, and the United States undertook an important initiative in this respect during the Second Committee's subsequent consideration of the question between October 30 and November 6.

The main purpose of the U.S. initiative, which built on the earlier ECOSOC resolution, was to concentrate specifically on UNDRO's capability in relief coordination, as the first priority, including its important role of serving as a clearinghouse of information for donor countries and UN agencies involved in disaster relief. On October 30 Joseph M. Segel outlined the U.S. views and announced the U.S. offer to contribute up to \$750,000 to cover substantially all of the first year's costs for the strengthened program, after which the United States would expect to contribute a share of the voluntary contributions required. On November 4 the U.S. Representative introduced a draft

resolution, ultimately sponsored by 30 states well distributed both geographically and between traditional donors and countries which have experienced numerous disasters.

One of the draft resolution's preambular paragraphs endorsed the ECOSOC resolution and repeated its substance. In its operative paragraphs, the resolution called upon the Secretary General "to provide sufficient staff, equipment, and facilities to strengthen the capacity of the Office of the UN Disaster Relief Coordinator to provide an efficient and effective worldwide service of mobilizing and coordinating disaster relief, including particularly the collection and dissemination of information on disaster assessment, priority needs, and donor assistance." It called for meeting the additional costs involved from voluntary contributions during the first year and the 1976-77 biennium, at which time the method of financing for succeeding periods would be subject to review in the light of experience. The resolution decided further that, while the purpose was to concentrate on strengthening UNDR0's coordinating capability, this was without prejudice to any improvements that could be made in UNDR0's disaster prevention and pre-disaster planning roles within the resources otherwise available to it.

The draft resolution was approved by the Second Committee on November 6 without a vote and adopted by the General Assembly in plenary session on November 29, again without a vote.

The General Assembly resolution accomplished the purpose of the ECOSOC resolution with respect to UNDR0's coordinating role, leaving the matter of strengthening the other roles of UNDR0 for further study. On the question of staff, the Assembly decided, on the recommendation of the Fifth Committee, to approve the request the Secretary General had made at the beginning of the biennium for four additional positions under the regular budget.

As of the close of the year the UNDR0 Coordinator, Faruk N. Berkol, had asked that a three-man panel of



experts, assisted by Secretariat and UNDRO staff, visit Geneva in January 1975 to draw up a plan for implementing the resolution. He had invited the U.S. Foreign Disaster Relief Coordinator, Russell S. McClure; the recently retired head of the French disaster relief office, Jean Douard; and the present head of the Philippine disaster relief office, Col. Pacífico M. López de León; to form the panel.

#### UN HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES

The provision of legal and political protection for refugees and the promotion of permanent solutions to refugee problems are the fundamental tasks of the UNHCR.<sup>15/</sup> These tasks are carried out on behalf of (1) refugees falling within the scope of the mandate of his office as defined by the General Assembly in 1950, and (2) refugees whom he assists through his good offices under the authority of various resolutions adopted by the General Assembly.

An Executive Committee of 31 states<sup>16/</sup> reviews and supervises the High Commissioner's activities. The U.S. Representative, Francis L. Kellogg, Special Assistant to the Secretary of State for Refugee and Migration Affairs, was elected Chairman of the Executive Committee at its 25th session, held in Geneva from October 14 to 22, 1974.

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<sup>15/</sup> Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan (Iran) is the High Commissioner for Refugees.

<sup>16/</sup> Algeria, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, China, Colombia, Denmark, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Greece, Holy See, Iran, Israel, Italy, Lebanon, Malagasy Republic, Netherlands, Nigeria, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, Tanzania, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, United Kingdom, United States, Venezuela, Yugoslavia.

### Legal and Political Protection

International protection of refugees, the High Commissioner's most important function, has as its base the strengthening of the institution of asylum throughout the world with the goal of preventing forcible repatriation of refugees. In addition, this function of the UNHCR seeks to secure for refugees those rights that are essential to their reestablishment in dignity and on a self-supporting basis. Among these are the rights to work, to education, to freedom of religion, to free access to courts, and to social security; the right to leave and return to the country of asylum; and the right to protection under law.

The basic legal implements for protection are the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and the 1967 Protocol which extends the application of the Convention by removing the limitation on eligibility to persons who became refugees "as a result of events occurring before 1951." States acceding to these international treaties accept provisions explicitly prohibiting the return of a refugee, in any manner whatsoever, to any country in which his or her life or freedom would be threatened on account of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion.

During 1974 Sudan became a party to both the Convention and the Protocol, and by the end of the year 67 states were parties to one or both treaties. The United States is a party to the Protocol.

### Material Assistance Program

The High Commissioner's program of material assistance, begun in 1955, is directed toward promoting permanent solutions to refugee problems. This aspect of UNHCR work provides emergency relief, facilitates voluntary repatriation, promotes resettlement, and furthers integration into the host societies, utilizing voluntary agencies and host governments for the conduct of operations.

In allocating material assistance resources in response to a host government's request, the UNHCR takes into account the amount of assistance being provided from other sources, prevailing local conditions, and the urgency of the situation. The trend of support levels in recent years was somewhat modified in 1974 by a marked increase for Latin America, with moderate increases for Africa and the Middle East, a continued decrease for Europe, and the phasing out of programs in Asia.

### Africa

In 1974, the greatest part of the UNHCR assistance budget was again committed to Africa, where there continued to be a total refugee population of over one million persons.

The prospect of large-scale voluntary repatriation of refugees as the Portuguese territories of Angola, Guinea-Bissau, and Mozambique became fully independent caused the UNHCR to shift the emphasis from programs stressing integration into host countries to programs giving priority to developing skills usable upon return. Altogether, this group of refugees numbered some 612,000. The 160,000 Rwandan refugees made up the second largest African group. Assistance programs for Rwandan refugees concentrated on furthering the progress of settlement. Some 130,000 refugees from Burundi required more UNHCR assistance than any other single group in Africa. Although the number of new refugees from Burundi was relatively small, the movement of some 50,000 refugees to areas further into Tanzania as the result of continued tensions along the Burundian-Tanzanian border necessitated a large expenditure.

Other UNHCR projects in Africa included assistance for refugees from Ethiopia and Zaire in the Sudan; from the Sudan in Ethiopia; from Zaire in Uganda; from Namibia and South Africa in Zambia; and refugees from various countries in Kenya and the countries of West and Central Africa. In these areas, no major changes occurred in the number or status of refugee groups from the previous year.

## Europe

Continuing a pattern of recent years, Europe's refugee population in 1974 remained relatively stable, as the arrival of new refugees was balanced by naturalization and emigration. The High Commissioner's Material Assistance Program for Europe continued to decline in relation to the overall UNHCR budget.

Two problems faced by the UNHCR were (1) the increasing difficulties of non-European refugees in finding jobs because of inadequate skills, and (2) the increasing hardships for the aged and handicapped resulting from sharp rises in the cost of living. In Spain, thanks in large part to an expanded U.S. immigration program, the caseload of refugees from Cuba declined considerably. Inasmuch as host governments and voluntary agencies gave assistance and the U.S. Refugee Program and the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration (ICEM) facilitated the resettlement of a large proportion of the refugees who continued to leave the U.S.S.R. and other Eastern European countries, these refugees required only a small amount of assistance from the High Commissioner.

## Latin America

The refugee situation which developed following the change of government in Chile in September 1973 necessitated a great expansion of the Material Assistance Program for Latin America in 1974. During the year, virtually all of some 1,500 remaining registered foreign refugees in Chile were assisted by the UNHCR in finding resettlement opportunities in other countries. The bulk of the remaining problem concerned those Chilean nationals who fled to either Argentina or Peru. There were about 14,000 Chilean nationals as refugees for resettlement within Argentina, and some 3,000 in Peru in transit status.

Of the approximately 100,000 other refugees of potential UNHCR concern scattered throughout Latin America, most were of European origin and fully integrated within the various host countries, thus requiring little or no assistance.



### Middle East

Some 16,000 refugees came within the scope of UNHCR concern in the Middle East. (In accordance with the General Assembly's decision in 1950, the far larger number of Palestinian refugees in the area were not within the concern of the High Commissioner but rather that of UNRWA--see p. 22.) In Lebanon, most of the 10,000 UNHCR refugees were stateless Armenians and Assyrians; in Egypt the largest problem concerned African refugees; and in the United Arab Emirates the refugees were primarily of Zanzibari Arab origin.

### Special Projects

At the request of the General Assembly or the Secretary General, the UNHCR from time to time takes on special projects for persons, such as those displaced within their own country, that do not come within the scope of his mandate. Two UNHCR special projects were completed in 1974; two others began.

The massive airlift operation begun on the Asian subcontinent in September 1973 was completed in June. The New Delhi Agreement of August 28, 1973, paved the way for a large-scale exchange of uprooted and homeless persons between Bangladesh and Pakistan. The UNHCR acted as executing agent with support from the ICEM and the ICRC in the two-way movement of over 241,000 persons.

By mid-year, the last transit center in Europe for stateless Ugandan Asians was closed, marking the end of that UNHCR special resettlement operation. In 1972 the United Nations had reacted quickly through the High Commissioner in undertaking assistance for some 4,500 Ugandan Asians not recognized as citizens of any country and subject to expulsion. The UNHCR negotiated agreements with governments to grant temporary asylum, sought permanent resettlement opportunities, provided care and maintenance, and with ICEM arranged transportation from Uganda to temporary asylum areas and countries of final resettlement.

In Cyprus, the July 1974 coup d'etat and the subsequent Turkish military intervention dealt a heavy blow to the economy, uprooted much of the population, and saddled the country with approximately 220,000 needy or displaced persons. The ICRC was the first international relief organization to appear on the scene following hostilities. On August 20, however, the UN Secretary General designated the UNHCR to coordinate international relief efforts on Cyprus, and launched a special appeal for \$22 million for Cyprus relief. The UNHCR helped to coordinate some \$40-\$50 million of international relief assistance to the island. The main emphasis of the Cyprus relief effort was initially on providing for immediate shelter, food, and medical needs, but focus then shifted to longer range programs involving unemployment and rehabilitation projects.

On September 18, in response to specific requests from the parties concerned and with the concurrence of the Secretary General, the High Commissioner announced an assistance program on behalf of displaced and uprooted persons in Vietnam and Laos. The basic thrust of the program was toward settlement and rehabilitation by aiding in the establishment of basic community infrastructures. The program was designed to fill in gaps left by other assistance programs.

### Finances

Eighty governments, including the United States, contributed \$7,522,000 to the UNHCR Material Assistance Program in 1974. Various nongovernmental sources also contributed. At its 25th session the Executive Committee budgeted \$12,656,000 for 1975. In addition, the UNHCR has an Emergency Fund, authorized by the General Assembly in 1957, to enable quick action in meeting the crucial initial phases in new refugee situations. This fund is regularly replenished by the repayment of refugee loans, by voluntary contributions, and by transfer from the UNHCR Working Capital and Guarantee Fund.

The United States contributed \$1.1 million toward the 1974 UNHCR Material Assistance Program, \$7.3 million

for the UNHCR activities in Cyprus, \$2.4 million to the program for the exchange of persons on the Asian subcontinent, \$1 million for UNHCR operations concerning Chilean refugees, and \$1 million for displaced persons in Vietnam and Laos. The United States also contributed more than \$173 million through other channels to programs aiding refugees of concern to the UNHCR.

### General Assembly Action

The Third Committee of the 29th General Assembly considered the report of the UNHCR and related matters at six meetings between November 25 and 29, approving three resolutions.

The first resolution, sponsored by 44 states, including the United States, expressed the Assembly's deep satisfaction and appreciation for the work of the UNHCR; requested the UNHCR to continue his activities on behalf of refugees within his concern and to facilitate the voluntary repatriation and local re-integration of refugees from territories emerging from colonial rule; and urged governments to intensify their support for the UNHCR's humanitarian tasks. A second section of the resolution authorized the UNHCR to allocate up to \$2 million annually from his Emergency Fund for emergency situations, with the proviso that, as in the past, the amount made available for any single emergency will not exceed \$500,000 in any one year. Previously, the maximum total yearly allocation had been \$1 million. This resolution was approved without objection on November 29 and adopted by the Assembly without objection on December 10.

In the second resolution, sponsored by 10 states, the General Assembly reaffirmed the importance it attached to international protection of refugees as a principal function of the UNHCR; noted the view of the UNHCR Executive Committee that a conference of plenipotentiaries on territorial asylum should be called as soon as possible; decided to establish a Group of Experts from 27 states to meet early in 1975 to review the draft convention that had originally been prepared under the auspices of the Carnegie Endowment for

International Peace and to report to the 30th General Assembly; and requested the Secretary General to submit a proposal regarding the timing and costs for such a conference. The resolution was approved by the Committee on November 29 by a vote of 72 (U.S.) to 0, with 25 abstentions, and adopted by the Assembly on December 10 by a vote of 105 (U.S.) to 0, with 21 abstentions.

The third resolution, sponsored by six Western European and other states, noted that the 1961 Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness will enter into force in December 1975, requested the UNHCR to serve provisionally as the body stipulated in the Convention to which persons claiming its benefits should apply, and decided that at a later session the Assembly would review the arrangements made by the UNHCR and make a further decision on the supervisory body. This resolution was approved in the Committee on November 27 by a rollcall vote of 35 (U.S.) to 11, with 59 abstentions, and adopted by the Assembly on December 10 by a vote of 48 (U.S.) to 11, with 66 abstentions.

#### UNICEF

The annual meeting of the UNICEF Executive Board<sup>17/</sup> was held at UN Headquarters, May 13-24, 1974. This closely followed the sixth special session of the General Assembly, concerned with raw materials and development, which served to emphasize the critical situation faced by many of the world's children. UNICEF Executive Director, Henry Labouisse, presented

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<sup>17/</sup> Members in 1974 were Algeria, Bulgaria, Canada, Central African Republic, Chile, Congo, Egypt, France, Federal Republic of Germany, India, Indonesia, Italy, Japan, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Sweden, Switzerland, Thailand, Turkey, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, United States, Uruguay, and Venezuela.



a bleak picture of the situation affecting the 25 least developed countries, 20 other very small countries normally requiring a relatively high level of assistance, and a number of other countries with large child populations that are being crippled economically by rising prices. The situation was extremely critical in regard to food supply, with serious shortages compounded by soaring costs of fertilizer and fuel. These countries were finding it difficult to maintain, let alone to expand, their limited services for children at a time when many families previously able to manage a minimal existence were in need of direct assistance. The Executive Director stated that before the recent price rises it was estimated that at any given time 10 million children in the world were suffering from severe malnutrition, but that a considerable increase in that number could now be expected.

The Board responded to the grave situation by adopting by consensus a decision entitled, "Declaration of an emergency for children in developing countries as a result of the current economic crisis."

The Declaration said, inter alia, that:

". . . It [the Board] considers that, as a result of the economic crisis, there is now grave danger of a further deterioration of the situation of children in many countries, including possibilities of more wide-spread malnutrition and famine. It fears that many countries will be in danger of having to reduce already minimal basic services for children, affecting not only their nutrition, but also their health, education and, more generally, their prospects of life. The danger is particularly threatening in countries which have been victims of natural disasters, such as drought or floods."

The Board's decision authorized the Executive Director to participate as fully as possible in the implementation of the Special Program approved by the sixth special session of the General Assembly.

The Declaration was subsequently endorsed by ECOSOC in a resolution adopted without a vote on July 31, 1974, and by the General Assembly in a resolution adopted by a vote of 131 (U.S.) to 0, with no abstentions, on December 4, 1974. Both ECOSOC and the Assembly appealed to all governments to increase their contributions to UNICEF to help it respond to the emergency. The General Assembly also requested the Secretary General to convene regular annual pledging conferences for UNICEF, starting in 1975.

The Board decided that UNICEF should, to the extent that funds were available, offer immediate special assistance to governments in the promotion of national food and nutrition policies, the production and storage of food at the village level, the education of parents and community leaders in child nutrition, support for supplementary feeding schemes, the rapid strengthening and enlargement of basic health services, and the encouragement of responsible parenthood. Preliminary estimates for special UNICEF assistance to meet these kinds of needs were \$40 to \$50 million a year for the next few years.

The Board had before it a draft report prepared by the Executive Director entitled "The Young Child: Approaches to Action in Developing Countries." The report noted that the developing countries have four times as many children under five years of age as the developed countries, but 35 times as many child deaths. It suggested the main elements that a developing country should consider when establishing or expanding its policy and services and recommended directions for UNICEF assistance. These included: provision of safe water supply, greater village-level food production and storage, provision of immunizations against children's diseases, and improving methods of delivering basic health services. The report argued against the view sometimes put forward that it is better to concentrate on economic growth, and leave social problems to be solved by the benefits as they "trickle down." It pointed out that there is extensive experience that this is not a satisfactory solution and that, on the contrary, social measures could greatly help national development.

Other matters considered by the Board included reports on use of funds previously committed to long-term programs, assistance to country transport operations, building new educational strategies to serve rural children and youth, and preliminary findings of the management survey of UNICEF being undertaken by the Scandinavian Institutes for Administrative Research.

The Board approved by consensus a record \$137.9 million for programs; some, as in India, extending over the next 5 years and most, where possible, coinciding with country planning cycles. The approved aid covered projects in the following regions: Africa, \$13,705,000; East Asia and Pakistan, \$32,167,000; South Central Asia, \$57,742,000; Eastern Mediterranean \$3,219,000; and the Americas, \$3,060,000. In addition \$1,568,000 was designated for interregional projects, \$1 million for emergency aid, \$16,193,000 for program support services, and \$9,260,000 for administrative services. Some reservations were expressed concerning the magnitude of the program for India. However, the \$56,800,000 was for a 5-year period, and when considered in conjunction with the size of the child population, the Board decided it was in keeping with traditional UNICEF programs of assistance. The Board also decided, however, to reexamine during its 1975 session its criteria for distribution of resources.

Approximately 40% of the project aid was to be spent on child health services; 20% on child nutrition; 20% on formal, nonformal, and prevocational education; and 20% on social services, child welfare services, country planning, and project preparation. As a result of Board action, UNICEF aid in 1974 went to 114 countries and territories: 39 in Africa, 32 in the Americas, 28 in Asia, 14 in the Eastern Mediterranean, and 1 in Europe.

Emergency situations included in the program commitments were rehabilitation programs in the Indochina peninsula, the drought-stricken Sahelian Africa and Ethiopia, and flood-damaged Pakistan. These projects were expected to require \$69 million through 1975. In the largest of the projects, that for Indochina, the projected aid through 1975 was \$44 million. The United States made a special pledge in

December 1974 of \$3 million for assistance to Laos, the Khmer Republic, and the Republic of Vietnam. The United States also contributed \$500,000 through the UN/FAO Sahelian Trust Fund for UNICEF emergency relief programs in the Sahel drought area.

On November 7, 1974, as authorized by the General Assembly in 1973, a special pledging conference was held at UN Headquarters to assist UNICEF in reaching its \$100 million target for 1975. A total of \$61,174,000 was pledged by 94 states, including \$15,000,000 from the United States, subject to Congressional approval.

### SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

Although the Commission for Social Development, which meets biennially, did not meet in 1974, some issues that fall within its competence were considered by ECOSOC during its 56th session and by the General Assembly during its 29th session.

#### Experience in Achieving Social Change

On the initiative of the U.S.S.R., ECOSOC in 1971 requested the Secretary General to prepare a report on "National Experience in Achieving Far-Reaching Social and Economic Changes for Purposes of Social Progress" on the basis of replies from governments to a UN questionnaire. ECOSOC considered the report in 1973 and adopted a resolution requesting the Secretary General and the Commission on Social Development to continue studying the topic, deciding to place the topic on the agenda of its 56th session in 1974, and recommending that the General Assembly consider it at its 29th session.

At the 56th ECOSOC the U.S. Representative, Mrs. Jean Picker, noted on April 29 that the Secretary General's report had pointed out clearly that the replies from governments were not very informative about the impact of various social and economic changes, although they had been useful in terms of the



descriptions of various measures intended to promote social progress. There was clearly a need for better tools of social analysis, evaluation, and measurement. She identified briefly work in various countries and international organizations that was designed to develop useful social indicators. She recommended that the UN Secretariat report on what was being done around the world in this field in order to assist the Commission on Social Development and those charged with reviewing and appraising the International Development Strategy in the development of indicators that member states can use in measuring social change.

The United States introduced a draft resolution to this end which, after amendments by Poland, Congo, and Belgium, was adopted without a vote by ECOSOC on May 15. In its final form the resolution, inter alia, requested the Secretary General to (1) summarize, in conjunction with the regional economic commissions, specialized agencies, and governments of member states, studies on social data and indicators relevant to decision-making, development planning, and evaluation; (2) report on activities in the field of social indicators in many international and institutional bodies to the Commission for Social Development, the Committee for Development Planning, and the Committee on Review and Appraisal; and (3) request member states that have not yet done so to furnish information on the measures taken for the purpose of implementing the basic principles and objectives of the 1969 Declaration on Social Progress and Development.

The Third Committee of the 29th General Assembly also considered the question of social development at four meetings between November 18 and 29. Cuba, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, and the U.S.S.R. cosponsored a draft resolution that inter alia reaffirmed "for the purpose of achieving economic and social progress," a number of economic rights of states, such as the right to permanent sovereignty over natural resources, to nationalization, and to take "all appropriate measures" in connection with the activities of transnational corporations. In other paragraphs the resolution recommended that the regional economic commissions, the Secretary General, and the UNDP study the question, and requested the

Secretary General to submit a report on the question to the 30th General Assembly. The resolution was approved on November 29 by a vote of 85 to 0, with 23 abstentions (U.S.), and adopted by the Assembly on December 10 by a recorded vote of 110 to 0, with 17 abstentions (U.S.). The United States abstained because the economic portions of the draft referred to matters already being considered by the Second Committee, which was the appropriate forum rather than the Third Committee. The United States also believed that further requests for action should await the Commission for Social Development's further study of the problem.

### Channels of Communication with Youth

In 1972 the Assembly approved the Secretary General's recommendation that he convene an Ad Hoc Advisory Group on Youth to advise him on activities that should be undertaken by the United Nations to meet the needs and aspirations of youth.

The Advisory Group met in 1973 and made a number of recommendations to the Secretary General in such fields as improving the situation of rural youth and young women in the developing world, improving coordination of youth-related activities in the UN system, and including cooperation with youth organizations as a means of implementing UN programs. The Secretary General's report on the Advisory Group's conclusions and recommendations was before ECOSOC at its 56th session. On May 15 ECOSOC adopted without a vote a resolution that, *inter alia*, (1) requested the Secretary General to transmit the report to member states, interested international youth organizations, and the four functional commissions on social development, human rights, women, and population, for suggestions, comments, or consideration; (2) requested the Commission for Social Development to take the conclusions and recommendations into consideration when examining its agenda item on youth; and (3) approved the Secretary General's recommendation that he convene the Ad Hoc Advisory Group on Youth again in 1974 and 1975 to continue studying the problem.

SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY, AND RESEARCH

UN ENVIRONMENT PROGRAM

UNEP Governing Council

The UNEP Governing Council<sup>18/</sup> held its second session at its headquarters in Nairobi, Kenya, March 11-22, 1974. The Council reviewed UNEP's present and future activities, approved the UNEP budget, and identified specific areas of concentration within the priority areas approved at its first session--human settlements; human health and well-being; land, water, and desertification; trade, economics, technology, and transfer of technology; conservation of nature, wildlife, and genetic resources; energy; and oceans. The Council also approved two new areas for priority action: early warning and preparedness planning for natural disasters, and the development of international environmental law.

The Council's major action on human settlements was the approval without vote of a resolution recommended for adoption by the General Assembly that would establish under UNEP an "international institution for human habitat management and environmental design and improvement of human settlements." The proposed foundation would provide technical assistance and seed capital "to assist in strengthening national environ-

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18/ The 58 members during 1974 were Argentina, Australia, Austria, Brazil, Burundi, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Chile, China, Czechoslovakia, France, Gabon, German Democratic Republic, Federal Republic of Germany, Ghana, Guatemala, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lebanon, Malagasy Republic, Malawi, Mexico, Morocco, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sweden, Syria, Tanzania, Tunisia, Turkey, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, United States, Venezuela, and Yugoslavia.

mental programs relating to human settlements, particularly in the developing countries." The new foundation would be administered by the UNEP Executive Director and funded by a single allocation of \$4 million over 4 years from the Environment Fund. The active participation and collaboration of other bodies in the UN system, as well as regional financial and technical institutions, was invited; and the Executive Director was authorized "to launch an international fund-raising appeal for a maximum funding of the foundation."

The Governing Council also invited ECOSOC to advise the General Assembly on ways in which the foundation might draw on resources of existing units of the UN Secretariat and to propose the necessary consequential changes in the role and functioning of the existing Center for Housing, Building, and Planning in the Secretariat's Department of Economic and Social Affairs.

In July 1974 ECOSOC considered the UNEP report and approved the proposed foundation. It also requested its Policy and Program Coordination Committee to meet intersessionally; draw up a plan for the rationalization of the foundation, the Center, and other elements of the UN system; and to report to ECOSOC at its resumed session in the fall.

The Council also decided to participate in the financing of the exposition portion of the UN Conference on Human Settlements, which will be held in Vancouver, British Columbia, in 1976, and authorized the Executive Director to use up to \$1.5 million of UNEP's resources for this purpose in 1974-75 pending receipt of a full budget.

Within its program for improving human health the Governing Council called for the development as soon as possible of a concerted program for the eradication of endemic diseases and requested the Executive Director to pay due attention to the development of indexes for monitoring environmental health effects and epidemics. It also called for urgent steps, in cooperation with the FAO, toward the development of an



environmentally sound pest control program designed to reduce the use of harmful pesticides.

The Council decided to give high priority to the establishment of integrated research programs on arid and semi-arid lands, with particular attention to the Sudano-Sahelian region; to the management of tropical woodland and forest ecosystems; and to the coordination of programs concerned with water quality.

Among its activities concerned with trade, economics, and technology the Council decided to give high priority to the investigation of the problems and possibilities of low-waste and non-waste technologies and the transfer of environmentally sound technologies, particularly to developing countries. It also emphasized the need to identify industries in which the developing countries would have a comparative advantage because of environmental considerations and to provide assistance to these countries in studies on problems of industrial location.

The Council urged that particular attention be given to the protection of endangered species of fauna and flora, and it called for specific attention to establishing a genetic resources network and gene banks.

The Council agreed that the results of the sixth special session of the General Assembly on the problems of raw materials and development should be taken into account in UNEP's collection of information on energy sources and requirements. It decided that its program proposals in this area should concentrate on the environmental consequences of alternative patterns of energy generation and use.

In view of the many activities of other agencies with respect to oceans, the Governing Council decided that UNEP should concentrate on the coordination of these activities and on the protection of the marine environment. In the latter connection, it requested the FAO to undertake on its behalf a survey of living marine resources. It decided that priority should be given to regional activities and stressed the importance

of such activities in the Mediterranean, Caribbean, Baltic, Persian Gulf, the Indonesian and Philippine archipelagoes, and parts of the Atlantic and Pacific.

The Governing Council took further steps to implement its earlier decision to establish an "Earth-watch" system of environmental assessment to provide early warning of environmental risks and to ensure that governments had access to the best scientific knowledge, experience, and technology required to deal with major environmental problems. Within the Global Environmental Monitoring System it assigned high priority to the monitoring of radionuclides resulting from nuclear tests.

In addition to the financial decisions mentioned above, the Council authorized the allocation of \$18 million in 1974 and \$20 million in 1975 for Environment Fund activities and gave the Executive Director discretionary authority to use funds on urgent ad hoc assignments involving matters of serious concern for the environment. The Council also decided to establish a \$100,000 Revolving Fund (Information) to finance the production of information materials in support of national programs of public information and education in the environment field.

### General Assembly

The Second Committee of the General Assembly considered UNEP at 14 meetings between November 1 and December 9; 64 states took part in the debate and three draft resolutions were approved. A fourth draft resolution, also relating to environment, was approved during the Committee's consideration of the agenda item on the report of ECOSOC.

The first resolution, introduced by Canada, was sponsored by 29 states, including the United States. It took note of the preparations underway for the UN Conference on Human Settlements (HABITAT); expressed the view that the Conference's agenda should be selective, its structure simple and efficient, and its documentation kept within reasonable limits; and requested the Secretary General to keep both the UNEP

Governing Council and the General Assembly informed of the progress of the Preparatory Committee for the Conference. The resolution was approved by the Committee without vote on November 12 and adopted by the Assembly without vote on December 16.

The second resolution, introduced by Argentina and sponsored by 20 states, dealt with the report of the UNEP Governing Council. The draft was the subject of intensive negotiations and several revisions during the Committee's consideration. As adopted, the resolution directed requests for a variety of actions to UNEP, to the Governing Council of UNEP, and to the Executive Director of UNEP. Inter alia, UNEP was requested to conduct its activities in line with the Declaration and the Program of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order. The Governing Council was requested (1) to ensure that full account is taken in the design, implementation, and development of the Global Environment Monitoring System of the objective of detecting impending changes harmful to man's well-being early enough to provide governments with a basis for preventive action; and (2) to give particular attention, when considering the Executive Director's report on the International Referral System, to the needs of countries affected by problems of degradation and depletion of their natural resources for which information from the International Referral System would facilitate the adoption of measures for their solution. The largest number of requests were levied on the UNEP Executive Director. He was asked to prepare reports on the environmental impact of the wasteful use of natural resources; the concept of eco-development as a planning method for developing countries to achieve accelerated development; the legal aspects that may contribute to the identification, formulation, and development of principles of international environmental law; and the problems and matters related to environment on which developing countries would be interested in receiving training and technical assistance. He was also asked, among other things, to submit to the Governing Council at its next session a new formulation of UNEP activities bringing them into line with the Declaration and Program of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order; to accelerate consultations

with the WMO, jurists, scientists, and other experts in order to develop general principles and guidelines on studies for man-induced weather modification and related environmental phenomena; and to give priority in the Global Environment Monitoring System to environmental parameters different from pollutants that may be applied to environmental problems affecting principally developing countries.

In the U.S. view, this resolution goes far beyond the proper role of the General Assembly in relation to a UN program for which a governing body has been established to bear the main policy responsibility. The critical deficiency was the language requesting the UNEP Executive Director, without reference to the Governing Council from whom he is supposed to take his policy direction, to undertake a whole series of actions. The United States viewed this as affecting in an unacceptable way the relationship between the Governing Council and the Executive Director set out in the December 15, 1972, resolution that established UNEP. On December 9 the United States introduced an amendment that would have changed the first part of the paragraph concerned to "Requests the Governing Council of the United Nations Environment Program to consider requesting the Executive Director" while leaving the list of specific actions unchanged. The amendment was defeated by a vote of 6 (U.S.) to 65, with 36 abstentions. The United States therefore voted against the resolution as a whole, which was approved by a vote of 111 to 1 (U.S.), with 1 abstention (U.K.), and adopted by the Assembly on December 16 by a vote of 133 to 1 (U.S.), with 1 abstention.

The third resolution, sponsored by Colombia, Jamaica, Kenya, Philippines, and Sierra Leone, decided to establish as of January 1, 1975, the UN Habitat and Human Settlements Foundation, in accordance with the recommendation of the UNEP Governing Council (see above, p. 226). The United States supported the resolution in the Committee, where it was approved on December 4, by a vote of 85 to 0, with 11 abstentions, but voted against it in plenary where it was adopted on December 16 by a recorded vote of 122 to 1 (U.S.), with 11 abstentions (Bahamas, Barbados, Bulgaria,



Byelorussian S.S.R., Czechoslovakia, German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Mongolia, Poland, Ukrainian S.S.R., U.S.S.R.).

In an explanation of vote the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Ferguson, stated that the United States voted against the resolution because of the wholly unsatisfactory conclusions reached by ECOSOC in its consideration of the rationalization of the activities of the new Foundation and the Center for Housing, Building, and Planning. He noted that ECOSOC's consideration of this matter, which had been requested by the UNEP Governing Council, did not take place until after the General Assembly's Second Committee had approved the draft resolution. The United States was concerned that the Foundation would face considerable difficulty in carrying out the responsibilities assigned it without having a technical assistance arm and a research staff. ECOSOC could have provided these by proposing the merger of appropriate parts of the existing Center with the new Foundation. Such a merger would have precluded any chance of duplication between two separate UN organs, ensured that the Foundation got off to a good start, and obviated the need to call upon governments to provide additional funds beyond the voluntary contributions that were to provide the seed capital for the human settlements project. ECOSOC had decided, however, to keep the Center for Housing, Building, and Planning intact on the grounds that the essential technical assistance and research needs of the Foundation could be met by contracting with the Center. The Foundation will have no regular source of funds to pay for such services, and failing these services will probably be unable to attract the voluntary contributions for seed capital.

The fourth resolution, introduced by Upper Volta and eventually sponsored by 47 states, concerned international cooperation to combat desertification. In the resolution's final form, the Assembly (1) decided to initiate concerted international action to combat desertification; (2) decided to convene in 1977 a UN Conference on Desertification to give impetus to the international action in this field, (3) requested the Secretary General to authorize the Executive Director

of UNEP to establish a small conference secretariat drawing upon the resources of the UN system, especially UNEP, UNDP, FAO, UNESCO, and WMO; (4) requested the Secretary General to convene an ad hoc interagency task force to assist the conference secretariat in (a) preparing a world map of areas affected, (b) assessing all available data on desertification and its consequences on the development process, and (c) preparing an effective, comprehensive, and coordinated action program against desertification; (5) requested the Governing Councils of UNDP and UNEP to provide financial and technical assistance for the work of the task force; and (6) invited all organizations of the UN system to assist in the work of the task force.

The resolution in its original form was not acceptable to the United States because it gave too much emphasis to the convocation of a conference and not enough to the mounting of a program of which the conference would be a part. In its final version, however, which the United States supported, the resolution was approved without objection in the Second Committee on November 22 and adopted without objection by the Assembly on December 17.

#### 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 effects of ionizing radiation on man and his environment. Radiation in this context covers both natural and manmade environmental radiation (i.e., radiation from atmospheric and surface nuclear weapons tests, nuclear power plants, and peaceful nuclear explosions), and medical and occupational exposures. Dr. Richard H. Chamberlain, Chairman, Department of Radiology, University of Pennsylvania, is the U.S. Representative on UNSCEAR. In 1973 the General Assembly decided to increase the membership of UNSCEAR from 15<sup>19</sup>/to 20. The five new members, appointed by

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19/ Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, France, India, Japan, Mexico, Sweden, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom and United States.

the President of the Assembly in consultation with the chairmen of the regional groups, are the Federal Republic of Germany, Indonesia, Peru, Poland, and Sudan.

In 1958, 1962, and 1972 UNSCEAR submitted comprehensive reports to the General Assembly. A special report in 1964 covered contamination of the environment by nuclear tests and radiation carcinogenesis in man. A second special report in 1966 dealt with environmental radiation, both natural and artificial, and the genetic risks arising from exposure to ionizing radiation. A third special report in 1969 covered radioactive contamination of the environment by nuclear tests, effects of ionizing radiation on the nervous system, and radiation-induced chromosome aberrations in human cells.

At the 23d session, held from October 14 to 17, 1974, in Vienna, where its secretariat has moved from New York, there appeared to be general agreement on the need to put the possible risks and benefits from radiation in better perspective. UNSCEAR decided to submit another comprehensive report to the General Assembly in 1977 on the genetic and somatic effects of ionizing radiation, environmental radioactivity, occupational exposure, and medical irradiation. After some discussion of the beneficial and deleterious effects of low doses of radiation, UNSCEAR requested the UN Secretariat to prepare a paper for its next session on the beneficial effects of radiation. The Committee also asked the Secretariat to request from member states data on dose contributions from various sources in order that the Committee might better continue its assessment of radiation exposure.

The Committee planned to continue in the future its review and assessment of doses, effects, and risks of radiation from all sources, and believed that its work could contribute significantly to the UN Environment Program. It expressed the hope that active cooperation with UNEP in these matters could be firmly established and maintained in the future.

The Special Political Committee of the 29th General Assembly considered UNSCEAR's report on October 30 and 31 and approved without objection two

similar draft resolutions. By general agreement the first draft resolution, sponsored by France, was not subsequently put to the vote in the plenary Assembly. The second resolution, sponsored by Australia and 18 other states, was adopted by the full Assembly on November 12 without objection. In its operative paragraphs it, inter alia, noted with appreciation UNSCEAR's report; noted with concern that there had been further radioactive contamination from nuclear weapons tests since UNSCEAR had last reported; requested UNSCEAR to continue its work, including its coordinating activities, to increase knowledge of the levels and effects of atomic radiation from all sources; noted with appreciation that UNSCEAR considered its work could contribute significantly to UNEP and expressed the hope that active cooperations between the two bodies could be established and maintained; drew the attention of UNEP's Governing Council to UNSCEAR's report; and expressed the Assembly's appreciation for the assistance rendered UNSCEAR by the IAEA, the specialized agencies, and the nongovernmental organizations concerned.

#### SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY FOR DEVELOPMENT

ECOSOC's standing Committee on Science and Technology for Development<sup>20/</sup> held its second session in New York, March 11-29, 1974. The Committee approved

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<sup>20/</sup> Members in 1974 were Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Byelorussian S.S.R., Canada, Chile, Colombia, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Guatemala, India, Indonesia, Iran, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Malagasy Republic, Mexico, Mongolia, Netherlands, New Zealand, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Sierra Leone, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sweden, Syria, Tanzania, Tunisia, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, United States, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yemen (Aden), Yugoslavia, Zaire. There were seven vacancies.



without vote several draft resolutions, all of which were subsequently adopted without vote by ECOSOC on August 1 during its 57th session.

The Committee gave priority consideration to a proposed UN Conference on Science and Technology, tentatively recommended by ECOSOC and the General Assembly in 1973. While most of the developing countries favored recommending that such a conference be convened in 1978 or 1979, most of the developed countries wished to delay taking a decision on the conference until its scope and objectives were more clearly defined. A draft resolution was finally approved for adoption by ECOSOC calling for an inter-governmental working group of the Committee to meet in 1975 "to examine the specific objectives, topics, and agenda for such a conference."

Another resolution following on from action in 1973 concerned the quantification of scientific and technological activities related to development. At the Committee's first session in 1973 the developing countries had proposed a revision to the language of the International Development Strategy for the Second UN Development Decade that included setting quantified targets, expressed in percentages of GNP, for developed country assistance to the developing countries in this field. An expert group had met in December 1973 to clarify the technical problems associated with classifying and quantifying science and technology activities. Taking into account the conclusions of the expert group, the Committee approved in 1974 a resolution that did not refer to any set targets for aid in this field of activity, but (1) recommended that governments continue their efforts to establish or improve data systems on scientific and technological activities and devote specific efforts to identifying research and development projects of importance to the developing countries; and (2) requested UNESCO to serve as a focal point in the UN system for the development of concepts, criteria, and methodologies and to assist countries in elaborating and organizing their national data systems.

Another resolution of particular interest requested the Secretary General to convene an interagency task

force to identify problems of arid developing countries and to prepare an inventory of current programs "with a view to preparing a world program of development research and application on science and technology to solve the special problems of the arid areas." The resolution requested the interagency task force to report to the same working group to be set up by the Committee on the question of the proposed UN Conference on Science and Technology.

With respect to the continuing problem of the outflow of trained personnel from developing to developed countries, the Committee approved a resolution that (1) urged developing countries to evaluate the problem and to adopt the most appropriate measures to combat it, while respecting the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other international conventions; (2) recommended that countries which benefit from the phenomenon consider the adoption of measures that will help to diminish the problem; and (3) recommended that member states consider establishing a voluntary system of data collection on the phenomenon in order to estimate the net outflow of trained personnel from developing countries.

In other resolutions the Committee inter alia (1) requested the Secretary General to undertake a feasibility study on the progressive establishment of an international information exchange system for the transfer and assessment of technology with a view to ensuring that developing countries can readily obtain information beneficial to their technological development; and (2) decided that it should be the focal point for activities concerning the application of computer science and technology for the benefit of the development of all countries.

In addition to the draft resolutions proposed by the Committee on Science and Technology for Development, ECOSOC adopted on August 1, without a vote, a draft resolution introduced by Kenya and sponsored by 11 developing countries. The resolution requested the Secretary General to make a study on the work being done throughout the UN system in the field of development and transfer of science and technology and on the feasibility of establishing a UN science and technology program "to assist, facilitate, and ensure the

application of science and technology to development, particularly of the developing countries." This report was also to be submitted to the intergovernmental working group of the Committee on Science and Technology for Development, after which ECOSOC would consider making appropriate recommendations to the General Assembly at its 30th session.

#### UN INSTITUTE FOR TRAINING AND RESEARCH

The UNITAR Board of Trustees, which sets overall policy and approves the budget, held its 13th session in New York, September 24-27, 1974, following a working weekend in Atlantic City, New Jersey, September 20-22, designed to give Board members an additional opportunity to discuss the setting of priorities for the future work program. The U.S. Board member, Dr. Harvey Picker, Dean of the Columbia School of International Affairs, participated in both these meetings and emphasized the need for UNITAR to concentrate in training and research activities on demonstrated needs of the UN system.

The Board decided to expand training activities and align them more closely to areas of current concern, as well as to pursue actively the "Project on the Future," which is to provide for continuous examination of major trends that may require future responses from the UN system. This project was the subject of a special meeting in Moscow in June. Philippe de Seynes, former UN Under Secretary for Economic and Social Affairs, agreed to direct the project, the scope of which the Board considerably scaled down from earlier versions.

The Second Committee of the 29th General Assembly considered UNITAR at five meetings between October 7 and November 1. Opening the debate, UNITAR Executive Director Davidson Nicol stated that the Institute would devote increased attention to training both UN staff members and diplomats. He also said that UNITAR research and training activities would, in the future, be more closely integrated. He added that the future work program called for greater concentration of

activities; this was in response to the urging of many governments, including the United States.

Speaking on the same day, the U.S. Representative, Oliver C. Carmichael, Jr., welcomed the new emphasis on improving training activities, stressed the need for UNITAR's research to concentrate on issues of current concern to the international community, and called for wider financial support for UNITAR in view of the fact that less than 40 governments had contributed to its general fund. The United States contributed \$400,000 which, in 1974, amounted to approximately 24% of total government contributions to the Institute.

On November 1 the Second Committee approved without vote a draft resolution that (1) took note of the Executive Director's report; (2) noted with satisfaction the increasing effectiveness of the Institute; (3) invited the Institute "to organize its work in the sphere of economic and social research and training within its field of competence, taking full account of the Declaration and the Program of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order"; and (4) expressed the hope that UNITAR would have greater and wider financial support.

The proposed reference to the Declaration and Program of Action led to over 3 weeks of consultations before arriving at the compromise language finally adopted. The United States and some other members that had entered numerous reservations on the Declaration and Program of Action at the sixth special session strenuously objected to attempts on the part of some members of the Group of 77 to call for "implementation of the Declaration and Program of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order" in the UNITAR resolution.

The resolution as recommended by the Second Committee was adopted by the General Assembly without a vote on November 6.



UNITED NATIONS UNIVERSITY

In accordance with implementing provisions of the UN University Charter, adopted by the 28th General Assembly in December 1973, the UN Secretary General and the UNESCO Director General on May 3 announced appointments to the Council, which is the University's governing board. The 24 members, who serve in a personal capacity, are from Argentina, Brazil, Canada, Egypt, Ethiopia, France, Federal Republic of Germany, India, Iran, Italy, Japan, Kenya, Mexico, Nigeria, Pakistan, Poland, Romania, Senegal, Sweden, Syria, Trinidad and Tobago, United Kingdom, United States, and Venezuela. The U.S. citizen member is Dr. Edward Weidner, Chancellor of the University of Wisconsin at Green Bay. The Secretary General, the Director General of UNESCO, the Executive Director of UNITAR, and the Rector of the UN University are ex officio members of the Council.

The Council held three sessions in 1974, at UN Headquarters in New York in May and at UNESCO Headquarters in Paris in July and October. After establishing its rules of procedure and electing a chairman (the member from Canada), the Council began discussions on basic policy issues involved in setting up the University, which will consist of a worldwide network of advanced training and research centers and associated institutions and will have its headquarters in Japan. In October the Council made recommendations to the Secretary General from nominations that had been received for the position of rector, the chief academic and administrative officer of the University. In November the Secretary General, acting upon the Council's recommendations and with the concurrence of the UNESCO Director General, appointed James N. Hester, President of New York University, for a 5-year term as the Rector of UN University.

On December 14, the 29th UN General Assembly adopted without vote a resolution that had been sponsored in the Second Committee by Japan and 14 other states. The resolution welcomed the appointments and organizational progress that had been made during 1975 and underlined the need for adequate financing by

requesting "the Secretary General, in cooperation with the Rector and the Council of the United Nations University, to intensify his efforts to raise the funds for the dynamic development of the University from Governments and nongovernmental sources, including foundations, universities, and individuals, and to submit a progress report on fund-raising to the General Assembly at its 30th session, together with the annual report of the Council."

### STATISTICAL ACTIVITIES

ECOSOC's 24-member Statistical Commission,<sup>21/</sup> which provides overall guidance for UN statistical activities, held its 18th session in Geneva, October 7-18, 1974. It gave continued attention to the need for improved coordination in international statistical activities. Major improvements were noted in the UN Secretary General's report on plans for international statistical programs for the period 1975-79. The plans are now organized in terms of major strategies of statistical development and also contain data on the long-term programs of several organizations outside the UN system. The Commission and the United States believed that the report was most useful for fruitful discussion and planning and approved the major statistical policy objectives outlined in it.

One of the more sensitive issues before the Commission was whether the production of international trade statistics, which several years ago was transferred to the International Computing Center in Geneva, should not be transferred back to New York. Although

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<sup>21/</sup> Members in 1974 were Argentina, Brazil, Canada, Czechoslovakia, France, Gabon, Ghana, Hungary, India, Japan, Kenya, Malaysia, New Zealand, Sierra Leone, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sweden, Tunisia, Ukrainian S.S.R., U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, United States, Uruguay, and Venezuela.

the United States urged that consideration should first be given to improving the efficiency and timeliness of the production of these statistics in Geneva, the Commission decided that the transfer of the international trade statistics staff should proceed, if recommended by the UN Statistical Office in New York, as soon as it can be done without adversely affecting the International Computing Center.

### Statistics of the Developing Countries

An item of high priority on the agenda was improving the statistics of the developing countries. The Commission recommended that the results of the second Interregional Seminar on Statistical Organization, held in Canada in 1973, be incorporated into a new issue of the UN Handbook of Statistical Organization and strongly endorsed the usefulness of the on-going African Census Program and the planned 1980 World Population and Housing Census Program. The Commission also unanimously approved a draft resolution for adoption by ECOSOC recommending that UN member states carry out population and housing censuses during the period 1975-84, taking into account international census recommendations, so that the censuses might meet national requirements and facilitate the study of population and housing problems on a regional and global basis.

### System of Social and Demographic Statistics

The United States has consistently urged that more attention be given to readily obtained measures of social development, i.e., social indicators, and less attention to large-scale systems for social statistics. At the Commission's 18th session the United States urged that the goals of the proposed system of Social and Demographic Statistics (SSDS) be redefined and limited, and it suggested that national statistical offices carry out feasibility tests of the proposed system in limited areas. The United States also opposed publication in their present form of draft guidelines for social indicators prepared by the Secretariat. After considerable discussion,

it was agreed that the draft guidelines, along with two other documents on the potential uses of the SSDS for developing countries would be circulated for comment, revised, and, if completed, considered by the Commission at its next session.

### Environmental Statistics

First steps were taken at this session toward the development of a program of international work on statistics of the environment. Here, as in the discussion of the SSDS, the United States warned that the goals of the system were overly ambitious, and that a more modest set of expectations was essential. The Commission concurred that a more manageable step-by-step approach should be taken and that the work should begin as soon as possible.

### Statistical Classifications

The Commission completed and approved the Standard International Trade Classification (SITC), Revision 2. The Commission unanimously approved a resolution for adoption by ECOSOC requesting the Secretary General to publish the SITC Rev. 2, together with commodity indexes, the subdivided Brussels Tariff Nomenclature (BTN), and the correlation codes between the SITC Rev. 2 and the BTN and between the SITC Rev. 2 and the Classification by Broad Economic Categories. The Secretary General was also requested to arrange for the United Nations to publish SITC data in the form of Rev. 2 beginning with 1976 data.

The Commission also reviewed the development since its 16th session in 1970 of the UNESCO Draft International Standard Classification of Education and the Draft International Standard Classification of All Goods and Services (ICGS). It was agreed that the ICGS should be aligned as far as possible with the SITC Rev. 2.



### International Trade Reconciliation

As a result of discussions by the Working Group on International Statistical Programs and Coordination, a report on a reconciliation study of international trade statistics was submitted for consideration by the Commission. The report proposed a comprehensive study of the differences in trade statistics reported by trading partners. The report also recommended the convening of an expert group to study the results and to formulate a program of work. Copies of a report by the United States-Canada Trade Statistics Committee, "The Reconciliation of United States-Canada Trade Statistics, 1970," were distributed at the session.

The Commission agreed that international trade reconciliation was a worthwhile proposal and requested the UN Statistical Office to give it further study. The Commission also noted the offer of both the United States and Canada to provide assistance to countries wishing to reconcile their bilateral trade statistics.

### Other Subjects

Among other subjects considered at the Commission's 18th session was a revised version of the international recommendations on statistics of the distributive trades and services. The Commission unanimously agreed that the revised version dealt satisfactorily with the views expressed at the 17th session as well as comments submitted by member states. The Secretariat was asked to revise the document again to reflect the comments made at the present session and to issue it as the international recommendations on statistics of the distributive trades.

The Commission also adopted draft guidelines on two other subjects. The first were for the use of the developing countries in programs of statistics on the distribution of income, consumption, and accumulation. The second were draft international guidelines on the national and sector balance sheet and reconciliation accounts of the System of National Accounts.

## HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS

A significant part of the UN experience in the human rights field has from the beginning been the development of a methodology for promoting respect for human rights at the international level. In recent years the emphasis has shifted away from the drafting of international instruments (such as treaties, declarations, or sets of principles) toward examination of current human rights problems. This shift was accentuated in 1974 when there was increasing attention to specific country situations or to problem areas, such as torture, growing out of current experience in particular countries.

The 32-member UN Commission on Human Rights<sup>22/</sup> held its 30th session in New York, February 4-March 8, 1974. Aspects of its work were further considered in ECOSOC and the General Assembly.

## HUMAN RIGHTS AND SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENTS

Following up a resolution of the 1968 Tehran Conference that pointed up the dangers to human rights that might accompany recent scientific discoveries and technological developments, the General Assembly and the Human Rights Commission have given regular attention to the problems involved by the elaboration and review of reports and studies prepared by the Secretary General. For the 1974 Commission session the Secretary General had prepared preliminary reports concerning the impact of scientific and technological developments on certain economic, social, and cultural

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<sup>22/</sup> Members during 1974 were Austria, Bulgaria, Byelorussian S.S.R., Chile, Cyprus, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, France, Ghana, India, Iran, Iraq, Italy, Lebanon, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Romania, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Tanzania, Tunisia, Turkey, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, United States, and Zaire.

rights (such as the rights to an adequate standard of living, to work, to rest and leisure, and to social security) as well as reports on respect for the privacy of individuals and on the uses of electronics. Instead of focusing upon the substance of these reports and the numerous complex problems which they raised, the discussion revolved around the general approach to be adopted. There was a dichotomy of views between those states favoring emphasis on economic and social rights and those favoring emphasis on civil and political rights. The Commission's resolution which was adopted, by a vote of 28 (U.S.) to 0, with 2 abstentions, was a compromise between the two points of view and gave equal billing to both. It called for comments by governments on all the studies already prepared and for an analysis of the comments by the Secretary General in order to enable the Commission "to consider possible guidelines on standards which could be included in appropriate international instruments." The Commission decided to continue consideration of the item at further sessions with a view to taking further action on the matter.

At the 29th General Assembly the Third Committee devoted five meetings to this item, with the discussion focusing upon a draft resolution proposed by France and 10 other states. The draft resolution, after taking note of research and studies already undertaken by the United Nations and the specialized agencies, in its principal operative paragraph requested the Commission to draw up a program of work "with a view to undertaking in particular the formulation of standards in the areas which would appear to be sufficiently analyzed . . . and to transmit that program to the Economic and Social Council at its 60th session." In another operative paragraph the resolution drew the attention of states to the advantages of measures to adapt national legislation and practices "not only to take account of new technology but also to safeguard the fundamental rights of the individual and of groups or organizations in all sectors of social life." The draft resolution was approved in the Third Committee on December 5 by a vote of 86 (U.S.) to 0, with 8 abstentions. The resolution was adopted in plenary on December 10 by a vote of 114 (U.S.) to 0, with 10 abstentions.

On December 3 the U.S.S.R. introduced a draft resolution, sponsored by six states, that contained a draft "Declaration on the use of scientific and technological progress in the interests of peace and for the benefit of mankind." Due to the imbalance in the proposed declaration, which emphasized concern over the impact of science and technology on economic and social development but largely ignored concern over the impact on civil and political rights and individual human freedoms, a number of states, including the United States, proposed amendments. Because time did not allow for a careful consideration of the proposed declaration, the Third Committee approved without a vote a proposal by Ghana to defer further consideration until the 30th Assembly when it would be taken up as a matter of priority. The Secretary General was requested to bring the draft declaration and proposed amendments to the attention of member states for any comments or suggestions they might wish to make. The deferral was endorsed in plenary without a vote on December 10.

#### HUMAN RIGHTS AND DÉTENTE

Toward the end of its session the Commission briefly took up an item which has been on its agenda for several sessions but repeatedly postponed entitled "Further promotion and encouragement of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms." Discussion focused on the desirability of preparing a long-term work program for the Commission. A draft resolution calling for proposals and views of member states to be submitted for consideration at the next session was sponsored by the Netherlands, Austria, Ecuador, and Iran and adopted without a vote on March 5. Somewhat unrelated to the subject was another draft resolution sponsored by Bulgaria, Byelorussian S.S.R., and the U.S.S.R. This draft, in its preambular paragraphs, referred to the massive and gross violations of human rights which result from aggression or armed conflicts and emphasized that the right to life is the most important inalienable right of every person. In its operative paragraphs it would have had the Commission inter alia welcome recent efforts by states



to strengthen universal peace and international détente, express the firm conviction that every person has a right to live in conditions of international peace and security, and appeal to all states "to give urgent attention to the adoption of measures which are designed to strengthen international peace and security and are conducive to the creation of the most favorable conditions for social progress and for observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms, and above all the inalienable right of every person to life." In the debate, certain Western delegations pointed out that all mass violations of human rights were not the result of wars but that on the contrary such violations had sometimes been the cause of wars. It was also emphasized that the right to life, as recognized in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, comprised the right to "liberty and security of person" as well. In informal negotiations with the U.S.S.R. delegation, the U.S. delegation proposed a number of changes in the operative paragraphs which were designed to place an altered emphasis upon the link between human rights and peace so as to stress the importance of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms as a foundation for strengthening international peace and security. Because it was obvious that enough time was not available to formulate a text that might be generally acceptable, the Commission accepted without objection a motion by Tanzania to adjourn consideration of the matter until its 31st session.

#### HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE

The question of human rights in Chile, although not on the agenda, was a subject of prime attention by the Commission. The matter was raised by the communist members--the U.S.S.R., Byelorussian S.S.R., and Bulgaria--in relation to the general item dealing with violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms which appears on the agenda each year. Although no draft resolutions were tabled, the private discussions centered on the possibility of dispatching an investigatory team to look into the allegations of human rights violations said to have taken place in Chile following the change in government in

September 1973. An alternative idea, which gradually gained more support, was to authorize the Chairman to address a telegram to the Government of Chile. This idea was based on precedents in the Commission's practice when the Commission had acted as an urgent matter to express its concern in other cases of reported human rights violations.

The intensive private negotiations finally resulted in a telegram which the Commission decided without a vote on March 1 to authorize its Chairman, Felix Ermacora (Austria), to send. The telegram expressed the deep concern of the Commission over "numerous reports from a wide variety of sources relating to gross and massive violations of human rights in Chile." The Commission called upon the Government of Chile for the immediate cessation of any kind of human rights violations committed contrary to the principles of the UN Charter and other international instruments and expressed particular concern for the protection of persons whose lives were reported to be in imminent danger. Listing the names of some outstanding political, social, and cultural figures held in detention, the Commission insisted that these and other Chilean citizens and foreigners in similar situations should not be prevented from leaving the country if they wished to do so. The telegram closed with the request that the Chilean authorities inform the Commission Chairman as a matter of urgency about the measures undertaken in pursuance of the telegram.

On March 7, the Permanent Representative of Chile sent a letter of reply addressed to the Commission Chairman. The letter objected to the initiative taken by the Soviet Union to attack Chile, charged that the picture of human rights in Chile had been distorted, explained that persons were being detained because of the existence of an emergency posed by the interventionist activities of the Soviet Union, indicated that persons had been released and that others would be released at the end of the emergency except those prosecuted for common crimes, and reiterated the commitment of the Government of Chile to conventions pertaining to human rights. The Commission was assured that under the present Government of Chile "no arbitrary action has been or will be taken against

any persons, that their rights have been and will be respected, and that the life of no person in the country is threatened."

At the spring session of ECOSOC the question of human rights in Chile was again raised during the debate on the Commission's report on its 30th session. A draft resolution sponsored by the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, and Sweden was approved by the ECOSOC Social Committee after the addition of a minor U.S.S.R. amendment. The resolution, subsequently approved without vote by ECOSOC, in preambular paragraphs recalled the Commission's telegram and reply of the Government of Chile, and expressed concern over the continued reports of violations of human rights in Chile. In its operative paragraphs it endorsed the concern of the Human Rights Commission and called upon the Government of Chile "to take all necessary steps to restore and safeguard basic human rights and fundamental freedoms in Chile, particularly in those cases involving a threat to human life and liberty."

The next occasion for discussing human rights in Chile in the United Nations occurred at the 1974 session of the subcommission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities<sup>23/</sup> (see page 268). The Subcommission acted under a new agenda item, "The question of the human rights of persons subjected to any form of detention or imprisonment," designed primarily to encompass consideration of the problem of torture (see p.253), which the Commission on March 6 authorized the Subcommission to include in its agenda. By a vote of 17 to 0, with 4 abstentions, the Subcommittee adopted a resolution in which it expressed its concern about the reports of gross violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms in Chile, including arbitrary arrest, torture, and cruel and inhuman

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<sup>23/</sup> The Subcommission is composed of 26 experts, serving in their individual capacities, elected by the Commission on Human Rights for 3-year terms. W. Beverly Carter, Jr., of the United States is a member.

treatment of the prisoners and detainees in jails and concentration camps. The Subcommission addressed an urgent appeal to the Government of Chile to restore and safeguard human rights and recommended that the Human Rights Commission, at its 31st session, study the reported violations of human rights in Chile, with particular reference to torture and other cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment or punishment. The resolution also requested specialized agencies, other intergovernmental organizations, and nongovernmental organizations to submit recent and reliable information on the matter to the Secretary General for reference to the Commission.

The Subcommission's resolution was the centerpiece of a resolution on human rights in Chile which was adopted by the 29th General Assembly. During the Third Committee's consideration of the agenda item relating to the report of ECOSOC, two draft resolutions were proposed, one by Algeria, Cuba, and 10 more African, Asian, and Eastern European states, and another by the Netherlands, Sweden, and 6 more Western European and other states. Both drafts reiterated the expressions of concern over reports of human rights violations and addressed appeals to the Government of Chile to heed this concern. The Netherlands draft, in addition, underlined the importance of the Subcommission's recommendation for a study of the reported violations of human rights in Chile. The United Kingdom proposed a number of amendments to the Algeria-Cuba draft resolution designed to mitigate its extreme tone. Both draft resolutions, as well as the amendments, were subsequently withdrawn in favor of a joint text cosponsored by all the previous sponsors, plus the United Kingdom and 10 other states.

The operative paragraphs of the joint text expressed deepest concern over the continuing reports of constant flagrant violations of basic human rights in Chile, reiterated a repudiation of all forms of torture, urged the Chilean authorities to take all necessary steps to restore and safeguard basic human rights and to release persons detained without charge or imprisoned solely for political reasons, endorsed the Subcommission's recommendation for a study, requested the President of the 29th General Assembly and



the Secretary General "to assist in any way they may deem appropriate in the reestablishment of basic human rights and fundamental freedoms in Chile," and requested the Secretary General to report to the 30th Assembly on action taken and progress achieved.

The joint draft resolution was approved in the Third Committee on October 22 by a rollcall vote of 83 to 9, with 21 abstentions (U.S.).

In explaining his vote, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Bennett, referred to the concern of the U.S. Government, both the Executive Branch and the Congress, and the American people generally, over reported violations of human rights in Chile. He noted that the Government of Chile "knows of our concerns both directly and through our support for the work of international bodies concerned with human rights." He referred to the fact that hundreds of detainees had been released by the Government of Chile and to the satisfaction that had been expressed by the UNHCR over the cooperation given by the Government of Chile in refugee matters. Ambassador Bennett criticized the resolution as deficient in failing to take note of the progress that had been made. He said that the United States could have supported a resolution limited to an endorsement of the Subcommission's recommendation for a study. The proposed resolution, however, made an objective study impossible by prejudging the issues and concluding that there has been no improvement in conditions in Chile. "The resolution seems more designed to condemn the Government of Chile than to bring the constructive opinions of the United Nations to bear so as to influence that Government to cooperate in bringing about improvements." Ambassador Bennett also observed that some of the cosponsors had denounced reported violations of human rights in Chile in the strongest terms while many of the same rights did not exist in their own countries. He ended his statement by saying:

" . . . my Government, along with all free peoples, will support genuine and objective efforts to secure full enjoyment of basic human rights in Chile, or in any country. However, we cannot support a resolution so lacking in essential balance and fairness."

The Third Committee resolution was subsequently adopted by the General Assembly on November 6 by a recorded vote of 90 to 8, with 26 abstentions (U.S.).

### THE PROBLEM OF TORTURE

Reports of the practice of torture in a number of countries throughout the world have become increasingly numerous and well documented, both from nongovernmental and governmental sources. At its 28th session in 1973 the General Assembly expressed its concern over the fact that torture was still practiced in various parts of the world, rejected any form of torture, and decided to examine the matter further at a future session.

In his address to the 29th General Assembly on September 23, Secretary Kissinger stated that in coming months the United States would make specific proposals for the United Nations to initiate a major international effort to prohibit torture.

Prior to the convening of the 29th General Assembly the United States had consulted with Western European states, principally the Netherlands, over the terms of a draft resolution designed to address the problem of torture and to bring to bear the resources of the United Nations in dealing with it. During the discussion in the Third Committee of the ECOSOC report, the Netherlands introduced a draft resolution that was the product of the informal discussions which had taken place since mid-summer. This draft resolution, which was sponsored by 20 states, including the United States, referred to the increase in the number of alarming reports on torture and expressed the conviction that further and sustained efforts were necessary to protect under all circumstances the basic human right to be free from torture and other cruel, inhuman, degrading treatment or punishment. As the focal point for the UN effort to strengthen protections against torture, the resolution requested the Fifth UN Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment

of Offenders<sup>24/</sup> to include in the elaboration of the Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners rules for the protection of all persons subjected to any form of detention or imprisonment against torture and other cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment or punishment and to report thereon to the General Assembly at its 30th session. The resolution also invited WHO to draft an outline of the principles of medical ethics that might be relevant to the protection of persons subjected to any form of detention or imprisonment against torture or similar treatment and to bring the draft to the attention of the Fifth UN Congress. Finally, the draft resolution provided that the General Assembly would consider the question of torture and other cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment or punishment in relation to detention or imprisonment at its 30th session.

The U.S. position was presented by Senator Percy on October 18. He noted that torture is an abuse which is most likely to prevail when associated legal protections do not exist, and he underlined the importance of codes of law that guarantee such basic rights of detained persons as notification of arrest, right to counsel, and right to appear promptly before a judge. He suggested that model codes should be developed for the use of countries that wished to improve and strengthen their systems of justice. He promised that the U.S. Government would work closely with other interested governments to advance the development of model codes. Senator Percy concluded that:

"It is a sad commentary . . . that this committee, just a little more than 25 years after the adoption by the General Assembly of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, finds it necessary to single out the problem of torture as one which today requires our attention. We share with many others feelings of dismay and outrage whenever we receive reports which seem to indicate that the practice

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24/ Scheduled for September 1975.

of torture has been pursued officially. We need not, however, be discouraged if we view our work in the long perspective of history and if we recognize the unique and practical opportunities which the United Nations and its organs afford us.

"In the past few centuries steady progress can be discerned toward the universal goal of protection of the rights of the individual person. As we all know, the world has witnessed serious and tragic lapses in the treatment of human beings over wide areas and for lengthy periods. Yet I have no doubt that, taking the world as a whole, there has been a gradual improvement over the years in the behavior of states toward their own citizenry."

The draft resolution was approved in the Third Committee on October 22 by a vote of 111 (U.S.) to 1, with 2 abstentions, and adopted by the General Assembly on November 6 by a vote of 125 (U.S.) to 0, with 1 abstention.

#### MISSING IN ACTION IN ARMED CONFLICTS

A resolution unanimously adopted at the 22d International Conference of the Red Cross, which met in Tehran October 28-November 15, 1973, dealt with the problem of accounting for missing and dead. In a preambular paragraph it recognized that "one of the tragic consequences of armed conflicts is a lack of information on persons who are missing or who have died, including those who died in captivity." The problem of accounting for the missing and the dead in armed conflicts is one which has acutely concerned the U.S. Government since the end of the hostilities in Vietnam. The United States has also been concerned with the lack of information available on U.S. personnel missing in action during the Korean conflict. The problem has also been of concern to other countries that have been parties to armed conflicts in recent years.



In order to focus attention upon the problem and to assist U.S. efforts to obtain information on men lost in Southeast Asia, the United States undertook at the 29th General Assembly to secure the approval of an appropriate resolution. After U.S. consultations with a number of other governments, Senator Percy on October 21 introduced a draft resolution on assistance and cooperation in accounting for persons who are missing or dead in armed conflicts. The resolution was ultimately cosponsored by Austria, Bangladesh, Belgium, Costa Rica, Cyprus, the Federal Republic of Germany, Honduras, Italy, Nepal, Pakistan, the Philippines, and Turkey.

In its final form the resolution, in preambular paragraphs, recalled that one of the purposes of the United Nations was the promotion of international cooperation in solving international problems of a humanitarian character, drew attention to the tragic circumstance of lack of information on missing or dead persons in armed conflicts and the need to accomplish the humanitarian task of accounting for missing and dead, and considered that provision of information on those who are missing or who have died should not be delayed merely because other issues remain pending. In its operative paragraphs the resolution reaffirmed the applicability of the Geneva Conventions of 1949 to all armed conflicts, as stipulated by those Conventions; called on parties to armed conflicts of whatever character or location to take such action as might be within their power to help locate and mark the graves of the dead, to facilitate the disinterment and return of remains, if requested by their families, and to provide information about those who were missing in action; expressed appreciation to the ICRC for its continuing assistance in accounting for the missing and dead; called on the parties to armed conflicts to cooperate with the ICRC in providing information on the missing and dead in armed conflicts; and requested the Secretary General to bring the resolution to the attention of the second session of the Diplomatic Conference on the Reaffirmation and Development of International Humanitarian Law Applicable in Armed Conflicts, scheduled to convene in Geneva in February 1975.

The U.S.-proposed resolution was approved in the Third Committee on October 29 by a vote of 72 (U.S.) to 0, with 27 abstentions. Prior to this vote, a number of amendments proposed by the German Democratic Republic and Bulgaria designed to limit the scope of the resolution were rejected. A minor linguistic amendment proposed by Bulgaria was approved. The resolution was subsequently adopted by the plenary Assembly on November 6 by a vote of 95 (U.S.) to 0, with 32 abstentions.

NEW PROCEDURES FOR DEALING WITH HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS

In 1974 the Commission on Human Rights acted for the first time under the new procedures laid down by ECOSOC resolution 1503, adopted in May 1970 with strong U.S. support. This resolution authorizes the examination by the Subcommission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities of the thousands of private communications on human rights received by the United Nations each year. (Prior to this resolution, private communications were simply noted without comment or further action.) Particular situations which appear to reveal a consistent pattern of gross and reliably attested violations of human rights are to be referred to the Commission on Human Rights. The Commission's role is to determine whether any of the situations referred to it require a thorough study, report, and recommendations to ECOSOC or whether the situation may be the subject of an investigation by an ad hoc committee to be appointed by the Commission. In the latter case the ad hoc investigation may be undertaken only with the express consent of the state concerned.

For the first time since the adoption of the resolution in 1970, the Commission received from the Subcommission a number of cases which the latter had decided fit the criterion noted above. The Commission's functions are expressly directed to be kept confidential until such time as it may decide to make recommendations to ECOSOC. Because of the confidentiality requirement the details of the Commission's consideration of the cases referred to it have not yet been published.

The Commission devoted five closed meetings to this item on its agenda. It reported that it had examined a number of procedural as well as substantive questions relating to the application of ECOSOC resolution 1503.

An important procedural decision taken by the Commission, not deemed subject to the confidentiality requirement, dealt with the role of the governments concerned in the situations referred to the Commission as well as with the Commission's own procedures for dealing with the mass of documentation accompanying the referrals. The Commission decided to refer the relevant documents to the governments concerned with the request that they send their observations to the Commission by December 1, 1974. This decision was necessary because resolution 1503 makes no provision for consultation with the governments concerned. It was the Commission's view that before it embarked upon an examination of the cases every effort should be made to secure in advance the views of the governments concerned and to encourage their cooperation.

To enable it to cope most effectively with the large amount of documentation related to each of the cases, the Commission decided to establish a five-member working group to meet one week before the 1975 session of the Commission and examine the documents relating to the cases referred by the Subcommittee, the observations of governments, and any further report that the Subcommittee might submit.

The Commission also decided that in the future, provision for submission of observations by governments concerned should be made a part of the regular procedure prior to the examination of the situations by the Commission. On the final day of the session the Commission Chairman appointed as members of the working group the members from Ghana, the Netherlands, Pakistan, and Panama. The member of the group from the Eastern European states was left open for later appointment.

The 56th ECOSOC on May 17 endorsed the Commission's decision to establish a working group by a vote of 42 (U.S.) to 5, with 2 abstentions.

RELIGIOUS INTOLERANCE

At the 28th General Assembly in 1973 the Third Committee concluded its debate on a draft declaration on the elimination of all forms of religious intolerance by adopting a resolution requesting the Commission on Human Rights to take up the declaration as a matter of priority at its 30th session and, if possible, to submit a single draft declaration to the Assembly in 1974.

At its 30th session the Commission decided, after a general debate on the subject, to establish an informal working group open to all members of the Commission. This working group, which was chaired by the French Representative, held six meetings throughout the course of the session. Its accomplishments were meager: it agreed upon the title and the first preambular paragraph and recorded its disagreement on the second preambular paragraph. Consequently, the Commission decided to inform the General Assembly, through ECOSOC, that it had not yet completed its work on the draft declaration and that it intended to give the elaboration of the declaration priority at its 31st session.

At the 29th General Assembly, the Third Committee devoted six meetings to the item. In order to facilitate progress by the Assembly in the drafting of a declaration in the face of the disappointing record of the Commission, the Netherlands and Sweden introduced a working paper which contained a somewhat shortened version of the draft declaration, based upon other texts previously introduced. In addition to the working paper, the Third Committee was presented with a draft resolution proposed by Bulgaria and the Byelorussian S.S.R. calling for a deferral of consideration of the draft declaration until a single draft was submitted to the Assembly by the Commission on Human Rights. While there was some further debate on the substance of the new working paper, the Committee's deliberations dwelt largely upon the terms of a resolution that would indicate its future course of work.



Acting upon the Bulgarian-Byelorussian draft and amendments submitted to it by the Netherlands and Sweden, the Committee finally decided to transmit to the Commission on Human Rights all the opinions and suggestions put forward in the course of the discussion at the 29th Assembly (including the new working paper) and to request the Commission to submit to the 30th Assembly a single draft declaration. It further decided to include in the provisional agenda of the 30th Assembly an item on religious intolerance "with a view to considering, completing, and adopting, if possible, a Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and of Discrimination Based on Religion or Belief, provided a single draft is completed by the Commission on Human Rights."

The Committee approved this draft resolution on November 21 by a vote of 67 to 1, with 29 abstentions (U.S.). In plenary the final operative paragraph was amended on a proposal submitted by the Netherlands, Sweden, Pakistan, and 12 other states. Under the amendment, which was approved by a recorded vote of 66 (U.S.) to 18, with 41 abstentions, the Assembly decided, in addition to considering, completing, and adopting a declaration if the completion of a single draft has been accomplished by the Commission on Human Rights, also to assess progress made on its elaboration during the interim. The resolution as a whole was then adopted by a vote of 100 (U.S.) to 1 (Cuba), with 24 abstentions.

#### HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES OF THE MIDDLE EAST

Once again, as it has done since 1968, the Commission considered the question of the violation of human rights in the territories occupied as a result of hostilities in the Middle East. The resolutions on this matter have become predictably repetitious and, because the outlines of the charges and countercharges have been so clearly set, the debates have become relatively brief and routine. Only two meetings were devoted to this item at the 30th session. A draft resolution, submitted by Egypt, India, Lebanon,

Pakistan, Tanzania, and Tunisia, was like others previously approved by the Commission in repeating its condemnation of certain practices in the occupied territories allegedly being carried on by Israel. Inter alia it deplored Israel's continued grave breaches of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War as well as its persistent defiance of UN resolutions, and called upon Israel to comply with its obligations under various UN instruments.

During the voting on the resolution, the U.S. Representative requested a separate vote on a number of paragraphs that appeared most offensive, namely, that paragraph which characterized certain alleged Israeli actions as "war crimes," as well as paragraphs containing further allegations which were deemed to have been unsubstantiated. The United States voted against these three paragraphs. The draft resolution as a whole was adopted by the Commission by a rollcall vote of 21 to 1 (Nicaragua), with 8 abstentions (U.S.). (For discussion of the issue of human rights in the occupied territories during the 29th General Assembly, see page 23.)

#### HUMAN RIGHTS MACHINERY

When the 28th General Assembly in 1973 considered the proposal to create a UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, it adopted a resolution that broadened the scope of the question by deciding "to keep under review the consideration of alternative approaches and ways and means within the UN system for improving the effective enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms." It also decided to include the subject on the agenda of its 30th session in 1975.

Aware of the importance of preparing adequately for the discussion of this question in 1975, the U.S. and a number of Western European delegations consulted on a possible draft resolution that would assure the preparation of necessary background documentation and stimulate thinking about new ideas. During the Third Committee's consideration of the report of ECOSOC

the United Kingdom proposed a draft resolution which, after some Committee discussion, was slightly revised to make possible its adoption without a vote.

In the operative paragraphs of the resolution, which was approved by the Third Committee on October 28 and adopted by the plenary on November 6, the Assembly requested the Secretary General to solicit the views of member states, the specialized agencies, and regional intergovernmental organizations on alternative approaches and ways and means within the UN system for improving the effective enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms; invited nongovernmental organizations to submit relevant material on the subject (so long as the material is not "politically motivated"); and requested the Secretary General to prepare for the 30th Assembly an analytical report based on the views and materials submitted.

During final plenary consideration the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Schaufele, underlined the importance attached to the matter by the United States. He urged that member states respond to the resolution with seriously considered ideas for improving the human rights machinery so that the UN role in the human rights field could be made more effective. He expressed the hope that with the cooperative efforts of all member states there would be a constructive and well-prepared discussion of this important subject at the 30th General Assembly.

#### MIGRANT WORKERS

At the request of the Commission on Human Rights the Subcommittee on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, at its regular session in September 1973, decided to prepare a study on the problem of the exploitation of labor through illicit and clandestine trafficking. This problem, arising out of reports of the serious exploitation of migrant labor, especially that coming from Africa to Western Europe, has caused concern both to the Commission and to the General Assembly.

During the Third Committee's consideration of the agenda item on racial discrimination, Mexico introduced on October 9 a draft resolution dealing with measures to improve the situation of migrant workers. The original draft noted with satisfaction the decision of the Subcommittee to study the problem of illicit labor and invited all states "to extend to all migrant workers who enter their countries legally or surreptitiously treatment equal to that provided by the receiving state for its nationals, with respect to their human rights and the rights which emanate from the national legislation of the receiving state." A further provision invited states "to promote and facilitate by all means in their power the adoption of bilateral agreements which help to reduce the illicit traffic in alien workers."

As the result of private and public discussion of the draft resolution, Mexico submitted a revision which took account of the widespread criticism of the original text as attempting to lay down recommendations that were too far-reaching in a field that was exceedingly complicated. The revised draft distinguished between migrant workers entering countries legally and those entering surreptitiously. In the resolution's final form states were invited to extend to migrant workers entering their countries legally treatment equal to that provided for their own nationals with regard to human rights and to the provisions of their labor legislation applicable to such migrant workers. The provision on bilateral agreements noted above was retained and a third paragraph was added providing that, pending the conclusion of such bilateral agreements, states be invited "to adopt the appropriate measures to ensure that the human rights of migrant workers who enter their territory surreptitiously are fully respected."

Unfortunately, the revised draft resolution was voted on in Committee without adequate time for consultation between delegations and their governments. On October 10 the Committee approved the Mexican draft by a vote of 97 to 0, with 4 abstentions (U.S.).

The resolution was adopted by the Assembly on November 6 by a vote of 110 (U.S.) to 0, with 1 abstention. Ambassador Schaufele explained the U.S.



vote. He regretted that in the Third Committee there had been insufficient time to give thorough consideration to the substance of the resolution and noted that the revised draft resolution contained major improvements over the original text. He referred to the importance of the study of the problem of migrant labor now being carried out by the Subcommittee and reaffirmed that it was U.S. policy to give equitable and humane treatment to all migrant workers legally or illegally within the borders of the United States. He noted that the problems of legal or illegal migrant labor varied in different parts of the world and that in cases where bilateral agreements were considered appropriate, it was up to the parties to such agreement to decide what was necessary to meet the specific situation. He closed by stating the belief that the resolution adopted was in keeping with U.S. concern for the status of migrant workers, both legal and illegal, and with the U.S. desire to ensure that they enjoy their full measure of basic human rights.

#### ELIMINATION OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

In 1974 the Commission once again addressed the problem of racial discrimination in southern Africa, this time from the point of view of a new item which had been proposed by the Subcommittee on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities at its 1973 meeting. This item dealt with "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 southern Africa." The Subcommittee's proposal included a recommendation that the Commission direct the Subcommittee to appoint a special rapporteur to evaluate urgently the adverse consequences.

A draft resolution proposed by the eight African members of the Commission endorsed the study idea and authorized the Subcommittee to appoint a special rapporteur "to evaluate urgently the importance and the sources of political, military, economic, and other assistance given by certain states to the racist and colonial regimes in southern Africa, as well as the

direct or indirect effects of such assistance on the perpetuation of colonialism, racial discrimination, and apartheid." The resolution also contained a proposed draft resolution, for adoption by ECOSOC, containing two principal operative paragraphs which: (1) considered that states giving assistance to racist and colonialist regimes in southern Africa were accomplices of those regimes in respect of their criminal policies of racial discrimination, apartheid, and colonialism, and (2) condemned the activities of states that either continued to give assistance or that refrained from taking steps to prevent natural or juridical persons within their jurisdictions from assisting these regimes and thus encouraging them to continue violating fundamental human rights. The ECOSOC resolution also confirmed the Commission's authorization for the appointment of a special rapporteur. In the voting on the proposed resolution a separate vote was taken on the two operative paragraphs described above. These were adopted by a vote of 21 to 2 (U.K., U.S.), with 5 abstentions. The draft resolution as a whole was approved on February 14 by a vote of 21 to 0, with 7 abstentions (U.S.). The United States voted against the two operative paragraphs because it disagreed with the characterization of the effect of "assistance" since it was obvious from the debate surrounding this word that the term "assistance" was intended to include general economic and commercial relations, with special attention to direct or indirect investments.

The U.S. Representative, Philip E. Hoffman, also pointed out that those two operative paragraphs appeared to prejudge seriously the results of the study the special rapporteur was called upon to make. The United States abstained on the resolution as a whole because in spite of the first two operative paragraphs it nevertheless supported the broad purpose of the resolution which was to strengthen opposition to policies of apartheid and racial discrimination as pursued in southern Africa.

At the 56th ECOSOC the resolution proposed by the Commission was adopted on May 17 by a vote of 36 to 0, with 12 abstentions (U.S.).

DECADE FOR ACTION TO COMBAT RACISM AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

Under the program for the Decade which was launched by the General Assembly on December 10, 1973, ECOSOC is charged with an examination of activities undertaken or planned in connection with the Decade. Its examination is based on annual reports submitted to ECOSOC by the Secretary General. At its 56th session ECOSOC on May 17 adopted without a vote a resolution sponsored by Egypt and 18 other, mostly African, states. The resolution, which was to be recommended for adoption by the General Assembly, contained a number of provisions similar to previous resolutions concerned with apartheid, colonialism, or southern Africa. Inter alia, it condemned "the intolerable conditions which continue to prevail" in southern Africa and elsewhere and appealed to all member states to cooperate fully in fulfilling the goals and objectives of the Decade by taking a number of specific actions and measures, ratifying relevant UN conventions, providing comments and views on the draft agenda and timing of a world conference on combatting racial discrimination, and calling the attention of national gymnastic federations to the inadmissibility of their participation in competitions at gymnastic championships and other sports activities with "the representatives of the racist regime of South Africa."

At the 29th General Assembly, a number of minor amendments were proposed to the draft resolution recommended by ECOSOC, but none of the amendments materially changed the sense of the resolution and all were adopted without vote. The amended resolution was then adopted unanimously, both in the Third Committee on October 10 and by the General Assembly on November 6.

ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND CULTURAL RIGHTS

A highlight of the 30th session of the Commission was the receipt from its special rapporteur of a completed study on the realization of the economic,

social, and cultural rights contained in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and in the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights. This study had been requested by the Commission in 1969 and Manouchehr Ganji of Iran had been appointed special rapporteur. The completed study covered some 600 mimeographed pages and contained a set of 13 recommendations which were later revised by the special rapporteur to number 20.

The Commission devoted six meetings to the item, a period of time not nearly adequate to allow for a thorough debate upon the full range of material contained in the study. The study's significance, as was evident from the debate, lay chiefly in its serving as a symbol to a large number of the members of the Commission, principally from the less developed countries, of the importance of the category of economic, social, and cultural rights in the future work of the Commission. In spite of the fact that numerous other specialized bodies of the UN system were deeply involved in problems relating to the realization of economic, social, and cultural rights there was strong sentiment in favor of the Commission itself paying more attention to this area of its competence.

Nine members of the Commission from the less developed countries introduced a resolution for adoption by ECOSOC. The main features of this resolution were an expression of deep appreciation to the special rapporteur and an affirmation of the importance of the attainment of an adequate level of economic growth and social development for the early realization of economic, social, and cultural rights of people in accordance with the International Development Strategy for the Second Development Decade. The resolution called the report to the attention of all states and organizations of the UN system for appropriate consideration. Finally, the resolution requested the Commission on Human Rights to review the matter and to update the report in the first instance after a period of 5 years and to keep ECOSOC informed of the implementation of the resolution. This draft resolution was approved without a vote on February 22.



When the 56th ECOSOC considered the draft in May, Poland proposed deleting the request for an update of the report after 5 years. This proposal was approved and the paragraph was amended to provide that the Commission on Human Rights should keep ECOSOC periodically informed of the resolution's implementation. The amended resolution was adopted on May 17 without a vote.

#### SUBCOMMISSION ON PREVENTION OF DISCRIMINATION AND PROTECTION OF MINORITIES

The 27th regular session of the Subcommittee was held in New York, August 5-23, 1974. An important new area of activity concerned the problem of torture. Torture was the focus of two resolutions adopted by the Subcommittee under the agenda item "The question of the human rights of persons subjected to any form of detention or imprisonment." One resolution dealt with reports of human rights violations in Chile (see above, p. 250).

In the other resolution, the Subcommittee expressed its concern at the numerous reports that violations of the basic human rights of persons detained or imprisoned persist in various parts of the world. The Subcommittee listed 14 basic human rights it believed all persons subjected to any form of detention or imprisonment for any reason whatsoever should enjoy, and it noted that even in times of public emergency no derogation from the right not to be subjected to torture can be allowed. The Subcommittee decided to review annually developments in the field and expressed its intention to take into account any reliably attested information from governments, specialized agencies, regional intergovernmental organizations, and appropriate nongovernmental organizations "provided that such nongovernmental organizations act in good faith and that their information is not politically motivated, contrary to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations."

The Subcommittee's extensive work program features the preparation of a number of studies, some

of which were in progress and others of which were set in motion at the 1974 session.

The Subcommittee received progress reports from special rapporteurs conducting studies on: (1) rights of persons belonging to ethnic, religious, and linguistic minorities; (2) exploitation of labor through illicit and clandestine trafficking; (3) discrimination against indigenous populations; and (4) prevention and punishment of the crime of genocide.

The Subcommittee appointed special rapporteurs to conduct studies on: (1) historical and current development of the right to self-determination; (2) implementation of UN resolutions relating to the right to self-determination; (3) the adverse consequences for the enjoyment of human rights of political, military, economic, and other forms of assistance given to the colonial and racist regimes in southern Africa; and (4) the individual's duties to the community and the limitations on human rights and freedoms under Article 29 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The Subcommittee also requested its member from the United Kingdom, Baroness Elles, to prepare a report on the human rights of individuals who are not citizens of the country in which they live. This report is to supplement a survey, prepared by the Secretary General, of international instruments in the field of human rights concerning distinctions in the enjoyment of human rights as between citizens and noncitizens. The Subcommittee decided to request the report before giving attention to a possible draft declaration, which Baroness Elles had proposed for its consideration.

Finally the Subcommittee established a working group on slavery, as previously authorized by ECOSOC on May 17. This working group will meet prior to each session of the Subcommittee to review developments in the field of slavery and the slave trade on the basis of information received from governments, specialized agencies, and intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations.

## STATUS OF WOMEN

ECOSOC's 32-member Commission on the Status of Women<sup>25/</sup> held its 25th session in New York from January 14 to February 1, 1974. The U.S. Representative was Mrs. Patricia Hutar. The principal items on the Commission's agenda were: (1) International Women's Year; (2) consideration of proposals concerning a new instrument or instruments of international law to eliminate discrimination against women; (3) study on the interrelationship of the status of women and family planning; (4) program of concerted international action to promote the advancement of women and their integration in development; (5) protection of women and children in emergency and armed conflict in the struggle for peace, self-determination, national liberation, and independence; and (6) influence of mass communication media on the formation of a new attitude toward the role of women in present-day society.

### International Women's Year

The Commission approved three resolutions on this topic for subsequent adoption by ECOSOC. The first, approved by a vote of 20 (U.S.) to 0, with 3 abstentions, outlined a detailed UN Program for International Women's Year at the national, regional, and international levels. The Program called for a wide variety of activities including studies, surveys, conferences, educational exchanges, establishment of national commissions, and the ratification of appropriate international instruments. The United States was a member

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<sup>25/</sup> Members in 1974 were Argentina, Belgium, Byelorussian S.S.R., Canada, Central African Republic, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Egypt, Finland, France, Greece, Guinea, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Japan, Kenya, Liberia, Malagasy Republic, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Norway, Philippines, Romania, Thailand, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, United States, and Zaire.

of the 16-state working group appointed by the Commission to prepare the Program on the basis of a preliminary report submitted by the Secretary General.

The second resolution, sponsored by Liberia and six others and approved by consensus, established a fund for voluntary contributions for International Women's Year.

The third resolution, sponsored by the United States and nine others, called for an international conference to be held during International Women's Year and suggested items considered important for inclusion in the conference agenda. It was approved by a rollcall vote of 21 (U.S.) to 3 (Byelorussian S.S.R., Hungary, U.S.S.R.), with 6 abstentions.

ECOSOC considered the draft resolutions at its 56th session in April and May and adopted all three on May 16 after some amendments. The resolution calling for the international conference was considerably expanded. In the resolution's final form, adopted by a vote of 48 (U.S.) to 0, with 5 abstentions, ECOSOC inter alia requested the Secretary General, in drawing up the agenda, to focus attention on (1) the evaluation of current trends in the roles of women and men in political, social, economic, family, and cultural life, including sharing of responsibilities and decision-making; and (2) the examination of the major obstacles which hinder the contribution of women and men as full partners in the total development effort and in sharing its benefits in both rural and urban areas.

The Third Committee of the 29th General Assembly considered the portion of ECOSOC's report dealing with the Commission on the Status of Women at 10 meetings between October 23 and November 4. Three resolutions, all concerned with International Women's Year, were approved.

The first resolution, introduced by the Philippines and sponsored in its final form by 50 states, including the United States, was approved without vote on November 1 and adopted by the Assembly without vote on December 10. It (1) called on governments



and organizations to implement fully the program for the International Women's Year approved by ECOSOC; (2) recommended that states establish appropriate national machinery to accelerate the integration of women in development and to eliminate discrimination on grounds of sex; and (3) appealed for voluntary contributions to the Secretary General for International Women's Year.

In the latter connection, Senator Percy announced in the Third Committee on October 24 that the United States would make a voluntary contribution of \$100,000 to the International Women's Year Conference.

The second resolution, sponsored by nine states, was introduced by Sweden. In the resolution's final form, after several amendments were proposed and adopted, the Assembly (1) decided to invite all states to participate in the Conference of the International Women's Year and to invite the national liberation movements recognized by the OAU or the League of Arab States to participate as observers; (2) requested the Conference to submit, as appropriate, proposals and recommendations to the General Assembly at its seventh special session, to be held in September 1975; and (3) decided to consider at its 30th session items on International Women's Year and on the status and role of women in society. The resolution was approved by the Committee on November 1 by a vote of 111 to 2, with 1 abstention (U.S.), and adopted by the Assembly on December 10 by a vote of 124 (U.S.) to 2, with 2 abstentions.

The third resolution, introduced by Iran and sponsored by 16 states, decided to establish an 18-state Consultative Committee for the Conference of the International Women's Year, the members to be chosen by the Chairman of the Third Committee after consultation with the different regional groups, and requested the Secretary General to prepare a draft international plan of action in time to be considered by the Consultative Committee not later than March 1975. The draft resolution was approved without vote on November 4. When it was considered by the plenary Assembly on December 10 it was amended to increase the Consultative Committee to 23 members. The

resolution as amended was adopted by a vote of 125 (U.S.) to 0, with 2 abstentions. It was announced the same day that the members of the Committee would be Australia, Belgium, Brazil, France, German Democratic Republic, India, Iran, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Mexico, Niger, Philippines, Romania, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Sweden, Tunisia, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, United States, and Venezuela.

#### New Instruments to Eliminate Discrimination

The United States was a member of a 15-state working group that met immediately prior to the 25th session of the Commission in order to prepare a draft instrument or instruments of international law to eliminate discrimination against women. However, divergent points of view were apparent in the working group. The U.S.S.R. and a number of developing countries favored provisions which would provide special protection for women, while the United States and Western representatives, with the support on certain issues of some developing countries, favored provisions which spoke strictly in terms of equality between women and men. The United States noted that establishment of certain protective measures would not be consistent with U.S. law, nor would it be consistent with the principle of equality. The United States acknowledged, however, that the state should assure that adequate measures exist to guarantee women their rights in cases of maternity.

The Commission decided in principle to prepare a single draft convention without prejudice to the preparation of any future instrument or instruments that might be elaborated either by the United Nations or by the specialized agencies dealing with discrimination in specific fields. It was not possible to draft a single agreed text, however, and the Commission unanimously adopted a draft resolution sponsored by Colombia and six others deciding to circulate a draft convention with alternate texts to governments for comment.

Interrelationship of the Status of Women and Family Planning

The Special Rapporteur for the study on this topic, which had been requested by ECOSOC in 1968, was Helvi Sipilä (Finland), now Assistant Secretary General for Social Development and Humanitarian Affairs. During the Commission's consideration of the report it was pointed out that in practice it was the extent to which women had access to knowledge, economic resources, and political power that determined their real "status." Similarly, the status of a society could be assessed according to the choices it offered its citizens in the areas of education, employment, political life, and family life. The definition of "family planning" given in the report was particularly important because it made it clear that it did not mean only birth control, but encompassed the right of all persons to decide freely and responsibly on the number and spacing of their children, taking into account the right of every child to be a wanted child.

The United States and three others sponsored a draft resolution, for adoption by ECOSOC, affirming that (1) the right to decide freely and responsibly on the number and spacing of children is a fundamental right of individuals which facilitates the exercise of other human rights, especially by women; and (2) the provision of adequate information, education, and services enabling individuals to exercise this right are essential prerequisites for promoting the status of women. In other provisions the resolution, inter alia, urged states to use the report of the Special Rapporteur as a guideline in formulating population policies, to introduce population education into schools, and to provide equal representation of men and women on delegations to the World Population Conference. The Commission approved the draft resolution on January 29 by a vote of 20 (U.S.) to 0, with 8 abstentions.

After a number of minor amendments, ECOSOC adopted the resolution without a vote on May 16.

Program of Concerted International Action

The Commission devoted more time--a third of its meetings--to considering the program of concerted international action to promote the advancement of women and their integration in development than to any other item on its agenda. The program for concerted international action was originally adopted by the General Assembly in 1970. The Commission had before it a number of reports related to this program by the Secretary General, the ILO, FAO, UNESCO, and the Inter-American Commission of Women. Six resolutions were approved on various aspects of the program and all were adopted, after some minor amendments, by ECOSOC on May 16.

The first of these resolutions, introduced by Egypt and finally sponsored by nine states (including the United States), (1) requested the Committee for Development Planning and the Committee on Review and Appraisal<sup>26/</sup> to make recommendations to the General Assembly for strengthening the International Development Strategy for the Second Development Decade by further emphasizing in its provisions the necessity of integrating women at all levels and stages of development; (2) called on governments to ensure that women were adequately represented on delegations in the entire review process for the Decade; (3) urged governments to report in time for the mid-term review of the Decade on progress made to implement the objectives and targets contained in the program for concerted international action to promote the advancement of women; (4) requested the Secretary General to prepare a report on approaches to and methodologies for the development of social indicators for the role and contribution of women in the economic, social, and cultural aspects of the development process; and (5) requested the specialized agencies, the UNDP, the regional economic commissions, and other appropriate UN and nongovernmental organizations to take into

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<sup>26/</sup> A standing committee of ECOSOC composed of 54 states; the United States is a member. The Committee did not meet in 1974.



account in connection with the mid-term review and appraisal of the Decade the extent to which programs endorsed by them include projects for integrating women into the total development effort. The resolution was adopted by consensus in the Commission, and after a few amendments without a vote by ECOSOC.

The second resolution, introduced by the Philippines and ultimately sponsored by eight states, including the United States, noted that there was a need for women in rural areas to participate more effectively in national development programs. To achieve this it recommended that states carry out programs for mass life-long education for both men and women through the mass communications media and that such programs include (1) information and education on family life and (2) vocational training in economic activities, including cottage and home industries, farming, rural development, and cooperatives. The resolution was approved by consensus in the Commission and adopted without a vote by ECOSOC.

A related resolution concerned technical cooperation activities for the advancement of women. Sponsored in the Commission by India and Indonesia, it was amended in ECOSOC by Jamaica and Kenya. In its final form, adopted without a vote, it (1) urged governments to seek new ways of developing entrepreneurial skills among women, of establishing viable decentralized industries to provide part or full-time work for women and men, and of ensuring the access of women equally with men to the necessary credit facilities; and (2) requested all appropriate organizations of the UN system to consider allocating more of their technical assistance funds to assist governments in this area.

Two resolutions called for special action by the ILO and UNESCO. The first, sponsored by Hungary and eight others, requested the ILO to expand its standard-setting activities having to do with the employment of women, to accord particular attention to girls and women in the revision of instruments on vocational guidance and training, and to devote attention in its future work to new problems of concern to women workers, including the impact of technological and scientific developments. The resolution was approved by the

Commission by a vote of 23 (U.S.) to 0, with 2 abstentions, and adopted by ECOSOC without a vote.

France and 15 others, including the United States, sponsored the draft resolution that inter alia requested UNESCO to develop pilot projects in the developing countries with regard to literacy; pre-school, primary, technical, and vocational education; and teacher training. The resolution was approved by consensus and adopted by ECOSOC without vote.

The final resolution, sponsored by the Dominican Republic and seven other states and recommended for adoption by the General Assembly, called for special measures to improve employment opportunities for women in the secretariats of UN organizations. It was approved by consensus in the Commission. (For further on this resolution, see Part V, p. 429 ).

At the 29th General Assembly the United States initiated a resolution on "Women and development" during the Second Committee's consideration of those portions of ECOSOC's report dealing with economic matters. Introducing the draft on November 22, Senator Percy said that it was a response to mounting evidence that women in many of the developing countries, particularly in rural areas, were being adversely affected by development processes that overlooked their traditional means of livelihood--subsistence agriculture and small enterprises.

In the course of consultations, 13 additional states, from all geographic regions except Eastern Europe, joined in sponsoring the resolution which in a revised form was approved without vote by the Committee on December 2 and adopted without vote by the Assembly on December 17. In its final form the resolution, inter alia, called upon the UN system of organizations to provide increased assistance to those program, projects, and activities which promote the further integration of women into national, regional, and interregional economic development activities; and recommended that UN organizations review their work and personnel programs in order to assess their impact on the further participation of women in development and their integration in professional and policy-making positions.

### Protection in Emergency and Armed Conflict

The item on "Protection of women and children in emergency and armed conflict in the struggle for peace, self-determination, national liberation, and independence," which has been on the Commission's agenda since 1969, was the one item that was politicized throughout the debate. Byelorussian S.S.R., Egypt, Guinea, and Hungary sponsored a draft resolution that would have ECOSOC recommend that the General Assembly adopt a six-point "Declaration on the Protection of Women and Children in Emergency and Armed Conflict." The United States and several other states took the position that the Commission was not the appropriate body to consider this subject and that there was a danger that any action it took might prejudice the work of the forthcoming Diplomatic Conference on the Reaffirmation and Development of International Humanitarian Law. These states also believed that singling out groups of civilians tended to detract from the general protection enjoyed by the civilian population as a whole.

Nevertheless, the draft resolution was approved by the Commission on January 30 by a vote of 20 to 0, with 7 abstentions (U.S.), and adopted by ECOSOC on May 16 by a vote of 40 to 0, with 12 abstentions (U.S.). On the same day ECOSOC approved a decision, initiated by Sweden, recommending that the General Assembly refer the draft Declaration to its Sixth (Legal) Committee for consideration. (For General Assembly action, see Part IV, p. 405.)

### Influence of Mass Communication Media

The agenda item on "Influence of mass communication media on the formation of new attitudes towards the roles of women in present-day society" is of growing importance in the Commission's effort to change sex role stereotyping and discriminatory attitudes against women. The Commission concluded that the mass communication media tended to trivialize, undervalue, and exploit the real contribution of women to society and hindered efforts to promote equal rights for women and men.

Colombia and five other Latin American states sponsored a draft resolution, adopted unanimously by the Commission and later by ECOSOC, that (1) invited UNESCO to consider the possibility of carrying out pilot country studies on the influence of mass media in forming attitudes toward women's roles in society; (2) invited all organizations in the UN system, and especially UNESCO, to make a special effort to increase their audio-visual material and develop their programs in such a way as to promote the integration of women in development; and (3) invited governments to urge the mass media to adapt their programs in order to provide a continuing education for men and women as to their economic and professional prospects and opportunities for leisure, family life, and broadening horizons.

## SPECIALIZED AGENCIES AND THE IAEA

### WORLD INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY ORGANIZATION

On December 17, 1974, the General Assembly adopted without a vote a resolution approving an agreement bringing the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO) into relationship with the United Nations. WIPO thus became the 14th specialized agency in the UN system of organizations and the first new one since IDA in 1960.

WIPO is responsible for the promotion of the protection of industrial property (i.e., patents, trademarks, and industrial designs) and copyrights throughout the world. It is also responsible for the administration of 10 intergovernmental "unions," each founded on a multilateral treaty. The two principal treaties are the Paris Convention for the Protection of Industrial Property, which has 80 member states, including the United States, and the Berne Convention for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works, which has 63 member states. The United States is not a party to the latter convention. The two principal



intellectual property conventions were negotiated in 1883 and 1886 respectively. 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 this Convention. Prior to 1970, the organization was known as the United International Bureaux for the Protection of Intellectual Property, which had been in existence for over 80 years.

### Administrative Organization

The International Bureau serves as the Secretariat of WIPO and also for the Paris and Berne Unions and other intellectual property unions. This Bureau is controlled by the member states through a General Assembly and a Conference. As far as the Paris and Berne Unions are concerned, the principal administrative organ is the Assembly of each Union, consisting of all the member states. The Paris and Berne Unions elect Executive Committees from all of their member states and the joint membership of these two Committees constitutes the Coordination Committee. Since the United States is a member of the Paris Union Executive Committee, it is also a member of the Coordination Committee.

### Objectives and Activities

One of the 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; and it maintains international registration services in the fields of trademarks, industrial designs, and appellations of origin.

The second basic objective of WIPO is to ensure administrative cooperation among the Unions. In this connection WIPO centralizes the administration of the various Unions in the International Bureau in

Geneva. Centralization ensures economy for the member states of the Unions and the private sector concerned with intellectual property.

At the end of 1974 WIPO had 38 members.<sup>27/</sup>

#### WORLD BANK GROUP

#### International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and International Development Association

The IBRD's membership rose to 125 and the IDA's to 113 when Barbados joined the IBRD and Western Samoa joined both organizations in 1974.

The IBRD approved 105 loans totalling \$3.22 billion in 49 countries in fiscal 1974, while the IDA extended 69 credits totalling \$1.09 billion to 36 countries. The Bank's disbursements rose by 30% to \$1.5 billion and IDA's by 44% to \$0.7 billion. The significant increase in dollar volume of commitments and number of projects for the Bank and IDA (27% and 18% respectively) were achieved in a year in which total staff growth was 8%.

The resources available to IDA, including those provided by the Third Replenishment, were almost fully committed by June 30, 1974. Under an agreement reached in Nairobi in September 1973, 24 contributing members of IDA, plus Switzerland, decided to take steps to increase IDA's resources through a Fourth Replenishment amounting to \$4.5 billion. No member would be committed to contribute until approval, where necessary, had been obtained from its legislature.

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<sup>27/</sup> Australia, Austria, Bulgaria, Byelorussian S.S.R., Cameroon, Canada, Chad, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Fiji, Finland, France, German Democratic Republic, Federal Republic of Germany, Hungary, Ireland, Israel, Ivory Coast, Jordan, Kenya, Liechtenstein, Malawi, Morocco, North Korea, Norway, Romania, Senegal, Spain, Sudan, Sweden, Switzerland, Uganda, Ukrainian S.S.R., U.S.S.R., United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom, United States, and Yugoslavia.

Compared with contributions under the Third Replenishment, the U.S. share was to decrease from 40% to 33.3%.

The IBRD has recourse to borrowings in international capital markets for its financial resources. The Bank's borrowing rose to \$1.85 billion compared to \$1.72 billion in fiscal 1973. Within these totals the share of the petroleum exporting countries was \$565 million in 1974 compared with \$216 million the previous year.

The IBRD has provided to all its members detailed analyses of the effects of current economic conditions on less developed countries. From its studies, the Bank management concluded that development assistance has to be directed increasingly to the poorest among and within developing countries. The vast majority of the poorest in developing countries live in the rural areas. Therefore, the Bank has sought increasingly to support rural development projects..

The Bank Group is already a major source of external funding for agricultural credit projects and is expected to play an increasing role in this area. Recently, half its agricultural lending to the poorest countries has been for rural credit and 25% of this has been for small farmers. In supporting land reform, as in the case of agricultural credit, the Bank's aim is to help the rural poor, especially small farmers, become more productive. Reflecting its increasing interest in the social aspects of economic development, the Bank has concluded that limited and carefully focused action on its part in the nutrition field would be a logical evolution of the effort to extend the benefits of development to the poorest segments of society, particularly since nutrition could be linked to other social sectors, such as education and family planning. Considerable attention has been given to the IBRD role in helping to meet the fertilizer requirements of developing countries.

The IBRD Board reviewed papers on the petroleum situation and considered policy papers on the promotion of domestic construction industries in developing countries, nutrition, agricultural credit, land reform, and financing production of cocoa, fertilizers, non-fuel

minerals, and tea in view of the trends in world demand and supply of these commodities. These papers provide a coherent standard against which to evaluate the Bank's activities in the sectors covered.

Combined development lending by the IBRD and IDA in fiscal year 1974 focused on the following principal areas:

Sector	Number of Loans	Number of Countries	Amount	
			\$ (Millions)	% of Total
Transportation	33	30	957.0	22.2
Agriculture	51	41	955.9	22.2
Electric Power	16	15	769.4	17.8
Industry	17	13	418.8	9.7
Development				
Finance				
Companies	17	16	345.2	8.0
Education	10	10	153.1	3.5
Urbanization	5	5	113.0	2.6
Telecommuni- cations	5	5	107.9	2.5
Other	<u>25</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>493.3</u>	<u>11.4</u>
Total IBRD/IDA Lending	179		4,313.6	100.0

#### International Finance Corporation

With the accession in 1974 of Western Samoa and Cameroon the IFC's membership rose to 100.

An affiliate of the World Bank, the IFC encourages the development of private enterprise in the developing countries by lending to and making direct equity investment in private business activities. Since a major contribution to economic development can come from the private sector, the IFC is an essential complement to the lending operations of the IBRD and IDA. The IFC also develops local and regional capital markets and promotes privately owned development finance corporations. These efforts help increase investment opportunities and the availability of capital in order to broaden the ownership of private enterprise.



IFC's total subscriptions were \$107.2 million, of which the United States subscribed \$35.2 million, or 32.8%. Besides capital subscriptions, the IFC obtains funds from repayments of investments, sales of equity and loan investments, net income, and borrowing. During fiscal year 1974, the IFC borrowed \$46.5 million from the IBRD and received \$91.8 million from sales of loans and equity investments.

IFC investment commitments totalled \$203.4 million in fiscal year 1974, of which \$185.2 million was for loans and \$18.2 million for equity investments. Some of the 1974 investments were for development finance institutions in Indonesia, Korea, Malaysia, and Senegal; cement plants in Colombia, Dominican Republic, Indonesia, and Yugoslavia; and food and food processing in Nigeria, Philippines, and Senegal.

#### INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND

The membership of the IMF remained at 126 throughout 1974. Fund quotas continued to total 29.189 billion Special Drawing Rights (SDRs). The U.S. share of SDR 6.7 billion represented 22.95% of total quotas. In the second half of the year, the IMF began its quinquennial review of quotas. No additional SDRs were created or distributed in 1974.

During 1974, the Fund experienced an increased demand for foreign exchange to help its members cover balance of payments needs. This resulted principally from the heavy impact on balance of payments of higher oil prices. Drawings from the Fund totaled the equivalent of SDR 4.1 billion (including SDR 1.7 billion under the Oil Facility established in 1974--see below), as compared with SDR 733 million in 1973.

#### Committee of 20

The United States was a member of the IMF's Committee on Reform of the International Monetary System and Related Issues (Committee of 20). Established in 1972, the Committee ended its work in June 1974. The

Committee's objective was preparation of a comprehensive monetary reform package, including improvements in the adjustment mechanism and new arrangements on intervention, settlement, and reserve assets. At a meeting in Rome early in 1974, it determined that the unsettled international economic environment in the wake of oil price increases made implementation of a full-scale, highly structured reform impractical for the foreseeable future. The Committee then changed the emphasis of its work to give priority attention to measures that would facilitate the effective operation of the monetary system during the "interim period" when there would be generalized floating of exchange rates of the major currencies.

In June the Committee of 20 met for the last time and presented a final report to the IMF Board of Governors. The report contained two parts: Part I recorded the outcome of the Committee's discussion of international monetary reform and indicated the general direction the Committee believed the system could evolve in the future; Part II set out a number of immediate steps which were agreed. The principal features and status of the immediate steps by the end of the year included the following:

(1) Establishment of a new high-level "Interim Committee," with composition paralleling the Committee of 20, which would subsequently be superseded by a permanent IMF Council to be set up under an amendment to the Articles of Agreement. The Interim Committee, and later the Council, will oversee the operations of the monetary system, provide for close surveillance of international liquidity and the adjustment process, and help guide the future evolutionary course of reform. At its first session, during the October 1974 annual meeting of the Board of Governors, the Interim Committee approved a work program focusing on balance of payments adjustment in the light of the energy crisis, IMF quotas, and amendments to the Articles of Agreement. Discussion of all these points was to be continued in 1975.

(2) Institution of a set of guidelines for the management of floating exchange rates. The guidelines, as adopted by the Executive Directors in June, were

intended to provide tentative criteria under which IMF members with floating exchange rates would fulfill their obligations to collaborate with the Fund to promote exchange stability, maintain orderly exchange rates with other members, and avoid competitive exchange alterations.

(3) Approval of a pledge against the use of trade or other current account measures for balance of payments reasons without Fund approval. This pledge would go into effect when ratified by countries with 65% of the IMF voting power. The United States gave its approval promptly, but the pledge was not yet operational by the end of 1974.

(4) Adoption, on an interim basis, of a new method of valuing the SDR based on a "basket"--or weighted average--of major world currencies. This method, put into effect in July, was accompanied by an increase in the interest rate on SDRs to 5% with provision for future adjustments to reflect changes in market interest rates. In the second half of 1974 the dollar value of an SDR varied between 1.183 and 1.224.

(5) Creation of two new facilities in the Fund. The first was an "Oil Facility" to assist members in meeting the initial impact of the increase in oil import costs. During the year, it received commitments of approximately SDR 3 billion from oil producing countries and made loans of SDR 1.7 billion on 7-year repayment terms with an interest rate averaging 7%. It will continue operations in 1975. The second was an "Extended Facility" designed to provide members with balance of payments finance in larger amounts and for longer periods than available under previous Fund practices. It will provide support on a very selective basis for programs designed to correct balance of payments problems resulting from serious structural maladjustments which can only be corrected over an extended period of time.

(6) Organization of a joint Ministerial Committee of the IMF and the IBRD to concern itself with the transfer of real resources to developing nations. At its initial meeting in October 1974, it agreed to

concentrate on problems of the least developed nations, including the financing of their food deficits. It was also one of the forums considering proposals for an IMF Trust Fund which would lend to the poorest developing countries on concessional terms using resources contributed by other member countries as well as the profits from the sales of some IMF gold.

### Proposed Amendments to Articles of Agreement

The Executive Directors of the IMF also reviewed in 1974 a number of proposed amendments to the Articles of Agreement to be considered by the Interim Committee in 1975. From the point of view of the United States, among the more significant were those concerning legalization of floating exchange rates, the role of gold and the SDR in the monetary system, improving the usability of IMF currency balances, and establishment of a permanent Council in the IMF.

The present IMF Articles make no provision for the use of floating exchange rates. The United States strongly supports an amendment which would enable countries to maintain floating rates or other exchange rate systems suited to their needs within the legal framework of the Articles. Although some countries advocate constraining the ability to float, for example by requiring prior and specific Fund authorization, the United States favors provisions that would not require specific IMF approval for floating, so long as there is adherence to internationally agreed standards of conduct.

The Committee of 20 agreed that the SDR should be put at the center of the monetary system as the principal reserve asset and unit of account, while the role of gold and national currencies would be reduced. There was, however, some continued disagreement over the role for gold. The United States favors steps to continue toward phasing it out of the system in an orderly fashion.

With regard to the use of IMF resources, the United States is seeking amendments that would assure that all countries' currency subscriptions to the



IMF are usable by the Fund under uniformly applicable rules. (At present, countries may effectively block the use of their currencies by the Fund, even though they may be in a strong balance of payments position.) Changes such as those the United States seeks would enhance the lending capacity of the Fund and make it a more truly cooperative institution.

## FOOD AND AGRICULTURE ORGANIZATION

Activities of the FAO during 1974 were marked by continuing concern of the 131 member countries with the adequacy of world food supplies, relief efforts in the drought-stricken Sahelian zone of Africa, and progress toward an international undertaking on world food security, as well as substantive support for the UN World Food Conference.

In 1974, U.S. experts helped FAO prepare an assessment of the world food situation for the World Food Conference and also assisted in planning and evaluating various economic and technical training activities in furtherance of both U.S. bilateral assistance and FAO programs. The United States participated in meetings of the FAO Council and the standing Committees on Agriculture, Forestry, Fisheries, and Commodity Problems; in the five regional conferences; in the first meeting of the Commission on Fertilizers; in the series of UNCTAD/FAO commodity meetings on trade and pricing policies; and in a variety of technical conferences, meetings, and seminars.

### Food Situation and Outlook

The critical international food situation which began primarily with the poor harvests of 1972 was of continued serious concern in 1974. Unfavorable weather in large food growing areas, including North America, the U.S.S.R., and East Asia, resulted in cereal crop yields falling short of the high levels reached in 1973. Thus, in spite of substantial gains in Africa, Western Europe, Latin America, and the Near East, world cereal production fell in 1974 for the second time in 3 years.

The decline was estimated at some 40 to 50 million tons. These large declines placed the world food supply in a very vulnerable position. Prices of grain and food increased, particularly in the exporting countries and in the international markets.

Grain shortages, high prices, and an expanded need for production challenged a fertilizer industry which had increased capacity very little in recent years. The high price of food, fertilizer, and oil placed a heavy burden on those countries most dependent on imports of all three of these products. The rise in petroleum prices not only increased the cost of fuel for agricultural uses but also led to shortages and high prices of feed stocks, fertilizers, and pesticides.

Both the FAO "Assessment of the World Food Situation" and a U.S. Department of Agriculture study on the subject indicated that global food supply can generally meet demand until 1985, although during this period there will be some years of shortages and some of surpluses. On the other hand, FAO estimated that the annual shortfall of grain production in developing countries may reach 85 million tons by 1985, while the Department of Agriculture study projected a deficit of only 55 to 72 million tons.

The FAO office for Sahelian Relief Operations informed the FAO Council in November 1974 of the magnitude of the combined effort of governments, international agencies, and private organizations to help the victims of the Sahelian disaster. Contributions included 1,137,000 tons of food grain, 49,600 tons of protective foods, 364 vehicles, and over \$10 million in cash. The Council was advised that good rains in late 1974, with the expectation of better crops, brought hope for a shift from emergency operations to medium and long-term programs in the six Sahelian countries.

#### World Food Conference

FAO contributed heavily to the UN World Food Conference, which was held in Rome November 5-16,

1974 (see p. 152). Much of the secretarial servicing as well as the basic documentation for the Conference was provided by FAO. In a series of Preparatory Committee meetings, FAO helped to develop a set of draft resolutions incorporating the themes considered to be of central importance to the Conference. These draft resolutions then served as a basis for much of the Conference discussion.

### Action on Fertilizer Problems

Early in 1974 the world fertilizer situation had become so acute that emergency measures to assist the financially weaker developing countries were deemed imperative. With an excess of demand over supply, constantly increasing prices, and deterioration of balance of payments, most developing countries had great difficulty in acquiring the fertilizers needed.

The Commission on Fertilizers, established by the FAO Council at its 61st session in November 1973, held its first meeting July 2-5, 1974. It was attended by delegates from 60 countries, observers from the fertilizer industry, and other intergovernmental and nongovernmental organizations. The Commission recommended diverting fertilizer supplies from non-essential uses to food production and endorsed FAO's proposal for the establishment of an International Fertilizer Supply Scheme and an information system on fertilizer supply and demand.

In the fall of 1974, the unfilled fertilizer requirements in 21 countries amounted to over 900,000 tons, nine-tenths of which were in India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh. Government requests for assistance amounted to more than 400,000 tons. About 102,000 tons were pledged by the end of 1974 and at that time an additional 150,000 tons were in sight for the first half of 1975. The UN Emergency Operation (see p. 151) in New York, responding to information provided by FAO, allocated \$21 million to nine MSA countries with the recommendation that the funds be used to acquire fertilizers through the Scheme. The value of donor pledges of cash, services, or actual fertilizer to the Scheme totaled \$29 million as of November 1974.

In 1974, FAO's fertilizer program featured 3,000 fertilizer trials and 6,000 demonstrations in 16 countries; participation in 82 pilot schemes for improvement of fertilizer distribution and credit for supplying fertilizer; support for the annual sessions of the Fertilizer Industry Advisory Committee; organizing participation of 25 countries in a worldwide study of the needs of growing plants for trace elements in developing countries; and preparation of a new Guide on Fertilizer Marketing.

### World Food Security

A resolution of the World Food Conference endorsed the objectives, policies, and guidelines of FAO's proposed International Undertaking on World Food Security. The proposal is aimed at having governments: (1) follow national stock policies that, in combination, would maintain a minimum safe level of basic food stocks for the world as a whole; (2) ensure carryover stocks of cereals at the end of each marketing year at levels necessary to meet domestic requirements, and, where appropriate, export requirements, including a security margin for emergency needs in cases of crop failure or natural disaster; and (3) ensure replenishment of national stocks whenever they fall below safe levels.

### Aiding Expansion of Production

FAO conducted a wide range of projects in 1974 to accelerate agricultural production, to reduce losses from pests and diseases, to control animal disease dispersion, and to improve meat and milk production. These projects encompassed the full gamut of modern biological science concepts and techniques.

During 1974 more than 10,000 samples of improved seed and other propagation material were provided to developing countries by the FAO Seed Laboratory. Through FAO's International Seed Industry Development Program, national seed programs were developed in five Asian and African countries. Plant breeding projects for developing more nutritious barley, spring



wheat, and corn were initiated at research institutes in 11 countries of Latin America, Europe, Africa, and Asia. Training courses in field crop breeding and cereal production were conducted for 24 specialists from Africa, the Near East, and Asia through the FAO/Government Cooperative Programs.

### International Liaison and Cooperation

Approximately three-fourths of the funds received by FAO are spent on field activities, the largest source of finance being the UNDP. In 1974 about \$72 million in UNDP funds were disbursed in some 550 large-scale and 800 small-scale projects which, on completion, will involve a total outlay of \$465 million.

The FAO/Government Cooperative Program expanded with first-time trust fund contributions to projects by Belgium, Kuwait, and the Arab Fund for Economic and Social Development, while oil-producing countries in the Near East made contributions to large-scale projects. The 137 projects under the Cooperative Program represented a total value of \$37.5 million, of which new projects approved in 1974 accounted for \$18 million.

The Associate Expert Scheme, in which the United States participates, continued to expand. About 370 young men and women were on assignment in 1974, and recruitment was proceeding for another 100.

FAO's Industry Cooperative Program served to integrate the industrial sector of developed countries into FAO's worldwide activities for assisting the less industrialized countries. At the end of 1974, 103 companies from 17 industrialized nations (including 29 U.S. firms) were members of this cooperative program.

FAO's activities for protecting the human environment were closely coordinated with those of other UN organizations and 15 projects were launched in cooperation with UNEP, UNESCO, WHO, and WMO. Other FAO programs provided assistance to governments in promoting practices to avoid degrading natural resources or polluting the environment. In addition FAO

embarked on worldwide programs for monitoring soil degradation, surveillance of fish contamination by pollution, and continuing assessments of the tropical forest cover and the environmental impact of agricultural pesticides.

The Codex Alimentarius Commission of 107 member states, which is the plenary body of the FAO/WHO Food Standards Program, and its technical committees continued their work in developing international standards to protect health, harmonize national food legislation, and ensure fair practices in food trade. More than 110 international food standards; maximum residue limits for some 600 pesticides, contaminants, and food additives; and seven codes of hygienic practice have been developed by the Commission.

An FAO feasibility study on hydroagricultural development in Mauritania resulted in financing of a pilot project involving double-cropping rice production and water control. An FAO/UN Office of Technical Cooperation project investigated the possibility of developing irrigation, hydro-power, harbors, and mines in the Senegal River Basin.

### Continuing Investment in Development

During the past decade of FAO's cooperation with the World Bank, 140 projects were prepared by the Investment Center in conjunction with 66 countries, involving financing of some \$2 billion. In 1974, World Bank approval of projects formulated by FAO in 18 countries led to \$420 million financing, up from \$287 million the previous year.

Cooperation with regional and subregional banks also exceeded the level of 1973. FAO was given full responsibility for preparation of 11 investment projects for consideration by the Inter-American Development Bank. Three projects drawn up by the cooperative program of the FAO/African Development Bank in Chad, Mali, and Rwanda were approved for financing by the African Development Fund which started operations in 1974. FAO also prepared an investment program for the Asian Development Bank to improve jute seeds in Bangladesh.

The FAO/Bankers Program, which facilitates and assists investment by commercial and national banks in developing countries, expanded membership and activities in 1974, including eight projects in four countries--Greece, Cameroon, Tanzania, and Brazil--and involving financing in the amount of \$67 million.

### Economic and Social Assistance

FAO's involvement in economic and social assistance issues related to food and agriculture has steadily increased. It has become increasingly important to study food distribution, marketing, trading, and credit systems in relation to food production. FAO's activities in these areas in 1974 included regional seminars on farm credit in Ecuador and Thailand and investigations of potential markets for hides, skins, and animal by-products in East Asia.

The FAO Committee on Commodity Problems and its intergovernmental commodity subgroups reviewed trade policies and problems. The Grains Group devoted two meetings to the current critical situation and medium-term prospects. Special sessions were held by eight commodity groups in cooperation with UNCTAD concerning access to markets and pricing policies.

As governments moved toward country planning for agriculture, FAO assistance shifted from individual advisers to multidisciplinary teams. By the end of 1974, there were 14 such teams in the field and negotiations were proceeding for similar work on three additional country projects and four regional planning projects. Country perspective studies offering national agricultural policy options were completed in 1974 for Bangladesh, Iran, Iraq, Nepal, and Pakistan.

FAO's concern with the population problem was broadened to include assistance to governments in formulating policy and drawing up programs. The organization helped to arrange regional workshops and seminars to familiarize national policy makers and program leaders and international field staff with the implications of population growth. Methods were

suggested for incorporating population components into rural planning. A Population Documentation Center was set up to supply information required for devising regional and country programs.

### Improving Nutrition

Wider recognition of nutritional factors in agricultural development resulted in increasing government requests for FAO assistance. In a preliminary move to establish an International Food Contamination Monitoring Program, FAO and WHO officials visited 13 countries interested in developing a system for processing and pooling locally collected data. Eight countries were represented at an FAO/WHO/UNICEF food control seminar held in Beirut. Consultant missions on food control and contaminant monitoring advised the governments of six West African countries plus Libya, Tunisia, and Mexico.

FAO supported efforts of agricultural education institutes in developing countries to strengthen their nutrition training facilities. In Kenya, Liberia, and Swaziland, agricultural college teachers were helped in developing the syllabus for a nutrition curriculum. A department of food science and technology was set up in Morocco. Curriculum guidelines were prepared for the teaching of food economics and applied nutrition in Malaysia.

### Agricultural Statistics

The production of international agricultural statistics continued to be one of FAO's most valuable and dependable contributions to member governments. Expansion of the Interlinked Computer System improved the efficiency of producing annual statistical publications on food and agricultural commodities and facilitated more timely publication of current data.

The draft program for the 1980 World Census of Agriculture was submitted to the FAO Regional Commissions on Statistics. A manual on Methods of Collecting Current Agricultural Statistics was issued. FAO and the United Nations jointly published the first



World Handbook on Economic Accounts for Agriculture. Other statistical services and new data included improved estimates of national stock requirements, new projections of agricultural population and labor force, and estimates of average per capita availability of calories and proteins for nearly 100 countries.

### Fisheries

In 1974 FAO operated 89 fishery projects employing 213 experts, funded mainly by the UNDP. Work was started in the South China Sea with financial support from a number of countries. The East Central Atlantic project, which became operational in 1974, aimed at increased participation by the African states and promotion of their cooperation with other nations that fish the area. This project will receive over a million dollars from UNDP plus substantial contributions in kind from African countries.

Progress was made in preparation for a World Conference on Aquaculture to be held in Japan in 1975. To avert the spread of communicable fish diseases through international traffic in live fish and fish eggs for aquaculture, FAO developed a draft convention with advice from the European Inland Fisheries Advisory Committee.

### Forestry

Large-scale forestry projects operated by FAO and financed by the UNDP reached a total of 90 in 1974 and cost \$62 million. Assistance from bilateral donors under the Government Cooperative Program increased and was further strengthened by the introduction of the program approach in preference to isolated consideration of individual projects. With the new policy, a jointly-formulated program covering a group of projects to be undertaken during a period of 5 years or less is submitted to the donor governments for their financial approval. The value of multilateral and bilateral forestry projects rose sharply in 1974 to a total of some \$7.2 million.

The increasing inadequacy of pulp production capacity, coupled with diminishing paper and paper-board manufacturing capacity, was discussed at the 15th session of the FAO Advisory Committee on Pulp and Paper, which recommended immediate efforts for recycling waste paper and expanding the use of thinner and lighter paper. The Committee established a Trust Fund of \$126,000 for the improvement of the annual FAO World Pulp and Paper Capacity Survey.

### Information and Publications

To facilitate availability of information to specialists and research workers in the developing world, a worldwide network of agricultural libraries was established in 1974 with eight major agricultural libraries including the U.S. National Agricultural Library. These libraries provide information to the FAO Library which serves as the International Center.

An International Information System for the Agricultural Sciences and Technology, which covers bibliographic references of some 250,000 new publications annually, will be the basis of a monthly publication (AGRINDEX) and a magnetic tape service for computer searching. A newly established Current Agricultural Information System will undertake a worldwide inquiry on current research activities involving some 1600 institutions and 24,000 projects in developing countries.

FAO expanded the circulation of its periodicals, publications, and main documents in response to growing demands from governments and the public. During 1974 more than 100,000 copies of publications were distributed. A 100-page catalog of "FAO Books in Print, 1974-75" was prepared, listing over 550 titles. The U.S. free quota of all priced FAO publications proved sufficient for distribution to libraries in all land-grant colleges and universities as well as to appropriate U.S. Government officials.

## World Food Program

Sponsored jointly by FAO and the United Nations, the WFP began in 1963 as an experiment in the distribution of surplus food through multilateral channels to countries for use in social and economic development and emergency relief. It was placed on a continuing basis in 1965 for "as long as multilateral food aid is found to be feasible and desirable." The United States continued to support the WFP in 1974 and encouraged other nations to provide greater resources to it. Priority was given to feeding mothers and children and to labor-intensive and community development projects.

Relief operations in 1974 through WFP included help to victims of civil war in Pakistan; of drought in the Sahel, Ethiopia, and Yemen; and of floods in Bangladesh and Burma. Food aid was provided to Honduras after the September floods. Following a decision taken in April 1974, projects totaling \$2 million were approved for feeding vulnerable groups in Mozambique and Angola through the OAU.

While the WFP pledging target increased from a total of \$100 million for the first 3 years (1963-65) to \$440 million for the 1975-76 biennium, inflationary commodity prices and service costs greatly hampered its effort to meet increasing demands for food. The WFP Executive Director curtailed project programing and established priorities for available resources, concentrating on assistance to the "most seriously affected" countries and the least-developed countries.

The World Food Conference of November 1974 recommended that the Intergovernmental Committee, which supervises the WFP, be reconstituted as the Committee on Food Aid Policies and Programs. In this form it would assume additional duties aimed toward the coordination of multilateral, bilateral, and nongovernmental food aid programs and emergency food aid. The Conference also asked that the WFP cooperate with the FAO and other agencies in developing food and nutrition plans. The WFP would also be involved, through the FAO, in the establishment of the global nutrition surveillance system recommended by the Conference.

## INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION

With the admission of Fiji and the German Democratic Republic in 1974, the ILO's membership rose to 125.

On February 26, the Governing Body appointed Francis Blanchard (France) Director General of the International Labor Office for a term of 5 years. Mr. Blanchard entered the ILO in 1951 as Deputy Chief of the Manpower Division. He was appointed an Assistant Director General in 1956 and a Deputy Director General in 1968. On December 15, Mr. Blanchard appointed John W. McDonald, Jr. (United States), as a Deputy Director General of the organization, with responsibilities for administration and finance.

### Structure of the ILO

The ILO has three major organs: the International Labor Office (secretariat), the 48-member Governing Body, and the International Labor Conference in which all members participate. The Constitution defines a separate role for each organ, but does not designate any one as supreme. The relationship is an interlocking one of checks and balances rather than a hierarchy.

Both the Governing Body and the Conference are tripartite in form, composed of representatives of workers, employers, and governments, each with a separate vote. The United States holds that the basic mission of the ILO is the voluntary negotiation by these three independent groups of solutions to the problems of working people. If such negotiation is to produce viable solutions, the representatives of the workers and employers must be freely chosen by their constituencies so that they will represent the interests of these groups.

The ILO Governing Body has a higher degree of authority than the executive bodies of some other UN specialized agencies. It appoints the Director General who is responsible to it for the management of the International Labor Office, fixes the Conference



agenda, examines allegations of violation of freedom of association, reviews and recommends the budget for Conference approval, and sets the schedule of all ILO meetings. The members of the Governing Body are elected by the appropriate worker, employer, and government groups of the Conference, except for 10 government members who hold their seats automatically as representatives of the states of chief industrial importance.<sup>28/</sup> The quasi-permanence of these 10 seats gives the Governing Body continuity and stability. The worker and employer groups of the Governing Body are more genuinely representative of free trade unions and autonomous employers associations than the corresponding groups of the Conference, and the Governing Body therefore has been the more important force in resisting attempts to distort the tripartite structure of the ILO.

The Conference, in which all member states are entitled to be represented by tripartite delegations, has as its primary constitutional responsibility the setting of international labor standards. Nevertheless, it has been diverting an increasing amount of its attention from this responsibility to general political problems that bear little direct relationship to labor standards. A recent example of such problems is the recognition of national liberation groups.

Some governments, prominent among them the U.S.S.R., have sought for over a decade to alter the structure of the ILO by transferring much of the Governing Body's authority to the Conference. The proposed changes include giving the Conference the authority to appoint the Director General, eliminating the Governing Body seats for members of chief industrial importance, and providing mandatory assignment of representation on all ILO bodies on the basis of geographical areas. This would impinge seriously on the right of the workers and employers to choose their own representatives on subgroups within the organization. The United States

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<sup>28/</sup> Canada, China, France, Federal Republic of Germany, India, Italy, Japan, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, United States.

believes that adoption of these and other proposed changes would bring increased instability and politicization to the organization.

Proposals for structural changes have been considered intermittently over the years by the Governing Body, the Conference, and committees of the two organs. Although a committee of the 59th International Labor Conference in June 1974 examined the various proposals in detail, it was unable to reach agreement and the Conference asked the Governing Body to convene a working party to study the question further. The working party met in October, but it also failed to reach agreement and a further session was scheduled for 1975.

#### Adoption of International Labor Standards

In June 1974 the 59th Conference adopted a number of labor standards supported by the United States. Of special importance were a convention and a recommendation on occupational cancer. The convention calls on governments to ban or control cancer-causing substances, and the recommendation describes the ways in which the convention should be implemented. In a related resolution the Conference requested the Governing Body to study the question of assistance to workers who, having been identified as potential victims of occupational cancer, are forced to change employment at the risk of losing pension or other economic rights.

The Conference also adopted a convention and a recommendation promoting paid educational leave. With the rapid obsolescence of some specific technologies that has accompanied modern industrial development, mature workers must often acquire new skills in order to continue in employment. Unforeseen economic changes can have the same effect. The convention calls on governments to provide retraining for workers during working hours and to insure adequate financial compensation during the retraining period; the recommendation describes means of financing such retraining and suggests conditions under which paid educational leave might be granted. A supporting resolution

calls on the International Labor Office to disseminate information on the experience of member states in this field and to provide technical assistance to governments that wish to institute systems of paid educational leave.

A committee of the Conference also drafted a convention and a recommendation on the protection of migrant workers, a recommendation on the organization of rural workers, and a convention and a recommendation on vocational guidance and vocational training. These instruments will be considered further and voted on in 1975.

### Enforcement of International Labor Standards

The supervision and enforcement of international labor standards are among the ILO's major activities. Over the years, the ILO has built up supervisory and enforcement machinery which, although complex, provides a fair and effective means of determining the extent to which the standards are enforced. Governments make regular reports to the organization concerning their own labor laws and practices, and they are liable to challenge by worker and employer organizations, or by other governments, for violations of standards they have ratified.

Allegations of violations are first examined by committees of experts composed of eminent jurists from all parts of the world who gather evidence from the parties concerned and utilize procedures providing a large measure of safeguard for all parties against irresponsible attack. The findings of the committees are reviewed by the Governing Body and by the Conference Committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations, and they are finally judged by the plenary session of the Conference. Those cases in which it is found that a violation has occurred are made known to all ILO members. Although the process is lengthy, and relies solely on public exposure for its force, experience indicates that governments respond to the process, often by bringing their law and practice into conformance with the ILO's standards.

In 1974, however, the Conference elected to disregard the ILO's supervisory machinery and, proceeding from political motives, adopted resolutions criticizing Chile and Israel for alleged violations of standards without determining the accuracy of the allegations.

### Chile

Worker members late in 1973 lodged complaints through the Governing Body's Committee on Freedom of Association against the Government of Chile for alleged violations of ILO Convention No. 87 on Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organize. Before the Conference convened in June 1974, the Government of Chile agreed to have the case examined by a factfinding and conciliation commission of the Committee on Freedom of Association and to permit the commission to make an on-the-spot investigation in Chile. The Conference, however, decided to act without awaiting the results of the commission's findings and adopted a resolution condemning Chile before the investigation could be completed. The Governing Body's commission nevertheless proceeded with its work and visited Chile for 3 weeks in November and December to gather information for its report, which will be submitted in 1975.

### Israel

The Conference also adopted a resolution, based on unsubstantiated allegations, that condemned Israel for a policy of racial discrimination and violation of trade union freedoms against the Arab peoples in the occupied territories. Led by Arab members and strongly supported by the Africans and Eastern Europeans, the Conference voted down alternative proposals by the United States and certain Western European members that the ILO's investigative machinery be used. The Government of Israel later proposed that a representative of the Director General visit the area to make an on-the-spot investigation, but the proposal was ignored by the Governing Body when it reviewed the matter at its November session.



The United States objected to the resolutions on Chile and Israel because they were based on unproved allegations and because they by-passed the ILO's carefully constructed investigative machinery. Continued disregard of this machinery, which is widely respected because it is both thorough and impartial, will nullify the effectiveness of the entire standard-setting program of the ILO.

### Evaluation and Planning

The Governing Body has become increasingly interested in deepening its understanding of the way in which the ILO's programs are carried out and in evaluating the results of its programs. The International Labor Office has responded to this interest with a series of in-depth studies that focus on major program areas, giving the history, describing the present situation, and pointing out the problems that remain to be solved. During 1974 the Governing Body examined in-depth studies on management training, general conditions of work, and international labor standards.

The ILO's management training focuses on the social responsibilities of employers, and although Governing Body reactions to the program were mixed, with Eastern European members being generally opposed to the activity as an ILO interest, the majority favored the program and encouraged the Director General to expand it.

A special working party examined the study on general conditions of work and reported to the February session of the Governing Body. In addition to recommending areas for future attention, such as minimum wages, migrant labor, and the humanization of work, the Governing Body asked the Director General to develop criteria and procedures for measuring program performance in this area.

The Governing Body gave its most careful attention to the study of international labor standards. There was general agreement that the accumulated conventions and recommendations setting the standards, which have been adopted over the years in response to specific

situations, should henceforth be regarded as a whole, with an overall assessment of where further standards are most needed.

Long-term planning was initiated by the ILO in 1970. The plans cover 6 years, or 3 budgetary biennia, and are envisaged as general guidelines, subject to review every 2 years. The plans submitted to the Governing Body in 1970 and 1972 were strongly criticized for their failure to set priorities and assess the general financial implications of the constituent elements of the ILO's operational program. At its May 1974 session, the Governing Body subjected the draft 1976-81 plan to intensive scrutiny and found significant improvements in both of the previously criticized areas. The Director General incorporated into this latest plan a policy decision to make the continuing search for improved management methods an integral part of the planning process. Although the new plan does not attempt to make detailed cost estimates, it does serve as an overall indication of how the Director General proposes to use the ILO's resources.

#### UN EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC, AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATION

During 1974 North Korea, Guinea-Bissau, and San Marino joined UNESCO and Portugal returned to the organization (having withdrawn in 1972), bringing the membership by the end of the year to 135 full members. The number of associate members increased to three with the addition of Namibia and Papua New Guinea.

#### 18th General Conference

UNESCO's General Conference, which meets biennially to approve the program and budget, held its 18th session in Paris, October 17-November 23, 1974. The Conference approved a budget for 1975-76 of \$169,992,000 and a program which continues to emphasize education and the natural sciences. The U.S. assessment for this biennium is \$38,945,000 or 25% of the regular assessed

budget, representing a reduction of 4.41 percentage points from the previous U.S. assessment, but an actual increase of dollars over the previous biennium. The United States voted for the budget.

With the endorsement of the OAU and early and sustained support by the United States, Amadou Mahtar M'Bow (Senegal), formerly Assistant Director General for Education, was elected the new Director General for a 6-year term.

The most controversial acts of the General Conference were several decisions of a political character affecting Israel. The United States vigorously opposed these decisions, expressing strong disapproval of the politicization of the UNESCO General Conference and warning of the effects it could have on the organization. The more important of these decisions related to archaeological excavations in Jerusalem and the rejection of a request by Israel to be assigned to a UNESCO regional group.

The excavations issue arose out of charges by Arab and other Moslem states that Israel's activities in the Holy City were not only endangering religious monuments held sacred by Moslems and Christians but also destroying the historic character of Jerusalem. The Conference adopted, by a vote of 64 to 27 (U.S.), with 26 abstentions, a resolution that inter alia recalled earlier resolutions and decisions that had urgently called on Israel "to desist from any archaeological excavations in the City of Jerusalem and from any alteration of its features or its cultural and historical character," condemned Israel "for its attitude which is contradictory to the aims of the Organization as stated in its Constitution by its persistence in altering the historical features of the City of Jerusalem," and invited the Director General "to withhold assistance from Israel in the fields of education, science, and culture until such time as it scrupulously respects" the resolutions and decisions on the subject.

The United States strongly opposed this resolution, believing that withholding assistance from

Israel was unwarranted. The United States maintained among other things that the report submitted by the Director General to member states summarizing his emissary's on-site inspections and evaluations of Israel's activities did not bear out the Arab and Moslem charges.

The other major UNESCO decision affecting Israel was the rejection of a motion tabled by Israel requesting that it be assigned to UNESCO's European regional group. The United States and 32 other countries firmly supported Israel on the grounds that every member state has the right to belong to at least one of the five regional groups created by UNESCO in 1964 to stimulate regional program activities, and that it would be highly discriminatory and unwarranted for any country to be denied this right. The Conference did, however, assign the United States and Canada to the European regional group, and Australia and New Zealand to the Asian group, along with the U.S.S.R., which remains a member of the European regional group as well.

These decisions by the General Conference evoked a strong negative reaction on the part of many Americans. As a result, the U.S. Congress adopted the following amendment to the 1974 Foreign Assistance Act:

"Congress directs that no funds should be obligated or expended, directly or indirectly, to support the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization until the President certifies to the Congress that such Organization (1) has adopted policies which are fully consistent with its educational, scientific, and cultural objectives, and (2) has taken concrete steps to correct its recent actions of a primarily political character."

The United States was again elected to membership on the 40-member Executive Board, which met three times during 1974. Both the Board and the Conference took a number of significant program actions which are included in the appropriate substantive sections below concerning UNESCO's work.



## Education

Two recommendations setting down general principles, goals, and guidelines for member states in the field of education were adopted by the General Conference. The first was a Recommendation concerning Education for International Understanding, Cooperation, and Peace and Education relating to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms. It was supported by the United States for its implicit recognition of the role of freedom of information and the interdependence of member states in developing teaching methods and exchanging ideas. The United States also strongly supported the teaching of human rights emphasized in this recommendation.

The second was a Revised Recommendation concerning Technical and Vocational Education. It promotes a number of advanced concepts in technical and vocational education that could be usefully adopted by both developing and developed nations. It affirmed, inter alia, that technical and vocational education should be designed so that it is an integral part of everyone's basic education, allows transfers from one field to another within technical and vocational education, is available on a basis of equality to women as well as men, and is available to disadvantaged and handicapped persons in special forms adapted to their needs in order to integrate them more easily into society. In supporting this recommendation the United States announced that it would sponsor an international conference to address its implementation by member states. With the backing of the United States and certain Western European countries, UNESCO also obtained Conference approval to develop a similar international recommendation on adult education.

The United States urged that UNESCO's education programs give more priority attention to the need for integration of education into rural development planning. It also underlined the importance of the concept of life-long education in UNESCO's programs with member states and encouraged the acceleration of decentralizing UNESCO's activities to make them more responsive to the needs of member states.

For a number of years UNESCO has been working to develop regional agreements on the recognition of studies, diplomas, and degrees in higher education in order to facilitate and encourage the maximum mobility of students and specialists so that the best possible use may be made of educational and training facilities and of existing technical skills. The first such agreement was reached in July when 21 Latin American and Caribbean states, in a meeting convened by UNESCO in Mexico City, adopted unanimously a convention on the recognition of studies, diplomas, and degrees in higher education. The General Conference approved plans for similar conferences for other regions.

Finally, in the context of Conference consideration of equal opportunity and rural education, the United States introduced its most successful initiative--an omnibus resolution on the status of women. This resolution, unanimously adopted by the Conference after 25 states joined the United States as sponsors, was a forthright and comprehensive call for action by member states and UNESCO which set a notable precedent for other agencies within the UN system to follow. (See also p. 315.)

### Natural Sciences

U.S. participation in a number of meetings during 1974 helped strengthen the management of the UNISIST program--World Science Information System--for more effective dissemination of scientific and technical information throughout the world. In addition, the 18th General Conference of UNESCO adopted the U.S. recommendation that UNESCO establish an expert group to review all its information activities and to suggest ways of improving their coordination. The General Conference also reelected the 18-member UNISIST Steering Committee in toto for a second term, an unprecedented action for which the United States, a member of the Steering Committee, had taken the initiative.

The third session of the 25-member International Coordinating Council for the "Man and the Biosphere"

program (MAB), UNESCO's principal environmental research and education program, was held in Washington in September 1974. Although numerous meetings under MAB auspices had been held throughout the year in various parts of the world, the Washington session was a highlight. It was also the first UNESCO intergovernmental meeting of this importance to be held in the United States. The session marked the transition from the preparatory to the operational phase of the program. The Council agreed to add a 14th project theme, initiated by the U.S.S.R., on the effects of pollution on the biosphere. The Council also added projects on arid lands, islands, and urban ecosystems to the list of priority projects it had designated at an earlier session. It agreed to attack problems at regional levels while at the same time keeping them in global perspective. It approved a flexible administrative apparatus to oversee a limited number of pilot research projects in different regions of the world. The Council enthusiastically supported the establishment of a network of "biosphere reserves" which would be utilized for purposes of conservation, research, and monitoring. Five countries, including the United States, announced the designation of specific biosphere reserves in their territories and other countries indicated their intention to do so as soon as possible. The 18th General Conference, which endorsed the work of the third session, reelected the United States to the International Coordinating Council.

The International Geological Correlation Program (IGCP) made good progress during the year. Sponsored jointly by UNESCO and the International Union of Geological Sciences, IGCP is a coordinated research program focusing on fundamental problems of geology, with particular emphasis on more effective exploration and assessment of natural resources. At its second session, in April in Vienna, the 15-member Board for IGCP, on which the United States serves, examined 92 project proposals which had been evaluated earlier in the year by three scientific committees. After drawing up guidelines for sorting the projects on the basis of their state of readiness for implementation, the Board designated 13 of them as "key projects" and another 13 as potential major projects. A "key project" is defined as a well-developed international



project of major importance involving research in one of the four scientific divisions of IGCP: time and stratigraphy, major geological events in time and space, distribution of mineral deposits in space and time, and quantitative methods and data processing.

The most notable hydrological event was the Conference on the Results of the International Hydrological Decade (IHD), held in Paris in September, and sponsored by UNESCO and WMO. The IHD, which was launched on January 1, 1965, had two objectives: to intensify the scientific study of water resources with a view to ensuring rational exploitation and to encourage education and training of hydrologists. Almost all delegations testified that the Decade had been exceedingly worthwhile. Among the achievements, they pointed to better national coordination among their own hydrological agencies, the creation of national organizations where none existed, and advancement of scientific knowledge through association with peers from other countries. Perhaps the most significant achievement of the Decade was the increase, both nationally and internationally, in education and training of personnel in hydrology. Unfortunately, a major political issue arose at the Conference over the presence of South Africa. Since South Africa is a member of WMO, but not of UNESCO, South Africa had been invited to attend this jointly sponsored conference. However, a motion introduced by Ghana to oust South Africa from the meeting carried by a vote of 45 to 18 (U.S.), with 13 abstentions. The U.S. Delegate was alone in speaking out against this serious disregard for legal procedures. As a follow-up to IHD the 18th General Conference of UNESCO approved a new program to be known as the International Hydrological Program and elected the United States to the 30-member Intergovernmental Council.

Responding to a decision of the Intergovernmental Oceanographic Commission (IOC) on the restructuring of its subsidiary bodies, taken at its eighth assembly in 1973, the IOC's Executive Council at a meeting in June 1974 in Ottawa reviewed the terms of reference of all of the subsidiary bodies, redefining them where necessary. The Executive Council also authorized a study of the Commission's international cooperative



investigations to determine whether they should be reorganized to meet modern needs, particularly those of the developing countries. In May, the IOC sponsored, at Gaithersburg, Maryland, a Marine Pollution Monitoring Symposium and Workshop under the Integrated Global Ocean Station System (IGOSS) program. This workshop approved an operational plan for a marine pollution monitoring pilot project to concentrate initially on petroleum and petroleum products. The second session of the IOC's International Coordination Group for the Global Investigation of Pollution in the Marine Environment (GIPME) met in New York in July. This meeting prepared a comprehensive plan for GIPME, based on national and regional programs on various aspects of marine pollution, to provide a sound scientific basis for the assessment and regulation of marine pollution. The second session of the International Coordination Group for the Southern Ocean (i.e., the ocean around Antarctica) was also held in July, in Buenos Aires, to encourage research and to coordinate existing and planned oceanographic research programs in the region. The group adopted recommendations, inter alia, encouraging the use of UNDP funds to assist the developing countries in financing research in the southern ocean, strongly supporting the international study of the ecosystems of the southern ocean, and requesting the IOC's Working Committee on International Oceanographic Data Exchange to advise the group on the appropriate arrangements for the exchange of data on the southern ocean. The United States is the major supporter of a multilateral research program in the southern ocean, the International Southern Ocean Study, which is part of the International Decade of Ocean Exploration.

#### Culture and Communications

The United States was pleased to vote for a General Conference resolution that called for UNESCO to prepare a recommendation on the preservation of historic quarters, cities, and sites and their integration into a modern environment. This resolution was a logical followthrough from an earlier initiative taken by the United States at the 1972 General Conference which had led to the adoption of an International

Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage. The requested recommendation will be drafted for consideration by member states at the 19th General Conference in 1976.

In the area of communications, the issue of free flow of information was of deep concern to the United States. Recognizing the legitimate concern of the developing nations with the imbalance in the flow of information, primarily from the developed countries, the United States recommended that more funds be directed to intensify and enlarge UNESCO's programs of practical training and technical assistance designed to assist interested nations in improving their communications capacities and overcoming the "information imbalance." This recommendation was subsequently adopted by the Conference.

#### U.S. National Commission for UNESCO

Article VIII of the UNESCO Constitution provides for the establishment within each member state of a National Commission, or other national cooperating body, for the purpose of associating the principal bodies interested in educational, scientific, and cultural matters with the work of UNESCO. The National Commissions act in an advisory capacity to their respective delegations to the General Conference and to their Governments. The U.S. National Commission for UNESCO continued in 1974 to emphasize programs for population control, environmental protection, and human rights and initiated new activities strengthening UNESCO's role in child development and International Women's Year.

The Commission's World Population Year News Service, funded by the General Services Foundation, the Rockefeller Foundation, and the UNFPA, was translated into Arabic and French by the National Commissions of Egypt and Senegal. The news service, now cosponsored by 38 national commissions, was used extensively by newspapers, radio, and television in the developing countries.

The National Commission continued its program on Students Toward Environmental Participation (STEP) by convening in Nashville, Tennessee in April the first state-wide student conference. The conference was co-sponsored by the Nashville Metro Schools, the U.S. Park Service, and the Environmental Planning and Management Office of the Mayor and funded by private industry (e.g., ALCOA, Aladdin Industries, Coca Cola Company, and Union Carbide). The Commission also published the first issue of STEP News/International, the first central communications link among young people of some 30 countries sharing common concerns about global environmental problems.

In cooperation with the Federal Energy Administration, the National Commission launched the Energy Conservation Corps, a grassroots, community-oriented program to involve young people in voluntary, home energy conservation activities. A pilot energy conservation project was completed in the six New England states, with the full participation of the Departments of Education of those states. Some 130,000 elementary school pupils and 1,200 high school teachers and students were involved in the project.

The U.S. National Committee for UNESCO's MAB Program, which is under the auspices of the National Commission, organized in cooperation with the University of North Carolina, North Carolina State University, Duke University, and North Carolina Agricultural and Technical College, a cultural and scientific study tour to Virginia and North Carolina for the delegates to the third session of the MAB International Coordinating Council following the conclusion of its formal session in Washington, D.C. The study tour, designed to facilitate discussions among some 75 delegates and U.S. scientists on environmental problems relevant to MAB projects, consisted of a tour of Colonial Williamsburg (made possible by grants from the Rockefeller Foundation and the Department of State); a field trip along the coast of North Carolina to illustrate U.S. attempts to cope with man's impact on wetlands, estuaries, and coastal zones; and a visit to Research Triangle Park, a 5,000-acre interdisciplinary facility devoted to industrial and governmental research on problems of the environment. In addition



to the official delegates, foreign and American graduate students participated in all facets of the study tour.

In cooperation with the U.S. Office of Education, the National Institute of Mental Health, the National Institute of Education, the Office of Child Development, and the Association for Childhood Education International, the National Commission organized from March 4 to 9 at the University of Illinois the first UNESCO experts' meeting to be held in the United States. Representatives from 17 countries explored scientific knowledge about the development of children from birth to 6 years of age and the possible implications for life-long education.

In preparation for UNESCO's observance of International Women's Year, the National Commission developed a resolution and plan of action that focused on women's role in socio-economic development. Three months of planning by a Commission task force, involving over a score of experts from within and outside government, went into the preparation of the resolution which was unanimously adopted by UNESCO at its 18th General Conference. The initiative reflected the U.S. Government's growing concern about the need to improve the status of women both at home and abroad and supported U.S. foreign policy interests, particularly the 1973 Percy amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961. This amendment provides that U.S. bilateral development assistance programs should give particular attention to programs, projects, and activities which tend to integrate women into the national economies of foreign countries, thus improving their status and assisting the total development effort. Prior to this initiative, the Commission had organized for nine women from five Asian and African countries a 4-week UNESCO fellowship and training course in rural education and community development at Howard University, Central Michigan University, Tuskegee Institute, and Berea College.

Following up on earlier human rights activities, the National Commission established a special task force to explore the U.S. contribution to the UN



Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. Funded by a grant from the National Institute of Mental Health, the task force held several meetings in cooperation with the Whitney Young Foundation in New York regarding a recommendation to HEW on the nature of the U.S. involvement in the Decade.

The National Commission assisted the Management Institute for National Development in the organization of the "Richard J.D. Belgrave Memorial Conference on Education about Global Development," held in June at Colby College in New Hampshire. The conference, funded by UNESCO and the Charles F. Kettering Foundation, dealt with the subject of educational reform in industrialized countries to increase global awareness and knowledge, with particular attention directed toward the developing countries and the interdependence of all societies. The Commission received a grant from UNESCO for the University of Massachusetts' "International Conference on Improving University Teaching," which focused on the identification and exploration of issues that are directly related to current teaching philosophies and practices.

The National Commission concluded the year with its annual meeting, held in Delavan, Wisconsin, in December. The meeting, which featured a 1-day symposium on the contributions of nongovernmental organizations to UNESCO, was held in connection with a 3-day colloquium on "Global Development for World Peace," organized by the President of Beloit College, Dr. Miller Upton, who was chairman of the National Commission. Senator Frank Church, Representative John Brademas, and former UNESCO Director General Rene Maheu took part in the colloquium.

The National Commission also adopted a resolution that deplored actions taken at the 18th UNESCO General Conference of a political nature against Israel while at the same time it emphasized U.S. support for UNESCO as an instrument of international cooperation in education, science, and culture.

## WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION

The admission of The Bahamas, Grenada, and Guinea-Bissau as full members and Namibia as an associate member in 1974 increased WHO membership to 141 full and 3 associate members.

### World Health Assembly

The 27th World Health Assembly was held in Geneva May 7-24, 1974. Delegations from 132 member states and observers from Guinea-Bissau, the Holy See, and San Marino attended the Assembly. Official observers also included representatives from the United Nations and other specialized agencies; nongovernmental health, welfare, and environmental organizations having official relations with WHO; the Order of Malta; the League of Arab States; the OAU; and the OAS.

More than 80 delegations were headed by Ministers of Health or other officials of cabinet rank. In all, some 600 delegates and observers attended. The U.S. delegation was headed by Dr. Charles C. Edwards, Assistant Secretary for Health, HEW.

In his first address to the Assembly as Director General, Dr. Halfdan Mahler turned to the WHO Constitution as the basis of a summary of the philosophy and attitudes that will guide him during his tenure of office. He quoted the Constitution as stating that the only objective of WHO "shall be the attainment by all peoples of the highest possible level of health." He emphasized that it was the constitutional obligation of all WHO's organs to work for the attainment of the highest possible level of health, and said that the first function of the organization was to act as the directing and coordinating authority on international health work. He observed that the coordinating role essentially implied a technical leadership that aimed at bringing the right solution to bear on the right problem with the right quality and amount of resources at the right time and place. He noted that providing technical assistance had a lower priority.

Dr. Mahler stressed the importance of training health personnel if countries are to become self-reliant in the conduct of their health programs. He declared that since it was most unlikely that the less developed countries would have enough traditionally trained health personnel within a reasonable period of time, solutions that hitherto were considered unorthodox would have to be adopted.

The Assembly approved an effective working budget for 1975 in the amount of \$115,240,000, an increase of 5.92% over the adjusted 1974 level. Virtually all of the increase was due to the inflationary effects of maintaining the same staff level as in 1974 and for continuing on-going activities. For the first time in recent years, the U.S. delegation considered the proposed budget estimates reasonable and called for full support by the Assembly. The U.S. spokesman, Dr. S. Paul Ehrlich, noted that WHO was in a state of rapid change and called on delegates to give the Director General full support so that he "could adapt and modify the Organization's program . . . with the guidance of the [World] Health Assembly."

In 1973 the 26th World Health Assembly, following the decision of the 1972 UN General Assembly, established in principle that the maximum assessed contribution of any one member should not exceed 25% of the total and undertook to reach that goal as soon as practicable. The 1975 assessment for the United States was computed at 25.64%, approaching the 25% rate stipulated by the U.S. Congress as nearly as possible given the restriction contained in a World Health Assembly resolution that a decrease in the U.S. assessment could not result in an increase in other members' assessment rate. Thus, the only ways that a reduction can be obtained are by new members joining, or by readjustments in the scale of assessments due to factors such as relative increases in GNP.

In a secret ballot in accordance with the WHO Rules of Procedure, the following eight member nations were elected to designate representatives to serve on the Executive Board for the next 3-year period: Argentina, France, Jordan, Guatemala, Mauritius, Sri Lanka, U.S.S.R.,

and Venezuela. These countries replace those whose terms of office expired at the conclusion of the Assembly (Denmark, Ecuador, Italy, Lesotho, Syria, Uruguay, Thailand, and Trinidad and Tobago).

In addition to the eight members elected in 1974, the Executive Board at present is composed of 16 representatives designated by Afghanistan, P.R.C., Colombia, Federal Republic of Germany, Hungary, Indonesia, Iran, Malawi, New Zealand, Niger, Poland, Switzerland, United Kingdom, United States, Yemen (Aden), and Zaire.

Program matters discussed at the Assembly included the following topics: (1) infant nutrition and breast feeding; (2) World Population Conference and Year; (3) medical manpower; (4) malaria and other parasitic diseases; (5) expanded vaccination programs; (6) prevention of road traffic accidents; (7) the Ninth Revision of the International Classification of Diseases; and (8) the seven-nation onchocerciasis control program in the Volta River Basin.

#### Program Activities

Following the leadership of its Director General, WHO placed renewed emphasis in 1974 on its role as the coordinator of international health activities. This was evident throughout the activities of the organization--in country health programming, maternal and child health programs, family health programs, health education, health manpower development--and in WHO's relationships with other organizations.

In addition to administering its regular budget, WHO continued to act as the executing agency for more than \$100 million in health and health-related projects of UNDP, UNICEF, WFP, UNEP, the UN Fund for Drug Abuse Control, UN Fund for Population Activities, the World Bank, and the regional banks. This brought the total administered by WHO to \$211,390,404 in 1974.



### Smallpox

The goal of global eradication of smallpox is in sight and could be achieved in 1975. During 1974 the tempo of the eradication program was steadily and markedly accelerated. Governments in the remaining endemic countries (India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Ethiopia), employing special funds provided by WHO and other governments, have given additional impetus to the program. The results have been dramatic. Pakistan, which in 1973 reported its highest total of cases in several decades, detected no cases during the last 3 months of 1974. All of western, central, and southern India is believed now to be free of smallpox. Smallpox incidence in Bangladesh decreased by 50% during 1974 and two of its four divisions became free of the disease. In Ethiopia, reported cases of smallpox decreased by 20% during 1974 and in December reached the lowest level reported since the beginning of the program.

The overall encouraging status of progress was reflected by the fact that worldwide only 1,392 cases of smallpox were reported during December 1974, a decrease of nearly 90% from the total of 12,111 cases reported during December 1973, when reporting was far less complete than now.

### Malaria

WHO changed its tactical approach to combatting malaria. While eradication has been achieved in some areas, it is no longer considered a feasible goal worldwide. Faced with the pragmatic realities, renewed emphasis was placed on effective control measures until new technologies are developed that will someday make malaria eradication possible. Work proceeded on the development of a vaccine and the utilization of combinations of drugs instead of single entities. Emphasis was also placed on further development of new chemotherapeutic agents.

### Cholera

The thrust of WHO's cholera control program continued to lie on improved sanitation, epidemiological surveillance, and early treatment by administration of oral and intravenous fluids. The vaccine, which has proved to be only 50% effective, is reserved for those at high risk, such as hospital staff and those who have been directly exposed to the disease.

### Influenza

WHO continued to maintain "listening posts" for early diagnosis and identification of strains of active influenza virus, as an early warning system. Throat cultures of people infected with influenza-like diseases were taken at the "listening posts." These were studied to identify the particular strains of influenza, so that appropriate vaccines could be developed and distributed to potentially susceptible populations each year.

### Onchocerciasis

WHO is the executing agency for a consortium of donors and seven African nations for carrying out a 20-year onchocerciasis (river blindness) control program in the Volta River Basin in West Africa.

The economic development of this fertile river basin has been severely inhibited because onchocerciasis has infected over a million people in the area of whom at least 60,000 are blind or have severe eye disorders. This is particularly tragic at this time when there is a disastrous drought to the north in the African Sahel region while large areas of otherwise productive agricultural land are lying abandoned in the Volta River Basin as a result of the prevalence of this disease. Control efforts included eradication of the black-fly vector by spraying insecticides. The actual aerial spraying of the fly's river habitat began in November 1974.

## INTERNATIONAL CIVIL AVIATION ORGANIZATION

During 1974, the Maldives adhered to the 1944 Chicago Convention on International Civil Aviation, raising ICAO's membership to 129 states.

ICAO was established in 1947 to achieve international cooperation and agreement on navigation, transportation, and legal aspects of international civil aviation. The work of the organization takes place in the several ICAO forums, the triennial Assembly, the permanent Council and its committees, the Air Navigation Commission, the regional offices, and in individual meetings, conferences, panels, and study groups at ICAO Headquarters in Montreal and other sites around the world. The United States, in view of its importance in international civil aviation, is deeply involved in the work of ICAO and is concerned with its continuing effectiveness.

Principal accomplishments in ICAO during 1974 included the issuance of improved standards and practices to counteract unlawful interference with air travel; revisions to navigational standards, procedures, and plans and assistance to countries in their implementation; development of additional aviation statistics and cost allocation guidelines for route facilities; modifications to the organization's responsibilities in administering international agreements for the operation of navigational and meteorological facilities in the North Atlantic; a significant increase in technical assistance to developing countries; and completion of work on draft articles for a convention to define liabilities for carrying air mail and cargo.

### 21st Assembly

A major event in ICAO during 1974 was the 21st Assembly in Montreal from September 24 to October 15 attended by 120 member states. A new Council of 30 members, including the United States, was elected to govern the organization for the next 3 years. Among the more significant actions of the Assembly were the establishment of guidelines for more effective

cooperation among states to investigate aircraft accidents, improvements in the machinery to establish common standards and practices in the field of air navigation, progress on resolving ambiguities in the responsibilities of states in international aircraft leasing, and a request to states to take specific measures to increase their programs to combat hijacking and other acts of unlawful interference which were recognized as a continuing serious threat to civil air transport. The Assembly requested member states to cooperate with the Council in its important work on matters relating to the human environment.

The Assembly also devoted attention to the many economic problems confronting international civil aviation. It directed the ICAO Council as a matter of urgency to draw up a descriptive list of the major economic problems and to prepare a plan for considering these matters on a global level by convening a special air transport conference or an extraordinary Assembly, or by referring the matter to the next regular Assembly. In addition, the Assembly directed the Council to continue on an annual basis a survey of international air fares and rates and to establish a panel of experts to examine the machinery for establishing these fares and rates and to recommend possible improvements, taking into account the interests of both the air carriers and the air transport users. The Council was also directed to undertake a study of existing bilateral tariff clauses, exploring the feasibility and merits of establishing an international ICAO standard as an international agreement. When the Assembly examined the relationship between ICAO and the regional civil aviation bodies it urged these bodies to invite interested states from outside the regions to participate in their meetings.

On the organizational level, the Assembly placed a 25% limit on any one member's contribution to the budget--thereby reducing slightly the U.S. percentage share. Provision was made in the budget for increased costs anticipated from inflationary pressures over the next 3 years and for limited use of the Arabic language.



The Assembly also took action on several sensitive and controversial issues. By a vote of 59 to 23 (U.S.), with 13 abstentions, South Africa's voting powers in the Assembly were suspended for its failure to pay a portion of its budgetary assessments. The Assembly adopted a resolution that noted the declaration of the Portuguese Government concerning the right to independence of its colonial territories and provided for Portugal to be readmitted to full participation in ICAO activities (from which it had been partially barred by the 19th Assembly in 1973) "as soon as the United Nations or the OAU has lifted the measures against Portugal" (see Part III, p. 380). Finally, liberation movements recognized by the OAU and the League of Arab States were admitted as observers to certain meetings.

#### Legal Committee

The 21st session of the ICAO Legal Committee, held in Montreal in October, produced a comprehensive revision of the cargo documentation and cargo liability provisions of the Warsaw Convention of 1929 as amended by the Hague Protocol of 1965. The revisions were primarily aimed at the present burdensome documentation provisions which seriously hamper international carriage of cargo by air. Draft texts of the revisions were to be considered at a Diplomatic Conference on Air Law in September 1975 for final adoption of an instrument incorporating the necessary revisions.

The Legal Committee devoted two meetings to questions of principle with respect to the revision of the Convention on Damage Caused by Foreign Aircraft to Third Parties on the Surface, signed at Rome in 1952. The result of the decisions taken will enable a legal subcommittee to proceed with the work of revising the Rome Convention. The Legal Committee also decided in principle to develop a new instrument, distinct from the Rome Convention, to deal with surface damage caused by sonic boom and noise.

### Other Activities

The other bodies of the organization met during the year to consider their areas of responsibility in the continuing tasks of the organization.

The Council held three formal sessions over several months and, after approval by the Air Navigation Commission, sitting in Montreal, adopted amendments to six technical annexes of the Chicago Convention, adopted a new Annex 17 on Air Security, and approved three documents for improved air navigation procedures. Amendments were made to all the world regional air navigation plans. The ICAO regional offices in Paris, Bangkok, Cairo, Mexico City, Lima, and Dakar continued to give advice to states in their regions to assist them in implementing the regional air plans. The secretariat in Montreal assisted all bodies in their work. Notable in this regard was completion and publication of the first major revision of the comprehensive Air Security Manual to assist states with their air security programs.

The North Atlantic Systems Planning Group Meeting in Paris developed new air-ground communications procedures to meet communications requirements until 1979.

The Aircraft Accident Data Reporting Panel prepared for consideration of the Accident Investigation and Prevention Division Meeting a system for reporting aircraft accident/incident information. The system includes an ICAO Headquarters electronic data processing capacity to receive, process, analyze, and disseminate data. The Accident Investigation and Prevention Division Meeting adopted a computer system for international accident reporting, increased manufacturer responsibility in accident investigation, developed standards for the use of flight data and voice recorders, and adopted procedures for investigating accidents of aircraft carrying radioactive materials.

The Panel on Route Facility Cost Accounting and Cost Allocation developed and recommended guidelines relating to en route air navigation facilities and

services. The guidelines stopped short of dealing with the question of allocation of costs among users. A format was developed for biennial collection of financial data relating to route air navigation facilities and services.

The Statistical Panel continued its efforts to insure a greater standardization in aviation statistics. Emphasis in ICAO's statistical programs appears to be shifting into new areas, including general aviation, operational statistics by aircraft type for safety analysis, and financial and traffic data relative to air navigation facilities and services.

The airport and its vicinity was the subject of the eighth Air Navigation Conference, and recommendations were developed to accommodate the new wide-bodied jet transports and also to prepare for very low visibility operations. With the conclusion of its fifth meeting, the Technical Panel on Supersonic Operations completed its preparations for the safe introduction of civil supersonic transport aircraft into international service.

Information became available at the Special North Atlantic-Pacific Regional Air Navigation Meeting that most of the LORAN-A navigational system currently included in the North Atlantic and Pacific air navigation plans would continue to operate until 1978 under present financial arrangements. The Meeting also recommended reassessment of the situation before mid-1976 and establishment of minimum navigation performance specifications.

### Technical Assistance

Acting as an executing agency for the UNDP, ICAO further expanded its technical assistance activities during 1974. Resident missions worked in 59 countries, and assistance was provided to 53 other countries in the form of fellowships (a total of 914), visits from experts assigned to inter-country projects, or under sub-contractual arrangements. In addition, under various funds-in-trust arrangements, ICAO provided assistance to 15 countries. Technical assistance officers

were assigned to each of the regional offices except Paris to assist in formulating country programs and in administering inter-country projects.

## INTERGOVERNMENTAL MARITIME CONSULTATIVE ORGANIZATION

Tanzania, Oman, Sudan, and Colombia joined IMCO during 1974, bringing its total membership to 87 full members and one associate member (Hong Kong).

### Safety of Life at Sea

One of the most significant developments in IMCO during 1974 was the Conference on Safety of Life at Sea (SOLAS), held in London October 21-November 1, to update the 1960 Convention on this subject. A succession of proposed amendments to the Convention since 1966 had failed to be adopted because of the large number of ratifications required under the 1960 Convention. The 1974 Conference adopted a Convention incorporating the seven outstanding amendments and a revised Chapter VI which will simplify the ratification and amendment procedures. With the adoption of these procedures, technological changes should be reflected more expeditiously in the Convention than in the past. The Convention is not yet in force.

### Assembly and Council

The Fifth Extraordinary Session of the Assembly met in London during October 1974 to discuss amendments to the IMCO Convention. The Assembly considered and adopted amendments based upon recommendations of an IMCO Ad Hoc Working Group which had met in London in February to consider increasing the membership of the Council and opening the Maritime Safety Committee to all members. These will become effective 12 months after they have been accepted by two-thirds of the members. The Assembly also established an Ad Hoc Working Group to study proposals by France and others to further amend and update the IMCO Convention.



The United States is a member of the Council, which met twice during 1974 to execute its responsibilities for the management of the Organization.

### Marine Safety

The Maritime Safety Committee met twice during the year to oversee the work of its subcommittees and consider their recommendations.

The Subcommittee on Safety of Fishing Vessels met twice, continuing its work on the third draft of a Fishing Vessel Convention to be considered at a special conference in 1976. Also, during February 1974, there was a tripartite meeting of the secretariats of IMCO, ILO, and FAO to complete work on a recommendatory and voluntary Code of Safety of Fishing Vessels, Part B, Construction and Equipment.

The Subcommittee on the Carriage of Dangerous Goods met during January 1974. A number of major items were discussed, including marine pollution aspects of packaged cargo shipments, portable tanks for dangerous goods in limited quantities, grouping of substances within classes according to their properties, and administrative aspects of shipments of dangerous goods. In addition, information was exchanged regarding several accidents that have occurred involving hazardous materials and on the status of the IMCO Maritime Dangerous Goods Code in relation to various national regulations.

The Subcommittee on Standards of Training and Watchkeeping met twice during 1974. The purpose of this Subcommittee is to strengthen and improve standards and professional qualifications of mariners as a means of securing better guarantees of safety at sea and protection of the marine environment. The Subcommittee continued its work on several documents outlining proposals for the mandatory minimum requirements for certification of the various deck officers, engineering officers, and unlicensed ratings. This work is being done in preparation for a conference on the matter scheduled for 1977. The November meeting of the Subcommittee also prepared for a joint meeting with ILO in

January 1975. The United States continued to propose and strive for slightly higher maritime personnel standards than at present, with the hope of raising overall the standards of the international maritime community.

The Subcommittee on Lifesaving Appliances met twice in 1974 and continued its work on a complete revision of Chapter III of the SOLAS Convention.

The Subcommittee on Radiocommunications met in September. It considered the relevant actions of the 1974 World Administrative Radio Conference and the joint meeting of IMCO and the International Hydrographic Organization on promulgating navigational warnings to shipping. The Subcommittee reviewed the draft of a proposed Convention on the Safety of Fishing Vessels, prepared operational standards for shipboard radio equipment which it recommended for adoption by the SOLAS Conference in the new Convention, and started preliminary discussions of the technical characteristics of emergency position indicating radio beacons.

The Subcommittee on Fire Protection met twice during 1974. Its major achievement was the completion and introduction of its fire protection requirements for tankers, and its continued investigation of methods of fire testing of materials.

The Ship Design and Equipment Subcommittee and its ad hoc groups made significant progress in regulations for machinery and electrical installations; consideration of steering (controllability) of ships; and the development of a Code for Novel Craft; and after intensive work completed a Gas Carrier Code for presentation to the 13th session of the Ship Design and Equipment Subcommittee in February 1975.

The Subcommittee on Safety of Navigation held its 16th session in April 1974. Major matters under consideration were traffic separation schemes; international coordination of promulgating navigational warnings to shipping; unification of wreck marking and buoyage systems in international waters; development of a standard marine navigational vocabulary;

noise level on ships (measurement and permissible level); definition of stopping distance; and safety requirements for vessels of special construction or purpose.

### Marine Environment Protection Committee

The purposes of the Marine Environment Protection Committee, a permanent technical committee of the IMCO Assembly, are (1) to assist IMCO in its consultations with other bodies within the UN system, especially UNEP, and with other international organizations and expert bodies in the field of marine pollution, and (2) to coordinate and administer, in consultation as appropriate with other bodies of IMCO, the activities of the organization concerning the prevention and control of marine pollution from ships. The Committee held its first, organizational meeting in March 1974. It adopted rules of procedure, reached agreement on how its terms of reference should be implemented in its work program, and adopted an "Action Plan" for initiating the work program. At its second session, in November, the new Committee was fully involved in the technical activities for which it was constituted. The meeting adopted a List of Substances to be annexed to the Intervention Protocol, in accordance with a resolution adopted at the 1973 Marine Pollution Conference held in London. Agreement also was reached that IMCO, together with the Mexican Government, would sponsor a Technical Symposium on Prevention of Marine Pollution scheduled to meet at Acapulco in 1976. The object of the technical symposium will be to review various scientific, technical, and economic implications of the 1973 Convention for the Prevention of Pollution from Ships and to exchange views on ways and means for complying with the requirements of the Convention. It is hoped that the symposium will assist not only developing countries but all countries toward early acceptance and implementation of the 1973 Convention.

The United States participated in both sessions, which were well attended by delegations from some 40 countries.



Legal Committee

The Legal Committee completed its work on draft international regulations regarding the Oil Compensation Fund. It began work on a revision of a 1957 convention on limitation of the liability of ship owners, and it continued discussion of a convention on wreck removal and related issues. The Committee further elaborated a draft Convention on Carriage of Passengers and their Luggage on Board Ships, which was subsequently adopted at an international conference on this subject convened in Athens, December 2-13, 1974. The Convention provides for liability and limitations thereon of carriers to passengers for damage resulting in death or injury of the passenger or loss of or damage to luggage. Liability is based on fault which is presumed, unless proved otherwise, in cases of shipwreck, collision, stranding, explosion, fire, or defect in the ship. Amount of liability is severely limited except in cases of reckless or intentionally damaging acts of the carrier.

The Panel of Experts on Maritime Satellites met in January and again in September 1974 to prepare for the IMCO Conference on the Establishment of an International Maritime Satellite System scheduled for London in the spring of 1975. The Panel was dissolved at the conclusion of its September meeting, having completed its work.

INTERNATIONAL TELECOMMUNICATION UNION

With the accession of Gambia and The Bahamas to the ITU Convention, the membership of the Union rose in 1974 to 148 plus one associate member (Papua New Guinea). ITU continued to function as the specialized agency for maintaining and extending international cooperation for the improvement and rational use of telecommunications of all kinds. The ITU also continued to cooperate closely with the United Nations during the year, especially in its role as the UNDP executing agency in the telecommunications field.



### Administrative Council

The Administrative Council, of which the United States is a member, held its 29th session in Geneva June 15-July 5, 1974. This was the first meeting of the Council since it was enlarged to 36 members and its membership newly elected at the Plenipotentiary Conference in September-October 1973. The Council approved a 1975 assessment budget of 40,968,300 Swiss francs, of which the U.S. share of the total is approximately 7.22%. The U.S. share of the assessment in 1974 was 11.59%; the reduction is attributable to action taken by the Plenipotentiary Conference in 1973 which eliminated territorial memberships effective January 1, 1975. Previously the United States had, in addition to its own membership, a membership on behalf of its territories.

The Council gave initial consideration to the dates and agenda for a World Administrative Radio Conference that will plan a Broadcasting Satellite Service in the frequency band 11.7 - 12.2 GHz, and a World Administrative Radio Conference on the Aeronautical Mobile Service. Both were tentatively scheduled for the first half of 1977.

### Maritime Mobile Telecommunications

A World Administrative Radio Conference on Maritime Mobile Telecommunications was held in Geneva from April 22 to June 7, 1974. The Conference considered and revised the ITU Radio Regulations insofar as they pertain to the maritime radio services. Although the results were generally consistent with U.S. interests, the Conference also adopted a frequency allotment plan for coast stations using voice communications which the United States and several other countries believed was not based on sound engineering principles. Accordingly, the United States and these other countries exempted themselves from the plan's provisions by entering reservations in the Final Acts of the Conference.

### Regional Administrative LF/MF Broadcasting Conference

The first of two sessions of a regional Administrative Radio Conference concerned with low-frequency (LF) and medium-frequency (MF) broadcasting in Africa, Asia, Europe, and Oceania was held during October 1974. The Conference agreed on technical and operational criteria governing frequency distribution in the broadcasting bands under examination and set the conditions under which countries within the area were to make known their frequency requirements. A second session of the Conference was scheduled for October 1975 to draw up new frequency assignment plans for the area involved. The Conference is a matter of concern to the United States because of its potential impact on U.S. foreign broadcasting operations.

### Other Permanent Organs

The permanent technical organs of the ITU--the International Telegraph and Telephone Consultative Committee (CCITT), the International Radio Consultative Committee (CCIR), and the International Frequency Registration Board (IFRB)--were active during 1974.

The Study Groups of the CCITT continued their studies for the period 1973-76 pursuant to the work program approved for them by the Fifth Plenary Assembly in 1972. Studies of technical operating and tariff questions with respect to telegraphy and telephony are being undertaken to further the development of the technical standards, embodied in recommendations, which largely govern the operation of the world's telecommunication system. Meetings of the Europe and Asia Plan Committees were held in September and October 1974, respectively. The function of the Plan Committees is to provide information to members to assist in the conduct of their bilateral and multilateral telecommunications agreements, and these meetings produced useful work toward the objective of orderly development of telecommunications within the two regions.

The Study Groups of the CCIR met in early 1974 and in preparation for the 13th Plenary Assembly of the CCIR in July 1974 considered, among other things, matters related to the technical and operating aspects of communications satellites (fixed and aeronautical/maritime mobile), space research, and broadcasting satellite services. The Plenary Assembly considered and adopted over 100 recommendations concerned with technical and operating questions relating to radio-communication. It also approved a work program for the Study Groups for the period 1974-77. In addition, the Plenary Assembly elected a U.S. citizen as Director of the CCIR, and four others were appointed as officers of Study Groups.

The essential function of the IFRB is the technical examination and registration of radio frequency notifications, including those for space satellite telecommunication systems, in order to insure interference-free radio operations throughout the world. The IFRB and its staff continued to carry out this function fully and effectively.

#### Technical Assistance

As a UNDP executing agency, the ITU assists developing nations to improve their telecommunication capabilities by the establishment and staffing of training institutes; a program of technical telecommunication seminars; and the recruitment of technical experts from developed countries, including the United States, to advise on specific telecommunications projects and to conduct studies in developing countries. In 1974, the ITU administered UNDP projects with a value of \$12,000,000.

#### UNIVERSAL POSTAL UNION

1974 marked the 100th anniversary of the founding of the UPU in Berne, Switzerland on September 15, 1874. The year also saw the 17th Universal Postal Congress, which was held in Lausanne, Switzerland, May 22-July 4.

During 1974, UPU membership increased to 154 with the admission of The Bahamas, Gambia, Guinea-Bissau, and North Korea.

#### International Postal Communications Matters

The Congress took action on a number of significant postal issues. Among these, the Congress increased from .50 to 1.50 gold francs per kilo the terminal dues for mail imbalances between countries and added air mail volumes to the surface volumes counted to establish the imbalances. The increased terminal dues for mail imbalances will add to the costs of the net-exporter countries. Imbalance charges are based on mail weight alone, without regard to length of haul or other cost variables. Under a resolution cosponsored by the United States, a study group will be established within the UPU to examine all aspects of the payment imbalance question and report to the next Congress in 1979.

The steady rise of postal operational costs, the increase in the level of terminal dues for mail imbalances, and a trend toward the air conveyance of letter mail without surcharge were discussed as factors requiring increased international postal rates. The Congress approved (1) an increase of 66.7% in the basic rates set in 1969; (2) permission to adjust the basic rate upward by up to 70% or downward by up to 50%. These actions will permit member countries to adjust rates as costs fluctuate in the 1974-79 period.

Other action taken on postal matters will permit the sealing of printed matter and small packets to allow for more productive use of modern packaging and sealing machinery by mailers preparing printed matter and other items for international markets. As the result of another Congress decision all packages being mailed must meet a new minimum size of 3-1/2 by 5-1/2 inches.



Organizational Matters

The Congress elected a new Director General and Deputy Director General--Mohamed Sobhi of Egypt and Thomas Scott of Great Britain, respectively. It also established a new procedure under which the Congress elects these officials for fixed 5-year renewable terms. Previously they had been elected for indefinite terms.

Over U.S. opposition, the Congress voted to increase the size of the Union's Executive Council from 31 to 40 members. The United States will not be represented on the Council for the next 5-year period because of a provision in the UPU Constitution which restricts members from serving more than two consecutive 5-year terms. A U.S.-proposed amendment which would have abolished this mandatory rotation formula was defeated.

The Consultative Council for Postal Studies (CCPS), which is the UPU's major technical body, was expanded from 30 to 35 members. The Congress elected the United States to membership in the CCPS and, subsequently, the United States was elected by the CCPS membership to be chairman of one of the seven committees of that body. This in turn gives the United States a vice chairmanship of the CCPS. Under a new provision approved at Lausanne, CCPS vice-chairmen may attend Executive Council meetings as observers on a non-voting basis. Thus the United States will be able to have an observer attend the Executive Council meetings for the next 5 years.

The Congress decided to retain the system of voluntary choice of contributory class to finance the UPU budget, while expanding the contributory range by creation of a new 50-unit category in addition to the old top category of 25 units. The United States and most other major contributors supported this move as it reduced the pressure to move to some form of compulsory contribution mechanism, such as the UN scale, which would have resulted in a significantly higher U.S. contribution.

In other actions the UPU Congress decided against lowering the two-thirds vote now required for the

admission of new members to a simple majority, against changing the rule requiring a prospective new member to be a member of the United Nations or of another specialized agency, and in favor of admitting to UPU meetings observers from liberation movements recognized by the OAU and the League of Arab States.

Brazil's invitation to host the next UPU Congress in 1979 was accepted by the Congress.

### Technical Assistance

The Lausanne Congress was the first at which the question of technical assistance was handled by a separate committee. The Congress recognized, however, that the UNDP should remain the primary source of postal developments funding and rejected proposals to divert regular budget funds for this purpose. The Congress also rejected an attempt to create a separate Council for Technical Assistance within the UPU, although the Executive Council was asked to study this matter further.

### WORLD METEOROLOGICAL ORGANIZATION

With the accession of Liberia, the membership of the WMO increased during 1974 to 139 (127 member states and 12 territories maintaining their own meteorological services.)

WMO, headquartered in Geneva since its founding in 1950, has under its Convention the statutory objective of facilitating a worldwide establishment of networks of meteorological observation stations, promoting the development of centers capable of providing meteorological services, promoting the rapid exchange of weather information and the standardization of meteorological observations and their publication, furthering the application of meteorology to human activities, and encouraging research and training in meteorology. WMO's operations are carried out through several constituent bodies--the Congress, the Executive Committee, the Regional Associations, and the Technical Commissions.

The WMO is the successor agency to the International Meteorological Organization which was founded in 1873 by the first International Meteorological Congress in Vienna.

### Tropical Atlantic Experiment

The outstanding event in WMO activities during 1974 was the successful execution of the field phase of the Atlantic Tropical Experiment of WMO's Global Atmospheric Research Program (GATE). This was the largest experiment of its kind, undertaken jointly by WMO and the International Council of Scientific Unions (ICSU), and is already recognized as being not only highly successful with regard to its scientific objectives but also a remarkable demonstration of international cooperation in the pursuit of a peaceful objective. Carried out over a period of 100 days from June 15 to September 23, the experiment involved the taking of meteorological observations by satellites, ships, buoys, aircraft, and land stations of 70 nations, over a 20 million square mile area of tropical land and sea extending from the eastern Pacific Ocean across Latin America, the Atlantic, and Africa, to the western Indian Ocean. Dakar, Senegal, was the operational headquarters for the experiment. The U.S. delegation to the inauguration of the experiment was headed by Dr. Robert White, Administrator of the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA) and U.S. Permanent Representative to WMO, and Ambassador Francis Dale, U.S. Representative to the European Office of the United Nations and other International Organizations. Both the United States and the U.S.S.R. were major participants in the experiment. U.S. participation, which included the cooperation of several major U.S. agencies and departments, was coordinated by NOAA.

### World Weather Watch

The World Weather Watch, 11 years old in 1974, remained the backbone program of the WMO, for which the other programs of the WMO provide vitally needed support. The objective of the World Weather Watch is,

briefly, to provide all countries with the basic meteorological data necessary for accurate weather forecasting. More accurate weather prediction over longer periods of time, which is the underlying long range objective of the Watch, has great significance to all countries in such vital fields as agriculture, water utilization, developmental planning, aviation, shipping, and industry.

In 1974, the world network consisted of surface meteorological stations, of which there were around 9,000, ships of all nations which sent observations while plying the high seas, and a number of aircraft that took additional soundings. Increasingly important components of the World Weather Watch are the meteorological satellite programs of the United States and the U.S.S.R.

#### Global Atmospheric Research Program

The primary research underpinning of the World Weather Watch is provided by the Global Atmospheric Research Program (GARP) which is a joint undertaking of the WMO and the ICSU. The major activity of GARP during 1974 was the execution of the GATE, discussed above. The primary focus of GARP in the next financial period (1976-79) for which preparations were advanced in 1974, will be the follow-on to the GATE experiment, in which the activities of GATE will be undertaken on a global basis. This will be known as the First GARP Global Experiment (FGGE).

#### Atmospheric Pollution

During 1974, WMO continued its activities in areas relating to air pollution and long-range atmospheric changes resulting from man's use of the atmosphere. WMO has played a significant role in the study of problems relating to monitoring atmospheric pollution and especially in the study of the long-term effect of such pollution on weather and climate. In these activities, WMO works closely with UNEP.



## Finances

The WMO budget is based on a 4-year period, geared to the quadrennial meetings of the WMO Congress. Annual budgets within the quadrennial budget ceiling established by the Congress are set by the Executive Committee at its annual meetings. The Sixth Congress in 1971 adopted an assessed budget for 1972-75 of \$17.3 million and authorized the Executive Committee to exceed this ceiling by amounts necessary to cover the cost of increases in staff emoluments occasioned by actions of the United Nations itself, provided the Executive Committee was satisfied that such increases could not be absorbed through economies elsewhere in the budget.

Supplements to the budget to take account of the effects of currency revaluations and inflation were subsequently approved by the Executive Committee in the amounts of \$400,000 in 1972 and \$700,000 in 1973. At its annual meeting in April 1974, the Executive Committee estimated a budget for 1975 of approximately \$7.6 million. The United States rate of assessment was 23.46% of the total.

The United States continued its support of the Voluntary Assistance Program, originally established in 1967 and designed to fill gaps in the World Weather Watch, with a total contribution of \$1.5 million to the program--\$150,000 in cash and the remainder in equipment, technical assistance, and long-term fellowships.

The WMO continued to serve as an executing agency for UNDP projects in meteorology. In December 1974, some 132 such projects were underway at a total program cost of \$64.7 million, of which \$34.7 million would be paid by UNDP and the balance by recipient countries.

## Preparations for Seventh Congress

The Executive Committee at its April 1974 session also was concerned with preparations for the Seventh Congress of the WMO, scheduled to meet in Geneva in the spring of 1975. Chief among the items considered

by the Executive Committee was the WMO Secretary General's proposed program and budget for the period 1976-79. At the urging of the Executive Committee, the Secretary General agreed to present to the WMO Congress proposals for greater WMO activities with respect to climate change in relation to food production and to weather modification studies, both of which are activities advocated by the United States.

### INTERNATIONAL ATOMIC ENERGY AGENCY

In 1974 the IAEA's membership increased to 106 with the accession of North Korea and Mauritius. The IAEA was established in 1957 following President Eisenhower's atoms-for-peace proposal before the General Assembly in December 1953. The objectives of the IAEA, as set forth in its statute, are to seek to accelerate and enlarge the contribution of atomic energy to peace, health, and prosperity throughout the world and to ensure 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.

As in past years, the United States participated in all areas of the IAEA's activities in 1974 and took the initiative in many of its programs.

### Safeguards

One of the IAEA's major functions is to ensure that nuclear materials and equipment intended for peaceful use are not diverted to military purposes. This safeguarding function received a greatly increased impetus and significance through the Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT), which entered into force in 1970. Under the provisions of Article III of the NPT each nonnuclear-weapon state party to the Treaty undertakes to place all its source or special nuclear material in all peaceful nuclear activities under IAEA safeguards. By the end of 1974 the IAEA Board of Governors had approved safeguards agreements under the NPT with 53 countries, including certain members of the European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM) and with EURATOM itself. At the year's end the IAEA was also negotiating safeguards

agreements with a number of other countries, including Japan and Sweden.

The United States has transferred or is in the process of transferring to the IAEA the responsibility for safeguarding almost all of the nuclear material it has distributed abroad. By the end of 1974, the Agency was responsible in 28 countries for administering safeguards which were formerly carried out under U.S. bilateral Agreements for Cooperation.

The IAEA, with strong U.S. participation, carried on a safeguards research and development program aimed at coordinating national programs with its own efforts to improve safeguards techniques and instrumentation. Twenty research contracts in eight countries were supported by the IAEA in this area, and new instruments and techniques were developed that enable inspectors to measure nuclear materials without damaging them. A computer-based information system on facility design and nuclear material data provided through reports was established in 1974.

### Nuclear Safety and Environmental Protection

The IAEA is the international organization responsible for providing guidance for the evaluation and control of the environmental impact of nuclear programs. The IAEA has had extensive experience in the environmental fields of radiological safety, waste management, and nuclear safety. Concern about the impact of nuclear energy on the environment led to a substantial expansion in 1974 of the Agency's work on nuclear safety and environmental protection.

In the first half of the year, events affecting the energy situation, especially the rise in the price of crude oil, also began to influence the nuclear power aspects of the Agency's work. Responding to the needs of specific member states, the IAEA initiated an important project, which may last for several years, involving the establishment of standards for the siting and safety of nuclear power plants. A committee of senior advisers met and provided guidance on the documentation to be issued in this field and plans for

preparing these documents. Reactor safety and siting missions were sent to a number of member states to review plans for nuclear power plants.

In the waste management area, the IAEA gave particular attention in 1974 to problems of waste disposal in the oceans, to the definition of criteria for disposal sites, and to the development of suggested practices for storing and disposing of highly radioactive waste.

For the second consecutive year, the United States made a special contribution of equipment in support of expanded research on marine pollution being undertaken by the Agency's International Laboratory of Marine Radioactivity in Monaco. This Laboratory continued its support of research contracts with various national laboratories on marine pollution studies.

#### Nuclear Power and Reactors

The rise in the price of crude oil accelerated the growth of nuclear power planning in many countries, particularly in the developing countries, where nuclear reactors smaller than the standard sizes are now economically competitive. Accordingly, the IAEA continued to emphasize the provision of such practical services to member states during the early stages of a nuclear power project as economic studies, siting surveys, and safety evaluations.

The IAEA continued its studies on the financing of nuclear power in the developing countries, and on the technical and economic characteristics of nuclear reactors that could be used in the smaller electrical grids of these countries. It published in 1974 an updated market survey in 14 developing countries to determine the future demand for reactors of less than 500 megawatts of electrical output. The expanded survey will be valuable to countries planning the development of nuclear power plants, to international lending institutions in a position to provide capital to finance reactor construction, and to suppliers of equipment and technology. Plans were made to continue



to maintain in the Agency the basic methods, procedures, and computer programs developed during the course of the survey.

With future requirements for electrical power in mind, the IAEA promoted the exchange of information on advanced converter and breeder reactors and on new experimental means of power generation. Early in 1974, the Agency's International Working Group on Fast Reactors reviewed national programs on liquid metal fast breeder reactor development and endeavored to coordinate international meetings on this subject. The Working Group also sponsored two technical meetings on specific problems in this field and supported a conference on fast reactor power stations.

### Isotopes and Radiation Sources

The IAEA's programs in food and agriculture, life sciences, and physical sciences, which are implemented by means of research contracts, meetings, publications, and technical assistance, are of continuing interest to the developing countries, which constitute two-thirds of the IAEA membership.

Under its food and agriculture program, the IAEA cooperated closely with the FAO in assisting member states in the use of nuclear and conventional techniques in research and development activities. These programs were aimed at increasing food production as well as protecting agricultural crops, livestock, and other products from pests or spoilage, with special attention to preventing pollution of the agricultural environment. The United States made a gift of equipment to the Agency's Seibersdorf Laboratory for use in connection with the seed protein improvement research program.

The physical sciences program deals with nuclear physics; those aspects of chemistry involved in the production of nuclear energy, radioisotopes, and radio pharmaceuticals; industrial uses of radioisotopes and radiation; isotope hydrology; and the dissemination of nuclear data information and the coordination of national nuclear data programs. The Agency continued

to coordinate research on controlled nuclear fusion through the work of its International Fusion Research Council.

The objective of the life science program is to develop methods for the application of radioisotopes in medicine and biology. This consists of work in dosimetry (in both medical and industrial applications), the use of isotopes in clinical medicine and medical research, and radiation biology. The IAEA cooperated with WHO in 1974 to extend international cooperation and to facilitate the exchange of information in several of these areas.

### Nuclear Information

Since its initiation in 1970, the Agency's International Nuclear Information System (INIS) has established a successful record in the collection and dissemination of information on the peaceful uses of nuclear energy.

At the end of 1974, INIS activities were covering about 90% of the world's literature relating to nuclear information. Scientific bodies in 44 countries and 12 international organizations were providing materials and information to INIS, which prepares bibliographic indexes, assigns keywords, and makes the data available to members on computer tapes or microfiche copies.

The United States is a strong advocate and supporter of INIS, which continued to demonstrate usefulness in the international nuclear community.

### Technical Assistance

In connection with the IAEA technical assistance program during 1974, expert services and equipment were provided to member states in Africa, the Middle East, Asia, Latin America, and Europe. Member States benefited from fellowships offered by the IAEA and by the United States and other contributors. The IAEA also organized a number of interregional specialized training courses and study tours for nationals of

developing member states and continued to execute a number of projects funded by the UNDP.

The United States has supported the IAEA technical assistance program over the years through the provision of experts' services, equipment, and fellowships; through the support of IAEA training courses in the United States; and through cash contributions.

The United States has considered it important to assist the IAEA in maintaining a sound balance among the different components of its work. The IAEA technical assistance projects generally act as seed capital, opening the way for larger multilateral and bilateral aid to the developing countries. The total U.S. voluntary contribution to the IAEA for 1974 was \$2,000,000 of which \$950,000 was in cash and \$1,050,000 was in goods and services.

#### Budget

The IAEA is financed by means of a regular budget and an operational budget. The former is supported largely by assessments levied on member states according to a scale based on the UN scale of assessments, modified slightly to reflect safeguards costs. The latter, devoted to technical assistance projects, is supported mainly by voluntary contributions from member states.

The 18th General Conference of the IAEA met September 16-20, 1974, and adopted a total regular budget for 1975 of \$29,675,000. The U.S. rate on the scale of assessment was established at 27.9% compared to its 1974 rate of 31.9%. The General Conference also adopted an operational budget for 1975 of \$5,801,000 of which \$4.5 million was to come from voluntary contributions, with the remainder to be funded from other sources.

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PART III.  
TRUSTEESHIP AND DEPENDENT AREAS

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UN consideration of conditions in non-self-governing territories is carried out in two different primary bodies--the Trusteeship Council and the General Assembly's 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).

Chapter XII of the UN Charter established the international trusteeship system and Chapter XIII established the Trusteeship Council. Over the years most of the territories under the system have become independent; only Micronesia, known officially as the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (administered by the United States), and New Guinea (administered by Australia) remained as trust territories in 1974. In 1974 the Trusteeship Council was composed of the two administering states and the four permanent members of the Security Council that did not administer trust territories--China, France, United Kingdom, and U.S.S.R. All were automatically members under Article 86 of the Charter.

In 1974 the United States discussed with two Micronesian negotiating groups the subject of future political status in the trust territory. The formal negotiations with the Marianas Political Status Commission produced basic agreement by the end of the year on a draft covenant to establish a commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands in political union with the United States. The negotiations with the Joint Committee on Future Status of the Congress of Micronesia with respect to the remainder of the trust territory continued on an informal basis throughout the year but reached no conclusion. In June the Trusteeship Council adopted a report expressing general satisfaction with U.S. efforts to fulfill its obligations under the trusteeship agreement to bring about self-determination in the territory and recommending several steps to improve the administration of the territory.

Chapter XI of the Charter treats of the responsibilities of states for non-self-governing territories that are administered outside the trusteeship system. In 1960 the General Assembly adopted, in resolution 1514, a "Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples" and in 1961 established a 17-member Special Committee to make suggestions and recommendations on the progress and extent of implementation of the 1960 Declaration. Enlarged to 24 members in 1962, the Committee in 1974 consisted of Afghanistan, Australia, Bulgaria, Chile, People's Republic of China, Congo, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Ethiopia, Fiji, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Mali, Sierra Leone, Syria, Tanzania, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, U.S.S.R., Venezuela, and Yugoslavia.

The Committee of 24 annually considers conditions in those territories that, in the view of the General Assembly, have not achieved independence. In 1974 the Committee considered over 30 territories, mostly small ones, but devoted most of its attention to southern Africa. The Committee also considered a number of issues related to colonialism generally, such as the activities of foreign economic and other interests seen as impeding the process of decolonization, military activities by colonial powers that might impede decolonization, and activities by specialized agencies and other UN bodies that might assist the process of decolonization. The Committee's work forms the basis for most of the General Assembly's action in this area.

The United States was a member of the Committee of 24 until 1971 and continues to discharge its obligations under Article 73(e) of the Charter by reporting to the General Assembly, through the Committee of 24, on conditions in three non-self-governing territories--American Samoa, Guam, and the U.S. Virgin Islands. Nevertheless, the United States takes basic exception to the view that has come to predominate in the Committee that independence is the only acceptable form of self-determination. The United States continues to support the General Assembly's resolution 1541, also adopted in 1960, which enumerates several ways in which non-self-governing territories can attain

self-determination. The United States believes that the timing and manner of self-determination should be decided upon by the people of the territory concerned and the state that has the responsibility for administering it.

Although the number of non-self-governing territories has steadily declined over the years, there is still considerable concern within the United Nations for those that remain, especially in Africa. Following the military coup in Portugal in the spring of 1974, the new Portuguese Government began a program of rapid decolonization, a policy that was warmly welcomed by the General Assembly and recognized in the language of various resolutions. As a result, attention focused even more sharply on Southern Rhodesia and Namibia. In general, however, the Assembly's overall consideration of colonial issues was briefer than in recent years, and most of the resolutions, similar to those of earlier years, were adopted with little debate and without vote.

The Security Council was little involved in colonial questions in 1974. It met briefly in mid-December at the request of the African members to adopt unanimously a resolution condemning South Africa's continued occupation of Namibia, but it did not consider either the Portuguese territories or Southern Rhodesia, questions which have over the years occupied much of its time.

#### TRUSTEESHIP SYSTEM

The Trusteeship Council held its 41st session in New York in 1974 from June 3 to 14, when it considered the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, and from October 15 to 23, when it considered the Trust Territory of New Guinea. Sir Laurence McIntyre of Australia and James Murray of the United Kingdom were elected President and Vice President, respectively.



In accordance with the UN Charter, the Council submitted its report on the strategic Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands to the Security Council and its report on Papua New Guinea to the General Assembly.<sup>1/</sup>

### TRUST TERRITORY OF THE PACIFIC ISLANDS

The Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands is composed of more than 2,000 islands with a combined land area of approximately 700 square miles. The islands are located in the western Pacific Ocean just north of the Equator, ranging from about 1° to 22° north latitude and 130° to 172° east longitude, and are divided into three large groups: the Marianas (with the exception of Guam) in the northwest, the Carolines to the south running from west to center, and the Marshalls in the east. The total population at the September 1973 census was 114,973.

Prior to World War II, Japan administered the islands under a League of Nations mandate. As a result of the war they passed under U.S. administration. On July 18, 1947, the United States and the Security Council concluded an agreement making the islands a strategic trust territory; it is the only strategic trust territory. It has been administered by the U.S. Department of the Interior since July 1, 1951.

During the Trusteeship Council's consideration of the Pacific Islands, Ambassador Barbara M. White served as U.S. Representative, and Edward E. Johnston, High Commissioner of the Trust Territory, served as Special Representative. Congressman Joab Sigrah and Senator Wilfred Kendall of the Congress of Micronesia served as special advisors to the U.S. delegation. All addressed the Council on June 4 and again on June 10.

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<sup>1/</sup> Article 82 of the Charter provides that in any trusteeship agreement part or all of the trust territory may be designated a strategic area, and under Article 83 the Security Council exercises all functions of the United Nations relating to strategic areas. Article 85 provides that the General Assembly shall exercise the UN functions for all other trust areas.

U.S. Report

In reporting on developments in the trust territory, the U.S. Representative discussed the steps taken since the previous session of the Council toward the determination of Micronesia's future status. Negotiations had continued during that time, proceeding with two separate bodies: the Marianas Political Status Commission, representing the Northern Mariana Islands (i.e., not Guam) and the Joint Committee on Future Status of the Congress of Micronesia, representing the rest of the trust territory. Although there were still technicalities to be settled, negotiations were moving toward two goals: U.S. commonwealth status for the Northern Mariana Islands, and free association with the United States for the Caroline and Marshall Islands. The U.S. Representative reaffirmed to the Council on June 10 that the United States would expect and welcome a UN presence during the act of self-determination in Micronesia. She also noted that although financial arrangements were discussed at length at the seventh round of status negotiations with the Joint Committee in November 1973, no agreement was reached on the size of the U.S. contribution to Micronesia after the termination of the trusteeship. However, discussion of the subject was resumed in 1974 in informal conversations between the leaders of the two negotiating delegations<sup>2/</sup> and both sides expressed satisfaction with the progress achieved. At the next formal negotiating session all remaining issues would be considered, including arrangements for the plebiscite through which the Micronesians would be consulted on their own future and transitional arrangements for establishing a new government before the end of the trusteeship.

The Special Representative, Mr. Johnston, commented on the substantial accomplishments of the trust territory in economic and social fields. He called attention to a major change in trust territory economic policy. For a number of years, investment of equity capital in Micronesia had been limited to citizens of Micronesia or of the United States. In 1973 the Trusteeship Council

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<sup>2/</sup> Ambassador F. Haydn Williams, the President's Personal Representative for Micronesian Status Negotiations, is head of the U.S. delegation for both sets of negotiations.

had endorsed the recommendation of the UN visiting mission to the territory that investment from non-U.S. sources be permitted. On January 23, 1974, the U.S. Secretary of the Interior announced that the ban on foreign investments would be lifted, effective April 1. In response, the Congress of Micronesia had passed an act strengthening the territory's District Economic Development Boards--which review foreign investment business permit applications--and requiring that all members of each Board be Micronesian citizens.

Reporting on other developments, the Special Representative noted that the Congress of Micronesia had passed legislation officially establishing the Development Bank of Micronesia; important contacts had been made with the Asian Development Bank; a Territorial Housing Commission, consisting entirely of Micronesian citizens, had been established during the year and a low-cost housing program organized; fishing authorities had been established in each district; rapid progress had been made in the development of marine resources and tourism; and the quality of available medical care had been greatly improved.

Finally, he reported that probably the most significant single event in Micronesia's recent history was the establishment in March 1974 of a Micronesian constitutional convention. The selection of delegates for the convention was still in process, and the dates and preliminary rules would be determined later.

The Special Advisor, Senator Kendall, said that although the Congress of Micronesia had made substantial progress toward political and economic self-reliance for the territory, the administering authority continued to subordinate Micronesia's interests to U.S. interests. He also stated that many efforts of the Congress of Micronesia had been frustrated by the High Commissioner's power to disapprove legislation. He reported that there had been no progress in the transfer of control of the budget to the Congress of Micronesia, or in lifting the tariff on Micronesian goods entering the United States. He emphasized that increased cooperation from the administering authority was much needed.

Congressman Sigrah reported that the area of least progress was economic development. He stressed the need for more planning and concrete goals in all areas. Nevertheless, he concluded that it had been a year of general political, social, and economic advancement.

### Council Report

The Trusteeship Council's report to the Security Council indicated that it was generally satisfied with U.S. efforts to fulfill its obligations under the trusteeship agreement. In addition, the report contained several conclusions and recommendations for improved administration of the territory.

The Council noted the U.S. assurance that the people of the Bikini atoll might safely return to their land, and it welcomed the U.S. pledge to grant financial compensation to the Bikinians.

In the area of political advancement, the Trusteeship Council noted the particular importance of the legislation that the Congress of Micronesia had adopted providing for the holding of a constitutional convention. It said that it would be desirable to regulate by appropriate legislation the right of veto over legislation and to limit as far as possible the areas in which the U.S. Secretary of the Interior might intervene. The Council noted with satisfaction the efforts to increase the number of government posts held by Micronesians, and it expressed the hope that similar efforts would be extended to the judiciary. While it welcomed the establishment of a single salary scale for the civil service, the Council expressed the desire that measures be considered to limit both the level of salaries and the number of civil servants, on the grounds that the lack of such limitations would place an undue burden on Micronesia's budget. The Council hoped that the political education program, designed to provide the population with explanations of both the negotiations concerning future status and the forthcoming constitutional convention, would receive high priority, and that any revision of the program on the subject of national unity would not prejudice the outcome of a future Micronesian act of self-determination.



In the area of economic development, the Council noted with pleasure the increase both in the price of copra and in revenues from tourism. The Council expressed regret that Micronesian exports to the United States were still subject to tariff, and recalled the views of the 1973 visiting mission that a serious effort should be made to reduce the growth of imports to the territory. The Council hoped that the request of the Administration to the U.S. authorities for more grant funds would be granted so that there might be an accelerated development of Micronesian infrastructure. It warmly welcomed the Secretary of the Interior's action to lift the ban on foreign investment in the territory, and it expressed the conviction that the Micronesians could only benefit from closer bilateral ties with other countries, particularly their neighbors in the Pacific region. It welcomed the new relationship between Micronesia and the UNDP and the Asian Development Bank and expressed the hope that these new contacts with the international developmental institutions would contribute to the growth of a viable Micronesian economy. In addition, the Council welcomed the establishment of the Development Bank of Micronesia. The Council reaffirmed its earlier recommendations that the Congress of Micronesia be given final authority over a larger percentage of the total budget, and expressed the view that a far greater priority within the budget should be given to agricultural development. The Council also believed that a greater share of the budget could be made available for the development of the fishing industry, although it noted with satisfaction the progress since 1972 in developing vital marine resources.

In the area of social advancement and education, the Council welcomed the planning of two new hospitals, but reaffirmed its earlier recommendation that a greater effort should be made to get a high standard of medical care to the outlying areas of the territory. The Council expressed the view that the educational curriculum should aim increasingly at both a greater awareness of the outside world and the development of a Micronesian cultural identity.

With respect to Micronesia's future political status, the Council expressed its regret that negotiations between the Joint Committee on Future Status of the

Congress of Micronesia and the U.S. delegation had been recessed after the seventh round in late 1973, but noted that contacts between the heads of the two delegations were never broken off. The Council hoped that no future status alternatives, including independence, would be omitted from the deliberations.

With respect to the future political status of the Mariana Islands District of the trust territory, the Council recalled its earlier recommendations concerning the unity of the territory, but also its awareness of the view expressed by the Congress of Micronesia and its Joint Committee on Future Status that they would not object to a form of separate political union involving the Mariana Islands District, if that union reflected the freely expressed wishes of the majority of its inhabitants. If the people of the Marianas were consulted separately from the people of the rest of Micronesia, the Council believed that the Congress of Micronesia should be informed in advance of their future political status. It also considered that the consultation of the people of the Marianas should take place in the presence of the United Nations and should not exclude any alternative. The Council recorded its earnest hope that, if separate plebiscites had to be held in the Marianas and in the other districts of Micronesia, these consultations would be carried out simultaneously.

The Council stressed the U.S. reaffirmation of its intention to terminate the trusteeship agreement simultaneously for all parts of Micronesia and not for one part separately. The Council interpreted this U.S. statement as meaning that trusteeship would place to apply to a part of the territory administered separately before the termination of the trusteeship agreement.

The Council noted with concern that the Marshall Islands had also expressed the intention of initiating separate negotiations. In this connection it expressed its firm conviction that the problems underlying this separatist trend would be settled in such a way that the unity of the Marshalls and the Carolines would be maintained. The Council further hoped that the future political status of Micronesia might be settled sooner than the anticipated year 1981.

### Security Council Action

The Security Council did not discuss the report of the Trusteeship Council on the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

### Committee of 24

The General Assembly's Committee of 24 again considered the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands during 1974. The United States holds that the Committee lacks the authority to consider the trust territory since the UN Charter provides that all UN functions relating to this strategic trust territory shall be exercised by the Security Council which, in turn, has delegated the responsibility to the Trusteeship Council. The United States did not, therefore, take part in the Committee's discussion, which was based largely on material prepared for the Trusteeship Council and that Council's records of its 41st session.

On the recommendation of its subcommittee concerned with Atlantic and Pacific territories, the Committee on August 22 adopted a report whose conclusions and recommendations largely repeated recommendations of the Trusteeship Council.

### TRUST TERRITORY OF NEW GUINEA

The Trust Territory of New Guinea comprises the northeastern part of New Guinea, north of the Papuan and east of the Irian Jaya borders, and the arc of islands stretching from the Admiralties to the northern Solomons (Buka and Bougainville). The total land area is some 92,160 square miles. As of June 30, 1973, its total population was estimated at 1,871,134. The trust territory has been administered in union with the neighboring Australian territory of Papua and the two territories have moved toward independence as a single national entity, with a combined land area of 178,260 square miles and a total population estimated at 2,592,505.

In an opening statement on October 15, the Australian Representative, Duncan Campbell, noted that the Government of Papua New Guinea was in full and effective control of all its own affairs and that Australia was conducting its relations with Papua New Guinea as with an independent nation. Even in the reserved areas of foreign affairs and defense Papua New Guinea was pursuing its policies in its own right. In view of this de facto independence, the Australian delegation to the Council was mainly one from the Government of Papua New Guinea and represented Australia only in a secondary sense.

Albert Maori Kiki, Minister for Defense, Foreign Relations, and Trade of Papua New Guinea, served as Special Representative and principal spokesman for the delegation.

#### Council Report

Noting that the Government of Papua New Guinea had full responsibility for all aspects of the internal affairs of the territory, the Council said that it would comment in its report on only those areas where Australia still retained formal responsibility and on the general question of Papua New Guinea's approach to independence.

In its conclusions and recommendations, the Council inter alia welcomed Papua New Guinea's increasing participation in international affairs and the expanding activities of the National Investment Development Authority and the Investment Corporation, which were fostering increased participation by Papua New Guineans in economic ventures. It also noted that the three international loans successfully concluded abroad by the new Bank of Papua New Guinea were indications of the territory's increasing autonomy in the international financial field.

With respect to political developments, the Council took note of the progress of the constitutional debate in the Papua New Guinea House of Assembly which was expected to be completed by the end of the year. The Council also noted that Australia had indicated on numerous occasions that it was ready to grant formal



independence as soon as the Papua New Guinea House of Assembly requested it. Since independence was expected to come in advance of the 30th regular session of the General Assembly, and since a resolution of the General Assembly was required for termination of the trusteeship agreement on New Guinea, the Special Representative had requested the Council to recommend that the Assembly take appropriate action in anticipation of independence so that it would not be delayed once the territory and the administering authority were agreed. After receiving the official opinion of the UN Legal Counsel that the proposed procedure was in conformity with UN practice, the principles of the Charter, and international law in general, the Council recommended that the General Assembly at its 29th session agree that the trusteeship agreement should cease to be in force on the date that Papua New Guinea became independent.

#### General Assembly Action

On November 28 the Fourth Committee approved without objection a draft resolution, sponsored by 43 Asian, African, Latin American, and Western European and other states, that (1) resolved, in agreement with the administering power, that on the date on which Papua New Guinea became independent the trusteeship agreement for the Territory of New Guinea, approved by the General Assembly on December 13, 1946, would cease to be in force; and (2) requested the administering power to notify the UN Secretary General of the date on which Papua New Guinea would accede to independence and on which the trusteeship agreement would cease to be in force.

The General Assembly adopted the resolution without a vote on December 13, 1974.

U.S. TERRITORIES

The Committee of 24's subcommittee on Atlantic and Pacific territories considered the U.S. Virgin Islands at seven meetings between May 8 and June 13, and American Samoa and Guam together at five meetings between June 13 and July 17. The Committee had available working papers prepared by the UN Secretariat on the basis of information submitted by the United States, and oral presentations by the U.S. Representative, Robert Immerman.

U.S. VIRGIN ISLANDS

On May 8 the U.S. Representative informed the Committee that the Virgin Islands Government and Legislature were still considering whether it would be better to resubmit to the voters the 1972 constitution--which had been approved by a small majority of a relatively low number of participating voters--or to call for a new constitutional convention. He reported that elections would be held in November 1974 for Governor, delegate to the U.S. Congress, and 15 members of the territorial Legislature. He affirmed that there were no restrictions whatsoever on the formation of political parties in the Virgin Islands and that any candidate, regardless of political party affiliation, could run for office if he was nominated by means of a petition signed by 50 eligible voters.

With regard to the economy, he reported that although government expenditures and tax revenue continued to grow, there had been a corresponding increase in unemployment, complicated by the decline in tourism. Substantial unemployment was a very recent phenomenon in the territory, and emergency measures had been undertaken to combat it. These included establishment of an Economic Development Corporation to attract new industries and assist existing ones in order to free the territory from too great a reliance on revenue from tourism, and efforts to curb the influx of foreign workers. Particular importance had been attached during the past year to funding housing programs, not only to

deal with the serious social problems traceable in part to inadequate housing, but also to compensate for a decline in housing starts and the consequent drop in employment by private construction firms.

On August 22 the Committee of 24 adopted without objection a report recommended by its subcommittee that inter alia (1) reaffirmed the right of the people to self-determination and independence; (2) hoped for greater participation by the United States with a view to enabling the Committee to fulfill its responsibility toward the Virgin Islanders in a satisfactory manner; (3) expressed the hope that the United States would expedite any approval that might be necessary in connection with the decision of the territory's government and legislature on the issue of the 1972 constitution; (4) stressed that consultations between the administering power and the local population concerning the future of the territory should be held and hoped that representatives of the Committee would be invited to be present when the people expressed their views; (5) expressed the opinion that a new constitution should be formulated which would command the support of a substantial majority of the people; and (6) hoped that the administering power would do everything possible to assist the territory in tackling the "grave and urgent" social and economic problems caused by rising unemployment.

#### AMERICAN SAMOA AND GUAM

In a June 13 statement on American Samoa, the U.S. Representative noted that a draft constitution, which provided among other things for the popular election of a governor and lieutenant governor, had been rejected by the voters in an election on November 6, 1973. In the belief that the defeat resulted from opposition to other portions of the constitution, a special referendum was to be held June 18 on the sole issue of popular election of the governor and lieutenant governor.<sup>3/</sup>

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<sup>3/</sup> The June 18 referendum again rejected popular election of the governor and lieutenant governor.

With respect to the economic development of American Samoa, the U.S. Representative noted that local revenues had increased from \$4.5 million in 1969 to \$12 million in 1974, demonstrating a significant increase in internal economic self-sufficiency. He affirmed that a major effort was being made to provide the infrastructure for sustained economic development, and that improvements were being made in land, sea, and air transportation. With respect to education, he reported that the enrollment at the community college had continued to double annually, with over 1,000 students enrolled for the 1973-74 academic year.

On June 14 he reported on developments in Guam. He affirmed that the political party system had taken firm root in Guam and noted that the 1974 elections for Governor, Lieutenant Governor, and delegate to the U.S. Congress promised keen competition, both between the political parties and within them where prospective candidates were vying for each party's nominations. He recalled that on June 6 the Secretary of the Interior had announced that the U.S. Administration was receptive to consulting with representatives of Guam to discuss the territory's relationship to the Federal Government, and he noted that consideration of Guam's future political status was taking place with full awareness of developments concerning the Northern Marianas, Guam's most immediate neighbors with whom it has ethnic and cultural ties.

With respect to Guam's economic development, he reported that the annual growth rate continued to exceed 25%, due primarily to a booming tourist industry, and he noted that the rapid economic growth together with a burgeoning population were placing a strain on the infrastructure of power, water, and sewage facilities. To meet this problem Guam had requested a special subsidy from the Federal Government to enable it to finance needed public projects.

On August 22 the Committee of 24 adopted without objection a report recommended by its subcommittee that inter alia (1) reaffirmed the right of the people to self-determination and independence and said that "in the period under review no significant constitutional advancement was made toward transferring all



powers to the people"; (2) expressed its appreciation for the cooperative attitude of the United States; (3) noted with satisfaction that the United States was actively considering the question of inviting a UN visiting mission to the territories; (4) urged the United States to continue its efforts to diversify the economy of the territories and to safeguard the right of the indigenous populations to own and dispose of their natural resources; (5) hoped that the political education program in American Samoa would be expanded in order to help the people take a greater interest in their political future; and (6) called on the United States to overcome the dependence of the Guamanian economy on the military activities of the administering power.

#### GENERAL ASSEMBLY ACTION

The General Assembly's Fourth Committee approved two very similar omnibus resolutions on groups of small territories. The first, sponsored by 12 African, Asian, and Latin American states, dealt with Bermuda, the British Virgin Islands, Cayman Islands, Montserrat, Turks and Caicos Islands, and the U.S. Virgin Islands. The second, sponsored by eight African and Asian states, dealt with American Samoa, Guam, New Hebrides, Pitcairn, St. Helena, and the Solomon Islands. Both resolutions inter alia (1) approved the chapters of the Committee of 24 report dealing with the territories concerned; (2) reaffirmed the right of the peoples to self-determination and independence; (3) reaffirmed that questions of territorial size, geographical location, and limited resources should in no way delay the implementation of the Declaration on Colonialism; (4) called upon the administering powers to establish in consultation with the freely elected representatives of the people a specific timetable for the exercise of the right to self-determination and independence; (5) called on the administering powers concerned to reconsider their attitude toward receiving visiting missions and to permit access by such missions to territories under their administration; (6) called on administering powers concerned to take all possible steps to diversify the economies of their territories;

and (7) urged administering powers to safeguard the right of the peoples of the territories to the enjoyment of their own natural resources.

The resolution including the U.S. Virgin Islands was approved by the Committee on December 6 by a vote of 93 to 0, with 14 abstentions (U.S.), and adopted by the Assembly on December 13 by a recorded vote of 117 to 0, with 17 abstentions (U.S.). The resolution that included American Samoa and Guam was approved on December 9 by a vote of 79 to 1, with 18 abstentions (U.S.), and adopted by the Assembly on December 13 by a recorded vote of 111 to 1, with 20 abstentions (U.S.).

The United States abstained on both resolutions because it had reservations with regard to the paragraph (point 4, above) calling for a specific timetable for independence. The United States believes that independence is only one of the choices possible in the exercise of the right to self-determination.

#### NAMIBIA

The question of Namibia (or South-West Africa) has been on the agenda of every session of the General Assembly since 1946. At its 21st session, in 1966, the Assembly terminated South Africa's mandate over the territory. At the fifth special session, in 1967, it established a UN council<sup>4/</sup> to administer the territory until independence and created a UN commissioner to whom the council should entrust such executive and administrative tasks as it deemed necessary. The Assembly also established, in 1970, a UN Fund for Namibia to put into effect a comprehensive program of assistance to Namibians.

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<sup>4/</sup> Members of the UN Council for Namibia in 1974 were Burundi, Chile, China, Colombia, Egypt, Guyana, India, Indonesia, Liberia, Mexico, Nigeria, Pakistan, Poland, Romania, Turkey, U.S.S.R., Yugoslavia, and Zambia.

In addition, the Security Council has considered the situation in Namibia and has adopted resolutions on it every year since 1968.

#### GENERAL ASSEMBLY

On September 23 the Fourth Committee without a vote recommended that the General Assembly, as in the preceding 2 years, "invite the leaders of those national liberation movements of the colonial territories in Africa which are recognized by the OAU, to continue to participate as observers in its [the Committee's] proceedings relating to their respective countries." The General Assembly adopted this decision without a vote on October 3. Accordingly, Theo Ben Gurirab, Peter Mueshihange, and John Ya Otto, members of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), participated as observers in the Fourth Committee debate, which took place in 14 meetings between October 15 and November 29. Over 80 member states also took part.

Speaking on November 7, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador White, reaffirmed that the United States supported both the Assembly's action in terminating South Africa's mandate over Namibia and the International Court of Justice's conclusion that South Africa's continued occupation of Namibia was illegal and that it was under obligation to withdraw immediately. She noted that since 1970 the United States has discouraged investments by U.S. nationals in Namibia and has made clear that it will not protect against claims of a future lawful Namibian government American investment rights acquired in the territory subsequent to the termination of the mandate. She noted that South Africa had recently affirmed that the future of Namibia would be decided by the people themselves and concluded by calling upon South Africa to allow as soon as possible full, free, and peaceful self-determination in Namibia.

On November 27, Sierra Leone, the Malagasy Republic, and Egypt introduced two draft resolutions on Namibia. The first was a lengthy omnibus resolution of 30 operative paragraphs which eventually was sponsored by 41 states, over half of them African. Although most

of the provisions were similar to those in resolutions of prior years, in many instances the wording was stronger. In its most important paragraphs the resolution reaffirmed the right of the people of Namibia to self-determination and independence; reiterated that SWAPO "is the authentic representative of the Namibian people"; reaffirmed the legitimacy of the struggle of the Namibian people "by all means at their disposal against the illegal occupation of their country by South Africa"; condemned South Africa's occupation of Namibia and demanded its immediate and unconditional withdrawal; urged the Security Council to convene urgently in order to take effective measures to put an end to South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia; authorized the Council for Namibia to finance an office for SWAPO in New York; urged all states to take "all possible economic or other measures" with a view to compelling South Africa to withdraw from Namibia; requested all member states to take all appropriate measures "to ensure the full application of, and compliance with, the provisions of the Decree on the Natural Resources of Namibia enacted by the United Nations Council for Namibia on 27 September 1974";<sup>5/</sup> requested all specialized agencies and other organizations within the UN system to allow the representation and participation of Namibia in their work; and requested the President of the Assembly, on the basis of consultations with the regional groups, to nominate additional members to the UN Council for Namibia with a view to ensuring a broader representation.<sup>6/</sup>

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<sup>5/</sup> The decree provided, inter alia, that no person or entity may search for or use any natural resource within Namibia without the permission of the Council for Namibia; any permission for such purposes granted by the Government of the Republic of South Africa was null and void; and any natural resource taken from Namibia, and any vehicle or container carrying such natural resource, without the permission of the Council may be seized and forfeited to the benefit of the Council to hold in trust for the benefit of the people of Namibia.

<sup>6/</sup> On Dec. 18 the General Assembly confirmed the nomination of Algeria, Australia, Bangladesh, Botswana, Finland, Haiti, and Senegal as additional members of the Council for Namibia.



The Fourth Committee approved the resolution on November 29 by a recorded vote of 96 to 0, with 14 abstentions (U.S.). The General Assembly adopted the resolution on December 13 by a recorded vote of 112 to 0, with 15 abstentions (U.S.).

The United States abstained on the resolution because it could not endorse a number of its provisions. For example, the United States disagreed with the resolution's veiled call for mandatory action against South Africa. It likewise did not concur in the resolution's nomination of SWAPO as "the authentic representative" of Namibia, in the absence of a clear expression of popular opinion. The United States further disagreed with the authorization to provide an office for SWAPO at UN expense.

The second resolution, sponsored by 32 states, mostly African, concerned the UN Fund for Namibia, to which the United States contributed \$50,000 in 1974. Inter alia, the resolution expressed appreciation to those who contributed to the Fund; requested the UN Secretary General and the Council for Namibia to continue to appeal for contributions; endorsed the decision of the Council to establish an Institute for Namibia in Lusaka, to enable Namibians to undertake research, training, planning, and related activities; and decided to allocate to the Fund \$200,000 from the regular UN budget.

The Fourth Committee approved the resolution without objection on November 29, and the General Assembly adopted it without a vote on December 13.

#### SECURITY COUNCIL

In a December 13 letter, the Representative of Upper Volta, on behalf of the African Group, referred to the omnibus resolution adopted by the Assembly that same day and requested the President of the Security Council to convene the Council "at the earliest possible date" to consider the question of Namibia.

The Council members held informal consultations on December 16 during which the three African members (Mauritania, Kenya, and Cameroon) presented a draft resolution. The Council met on December 17 and unanimously adopted the resolution.

In its operative paragraphs the resolution condemned the illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa; condemned the application to Namibia of discriminatory and repressive South African legislation; demanded that South Africa make a "solemn declaration" to the Security Council that it will comply with the resolutions and decisions of the United Nations and the June 21, 1971, advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice; demanded that South Africa take the necessary steps to withdraw its administration from Namibia and transfer power to the people of the territory with the assistance of the United Nations; demanded that South Africa, pending the transfer of power, comply with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, release all Namibian political prisoners, abolish the application in Namibia of all racially discriminatory and politically repressive laws and practices, and accord political exiles the right of return; and decided to meet on or before May 30, 1975, to review South Africa's compliance with the terms of the resolution and, in the event of noncompliance, to consider appropriate measures to be taken under the Charter.

In a statement after the resolution was adopted, Ambassador Scali noted that political developments of great importance to Namibia and the rest of southern Africa had taken place and expressed the view that South Africa must "reexamine its basic policies regarding Namibia in light of the new realities." He affirmed the U.S. belief that there was an urgent need to resolve the long-standing and contentious Namibian issue peacefully and as soon as possible. He said the United States was encouraged by indications that South Africa was reviewing its policy but believed South Africa should "make known as soon as possible its plans to permit the people of Namibia to exercise their right to self-determination in the near future." Ambassador Scali pointed out that the constructive involvement of the United Nations and the Secretary General could

be of significant importance to insure an orderly transfer of power in the territory, which would be to everyone's benefit.

South Africa, which had not taken part in the Council's deliberations, made no response to the resolution before the end of the year.

### PORTUGUESE TERRITORIES

The General Assembly has considered the question of territories under Portuguese administration every year since 1960 when it first decided that they were non-self-governing territories within the meaning of Chapter XI of the UN Charter. In addition, the question has often been the subject of Security Council debate, although the Council did not consider this issue in either 1973 or 1974.

In 1974, as in previous years, the General Assembly referred the question to the Fourth Committee, which discussed it at 15 meetings between October 1 and December 11. Over 80 states took part in the debate. In addition, in accordance with the Assembly's October 3 decision (see p. 366), representatives of the Movement for the Liberation of São Tomé and Príncipe (MLSTP), the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO), the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA), the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), and the African Party for the Liberation of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands (PAIGC) took part as observers in the Committee's proceedings.

The debate in 1974 came some 6 months after a military coup in Portugal overthrew the government of Premier Marcelo Caetano. In opening the debate, the Portuguese Representative said that it was the conviction of the new Portuguese Government that decolonization was an essential part of the process of democratization in Portugal. The Armed Forces Movement, in its Manifesto, had rejected the oppressive war against the peoples of the African territories and the new

Government had immediately embarked on a course of decolonization. It had already recognized the independence of Guinea-Bissau (see p.103 ), and Portugal and FRELIMO had agreed to establish a joint administration for Mozambique, designating June 25, 1975, as the date for full independence. The new Portuguese Government was in the process of decolonizing Angola; it recognized the rights of the people of Cape Verde, São Tomé and Príncipe, and Timor to self-determination and independence; and it was prepared to implement the relevant UN decisions.

Nearly all the speakers in the debate, including the United States, expressed gratification at the enlightened colonial policy of the new Portuguese Government, but many cautioned that much still remained to be done before the decolonization process was completed.

On December 10 the representatives of Tanzania and Upper Volta introduced a draft resolution sponsored by 45 Africa, Asian, and Eastern European states. The resolution, *inter alia*, welcomed the acceptance by the new Government of Portugal of the principle of self-determination and independence and of its unqualified applicability to all the peoples under Portuguese colonial domination; noted that Mozambique, São Tomé and Príncipe, Angola, and the Cape Verde Islands would achieve independence in 1975; called on Portugal to take all measures to remove any obstacle to the full and free exercise of the territories' right to self-determination and independence; and appealed to governments and UN organizations to render the peoples of the territories all moral and material assistance toward the achievement of their national independence and the reconstruction of their countries. The Committee approved the draft resolution without objection on December 11; the Assembly adopted it without vote on December 13.

On December 11 the Chairman of the Fourth Committee drew the members' attention to a draft "decision" which had been issued the day before on the report of the Commission of Inquiry on the Reported Massacres in Mozambique. The 28th General Assembly had established the Commission in 1973 to investigate reports of



massacres at Wiriyamu and elsewhere in Mozambique. The Commission had not been allowed by the Portuguese Government to visit Mozambique, but it had travelled to Tanzania where it took evidence from witnesses from Mozambique. The Commission concluded that massacres had taken place and that they were the fault of the previous Portuguese Government. The report recommended that Portugal and the transitional government in Mozambique bring to court all those responsible for the reported massacres and other atrocities and expressed the hope that ways might be found "to compensate for the destitution resulting from the criminal acts committed against the people of Mozambique by the former Portuguese Government."

The draft "decision" took note of the report and commended to all governments, UN organizations, and nongovernmental organizations concerned, for appropriate action, the recommendations in the report. The Fourth Committee approved the draft without objection on December 11, and the Assembly adopted it without objection on December 13.

#### SOUTHERN RHODESIA

The Security Council did not discuss the question of Southern Rhodesia during 1974, the first year that it has not since the unilateral declaration of independence in 1965. The Council's Sanctions Committee continued its work, however, and the question of Southern Rhodesia was on the agenda of the 29th General Assembly as it has been every year since 1962.

#### GENERAL ASSEMBLY

The Assembly's Fourth Committee considered the question of Southern Rhodesia at 13 meetings between October 15 and November 29. Over 70 member states took part in the debate and, in accordance with the Assembly's October 3 decision (see p. 366), representatives

of two liberation movements--the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) and the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU)--also took part in the Committee's proceedings as observers.

On November 25 Iraq and Tanzania introduced two draft resolutions that were similar to those adopted in earlier years. The first was sponsored by 55 states, nearly two-thirds of them African. In its most important paragraphs, the resolution, inter alia, reaffirmed that there should be no independence in "Zimbabwe" (Southern Rhodesia) before majority rule; called on the United Kingdom to take all effective measures "to terminate the illegal racist minority regime" in Rhodesia; further called on the United Kingdom to bring about the conditions necessary to enable the people of the territory to exercise their right to independence, including the expulsion of all South African forces from Rhodesia, the release of political prisoners, the removal of restrictions on political activity, and the convening of a national constitutional conference; and requested all states to extend to the people of "Zimbabwe" all moral and material assistance necessary in their struggle for the restoration of their inalienable rights.

The Committee approved the resolution on November 28 by a recorded vote of 97 to 0, with 18 abstentions (U.S.), and the Assembly adopted it on December 13 by a recorded vote of 111 to 0, with 18 abstentions (Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Luxembourg, Malawi, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, U.K., U.S., Uruguay). The United States abstained because the resolution sanctioned the use of force against Southern Rhodesia and because it placed unrealistic demands on the United Kingdom.

The second draft resolution was sponsored by 46 states, over half of them African. The resolution, inter alia, called on the United Kingdom "to take forthwith all effective and decisive measures" to terminate the Southern Rhodesian regime; strongly condemned those governments that continued to collaborate with the Southern Rhodesian regime; condemned all violations of the sanctions imposed by the Security Council; condemned, specifically, the continued

importation of chrome and nickel from Southern Rhodesia into the United States and called on the United States to repeal legislation permitting the imports; and appealed to those permanent members of the Security Council who have voted against various proposals "to reconsider their negative attitude with a view to the elimination forthwith of the threat to international peace and security resulting from the explosive situation obtaining in the territory."

The Committee approved the resolution on November 28 by a recorded vote of 99 to 0, with 17 abstentions (U.S.), and the Assembly adopted it on December 13 by a recorded vote of 112 to 0, with 18 abstentions (Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Iceland, Israel, Italy, Luxembourg, Malawi, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, U.K., U.S., Uruguay). The United States abstained because it opposed the use of force against Southern Rhodesia, and because it objected to the provision singling out the United States for condemnation while largely ignoring the sanctions violations of other countries. Moreover, as the U.S. Representative had pointed out during the debate, on August 12 the White House announced President Ford's support for repeal of the Byrd amendment that permitted U.S. imports of certain strategic materials from Southern Rhodesia. The executive branch of the U.S. Government was committed to returning the United States to full conformity with the UN sanctions.

#### SANCTIONS COMMITTEE

The Sanctions Committee, which now has the same composition as the Security Council, was established by the Security Council on May 29, 1968, by the same resolution that imposed comprehensive mandatory economic sanctions on Southern Rhodesia. During 1974 the Committee met 45 times, generally in closed session, and continued its investigation of reports of violations of the sanctions. The Committee continued its consideration of 71 old cases and began work on 54 new ones. The Committee made some limited progress in its preparation of a manual describing procedures necessary to determine the true origin of goods from southern Africa,

and it published a list of experts who would be available to help any importing country with the investigation of products suspected to be of Southern Rhodesian origin. At the end of December the Committee adopted two reports to the Security Council describing in detail its activities during 1974.

## OTHER QUESTIONS

### OTHER TERRITORIES

In addition to the resolutions described in previous sections of this report, the 29th General Assembly adopted resolutions on six other territories--Niue, Gibraltar, Seychelles, Gilbert and Ellice Islands, Comoro Archipelago, and Spanish Sahara.

The Fourth Committee considered the territories together at 17 meetings between November 21 and December 11 under the agenda item, "Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples."

It approved without objection resolutions on Niue (November 28), Gibraltar (December 5), the Seychelles (December 6), Gilbert and Ellice Islands (December 6), and the Comoro Archipelago (December 11). The plenary Assembly adopted all these resolutions without vote on December 13.

The resolution on Niue, introduced by Ethiopia and sponsored by 32 states, noted that the people of Niue had voted by a substantial majority for self-government in free association with New Zealand and concluded that in doing so the people of Niue had exercised their right of self-determination.

The resolution on Gibraltar urged the United Kingdom and Spain to begin without delay the negotiations envisaged under the terms of the consensus adopted by the General Assembly on December 14, 1973. The



resolution on the Seychelles noted the wish of the people of the islands to achieve independence and called on the United Kingdom to take all necessary steps to facilitate the territory's accession to independence as soon as possible. The resolution on the Gilbert and Ellice Islands reaffirmed the right of the islands' inhabitants to self-determination and independence and requested the Committee of 24 to give full consideration to the territory in light of the findings of the UN visiting mission that had visited the territory in August-September 1974. The resolution on the Comoros noted the desire and readiness of the Comorian people for independence and requested France to ensure the full and speedy attainment of independence by the people.

On December 10, Upper Volta, Syria, and Iraq introduced a draft resolution on Spanish Sahara that was eventually sponsored by 35 African and Arab states, among them Algeria, Morocco, and Mauritania, which border the territory. The resolution decided to seek an advisory opinion from the International Court of Justice on the status of the territory at the time it was colonized by Spain and called on Spain, as the administering power, and Morocco and Mauritania, as interested parties, to submit to the Court all necessary documents and information. The resolution also urgently invited Spain to postpone its planned referendum in Spanish Sahara until the General Assembly decided on the policy to be followed in order to accelerate the decolonization process in the territory in the light of the Court's advisory opinion. All states were invited to abstain from contributing, by their investments or immigration policy, to the maintenance of a colonial situation in the territory. The Committee of 24 was requested to keep the situation under review, to send a visiting mission to the territory for that purpose, and to report thereon to the 30th General Assembly.

During the debate, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador White, said that the United States strongly supported the use of the International Court of Justice in appropriate cases to resolve disputes among states in a peaceful manner. To that end, resort to the Court's advisory opinion procedure should be encouraged whenever it would facilitate the resolution of disputes. She continued, "We believe that in the case of Spanish

Sahara, the International Court of Justice could facilitate a peaceful solution to the dispute by the parties concerned by offering an opinion on the legal aspects of this problem, including the historical claims to the territory."

However, the resolution on Spanish Sahara as introduced into the Committee was not entirely satisfactory to the United States. Ambassador White told the Committee on December 11 that the United States considered that Spain had made fully clear its commitment to the exercise of self-determination in the Spanish Sahara, but that several of the resolution's paragraphs seemed to imply the opposite, which added an element of prejudice to the resolution. She further asserted that the invitation to Spain to suspend its planned referendum ran against the spirit of the resolution on Spanish Sahara adopted at the 28th General Assembly. In conclusion, Ambassador White said that the United States would vote for the resolution solely because its major thrust was to refer the question of Spanish Sahara to the International Court of Justice.

The Committee approved the resolution on December 11 by a rollcall vote of 81 (U.S.) to 0, with 43 abstentions, and the Assembly adopted it on December 13 by a recorded vote of 87 (U.S.) to 0, with 43 abstentions. (See also Part IV, p. 390.)

## GENERAL RESOLUTIONS

As in previous years, the General Assembly also adopted, under several different agenda items, a number of general resolutions on different aspects of colonialism and racial discrimination. Two of the resolutions were adopted on the recommendation of the Third Committee, five on the recommendation of the Fourth Committee, and three were adopted by the plenary without prior reference to a main committee.

### Third Committee Resolutions

The Third Committee (Social, Humanitarian, and Cultural), following its practice since 1969, considered at 10

meetings between November 4 and 14 an agenda item on the "Importance of the universal realization of the right of peoples to self-determination and of the speedy granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples for the effective guarantee and observance of human rights." On November 11 Tanzania introduced a draft resolution, eventually sponsored by 51 members, which was revised on November 14. The Committee approved the resolution that same day by a rollcall vote of 104 to 1 (Israel), with 19 abstentions (U.S.). At the request of Uruguay, the Committee voted separately on operative paragraphs 3, 8, and 9. Paragraph 3, which reaffirmed the legitimacy of armed struggle against colonial and foreign domination and alien subjugation, was retained by a vote of 73 to 10 (U.S.), with 18 abstentions. Paragraph 8, which condemned the policies of NATO members and other countries whose military, economic, sporting, or political relations with southern African racist regimes encouraged these regimes, was retained by a vote of 73 to 9 (U.S.), with 20 abstentions. Paragraph 9, which called on these countries to sever relations with South Africa and Rhodesia, was retained by a vote of 76 to 8 (U.S.), with 21 abstentions. Other paragraphs in the resolution reaffirmed the right to self-determination, freedom, and independence; demanded full respect for the human rights of detained or imprisoned individuals; and condemned governments that do not recognize the right to self-determination and independence of all peoples under colonial and foreign domination and alien subjugation, notably the peoples of Africa and the Palestinian people.

The Assembly adopted the resolution on November 29 by a recorded vote of 107 to 1 (Israel), with 20 abstentions (U.S.).

During the Third Committee's consideration, between October 10 and 29, of that part of ECOSOC's report dealing with human rights questions (see also p. 245), Senegal introduced a draft resolution entitled "Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms" that was eventually sponsored by 27 members. The resolution, inter alia, reaffirmed the Assembly's attachment to the principles, values, and ideals of the UN Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; reaffirmed

the legitimacy of the struggle of southern African peoples to free themselves from colonial and foreign domination in conformity with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; and, in its operative paragraph 5, strongly condemned the policy of NATO members and other powers that "are assisting the racist regimes in southern Africa and elsewhere to repress the profound aspirations of peoples to the enjoyment of human rights and to prevent the exercise of those rights."

At the request of the Federal Republic of Germany, the Committee on October 22 took a separate vote on paragraph 5, retaining it by a vote of 83 to 9 (U.S.), with 23 abstentions. The Committee approved the resolution as a whole by a vote of 108 to 0, with 9 abstentions (U.S.). The Assembly adopted the resolution in plenary on November 6 by a vote of 110 to 0, with 10 abstentions (U.S.). The United States abstained because it objected to the false allegation concerning NATO countries in paragraph 5.

#### Fourth Committee Resolutions

Under an agenda item on "Information from non-self-governing territories transmitted under Article 73e of the Charter of the United Nations," the Fourth Committee on December 6, by a vote of 128 to 0, with 3 abstentions (France, U.K., U.S.), approved a resolution sponsored by 24 states. The resolution, inter alia, deplored that some member countries with responsibilities for administering non-self-governing territories had failed to transmit information under Article 73e; re-affirmed that, in the absence of a decision by the General Assembly itself that a territory had attained a full measure of self-government in terms of Chapter XI of the Charter, the administering powers concerned should continue to transmit information under Article 73e; and requested the administering powers to transmit to the Secretary General the information prescribed in Article 73e of the Charter, as well as the fullest possible information on political and constitutional developments in the territories. The United States abstained because it disagreed with the inference in operative paragraph 3 of the resolution that the General Assembly is the definitive judge of whether territories



have achieved self-government. The Assembly adopted the resolution on December 13 by a recorded vote of 124 to 0, with 3 abstentions (France, U.K., U.S.).

On November 28 the Committee voted on a long resolution under 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 Southern Rhodesia, Namibia, and territories under Portuguese domination and in all other territories under colonial domination and efforts to eliminate colonialism, apartheid and racial discrimination in southern Africa." Sponsored by 45 states, the resolution was approved by a recorded vote of 106 to 0, with 11 abstentions (U.S.). The resolution, which was similar to resolutions of previous years, inter alia reaffirmed that the activities of foreign economic, financial, and other interests operating at present in the colonial territories of southern Africa constitute a major obstacle to political independence and called on governments to prevent their nationals from making investments that run counter to the interests of the southern African territories. The United States abstained because it disagrees with the premise that foreign economic interests are an impediment to self-determination. The Assembly adopted the resolution on December 13 by a recorded vote of 118 to 0, with 13 abstentions (Belgium, Denmark, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Malawi, Netherlands, U.K., U.S.).

On December 6 the Fourth Committee approved without objection a draft resolution under its agenda item on "Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples by the specialized agencies and the international institutions associated with the United Nations." The Assembly adopted the resolution without a vote on December 13.

The lengthy resolution, sponsored by 41 states, reaffirmed the need for organizations in the UN system to extend moral and material assistance to peoples of colonial territories and their national liberation movements; again urged the organizations "to withhold

any financial, economic, technical, or other assistance from the Government of South Africa and the illegal regime of Southern Rhodesia . . . until they restore to the peoples of Namibia and Zimbabwe /Southern Rhodesia/ their inalienable right to self-determination and independence"; and requested the organizations to arrange for the participation in their proceedings of representatives of the national liberation movements recognized by the OAU. Portugal was specifically excluded from the requested measures, however, in a paragraph that drew the attention of the specialized agencies and other UN institutions "to the steps toward decolonization undertaken by the new Government of Portugal, thus enabling these organizations to resume their cooperation with the present Government of Portugal."

Although the United States did not demand a vote, it maintains very strong reservations about the resolution. The United States believes that assisting liberation movements constitutes interference in the internal affairs of states and that it is undesirable to involve specialized agencies in contentious political matters which can only distract them from their legitimate work.

The United States supported two resolutions concerning educational and training programs for indigenous inhabitants of non-self-governing territories. The first, sponsored by 34 states and approved in Committee without objection on November 28, appealed to all states to make contributions to the UN Educational and Training Program for Southern Africa. The Assembly adopted this resolution without a vote on December 13. The second resolution, sponsored by 24 states and approved in Committee without objection on December 6, invited all states to make generous offers of study and training facilities to the inhabitants of non-self-governing territories, particularly those in southern Africa. The Assembly adopted the resolution without a vote on December 13.

## Plenary Resolutions

On December 16, by a recorded vote of 118 to 0, with 10 abstentions (U.S.), the Assembly adopted, under its agenda item on "Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples," an omnibus resolution, sponsored by 49 states, similar to others adopted in earlier years. The resolution, inter alia, called on administering powers to enable the dependent peoples of the territories concerned to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination and independence; approved the report and 1975 agenda of the Committee of 24; re-affirmed the legitimacy of the struggle of the people under colonial and alien domination to exercise their right to self-determination; urged all states and specialized agencies to provide moral and material assistance to liberation movements in Africa; and requested governments and international organizations to withhold assistance from South Africa and Rhodesia.

In an explanation of vote, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador White, said that the United States considers self-determination to be the fundamental principle that must guide the resolution of questions of dependent territories, but that self-determination may result in independence or some sort of association basis. Ambassador White went on to state that the United States objected to those resolution provisions that encouraged the specialized agencies to involve themselves in contentious political matters which detract from their legitimate work. She observed that aid to liberation movements by international organizations, which the resolution called for, constituted interference in the internal affairs of states.

Under the same agenda item, also on December 16, the Assembly adopted by a recorded vote of 129 (U.S.) to 0, with no abstentions, a resolution entitled "Dissemination of information on decolonization" that was sponsored by 52 states. Inter alia, the resolution called on the Secretary General to give widespread publicity to the work of the United Nations in the field of decolonization.

Under its agenda item on "Cooperation between the United Nations and the OAU," the Assembly on December 10 adopted by consensus a resolution sponsored by 42 African states. The resolution reiterated the intention of the United Nations, in cooperation with the OAU, to intensify its efforts to find a solution to the grave situation in southern Africa; requested the Secretary General to take the necessary measures to strengthen cooperation between the United Nations and the OAU; and decided "to invite as observers, on a regular basis and in accordance with earlier practice, representatives of the national liberation movements recognized by the OAU to participate in the relevant work of the main committees of the General Assembly and its subsidiary organs concerned, as well as in conferences, seminars, and other meetings held under the auspices of the United Nations which concern their countries, and requests the Secretary General, in consultation with the OAU, to ensure that the necessary arrangements are made for their effective participation, including the requisite financial provisions."





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PART IV.  
LEGAL DEVELOPMENTS

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Legal questions are relevant to a significant part of the work of the United Nations. Many of these questions, such as review of the UN Charter and law of the sea, are discussed in other parts of this report in connection with the underlying issues to which they relate. However, because of their specifically legal character, Part Four deals separately with the activities of the International Court of Justice, the International Law Commission, the UN Commission on International Trade Law, the General Assembly's Sixth (Legal) Committee, and certain special committees constituted by the Assembly to consider such questions as the definition of aggression and relations between UN missions and the host country.

## INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE

### CASES

#### Fisheries Jurisdiction (United Kingdom v. Iceland; Federal Republic of Germany v. Iceland)

In 1972 the United Kingdom and the Federal Republic of Germany filed separate applications instituting proceedings against Iceland because of the latter's decision to extend, as of September 1, 1972, the limits of its exclusive fisheries zone from a distance of 12 to one of 50 nautical miles from the baselines around its coast. In July 1972 the United Kingdom and the Federal Republic of Germany filed requests for interim measures of protection to prevent this unilateral extension of exclusive fishing area limits, but Iceland asserted that the Court had no jurisdiction in the matter and did not take part in any phase of the subsequent proceedings. On August 17 the Court issued orders restraining Iceland from extending its fisheries limits as planned and



stipulating restrictions on the catch of the British and German trawler fleets until final judgment. Iceland strongly protested the orders and announced it would not consider itself bound.

In February 1973 the Court delivered judgments finding that it had jurisdiction to entertain the applications and deal with the merits of the disputes, and it set time limits of August 1, 1973, for the applicants and January 15, 1974, for Iceland to submit pleadings on the merits. In July 1973 the Court decided that the interim measures of protection that it had issued would continue until it had given final judgment in the cases. It mentioned, *inter alia*, that it was cognizant that negotiations had taken place between the parties with a view to resolving their dispute, but that pending a final decision and in the absence of other arrangements between the parties it would maintain its interim measures in order to preserve the rights of the parties. On November 21, 1973, the United Kingdom informed the Court of the conclusion on November 13 of an interim agreement with Iceland relating to fisheries in the disputed area.

On January 17, 1974, the Court decided not to join the proceedings in the two cases, since, although the basic legal issues in the cases appeared to be identical, there were differences between the positions of the two applicants and between their submissions, and joinder would be contrary to their wishes.

After notice to the parties, the Court held two public sittings in each case, between March 25 and April 2, at which it heard arguments presented on the merits. On July 25, 1974, the Court delivered its judgments on the merits in both cases. The judgments, which were delivered separately, were similar in many respects and are treated jointly below.

The Court, by 10 votes to 4, found that the regulations concerning the fishery limits off Iceland promulgated by Iceland on July 14, 1972, and constituting a unilateral extension of its exclusive fishing rights to 50 nautical miles disregarded the established treaty rights of the United Kingdom and the Federal Republic of Germany and could not legally be applied against them.

The Court also held that the parties were mutually obliged to negotiate in good faith to solve their differences over fishery rights in the area. These negotiations should take into account, inter alia, (1) that in the distribution of the fishing resources in the specified areas Iceland was entitled to a preferential share to the extent of the special dependence of its people upon the fisheries around its coasts for their livelihood and economic development; (2) that by virtue of their fishing activities in the areas the United Kingdom and the Federal Republic of Germany also had established rights in the fishery resources on which elements of their respective people depended for their livelihood and economic well-being; (3) the obligation to pay due regard to interests of other states in the conservation and equitable exploitation of these resources; (4) that the above-mentioned rights of the parties should each be given effect to the extent compatible with the conservation and development of the fishery resources in the areas and with the interests of other states; and (5) their obligation to keep under review these resources and to examine together, in the light of scientific and other available information, such measures as might be required for the conservation, development, and equitable exploitation of those resources, making use of the machinery established by the North-East Atlantic Fisheries Convention or such other means as might be agreed upon as a result of international negotiations.

Nuclear Tests (Australia v. France; New Zealand v. France)

On May 9, 1973, Australia and New Zealand instituted separate proceedings against France asking the Court to declare that the carrying out of further atmospheric nuclear-weapon tests in the South Pacific Ocean was not consistent with applicable rules of international law and to order that the French Government should not carry out any further such tests. Australia and New Zealand also requested the Court to indicate interim measures of protection. In response by letter, France stated that in its view the Court was not competent to hear the matter and the question of interim measures thus did not arise.

At four public hearings in May, Australia and New Zealand presented their observations on the question of interim measures of protection; France was not represented at the hearings. In June, the Court ordered interim measures of protection that directed the parties, pending the Court's final decision, to take no action that might aggravate or extend the disputes. The Court set time limits of September 21 for Australia and New Zealand and December 21 for France for the submission of pleadings addressed to the question of the Court's jurisdiction. These were subsequently extended.

Within the extended time limits, Australia and New Zealand filed Memorials on the jurisdiction of the Court; France did not respond. After notice to the parties, the Court held eight public sittings July 4-11, 1974, during which argument on the jurisdiction of the Court was heard from Australia and New Zealand. France was not represented at these hearings. It had, however, by various public statements in 1974, announced its intention, following the completion of the 1974 series of atmospheric tests, to cease the conduct of such tests.

On December 20, 1974, the Court delivered its judgments on both cases. By 9 votes to 6 the Court found that the claims of Australia and New Zealand "no longer [have] any object and that the Court is therefore not called upon to give a decision thereon." In reaching this finding the Court regarded that France had conveyed to the world at large its intention effectively to terminate these tests. The court found that such statements made by the President of France, as well as by other responsible French officials, must be held to constitute an engagement of the state, which other states might take note of and rely upon. The Court considered that by such statements France had undertaken an obligation which met the objectives that Australia and New Zealand had pursued in instituting proceedings; namely, that France hold no further nuclear tests in the atmosphere in the Pacific.

#### Question of Spanish Sahara (Advisory Opinion)

By a resolution adopted on December 13, 1974 (see Part III, p. 376), the General Assembly decided to

request the Court to give an advisory opinion on questions relating to the status of Spanish Sahara. The Assembly's questions, received by the Court from the UN Secretary General on December 21, were:

"I. Was Western Sahara (Rio de Oro and Sakiet El Hamra) at the time of colonization by Spain a territory belonging to no one (terra nullius)?"

"If the answer to the first question is in the negative,

"II. What were the legal ties between this territory and the Kingdom of Morocco and the Mauritanian entity?"

#### GENERAL ASSEMBLY

The 29th General Assembly had on its agenda an item, "Review of the role of the International Court of Justice," that had originally been placed on the agenda at the initiative of the United States and 11 other members in 1970.

The Sixth Committee considered the item at eight meetings between September 30 and November 5. On November 5, by consensus, it approved a draft resolution sponsored by 20 states from all geographic areas except Eastern Europe. The resolution recognized the desirability that states study the possibility of accepting, with as few reservations as possible, the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court; drew the attention of states to the advantage of inserting in treaties clauses providing for submission to the Court of disputes arising in regard of such treaties; called upon states to keep under review the possibility of identifying cases that could be referred to the Court; drew the attention of states to the possibility of utilizing special chambers of the Court; recommended that UN organs and specialized agencies should study the advisability of referring to the Court for advisory opinions legal questions within the competence of the Court; and reaffirmed that recourse



to judicial settlement of legal disputes, particularly referral to the Court, should not be considered as an unfriendly act between states.

The General Assembly adopted the resolution by consensus on November 12. After its adoption, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Ferguson, said that while the United States concurred in the adoption of the resolution as containing views worthy of examination and application, it would have preferred a resolution that more strongly urged states to have greater recourse to the Court. Nonetheless, the United States considered that serious application of various terms of the resolution--notably those concerning acceptance of the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court with as few reservations as possible and those advising the submission to the Court of disputes that might arise from the interpretation or application of bilateral or multilateral treaties--would aid in promoting the rule of law in the international community.

#### INTERNATIONAL LAW COMMISSION

The International Law Commission was established by the General Assembly in 1948 to promote the codification and progressive development of international law. It is composed of 25 experts, elected by the Assembly for 5-year terms, who serve in their individual capacities. Richard D. Kearney of the United States is a member of the Commission.

In discharging its function the Commission studies topics it has determined are suitable for codification or that other UN bodies, usually the General Assembly, refer to it. Its usual procedure is to select one of its members to prepare a report and, after discussion, draft articles. The Commission sends tentative texts to governments for review, reconsiders them in the light of government comments, 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.

At its 26th session, held in Geneva, May 6 - July 26, 1974, the Commission completed its work on a draft convention on succession of states to treaties. In addition, it adopted on first reading a number of draft articles on two of the other principal topics on its agenda: state responsibility, and treaties concluded between states and international organizations or between international organizations. The Commission also began work on nonnavigational uses of international watercourses by approving a questionnaire on the basic issues involved for circulation to governments.

#### SUCCESSION OF STATES TO TREATIES

A substantial portion of the 26th session was devoted to the completion of the Commission's work on a 39-article draft convention on the succession of states to treaties. The topic deals with the extent to which treaties previously concluded and applicable with respect to a given territory continue to apply after a change in sovereignty over that territory. In addition to general and miscellaneous provisions, the articles also treat succession in respect of part of a territory, newly independent states, and uniting and separation of states.

The extensive decolonization that has taken place in the past quarter of a century explains the fact that 15 of the articles deal with newly independent states. In addition to a general rule with respect to such states, there are separate sections concerned with multi-lateral treaties, bilateral treaties, provisional application, and states formed from two or more territories.

On July 26 the Commission decided to recommend that the General Assembly invite member states to submit comments on the final draft articles and that it convene an international conference of plenipotentiaries to conclude a convention on the subject.

## STATE RESPONSIBILITY

With respect to state responsibility, the Commission in 1973 provisionally adopted four articles for Chapter I, "General Principles," and two articles for Chapter II, "'The Act of the State' According to International Law." In 1974 it continued its consideration of Chapter II, which contains provisions relating to the conditions for attributing to a state according to international law responsibility for an internationally wrongful act. The Commission provisionally adopted three new articles dealing respectively with attribution to the state of the conduct of entities, other than those of the state, empowered to exercise elements of governmental authority; attribution to the state of the conduct of persons acting in fact on behalf of the state; and attribution to the state of the conduct of organs placed at its disposal by another state or by an international organization.

## TREATIES BETWEEN STATES AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS OR BETWEEN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

In its work on this topic, which is still in an early stage, the Commission is trying, insofar as possible, to permit the extension of the provisions of the 1969 Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties to agreements concluded between states and international organizations or between two or more international organizations. However, the Commission has realized that the basic approach does not exclude adaptations or substantial additions to the Vienna Convention where appropriate.

In 1974 the Commission provisionally adopted five articles on this topic on first reading. They deal with scope, definitions, nonretroactivity, and the capacity of international organizations to conclude treaties.

## NONNAVIGATIONAL USES OF INTERNATIONAL WATERCOURSES

The General Assembly in 1970 and subsequent years requested the Commission at an appropriate time to take up the study of the law of the nonnavigational uses of

international waterways. In 1974 the Commission appointed a five-man subcommittee, chaired by Ambassador Kearney, to consider the question. On the basis of memoranda submitted by the subcommittee members and the discussion thereon, the subcommittee prepared a report on the nature of international watercourses and their nonnavigational uses. Incorporated in the report were a series of questions for submission to states. A principal issue on which states were asked to comment was whether the Commission should take up the problem of pollution of international watercourses as the initial stage in its study.

On July 22 the Commission adopted the subcommittee's report without change and unanimously appointed Ambassador Kearney as special rapporteur for this topic.

#### GENERAL ASSEMBLY ACTION

The Sixth Committee of the General Assembly considered the report of the International Law Commission at 16 meetings between October 24 and December 6, 1974; 59 states took part in the debate.

On November 7, the U.S. Representative, Robert Rosenstock, congratulated the Commission for completing the second reading of the draft articles on state succession to treaties and said that the United States favored convening a conference to adopt a convention on the subject. He regretted that the Commission had not completed its work on the provisions concerning dispute settlement and suggested the inclusion of a draft article along the lines of the Convention on the Law of Treaties, perhaps giving a greater role to the International Court of Justice as the Sixth Committee had already proposed in another context (see p. 391 ).

He considered that the articles adopted on state responsibility laid a solid foundation for the development of more detailed rules in that field. The United States, he said, was pleased with the Commission's decision to continue work on this subject as a matter of priority and hoped that it would keep in mind the need to provide adequate dispute settlement provisions.



On November 27 Yugoslavia introduced a draft resolution, sponsored by 19 states, that the Sixth Committee approved by consensus on November 28. In the resolution's most important paragraphs, the Assembly (1) recommended that the Commission continue "on a high priority basis" its work on state responsibility, proceed "on a priority basis" with the preparation of draft articles on succession of states in respect of matters other than treaties, proceed with the preparation of draft articles on the most-favored-nation clause and on treaties between states and international organizations or between international organizations, and continue its study of the law of nonnavigational uses of international watercourses; (2) approved a 12-week period for the annual sessions of the Commission, subject to review by the Assembly when necessary; and (3) invited member states to comment by August 1, 1975, on the draft articles on succession of states in respect of treaties and on the procedures by which and the form in which work on the draft articles should be completed.

The Assembly adopted the draft resolution without objection on December 14.

At seven meetings between September 26 and November 25 the Sixth Committee considered, as a separate item on its agenda, the question of participation in the UN Conference on the Representation of States in Their Relations with International Organizations. The Assembly had decided unanimously in 1973 that the Conference should be held early in 1975 in Vienna and that the draft articles adopted by the International Law Commission in 1971 should be the basic proposal considered by the Conference. However it had deferred until 1974 any decision on who should be invited to take part in the Conference.

On October 25, by a vote of 89 to 2 (U.S.), with 13 abstentions, the Committee approved a resolution inviting all states to take part in the Conference and inviting the national liberation movements recognized by the OAU and/or the League of Arab States to participate as observers. The Assembly adopted the resolution in plenary session on November 29 by a vote of 105 to 3 (U.S.), with 15 abstentions. Although the United States considered that the presence of liberation movements was

justified at certain conferences which dealt with questions relating to their activities, it voted against this resolution because it believed that the subject of the forthcoming Vienna Conference was of concern only to states.

### INTERNATIONAL TRADE LAW

The UN Commission on International Trade Law<sup>1/</sup> was established by the General Assembly in 1966 to promote "the progressive harmonization and unification of the law of international trade." UNCITRAL's seventh session, which took place in New York from May 13 to 17, 1974, briefly considered the following topics: international sale of goods, international payments, international legislation on shipping, international commercial arbitration, and multinational enterprises. The U.S. Representative was E. Allan Farnsworth, Professor of Law at Columbia University. The one-week Commission session was immediately followed by a diplomatic conference on prescription (time limits) in the international sale of goods, held in New York from May 20 to June 14.

### SALES, PAYMENTS, AND SHIPPING

Owing to the shortness of the seventh session, UNCITRAL confined its work on these topics to reviewing progress reports from three of its working groups--on the international sale of goods, on international

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<sup>1/</sup> The members of UNCITRAL in 1974 were Argentina, Australia, Austria, Barbados, Belgium, Brazil, Bulgaria, Chile, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, France, Gabon, Federal Republic of Germany, Ghana, Greece, Guyana, Hungary, India, Japan, Kenya, Mexico, Nepal, Nigeria, Norway, Philippines, Poland, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Syria, Tanzania, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, United States, and Zaire.

negotiable instruments, and on international legislation on shipping--and from the International Chamber of Commerce concerning its work on revising the "Uniform Customs and Practice for Documentary Credits" and preparing uniform rules on contract guarantees and payment guarantees. The Commission requested its working groups to continue and complete their work expeditiously, and invited the International Chamber of Commerce to submit further reports on its work.

### PRODUCTS LIABILITY

On the initiative of Norway, the General Assembly at its 28th session had invited UNCITRAL to consider preparing uniform rules on the civil liability of producers for damages caused by their products. Following a general discussion of the suitability of UNCITRAL's pursuing work on this subject, there was general agreement that before taking a decision on the priority, if any, to be given the subject more information was necessary. The Commission therefore unanimously decided to request the UN Secretary General to prepare, for consideration at its next session, a report setting forth (1) a survey of the work of other organizations concerning civil liability for damage caused by products, (2) a study of the main problems that might arise in this area and the solutions that have been adopted in national legislation or are being contemplated by international organizations, and (3) suggestions for UNCITRAL's future course of action.

### TRANSNATIONAL ENTERPRISES

In 1972 the General Assembly invited UNCITRAL to seek from governments and interested international organizations information relating to legal problems presented by the different kinds of multinational, or transnational, enterprises, and the implications thereof for the work of UNCITRAL, and to consider what further steps would be appropriate in the light of that information and the results of other studies being undertaken by the ILO, UNCTAD, and ECOSOC. In 1973 the UN Secretariat, at the

request of UNCITRAL, circulated a questionnaire designed to elicit the desired information from governments and international organizations.

By the time of UNCITRAL's seventh session replies were just beginning to come in and the studies by ILO, UNCTAD, and ECOSOC were still in progress. The Commission therefore unanimously decided to request the Secretary General to submit, for consideration at its next session, a report setting forth (1) an analysis of the replies received from governments and international organizations; (2) a survey of available studies dealing with problems arising in international trade because of the operations of multinational enterprises that are susceptible of solution by means of legal rules; and (3) suggestions for the Commission's future course of action in this particular area. (For additional UN consideration of this topic see p. 159.)

#### TIME LIMITS IN THE INTERNATIONAL SALE OF GOODS

A Convention on the Limitation Period in the International Sale of Goods, the first international convention to be based on a text proposed by UNCITRAL, was adopted on June 12 after a 4-week diplomatic conference in New York.

The convention establishes the period of time within which claims arising from a contract of international sale concluded between parties who have their places of business in different contracting states must be brought. Although there are special rules concerning the suspension or extension of the period in certain circumstances, the normal time period during which buyers or sellers can sue in exercise of contractual rights is 4 years. In this respect, the provisions of the convention are similar to those existing in most of the U.S. states.

The convention was opened for signature by all states at UN Headquarters on June 14; it will enter into force on the first of the month following the expiration of 6 months after the date of deposit of the 10th instrument of ratification or accession. The United



States supported the overall approach of the convention, but deferred decision on signature in order to give members of the private bar an opportunity to study the convention and make recommendations.

#### GENERAL ASSEMBLY ACTION

The Sixth Committee of the General Assembly considered together the report of UNCITRAL on its seventh session and the report of the Secretary General on the UN Conference on Prescription (Limitation) in the International Sale of Goods. The debate took place at eight meetings between November 13 and 27; 27 states took part. In general, the speakers stressed the importance of UNCITRAL's work, commended it on the flexible working methods it had developed, and commended both it and its working groups on their progress.

On November 26 Ghana introduced two draft resolutions. The first, sponsored by 34 states from all geographic areas, was similar to resolutions adopted in earlier years. In its most important paragraph, concerned with UNCITRAL's work program, the resolution recommended that UNCITRAL (1) continue to pay special attention to the international sale of goods, international payments, international commercial arbitration, and international legislation on shipping; (2) continue to consider the legal problems presented by different kinds of multinational enterprises; (3) intensify its work on training and assistance in the field of international trade law; (4) maintain close collaboration with UNCTAD and other international organizations concerned with international trade law; (5) continue to give special consideration to the interests of developing countries and to bear in mind the special problems of landlocked countries; and (6) keep its work program and working methods under review with the aim of increasing the effectiveness of its work.

The second draft resolution, sponsored by 22 states, invited all states that have not yet done so to consider the possibility of signing, ratifying, or acceding to the Convention on the Limitation Period in the International Sale of Goods.

Both drafts were approved by the Sixth Committee by consensus on November 27 and adopted by the General Assembly, also by consensus, on December 14.

### DEFINITION OF AGGRESSION

The 35-member Special Committee on the Question of Defining Aggression,<sup>2/</sup> established by the 22d General Assembly in 1967, held its seventh session in New York from March 11 to April 12, 1974. It continued its consideration of the draft articles advanced as a consolidated text by the working group (open to all members) at the sixth session. After prolonged negotiations in the working group and several contact groups, the Committee on April 12 reached agreement on an 8-article draft Definition of Aggression and by consensus referred the draft to the General Assembly for its approval.

Consistent with its mandate, the Special Committee focused its attention on the term "aggression" as used in Article 39<sup>3/</sup> of the UN Charter. Since the Security Council is granted wide discretion by the Charter in

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<sup>2/</sup> Algeria, Australia, Bulgaria, Canada, Colombia, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Ecuador, Egypt, Finland, France, Ghana, Guyana, Haiti, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Italy, Japan, Malagasy Republic, Mexico, Norway, Romania, Sierra Leone, Spain, Sudan, Syria, Turkey, Uganda, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, United States, Uruguay, Yugoslavia, Zaire.

<sup>3/</sup> Article 39 says: "The Security Council shall determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression and shall make recommendations, or decide what measures shall be taken in accordance with Articles 41 and 42, to maintain or restore international peace and security." Article 41 concerns measures not involving the use of armed force and Article 42 concerns measures involving the use of armed force.

determining whether an act constitutes aggression, the Special Committee undertook to formulate suggested guidelines for the Council's considerations, rather than hard and fast rules of automatic application.

As is necessary whenever the views of a large number of states are to be reconciled, the definition reflects a number of compromises. One important compromise was between those delegations, primarily the nonaligned, that wanted to declare the first use of armed force as aggression per se, and those delegations, primarily Western, that wanted to treat first use of armed force only as one of several relevant factors, including the gravity of the acts and the intent of the states involved, to be considered by the Security Council in making a determination. Article 2 of the final text states that:

"The first use of armed force by a state in contravention of the Charter shall constitute prima facie evidence of an act of aggression although the Security Council may, in conformity with the Charter, conclude that a determination that an act of aggression has been committed would not be justified in the light of other relevant circumstances, including the fact that the acts concerned or their consequences are not of sufficient gravity."

Article 3 sets forth an illustrative list of seven acts of armed force, including invasion, bombardment, and blockade, which, subject to Article 2, might constitute aggression, regardless of a declaration of war.

On April 12, the U.S. Representative to the Special Committee, Mr. Rosenstock, noted that the definition was designed to provide guidance to the Security Council in the exercise of its primary responsibility under the Charter to maintain and, where necessary, restore international peace and security. The definition would in no way limit the Council's discretion under the Charter to find a "threat to the peace" or a "breach of the peace," if that would more productively activate the collective security mechanism of the Charter. In particular, he noted the U.S. understanding that Article 2 of the definition means that the first use of armed force by

a state in contravention of the Charter is "only evidence, though prima facie evidence, of an act of aggression"; that the Security Council should "give due weight to all the relevant circumstances," including the purposes of the states involved; and that the Security Council may or may not in a particular case find that there has actually been an act of aggression, in contrast with mere evidence of an act of aggression.

The definition treats direct and indirect uses of armed force alike, and specifically includes in the illustrative list in Article 3 "the sending by or on behalf of a state of armed bands, groups, irregulars, or mercenaries, which carry out acts of armed force against another state of such gravity as to amount" to the other direct acts of armed force listed, "or its substantial involvement therein."

Finally, great effort was required to reach agreement on a provision dealing with acts of "national liberation movements." The nonaligned delegations strongly desired a provision which recognized the legality of the actions of such groups without significant qualification. The final compromise text, in Article 7, stated that nothing in the definition "could in any way prejudice the right to self-determination, freedom, and independence, as derived from the Charter, of peoples forcibly deprived of that right . . . nor the right of these peoples to struggle to that end and to seek and receive support, in accordance with the principles of the Charter" and in conformity with the 1970 Declaration on Friendly Relations. Mr. Rosenstock stated the U.S. understanding that this Article created no new rights and "in no way legitimizes acts of armed force by a state which would otherwise constitute aggression."

The Sixth Committee of the General Assembly considered the report of the Special Committee at 17 meetings between October 8 and November 22, 1974; some 90 states took part in the debate. Vigorous attempts were made by a group of coastal states to amend the text by adding language to limit the applicability of the item in the Article 3 list referring to attacks on "marine and air fleets," and by a group of landlocked states to add an item referring to "blockade of the routes of free access to and from the sea." However, the United States



and others insisted that the definition was a carefully negotiated text which should not be reopened on any point of substance. In the end, no amendments were made to the text, and the concerns of the coastal and land-locked states were dealt with by agreed statements in the report of the Sixth Committee to the effect that the definition in no way affected existing rights of states in connection with maritime jurisdiction or access to the sea.

On November 20, Finland introduced a draft resolution sponsored by a representative group of states from all geographic areas and including the United States, United Kingdom, France, and the Soviet Union. The resolution approved the Definition of Aggression produced by the Special Committee and recommended that the Security Council "should, as appropriate, take account of that definition as guidance in determining, in accordance with the Charter, the existence of an act of aggression."

The resolution was approved by the Sixth Committee without a vote on November 21, and the Assembly adopted it without a vote on December 14.

### INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM

In 1973 the 28th General Assembly deferred action on its agenda item on international terrorism on the grounds of a lack of time for consideration of the item. On September 21, 1974, the 29th General Assembly included on its agenda the item, "Measures to prevent international terrorism which endangers or takes innocent lives or jeopardizes fundamental freedoms, and study of the underlying causes 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 changes."

This item was referred to the Sixth Committee, along with the report of the 1973 session of the Ad Hoc Committee on International Terrorism. However, on

December 9, 1974, the Sixth Committee decided without a vote that, "because of the lack of time," consideration of the question should again be deferred until the 30th Session of the General Assembly. The U.S. Representative expressed regret that circumstances had not permitted a discussion of the important problem of international terrorism at that time, and several other representatives expressed similar views.

On December 14, the General Assembly adopted without a vote the recommendation of the Sixth Committee and referred the item on international terrorism to the 30th General Assembly without taking any further action.

#### RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN ARMED CONFLICTS

On September 21, 1974, the 29th General Assembly decided to include in its agenda and to allocate to its Sixth Committee items on "Respect for human rights in armed conflicts" and on that portion of the ECOSOC report dealing with the protection of women and children in emergency and armed conflict (see Part II, p. 278 ). These items were considered together by the Sixth Committee on December 5 and 6.

The item on "Respect for human rights in armed conflicts" concerned the report of the Secretary General on the proceedings and results of the first session of the Diplomatic Conference on the Reaffirmation and Development of International Humanitarian Law Applicable in Armed Conflicts, convened by the Swiss Federal Council at Geneva from February 20 to March 29, 1974. That Conference was entrusted with the task of considering two draft Additional Protocols to the Geneva Conventions of August 12, 1949, for the Protection of War Victims, one concerning international armed conflicts and the other concerning noninternational armed conflicts, and the question of the possible prohibition or restriction of specific conventional weapons alleged to cause unnecessary suffering or to have indiscriminate effects.

On December 5 Kenya introduced a draft resolution sponsored by 15 states on this item that, among other things, (1) welcomed the work of the first session of the Diplomatic Conference and the convening of a second session in 1975; (2) urged all participants in the Conference to do their utmost to reach agreement on additional rules to alleviate suffering and to protect noncombatants; and (3) called upon all parties to armed conflicts to comply with their obligations under various international instruments and rules, including the 1899 and 1907 Hague Conventions, the 1925 Geneva Protocol, and the 1949 Geneva Conventions.

On December 6 the Sixth Committee unanimously approved this resolution. The U.S. Representative, Mr. Rosenstock, said that in voting for the resolution the United States understood that it neither approved nor disapproved what the Diplomatic Conference had done up to that point but simply welcomed the commencement of its work. On December 14 the General Assembly adopted the resolution unanimously.

The item on the ECOSOC report concerned a resolution adopted by the Council on May 16, 1974, which recommended to the General Assembly the adoption of a resolution containing a Declaration on the Protection of Women and Children in Emergency and Armed Conflict. Among other things, the proposed Declaration (1) calls for the prohibition of attacks "on the civilian population . . . especially on women and children, who are the most vulnerable members of the population"; (2) condemns the use of chemical and bacteriological weapons in the course of military operations as "one of the most flagrant violations" of the 1925 Geneva Protocol, the 1949 Geneva Conventions, and the principles of international humanitarian law; (3) affirms that all states should fully abide by their obligations under the Geneva Protocol of 1925, the Geneva Conventions of 1949, and other instruments of international law relative to respect for human rights in armed conflicts, "which offer important guarantees for the protection of women and children"; (4) calls on all states "involved in armed conflicts, military operations in foreign territories and in territories still under colonial domination to spare women and children from the ravages of war," and to prohibit torture, punitive measures, degrading treatment, and violence,

"particularly against that part of the civilian population that consists of women and children"; (5) considers as "criminal" all forms of "repression and cruel and inhuman treatment of women and children, including imprisonment, torture, shooting, mass arrests, collective punishment, destruction of dwellings, and forcible eviction, committed by belligerents in the course of military operations or in occupied territories"; and (6) states that civilian women and children "finding themselves in circumstances of emergency and armed conflict in the struggle for peace, self-determination, national liberation and independence, or who live in occupied territories" should not be deprived of shelter, food, medical aid, or "other inalienable rights" contained in such instruments as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and the International Covenants on Civil and Political Rights and on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights.

On December 6 the U.S. Representative objected to the adoption of the proposed ECOSOC resolution by the Sixth Committee in view of the lack of adequate discussion of its substance, and moved that the Committee take no decision on the resolution. This motion was rejected by a vote of 7 (U.S.) to 77, with 15 abstentions. The resolution was then approved by a vote of 89 to 0, with 15 abstentions (U.S.).

In explaining the U.S. abstention, Mr. Rosenstock said that the United States sympathized with the apparent motives of the cosponsors of the resolution, but that it could not support the resolution since it "bore no relation to the law as it stood." In particular, he noted that the resolution: (1) inaccurately suggested that there had been violations of the 1925 Geneva Protocol and that states were bound by conventions to which they were not parties; (2) advocated the protection of only a part of the civilian population, and implied that violence committed against persons other than women and children was acceptable; (3) referred to certain acts as "criminal," with no hint of what was meant thereby; and (4) called for protection of women and children from inhumane treatment in certain specific circumstances, thus implying that they were not entitled to such protection in other circumstances.

On December 14, the General Assembly adopted the resolution by a vote of 110 to 0, with 14 abstentions (U.S.). Speaking after the vote, Ambassador Ferguson



reaffirmed that the United States could not accept distinctions among civilians based either on sex or on the perceived justice of the cause involved in the fighting. Any attempt at such distinctions would, in the U.S. view, be a major step backward for the laws of war and for international law in general.

### DIPLOMATIC ASYLUM

By a letter dated August 16, 1974, Australia requested the inclusion in the agenda of the 29th General Assembly of an item entitled "Diplomatic asylum." In its letter Australia noted that its request stemmed from its belief that the Assembly should consider the desirability of reaching general international agreement on the principles that should govern diplomatic asylum. The letter also noted Australia's views that there was an absence of general agreement on applicable principles and that any uncertainty about universally accepted principles governing diplomatic asylum can have detrimental consequences for friendly relations between states and for their cooperation in solving international problems of a humanitarian character.

On the recommendation of the General Committee, the General Assembly decided on September 21 to include the item in the agenda, and to allocate it to the Sixth Committee.

The Sixth Committee considered the item at seven meetings held between November 25 and December 2.

In a statement on November 29, Andre M. Surena, speaking for the United States, noted that diplomatic and territorial asylum were two completely different notions, and that the principles asserted as underlying the concept of diplomatic asylum were numerous and not always articulated in a consistent manner by proponents of the concept. Such principles--notably the argument that a foreign embassy or legation is an extraterritorial aspect of the sending state--do not, in fundamental regards, comport with universally accepted norms of

international law. He recalled that the United States, as a participant in various inter-American activities, had had prior occasion to make known its view that it does not recognize or subscribe to the doctrine of diplomatic asylum as a part of international law. He acknowledged that a noteworthy practice of diplomatic asylum has existed among the Latin American states, but considered that it was the result of a number of unique circumstances, including a common language, common legal system, and common heritage. He submitted that the system in Latin America operated not only through treaties but by common, often unarticulated, understandings. "Accordingly, the existence, and even the successful application, of the practice in Latin America should not be viewed as providing a basis for confidence that the practice could usefully be generalized." He concluded by urging that "it would be most appropriate for the members of the international community to reflect seriously on those matters of humanitarian concern which give rise to requests for asylum, and to endeavor to their utmost to eliminate within their own borders any and all deprivations of human rights."

On November 27, Australia introduced a draft resolution ultimately cosponsored by Argentina, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Ghana, Grenada, Guyana, Jamaica, Jordan, New Zealand, Panama, Uruguay, and Venezuela. The draft resolution (1) invited member states to communicate their views on diplomatic asylum to the Secretary General not later than June 30, 1975; (2) requested the Secretary General to prepare and circulate to member states a report containing an analysis of the question of diplomatic asylum; and (3) decided to include on the provisional agenda of the 30th General Assembly an item entitled "Report of the Secretary General on the question of diplomatic asylum." On December 2 the draft resolution was approved by a recorded vote of 87 (U.S.) to 0, with 16 abstentions.

The U.S. Representative, Robert Rosenstock, explained that the U.S. vote in favor of the draft resolution did not imply endorsement of or a judgment regarding the wisdom of discussing the topic at the next session of the General Assembly.

On December 14 the General Assembly adopted the draft resolution by a vote of 110 (U.S.) to 0, with 16 abstentions.

HOST COUNTRY RELATIONS

The 15-member Committee on Relations with the Host Country<sup>4/</sup> was established by the General Assembly in 1971. The Committee is authorized, inter alia, to deal with the questions of the security of missions accredited to the United Nations and the safety of their personnel, and to advise the United States on issues arising in connection with the implementation of the Headquarters Agreement.

The Committee met 18 times in 1974 and considered a number of specific cases presented by member states concerning demonstrations, trespasses, vandalism, and other criminal acts perpetrated against the missions, their personnel, or their property. It also considered various general problems in the field of host country relations, including a general review of the problem of security for missions and their personnel.

In the latter connection, the U.S. Representative on the Committee, Ambassador White, noted that while it would be unrealistic to deny that there were security problems, it was also unrealistic to suggest that this was a widespread problem because the great majority of missions had no complaints in this respect. She stated that the United States took a serious view of such incidents as did occur, but affirmed that they must be viewed in the perspective of a situation that was basically satisfactory for most of the UN community. In April and May the United States submitted two papers on general aspects of the question of security of missions. The first paper contained information on the U.S. law enforcement agencies responsible for protection of missions. The second paper, "Aspects of the American Legal System in the Context of Security of Diplomats Accredited to the United Nations," was prepared by the New York City Corporation Counsel. It explained the federal and state

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<sup>4/</sup> Members in 1974 were Bulgaria, Canada, China, Costa Rica, Cyprus, France, Honduras, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Mali, Spain, Tanzania, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, and United States.

laws applicable to missions and their staff, described those elements that made the abuse of the Constitutionally guaranteed freedoms of speech and assembly a crime, and outlined the legal requirements for charging and bringing to trial persons accused of such crimes. Ambassador White emphasized the point made in the paper that in many instances the testimony of the diplomat concerned was essential to obtain a conviction.

The Committee continued to be concerned with the parking situation in New York City as it affected the diplomatic community. While expressing the view that additional measures could be taken to alleviate the serious parking problems, almost all Committee members stated that they did not mean to imply that the host country had done nothing to ease the situation. The U.S. Representative expressed regret at the numerous incidents of parking problems brought before the Committee and affirmed that the problem would be studied and solutions sought. The Committee agreed that all parties should continue to work together to solve this problem as it affected the normal functions of the diplomatic community and recommended greater recourse to off-street parking by diplomats.

In considering the energy situation in relation to the needs of the diplomatic community, the Committee agreed that representatives of the UN Secretariat and the United States should hold consultations on arrangements for having, in the vicinity of the Headquarters buildings, a filling station to service official mission and UN vehicles. The consultations were held; but in view of the improvement of the energy situation, no action was taken.

In its report to the General Assembly, adopted on September 9, 1974, the Committee made a number of recommendations. The Committee, *inter alia*, (1) strongly condemned acts of violence and other criminal actions against the premises of missions and their personnel and recommended that the host country make an "all-out effort" to guarantee the appropriate degree of safety and to establish normal conditions for the functioning of missions to the United Nations; (2) considered it essential that the host country should fully and effectively implement Public Law 92-539 (Act for the Protection



of Foreign Officials and Official Guests of the United States); (3) called for taking all necessary measures to arrest, prosecute, and punish persons guilty of criminal acts against missions and their personnel; (4) expressed the belief that the host country, the UN Secretariat, and other organizations concerned should vigorously seek the promotion of mutual understanding between the diplomatic community and the local population in order to ensure the effective functioning of the United Nations and the missions accredited to it; (5) recalled that it is the duty of all members of the diplomatic community to respect the laws of the host country; and (6) expressed the hope that the host country would again review the measures adopted with regard to the parking of diplomatic vehicles in order to meet more adequately the needs of the diplomatic community.

The Sixth Committee of the 29th General Assembly considered the Committee's report at seven meetings between December 2 and 6. On the latter day it approved by consensus a draft resolution sponsored by Bulgaria, Cyprus, Senegal, and the Ukrainian S.S.R. that incorporated most of the recommendations made by the Committee on Host Country Relations. The General Assembly adopted the resolution without vote on December 14.

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PART V.  
BUDGET AND ADMINISTRATION

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## UN FINANCIAL MATTERS

### UN REGULAR BUDGET

The United Nations continued to face a serious financial problem as the consequence of the continued withholding by some states of the contributions assessed upon members. However, the problem was not formally considered by the General Assembly in 1974.

The Secretary General confined his budget discussion to an appeal for a large supplemental appropriation "to avoid a serious budgetary and cash flow squeeze in the early months of 1975," basing his appeal primarily on the impact of inflation and currency instability.

The Assembly approved the requested supplemental appropriation and added \$65.5 million to the 1974-75 biennial budget. The original budget of \$540.5 million had been adopted in 1973 by the 28th General Assembly, with the United States abstaining. More than half the increase was to offset currency fluctuations and inflation, and \$8.6 million was for a 6% salary raise for UN professional and higher category personnel.

### Salaries and Allowances

The salary increase, effective January 1, 1975, will put UN salaries 31% to 54% above those for comparable U.S. Civil Service grades. It is in addition to compensation for the rise in the cost of living which is routinely and regularly received by UN employees through the post adjustment mechanism. Supporters of the increase argued that this cost of living adjustment covered only part of the effects of inflation and currency fluctuations and that a further salary increase was needed to attract and retain the best people for the Secretariat.

The United States vigorously opposed the salary increase as unnecessary in view of the post adjustment mechanism, unwise in view of the serious financial situation of the United Nations, and unjustified in view of the amount it would add to UN system budgets without contributing to UN programs.



The increase was approved on December 18 by a roll-call vote of 90 to 21 (U.S.), with 20 abstentions. Joining the United States in opposing the increase were Bangladesh, Barbados, Bulgaria, Byelorussian S.S.R., Czechoslovakia, Ecuador, El Salvador, France, German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Israel, Italy, Laos, Malawi, Mongolia, Nicaragua, Poland, Romania, Ukrainian S.S.R., and U.S.S.R. (Other agencies in the UN system are expected to adopt identical increases for their professional staff so that the total additional cost to the UN system is expected to be over \$34.5 million annually.)

The same resolution that raised the salaries also approved an increase from \$300 to \$450 per year in the children's allowance and an increase in assignment allowances payable to staff assigned outside North America and Europe. The United States did not object to these increases.

#### Other Increases

The supplemental appropriation also provided a new section 35 of the budget for the administrative expenses of UNRWA, previously funded from voluntary contributions. This section, together with related increases in other sections, will cost about \$3.2 million. Other major program additions were \$3.2 million for the continuing Law of the Sea Conference; \$2 million for a one-time grant to the UN International School in New York; \$1.2 million to strengthen the Office of General Services both in New York and Geneva; \$0.9 million for the Economic Commission for Western Asia, which only began operation in 1973; \$0.8 million for the first-year costs of the International Civil Service Commission; and \$0.7 million for an information and research center on transnational corporations.

#### U.S. Position

A budget increase of this amount was unacceptable to the United States which believed there was a continued need for austerity in view of the increased UN deficit each year, the still unresolved cash liquidity situation, and the unavoidable rise in assessed peacekeeping

costs. Moreover, the United States believed that the United Nations should bear some of the cost of inflation, which affects all members, and that a salary increase was unjustified. Accordingly, the United States could not support the supplemental budget, which was adopted on December 18 by a recorded vote of 109 to 9 (Bulgaria, Byelorussian S.S.R., Czechoslovakia, German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Mongolia, Poland, Ukrainian S.S.R., U.S.S.R.), with 7 abstentions (Cuba, France, Gabon, Israel, Italy, Romania, U.S.).

After deducting the credits due to the United States for repayment of and interest on UN bonds purchased in the early 1960's, the U.S. share of the assessment against members for 1975 was \$77,334,388, or \$17,779,235 more than the U.S. assessed share for 1974 of \$59,555,153.

#### UN PROGRAM BUDGETING MACHINERY

Beginning with the 1974-75 biennium, the United Nations changed from an object-of-expenditure budget format to a program budget. Two biennial budgets constitute the 4-year programming cycle outlined in the related medium-term planning document. An advantage of program budgeting recognized by its supporters, including the United States, is its contribution to program evaluation. Information on activity costs should facilitate project appraisal in terms of cost effectiveness and efficiency in relation to stated objectives.

The United States and 28 other members sponsored a request in 1973, approved by the 28th General Assembly, to place on the agenda of the 29th Assembly an item entitled, "Review of the intergovernmental and expert machinery dealing with the formulation, review, and approval of programs and budgets." This action was also in line with U.S. legislation passed in late 1973<sup>1/</sup> that called upon the President, acting through the U.S. Representative to the United Nations, to propose and actively

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<sup>1/</sup> Public Law 93-189, amending the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961.

seek the establishment of a professionally qualified evaluation group.

The United States worked to achieve this goal during the 29th General Assembly's consideration of the new agenda item. However, the time available to the Fifth Committee for the debate was very short and the subject was highly complex. Therefore on December 9 the United States joined in unanimous support by the Fifth Committee of a draft decision sponsored by the Netherlands and 10 other states recommending that the Assembly establish an ad hoc Working Group on United Nations Program and Budget Machinery, consisting of 18 states to be designated by the President of the Assembly. The Working Group should, inter alia, review the existing UN machinery for evaluation, recommend means to improve the existing system, and report to the 30th Assembly. On December 18 the Assembly in plenary session approved by consensus the decision recommended by the Fifth Committee, after increasing the size of the Working Group to 22 states.<sup>2/</sup>

#### INFLATION AND CURRENCY INSTABILITY

In 1973 the 28th General Assembly had established a 13-member Working Group on Currency Instability<sup>3/</sup> to examine possible solutions to the budgetary difficulties resulting from inflation and currency instability.

In its report to the 29th Assembly the Working Group noted that it had considered, inter alia, collecting assessments in a mix of national currencies, establishing a unit of account valued in gold or in a basket of

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2/ The members of the Working Group were designated on Feb. 27, 1975; the United States is a member.

3/ Bulgaria, China, Cuba, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Ghana, India, Japan, Kenya, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, United States, Venezuela.

currencies for use in lieu of the dollar, and creation of special reserve funds. However, the group, consonant with the U.S. view, found no generally agreed alternatives to continued use of the dollar as the guiding currency.

In acting on the report, the General Assembly on December 18 adopted a resolution that had been sponsored in the Fifth Committee by Canada, the Netherlands, and the United Kingdom. The resolution inter alia (1) noted that timely payment of assessments and elimination of the short-term deficit would resolve many of the currency difficulties of the United Nations and (2) requested the Secretary General, in consultation with heads of the other agencies in the UN system, to keep the problems under review, to report to the 30th Assembly, and to ensure that programs and activities concerning developing countries are not adversely affected. This resolution was adopted by a vote of 110 (U.S.) to 11, with no abstentions.

Three Cuban draft resolutions, supported by the U.S.S.R. and others, were defeated in the Fifth Committee. They would have required developed host country governments to make up budgetary losses resulting from inflation and currency exchange rate changes and would have directed the investment policies of the UNDP and the Joint Staff Pension Fund.

#### UNEF/UNDOF FINANCING

On October 23 and November 29, 1974, the Security Council extended, respectively, UNEF and UNDOF for additional 6-month periods. Following these extensions and an interim resolution continuing the first-year funding resolution for UNEF through November 30, the General Assembly on November 29 adopted a new financing resolution apportioning among the membership as a whole the estimated \$40 million cost of operating UNEF and UNDOF until April 24, 1975, and authorizing the Secretary General to enter into commitments for up to \$6-2/3 million per month for a further 6 months should UNEF and UNDOF be extended beyond that date. The new resolution also included \$19.8 million to cover the shortfall from the first year (October 25, 1973, through October 24, 1974). The resolution was adopted by a vote



of 92 (U.S.) to 3 (Albania, Libya, Syria), with 10 abstentions. As in earlier votes on UNEF and UNDOF, the P.R.C. did not participate in the voting.

Aside from slight language changes, the resolution was essentially the same as that adopted by the 28th General Assembly, thus reaffirming the principle of the special responsibility of the permanent members of the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security, and implicitly endorsing the collective responsibility of the entire membership of the organization for meeting peacekeeping costs.

The Assembly also adopted on November 29, by a vote of 91 (U.S.) to 3, with 10 abstentions, a decision recommended by the Fifth Committee concerning reimbursement to troop contributing countries. The decision established a reimbursement level of \$500 per man per month irrespective of rank with an additional \$150 per month for technicians. The United States believed that these figures were high; however, given its concern for the continuation of the complex UNEF/UNDOF financing formula and for the presence of effective peacekeeping units, the United States concurred in the decision.

SCALES OF ASSESSMENT

The U.S. shares of the assessed budgets of the United Nations, the specialized agencies, and the IAEA are as follows:

	<u>1974</u> (Percent)	<u>1975</u> (Percent)
UN	25.00	25.00
FAO	25.00	25.00
ICAO	28.75	25.00
ILO	25.00	25.00
IMCO	5.27	5.33

	<u>1974</u> (Percent)	<u>1975</u> (Percent)
ITU	11.59	7.22
UNESCO	29.41	25.00
UPU	4.02	3.97
WHO	29.18	25.64
WIPO	4.52	4.50
WMO	23.47	23.46
IAEA	31.91	27.95

On November 9, 1973, the 28th General Assembly had endorsed a Fifth Committee request for the Committee on Contributions<sup>4/</sup> to reexamine the question of the per capita ceiling principle. The Committee on Contributions submitted its conclusions and recommendations to the 29th Assembly.

The per capita ceiling principle, "that in normal times the per capita contribution of any member should not exceed the per capita contribution of the member which bears the highest assessment," was established by the Third General Assembly in 1948, at a time when the highest assessment (that of the United States) was 39.89%. With the gradual reduction in the highest assessment to 25% and the substantial improvement in the economic capacity of member states, by 1974 five member states came under the provisions of the per capita ceiling principle. However, three of these countries--Canada, Denmark, and Sweden--waived its application.

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<sup>4/</sup> An expert body of 13 members appointed by the General Assembly for 3-year terms. Richard V. Hennes of the United States was a member during 1974.

The Committee on Contributions found it probable that the rates of assessment of some eight to nine member states would be affected by the per capita ceiling principle in the 1977-79 scale, and that the number of countries so benefiting would continue to increase. The Committee concluded that, as a growing number of countries with strong economies and high per capita incomes were called upon to contribute to the expenses of the organization at lower and lower rates in relation to their capacity to pay, a concomitantly greater burden would of necessity be placed on states in the median or low per capita income groups. It was the view of the Committee that to apply the per capita ceiling principle under the circumstances would lead to substantial deviations from the basic principle of capacity to pay. The Committee was unanimous in recommending its abolition beginning with the 1977-79 triennium.

On November 12, 1974, by a recorded vote of 101 (U.S.) to 7 (Bahrain, Kuwait, Libya, Oman, Qatar, United Arab Emirates, Venezuela), with 13 abstentions (China, Colombia, Gambia, Ghana, Iran, Iraq, Malawi, Mauritania, Morocco, Nigeria, Tunisia, Yemen (Aden), Yemen (San'a)), the General Assembly adopted a resolution deciding to abolish the per capita ceiling principle in the formulation and establishment of rates of assessment, beginning with the 1977-79 triennium.

In 1974 the U.S. assessment rates for ICAO and UNESCO were reduced to 25%, effective with the 1975 budgets. Although WHO in May 1973 voted as a matter of principle to establish a 25% ceiling, the decision could not be implemented at that time. The WHO resolution had provided that the lower ceiling should not result in increased rates for other member states, but should be achieved as the result of the contributions of new members and the normal increases in the percentage contributions of members as the result of their strengthened economies. Accordingly, the U.S. assessment rate in WHO was reduced from 30.82% in 1973 to 29.18% in 1974, and 25.64% in 1975.

UN ADMINISTRATIVE MATTERS

UN LANGUAGE PROLIFERATION

At the request of the three German-speaking member states of the United Nations--Austria, the Federal Republic of Germany, and the German Democratic Republic--the 29th General Assembly considered the question of issuing selected UN documents in the German language. Important factors in the consideration were the increased administrative burden and expense to the organization that resulted from the trend toward proliferation of languages used in the United Nations. The United States advocated that the costs of any additional language services should be fully paid for by the user states. This was consistent with the position taken by the United States in 1973 when it supported the addition of Arabic as an official and working language of the General Assembly.

The Fifth Committee discussed the matter at two meetings and on December 13 approved by consensus a draft resolution that (1) noted with appreciation the assurances given by the three German-speaking states that they would contribute collectively to pay the costs and (2) decided to issue in German after July 1, 1975, General Assembly resolutions, decisions, and other supplements to its official records and Security Council and ECOSOC resolutions and decisions. The Assembly approved the draft resolution by consensus on December 18.

PATTERN OF CONFERENCES

At the request of the General Assembly in 1973, the Joint Inspection Unit<sup>5/</sup> had made a study of the UN

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<sup>5/</sup> The JIU consists of eight inspectors with a broad mandate to investigate and evaluate all matters bearing on the efficiency of the UN system of organizations and to propose reforms. Albert F. Bender, Jr., of the United States is a member of the Unit.



pattern of conferences and the possibilities for more rational and economic use of conference resources. This report was before the Assembly in 1974. At 13 meetings between November 8 and 27 the Fifth Committee considered the JIU report together with related reports by the Secretary General and the ACABQ.<sup>6/</sup>

The Assembly's consideration came at a time when the volume and complexity of conferences had seriously strained both the UN staff resources for servicing meetings and, during peak periods, the physical resources. The situation was complicated by the addition of new languages, the increasing number of conference locations, and a growing competition from other international and intergovernmental organizations for staff with the requisite skills. The severity of the problem stemmed in part from uncoordinated decisions of UN bodies concerning the frequency, timing, and location of their meetings--decisions that do not adhere to previous decisions of the General Assembly.

The Fifth Committee on November 26 approved by a vote of 93 (U.S.) to 0, with 1 abstention, a draft resolution sponsored by Canada and five other states specifying that no meetings or conferences other than those in the calendar of conferences approved by the General Assembly should be convened, except under special or unusual circumstances, and establishing on an experimental basis a 21-state Committee on Conferences. The Committee members were to be designated by the President of the Assembly after consultation with the chairmen of the regional groups. The terms of reference for the Committee provide that it will submit for the approval of the Assembly a pattern of conferences, propose an annual calendar of conferences, act for the Assembly between sessions on requests for departure from the calendar of conferences, recommend means of maximizing

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<sup>6/</sup> Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions, an expert body of 13 members appointed by the General Assembly for 3-year terms. David L. Stottlemeyer of the United States was a member during 1974.

the efficient and effective use of conference resources, advise on both current and future requirements for conference services and facilities, and advise on means to ensure improved coordination of conferences within the UN system.

On December 18 the General Assembly without objection approved an amendment to the draft resolution, recommended by the chairmen of the regional groups, increasing the membership on the Committee on Conferences to 22. The draft resolution, as amended, was adopted by a vote of 123 (U.S.) to 0, with 1 abstention.<sup>7/</sup>

During its consideration of the pattern of conferences, the 29th Assembly session also had before it an offer from the Austrian Government to provide additional space for UN conferences and for units of the UN Secretariat, in effect establishing Vienna as a third UN city, along with New York and Geneva.<sup>8/</sup> This space would become available in 1978. On December 18 the Assembly approved without objection a resolution recommended by its Fifth Committee welcoming the Austrian offer and requesting the Secretary General to look into the resulting financial and administrative implications and report to the 30th session.

#### INTERNATIONAL CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION

The 27th General Assembly in 1972 had established in principle an International Civil Service Commission as of January 1, 1974. However, the 28th Assembly in 1973 deferred creation of the Commission and directed

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<sup>7/</sup> The members of the Committee were designated on Feb. 19, 1975; the United States is a member.

<sup>8/</sup> In addition to the principal UN headquarters site in New York, substantial UN operations are located in Geneva; UNIDO and UNSCEAR are already located in Vienna; regional economic commissions are located in Bangkok, Addis Ababa, Santiago, and Beirut; and UNEP is located in Nairobi.

that the draft statute of the Commission be submitted to member states for comment.

The Fifth Committee considered the draft statute, the comments of member states, and related reports of the Secretary General and the ACABQ between December 10 and 13, 1974. On December 13 it adopted by consensus a draft resolution approving the statute of the Commission, which will regulate and coordinate the conditions of service of the UN common system;<sup>9/</sup> requesting the Commission to review as a matter of priority the UN salary system and to submit a progress report to the 30th session of the Assembly; and inviting members of the UN common system to participate in and contribute to the work of the Commission. Under the statute approved by the Committee the Commission would consist of 13 members, two of whom--the chairman and vice-chairman--would be full-time and the other 11 part-time. An important revision in the draft statute was made during the Committee's deliberations with the approval, by a vote of 47 (U.S.) to 15, with 22 abstentions, of an Algerian proposal to place the seat of the Commission in New York instead of Geneva.

When the draft resolution was considered in plenary on December 18, the Assembly approved by a recorded vote of 75 to 12 (U.S.), with 42 abstentions, another proposal by Algeria to increase the number of commissioners to 15 in order to provide for two additional members from Africa. The United States opposed the amendment in the belief that a smaller Commission would be more effective. The Assembly then adopted by consensus the resolution, as amended, and appointed the candidates recommended by the Secretary General for membership on the Commission. These were Raúl A. Quijano (Argentina), chairman, and A. L. Adu (Ghana), vice-chairman, for 4-year terms; Pascal Frochoux (Switzerland), Jiri Nosek (Czechoslovakia), and Doudou Thiam (Senegal) for 4-year

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<sup>9/</sup> Those international, intergovernmental organizations which participate in the common system of salaries, allowances, and other conditions of service of the United Nations and the specialized agencies.

terms; Toru Haguiwara (Japan), Robert E. Hampton (U.S.), Arthur H. M. Hillis (U.K.), Antonio Fonseca Pimentel (Brazil), and Jean Louis Plihon (France) for 3-year terms; and Amjad Ali (Pakistan), Michael O. Ani (Nigeria), Anatoly S. Chistyakov (U.S.S.R.), Parmeshwar Haksar (India), and Halima Warzazi (Morocco) for 2-year terms.

#### REVISED UN PENSION MACHINERY

The annual report of the UN Joint Staff Pension Board and a related report by the ACABQ were considered by the Fifth Committee at six meetings between December 4 and 9. A resolution recommended by the Committee was adopted by the General Assembly on December 18 by a vote of 123 (U.S.) to 10, with no abstentions.

The resolution covered several aspects of the administration of the pension fund, the major one being the adjustment of pension benefits. The acceleration of inflationary trends and frequent exchange fluctuations over the past several years have resulted in substantial losses in the purchasing power of UN pensions. The 28th General Assembly had approved a temporary system of pension adjustment to compensate for such losses, based on average changes in the UN post adjustment (basically a cost of living allowance) payable to employees, and had requested the Board to carry out an in-depth study of various selective systems designed to compensate for currency changes and inflationary movements and to report to the 29th Assembly.

In its report to the 29th Assembly, the Joint Staff Pension Board proposed an alternate system of adjustment, optional to the pensioner, whereby adjustments would be based on the movement of the national consumer price index in the country of residence of the retiree. This proposal was adopted by the General Assembly, with the request that the Board resume its consideration of the entire question with a view to establishing a unified and durable scheme which would meet the interests of all pensioners and which could be financed without adding to the current or potential financial liability of the membership.



The resolution also provided for entitlement to a widower's benefit upon the death of a female participant in service or during entitlement to a disability benefit; provided for an increase in the Committee of Actuaries from three to five, so that representatives of all geographic regions might work in the Committee at the same time; requested the Secretary General to submit to the 30th General Assembly a report on investments of the Joint Staff Pension Fund, in a more detailed manner than heretofore; and endorsed the recommendation of the Joint Staff Pension Board that special attention should be paid to suitable investment opportunities in developing countries.

### PERSONNEL QUESTIONS

The Fifth Committee considered personnel questions at 15 meetings between November 13 and December 13 and made several recommendations which were subsequently approved by the General Assembly.

In his annual report on the "Composition of the Secretariat," the Secretary General proposed a new method for calculating the desirable range of professional posts for each nationality and region. However, the Committee approved, by a vote of 79 (U.S.) to 0, with 13 abstentions, a decision sponsored by Australia, Ghana, Japan, Thailand, and Turkey recommending that the existing method of calculating desirable ranges, which was designed to be a flexible tool of management, be retained, but that the Secretary General study further possible formulas based on geographic considerations, including an increase in the minimum range of posts, and report on the implications to the 30th Assembly. The United States strongly supported this decision, which also set forth other criteria that should govern UN recruitment policies: (1) the paramount consideration should be achievement of the highest standards of efficiency, competence, and integrity; (2) the principle of equitable geographic distribution should be applied to the Secretariat as a whole and no post, individual department, division, or unit should be considered the exclusive preserve of any individual state or region; (3) increased effort should be made to recruit a greater number of qualified women

for professional and senior level posts; (4) an increased effort should be made to correct imbalances in the age structure of the Secretariat; (5) in filling senior policy-making posts, greater attention should be paid to recruiting candidates from countries under-represented at that level, particularly candidates from the developing countries; and (6) while a second language should normally be required for the promotion of staff in the professional grades, in cases where competence and quality of work are especially important, the Secretary General should continue to have flexibility in applying this criterion. The General Assembly approved this decision on December 18 by a vote of 117 (U.S.) to 0, with 11 abstentions.

On the same day, the General Assembly adopted without vote a resolution originally drafted by the Commission on the Status of Women and approved, after minor amendments, by ECOSOC and the Fifth Committee. The resolution (1) called on the Secretary General, as well as the executive heads of all organizations in the UN system, to take all necessary measures to ensure that an equitable balance between men and women, particularly at the senior and policy-making levels, is achieved prior to the end of the Second UN Development Decade; (2) urged that, in order to obtain this objective, increased attention be given to the recruitment and promotion of women; and (3) requested that a report be provided to the 30th Assembly on steps taken to achieve these ends.

Also adopted on December 18, without objection, was a resolution recommended by the Fifth Committee that amended the UN Staff Rules and Staff Regulations to eliminate references to differential treatment based on sex.

On December 2 the United States, Australia, and Norway introduced in the Fifth Committee a draft decision recommending to the Secretary General the establishment within the Joint Advisory Committee (composed of both administration and staff representatives) of a subcommittee charged with ending discriminatory employment practices between men and women. When the representative of the Secretary General in the Fifth Committee undertook to begin the actions contemplated by the draft decision,

the sponsors considered that their objective had been substantially achieved and they withdrew the proposal.

Reports by the JIU and by the Administrative Management Service (AMS) were among the documents on personnel considered by the Fifth Committee. The former contained a critical analysis of the methods used in the United Nations in the recruitment, training, promotion, and administration of its staff and presented a series of recommendations designed to improve the situation. The latter dealt with reforms to be made in the areas of job classification, recruitment, personnel administration, and the organization of the Office of Personnel Services. The Secretary General provided his conclusions on the JIU and AMS recommendations, a summary of the actions initiated to implement these recommendations, and an indication of the actions he proposed to take in 1975 and 1976. On December 18, without a vote, the General Assembly authorized the Secretary General to proceed with the implementation of his proposals, subject to the observations of the ACABQ, and requested that he report to the 31st Assembly on the progress made.

#### EMPLOYMENT OF AMERICANS

The total number of professional employees in the United Nations and the specialized agencies rose from 6,370 in 1973 to 6,559 in 1974. The number of U.S. nationals increased numerically from 951 to 954, but declined in terms of percentage of total from 14.93% to 14.54%.

In the UN Secretariat during this period, there was also a numerical increase but a percentage decrease of Americans, i.e. from 463 (19.82%) to 465 (19.40%). With respect to the other agencies, the percentage of American professionals increased in the IAEA, ITU, and UNESCO while it declined in FAO, ICAO, ILO, IMCO, UPU, WHO, and WMO. For the most part, the changes were minimal, representing the gain or loss of less than a percentage point.

The number of UNDP-financed experts employed by the UN and the specialized agencies increased from 4,747 in 1973 to 5,161 in 1974. During the same period, the

number of American experts increased from 395 (8.32%) to 484 (9.38%).

One additional senior post was filled by an American, with the appointment of John W. McDonald, Jr., as Deputy Director General of the ILO.



1/  
U.S. CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE UN SYSTEM  
(Thousands of dollars)

	1973		1974	
	Total contri- butions from all states	Contribution Percent	Total contri- butions from all states	Contribution Percent
A. <u>Regular budgets</u> <u>(assessed)</u>				
UN	215,279	67,856 <sup>3/</sup>	264,322	63,472 <sup>4/</sup>
FAO	46,810	12,651	62,650	13,531
IMCO	2,055	120	2,894	152
IAEA	16,750	5,422	23,137	7,779 <sup>5/</sup>
ICAO	10,029	2,806	9,778	2,811 <sup>6/</sup>
Joint Financing Program	5,654	2,110	5,892	2,231
ILO	34,837	8,709 <sup>7/</sup>	45,135	11,284
ITU	8,616	986	13,246	1,535
UNESCO	52,720	15,896	61,720	18,543 <sup>8/</sup>
		29.41		29.41
		25.00		25.00
		11.45		11.59
		28.75		28.75
		31.81		31.91
		5.82		5.27
		31.52		25.00
		31.52		25.00

1973

	Total contri- butions from all states	Contribution	Percent
UPU	2,741	110	4.02
WHO	105,141	28,834	30.82
WIPO	---	---	---
WMO	5,183	1,234	23.80
Subtotal	505,815	146,734	30.05

1974

	Total contri- butions from all states	Contribution	Percent
	4,177	168	4.02
	112,938	26,802	23.74
	1,143	52	4.52
	6,954	1,571	22.45
Subtotal	613,986	149,931	24.42

B. UN Peacekeeping Operations

UNEF/UNDOF (assessed)	10,000	2,889	28.89	82,100	23,719	28.89
UNEF/UNDOF (voluntary)	12,342	2,700	21.88	1,920	400	20.83
UNFICYP (voluntary)	15,860	4,800	30.26	15,500	4,800	30.97
Subtotal	38,202	10,389	27.19	99,520	28,919	29.06

	1973		1974			
	Total contri- butions from all states	Contribution Percent	Total contri- butions from all states	Contribution Percent		
<u>C. Voluntary Programs</u> <u>(Continuing)</u>						
IAEA Operational Program	5,204	1,750	33.63	5,500	2,000	36.36
UNICEF	53,843	15,000	27.86	59,163	15,000	25.35
UNDP	338,800	90,000	26.56	352,382	70,784	20.09
UNEP	12,174	4,300	35.32	20,874	8,200	39.28
UN/FAO World Food Program	178,281	68,000	38.14	178,281	68,000	38.14
UN Fund for Drug Abuse Control	4,798	4,000	83.37	3,428	2,000	58.34
UN Fund for Population Activities	42,500	17,900	42.12	54,000	20,000	37.04
UNHCR	5,543	1,000	18.04	7,522	1,100	14.62
UN Fund for Develop ment Planning and Projections	2,721	1,250	45.94	2,500	750	30.00
UN Fund for Namibia	---	---	---	169	50	29.51

1973

	Total contri- butions from all states	Contribution	Percent
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UNRWA	55,269	23,200	41.98
UNITAR	1,350	400	29.63
UN Volunteers	276	200	72.46

## UNESCO Special Programs

Trust Fund for  
Nubian Monuments

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Other

	125	50	40.00
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WHO Special Programs

	11,222	2,842	25.32
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WMO Voluntary  
Assistance Program

	4,450	1,500	33.71
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Subtotal

	716,556	231,392	32.29
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12/

D. Special Humanitarian Programs

UN Relief Operation in  
Bangladesh

	15,673	3,500	22.33
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UNICEF Relief in  
South Asia

	23,432	13,562	57.88
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1974

	Total contri- butions from all states	Contribution	Percent
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UNRWA	89,218	29,400	32.95
UNITAR	1,672	400	23.92
UN Volunteers	---	---	---

11/

	12,000	2,000	16.67
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	18,866	1,561	8.27
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	5,000	1,500	30.00
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	810,575	222,745	27.48
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	1973		1974	
	Total contri- butions from all states	Contribution Percent	Total contri- butions from all states	Contribution Percent
UNHCR				
South Asia Exchange of Persons	10,234	21.01	2,857	84.00
Southern Sudan Relief Program	3,205	27.05	---	---
Cyprus Humanitarian Assistance	---	---	22,000	33.18
Chile Refugee Relief Program	---	---	2,556	39.12
Vietnam & Laos Dis- placed Persons Program	---	---	6,345	15.76
UN/FAO Sahelian Trust Fund	8,345	3.60	8,009	32.46
Subtotal	60,889	33.47	41,767	34.24
GRAND TOTAL	1,321,462	30.94	1,565,848	27.22

1973

1974

- 1/ Data for calendar year 1974 is preliminary as of May 1975. Data on contributions to the regular budgets of the United Nations, the specialized agencies, and UNEF represents amounts assessed by the appropriate bodies. Data on voluntary contributions to UNFICYP, UNEF, other voluntary programs, and special humanitarian programs represents commitments by governments which may include the value of commodities and services as well as cash.
- 2/ Total contributions represent gross assessments, but U.S. assessments are net after adjustments. U.S. percentages are computed on gross assessments.
- 3/ Includes cash payment of \$63,957 thousand and an offset of \$3,899 thousand, representing interest and principal due the United States on UN bonds.
- 4/ Includes cash payment of \$59,555 thousand and an offset of \$3,917 thousand, representing interest and principal due the United States on UN bonds.
- 5/ Includes \$397,567 for payment of calendar year 1973 supplemental assessment.
- 6/ Includes \$366,675 which represents the difference between calculating the U.S. assessment at 25% and 28.75%. This amount has been requested in the fiscal year 1976 appropriation.
- 7/ Includes \$1,087,000, an amount requested in the fiscal year 1976 appropriation to complete the U.S. assessment for calendar year 1973.
- 8/ Includes \$2,721,852 which represents the difference between calculating the U.S. assessment at 25% and 29.41%. This amount has been requested in the fiscal year 1976 appropriation.

- 9/ Represents the maximum amount that may be contributed under the 25% statutory limitation. The total U.S. assessment is \$31,729 thousand (29.18% of total assessments amounting to \$117,865 thousand).
- 10/ Includes assessed program costs in the amount of \$14,757 thousand.
- 11/ In U.S.-owned Egyptian currency.
- 12/ Data represents commitments by governments to UN agencies for emergency programs. Some of the resources committed to the UN/FAO World Food Program have also been utilized to meet emergency needs.

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APPENDIXES

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APPENDIX I: ADDRESSES BY PRESIDENT FORD AND SECRETARY  
KISSINGER BEFORE THE 29TH SESSION OF THE UN  
GENERAL ASSEMBLY

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ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT FORD ON SEPTEMBER 18, 1974

In 1946 President Harry Truman welcomed representatives of 55 nations to the first General Assembly of the United Nations. Since then, every American President has had the great honor of addressing this Assembly. Today, with pleasure and humility, I take my turn in welcoming you, the distinguished representatives of 138 nations.

When I took office, I told the American people that my remarks would be "just a little straight talk among friends." Straight talk is what I propose here today in the first of my addresses to the representatives of the world.

Next week Secretary of State Henry Kissinger will present in specifics the overall principles which I will outline in my remarks today. It should be emphatically understood that the Secretary of State has my full support and the unquestioned backing of the American people.

As a party leader in the Congress of the United States, as Vice President, and now as President of the United States of America, I have had the closest working relationship with Secretary of State Kissinger. I have supported and will continue to endorse his many efforts as Secretary of State and in our National Security Council system to build a world of peace.

Since the United Nations was founded, the world has experienced conflicts and threats to peace. But we have avoided the greatest danger: another world war. Today we have the opportunity to make the remainder of this century an era of peace and cooperation and economic well-being.

The harsh hostilities which once held great powers in their rigid grasp have now begun to moderate. Many of

the crises which dominated past General Assemblies are fortunately behind us. Technological progress holds out the hope that one day all men can achieve a decent life.

Nations too often have had no choice but to be either hammer or anvil--to strike or to be struck. Now we have a new opportunity--to forge, in concert with others, a framework of international cooperation. That is the course the United States has chosen for itself.

On behalf of the American people, I renew these basic pledges to you today:

--We are committed to a pursuit of a more peaceful, stable, and cooperative world. While we are determined never to be bested in a test of strength, we will devote our strength to what is best. And in the nuclear era, there is no rational alternative to accords of mutual restraint between the United States and the Soviet Union, two nations which have the power to destroy mankind.

--We will bolster our partnerships with traditional friends in Europe, Asia, and Latin America to meet new challenges in a rapidly changing world. The maintenance of such relationships underpins rather than undercuts the search for peace.

--We will seek out, we will expand our relations with old adversaries. For example, our new rapport with the People's Republic of China best serves the purposes of each nation and the interests of the entire world.

--We will strive to heal old wounds reopened in recent conflicts in Cyprus, the Middle East, and in Indochina. Peace cannot be imposed from without, but we will do whatever is within our capacity to help achieve it.

--We rededicate ourselves to the search for justice, equality, and freedom. Recent developments in Africa signal the welcome end of colonialism. Behavior appropriate to an era of dependence must give way to the new responsibilities of an era of interdependence.

No single nation, no single group of nations, no single organization, can meet all of the challenges

before the community of nations. We must act in concert. Progress toward a better world must come through co-operative efforts across the whole range of bilateral and multilateral relations.

America's revolutionary birth and centuries of experience in adjusting democratic government to changing conditions have made Americans practical as well as idealistic. As idealists, we are proud of our role in the founding of the United Nations and in supporting its many accomplishments. As practical people, we are sometimes impatient at what we see as shortcomings.

In my 25 years as a member of the Congress of the United States, I learned two basic practical lessons:

--First, men of differing political persuasions can find common ground for cooperation. We need not agree on all issues in order to agree on most. Differences of principle, of purpose, of perspective, will not disappear. But neither will our mutual problems disappear unless we are determined to find mutually helpful solutions.

--Second, a majority must take into account the proper interest of a minority if the decisions of the majority are to be accepted. We who believe in and live by majority rule must always be alert to the danger of the "tyranny of the majority." Majority rule thrives on the habits of accommodation, moderation, and consideration of the interests of others.

A very stark reality has tempered America's actions for decades--and must now temper the actions of all nations. Prevention of full-scale warfare in the nuclear age has become everybody's responsibility. Today's regional conflict must not become tomorrow's world disaster. We must assure by every means at our disposal that local crises are quickly contained and resolved.

The challenge before the United Nations is very clear. This organization can place the weight of the world community on the side of world peace. And this organization can provide impartial forces to maintain the peace.



And at this point, I wish to pay tribute on behalf of the American people to the 37 members of the U.N. peacekeeping forces who have given their lives in the Middle East and in Cyprus in the past 10 months, and I convey our deepest sympathies to their loved ones.

Let the quality of our response measure up to the magnitude of the challenge that we face. I pledge to you that America will continue to be constructive, innovative, and responsive to the work of this great body.

The nations in this hall are united by a deep concern for peace. We are united as well by our desire to insure a better life for all people.

Today the economy of the world is under unprecedented stress. We need new approaches to international cooperation to respond effectively to the problems that we face. Developing and developed countries, market and nonmarket countries--we are all a part of one interdependent economic system.

The food and oil crises demonstrate the extent of our interdependence. Many developing nations need the food surplus of a few developed nations. And many industrialized nations need the oil production of a few developing nations.

Energy is required to produce food, and food to produce energy--and both to provide a decent life for everyone. The problems of food and energy can be resolved on the basis of cooperation--or can, I should say, be made unmanageable on the basis of confrontation. Runaway inflation, propelled by food and oil price increases, is an early warning signal to all of us.

Let us not delude ourselves. Failure to cooperate on oil and food and inflation could spell disaster for every nation represented in this room. The United Nations must not and need not allow this to occur. A global strategy for food and energy is urgently required.

The United States believes four principles should guide a global approach:

--First, all nations must substantially increase production. Just to maintain the present standards of living the world must almost double its output of food and energy to match the expected increase in the world's population by the end of this century. To meet aspirations for a better life, production will have to expand at a significantly faster rate than population growth.

--Second, all nations must seek to achieve a level of prices which not only provides an incentive to producers but which consumers can afford. It should now be clear that the developed nations are not the only countries which demand and receive an adequate return for their goods. But it should also be clear that by confronting consumers with production restrictions, artificial pricing, and the prospect of ultimate bankruptcy, producers will eventually become the victims of their own actions.

--Third, all nations must avoid the abuse of man's fundamental needs for the sake of narrow national or bloc advantage. The attempt by any nation to use one commodity for political purposes will inevitably tempt other countries to use their commodities for their own purposes.

--Fourth, the nations of the world must assure that the poorest among us are not overwhelmed by rising prices of the imports necessary for their survival. The traditional aid donors and the increasingly wealthy oil producers must join in this effort.

The United States recognizes the special responsibility we bear as the world's largest producer of food. That is why Secretary of State Kissinger proposed from this very podium last year a World Food Conference to define a global food policy. And that is one reason why we have removed domestic restrictions on food production in the United States. It has not been our policy to use food as a political weapon, despite the oil embargo and recent oil price and production decisions.

It would be tempting for the United States--beset by inflation and soaring energy prices--to turn a deaf ear to external appeals for food assistance or to respond with internal appeals for export controls. But however difficult our own economic situation, we recognize that the plight of others is worse.

Americans have always responded to human emergencies in the past. And we respond again here today.

In response to Secretary General Waldheim's appeal and to help meet the long-term challenge in food, I reiterate:

--To help developing nations realize their aspirations to grow more of their own food, the United States will substantially increase its assistance to agricultural production programs in other countries.

--Next, to insure that the survival of millions of our fellow men does not depend upon the vagaries of weather, the United States is prepared to join in a worldwide effort to negotiate, establish, and maintain an international system of food reserves. This system will work best if each nation is made responsible for managing the reserves that it will have available.

--Finally, to make certain that the more immediate needs for food are met this year, the United States will not only maintain the amount it spends for food shipments to nations in need, but it will increase this amount this year.

Thus, the United States is striving to help define and help contribute to a cooperative global policy to meet man's immediate and long-term need for food. We will set forth our comprehensive proposals at the World Food Conference in November.

Now is the time for oil producers to define their conception of a global policy on energy to meet the growing need--and to do this without imposing unacceptable burdens on the international monetary and trade system.

A world of economic confrontation cannot be a world of political cooperation. If we fail to satisfy man's fundamental needs for energy and food, we face a threat not just to our aspirations for a better life for all our peoples but to our hopes for a more stable and a more peaceful world. By working together to overcome our common problems, mankind can turn from fear toward hope.

From the time of the founding of the United Nations, America volunteered to help nations in need, frequently as the main benefactor. We were able to do it. We were glad to do it. But as new economic forces alter and reshape today's complex world, no nation can be expected to feed all the world's hungry peoples. Fortunately, however, many nations are increasingly able to help. And I call on them to join with us as truly united nations in the struggle to provide more food at lower prices for the hungry and, in general, a better life for the needy of this world.

America will continue to do more than its share. But there are realistic limits to our capacities. There is no limit, however, to our determination to act in concert with other nations to fulfill the vision of the United Nations Charter: to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war and to promote social progress and better standards, better standards of life in a larger freedom.



ADDRESS BY SECRETARY OF STATE KISSINGER  
ON SEPTEMBER 23, 1974

Last year, in my first address as Secretary of State, I spoke to this Assembly about American purposes. I said that the United States seeks a comprehensive, institutionalized peace, not an armistice. I asked other nations to join us in moving the world from détente to cooperation, from coexistence to community.

In the year that has passed, some progress has been made in dealing with particular crises. But many fundamental issues persist, and new issues threaten the very structure of world stability.

Our deepest problem--going far beyond the items on our agenda--is whether our vision can keep pace with our challenges. Will history recall the 20th century as a time of mounting global conflict or as the beginning of a global conception? Will our age of interdependence spur joint progress or common disaster?

The answer is not yet clear. New realities have not yet overcome old patterns of thought and action. Traditional concepts--of national sovereignty, social struggle, and the relation between the old and the new nations--too often guide our course. And so we have managed but not advanced; we have endured but not prospered; and we have continued the luxury of political contention.

This condition has been dramatized in the brief period since last fall's regular session. War has ravaged the Middle East and Cyprus. The technology of nuclear explosives has resumed its dangerous spread. Inflation and the threat of global decline hang over the economies of rich and poor alike.

We cannot permit this trend to continue. Conflict between nations once devastated continents; the struggle between blocs may destroy humanity. Ideologies and doctrines drawn from the last century do not even address, let alone solve, the unprecedented problems of today. As a result, events challenge habits; a gulf grows between rhetoric and reality.

The world has dealt with local conflicts as if they were perpetually manageable. We have permitted too many of the underlying causes to fester unattended until the parties believed that their only recourse was war. And because each crisis ultimately has been contained we have remained complacent. But tolerance of local conflict tempts world holocaust. We have no guarantee that some local crisis--perhaps the next--will not explode beyond control.

The world has dealt with nuclear weapons as if restraint were automatic. Their very awesomeness has chained these weapons for almost three decades; their sophistication and expense have helped to keep constant for a decade the number of states who possess them. Now, as was quite foreseeable, political inhibitions are in danger of crumbling. Nuclear catastrophe looms more plausible--whether through design or miscalculation; accident, theft, or blackmail.

The world has dealt with the economy as if its constant advance were inexorable. While postwar growth has been uneven and some parts of the world have lagged, our attention was focused on how to increase participation in a general advance. We continue to deal with economic issues on a national, regional, or bloc basis at the precise moment that our interdependence is multiplying. Strains on the fabric and institutions of the world economy threaten to engulf us all in a general depression.

The delicate structure of international cooperation so laboriously constructed over the last quarter century can hardly survive--and certainly cannot be strengthened--if it is continually subjected to the shocks of political conflict, war, and economic crisis.

The time has come, then, for the nations assembled here to act together on the recognition that continued reliance on old slogans and traditional rivalries will lead us toward:

--A world ever more torn between rich and poor, East and West, producer and consumer.

--A world where local crises threaten global confrontation and where the spreading atom threatens global peril.

--A world of rising costs and dwindling supplies, of growing populations and declining production.

There is another course. Last week before this Assembly, President Ford dedicated our country to a cooperative, open approach to build a more secure and more prosperous world. The United States will assume the obligations that our values and strength impose upon us.

But the building of a cooperative world is beyond the grasp of any one nation. An interdependent world requires not merely the resources but the vision and creativity of us all. Nations cannot simultaneously confront and cooperate with one another.

We must recognize that the common interest is the only valid test of the national interest. It is in the common interest, and thus in the interest of each nation:

--That local conflicts be resolved short of force and their root causes removed by political means.

--That the spread of nuclear technology be achieved without the spread of nuclear weapons.

--That growing economic interdependence lift all nations and not drag them down together.

We will not solve these problems during this session, or any one session, of the General Assembly.

But we must at least begin to remedy problems, not just manage them; to shape events, rather than endure them; to confront our challenges instead of one another.

#### THE POLITICAL DIMENSION

The urgent political responsibility of our era is to resolve conflicts without war. History is replete with examples of the tragedy that sweeps nations when ancient enmities and the inertia of habit freeze the scope for decision. Equally, history is marked by brief moments when an old order is giving way to a pattern new and unforeseen; these are times of potential disorder and danger but also of opportunity for fresh creation. We face such a moment today. Together let us face its realities:

--First, a certain momentum toward peace has been created--in East-West relations and in certain regional conflicts. It must be maintained. But we are only at the beginning of the process. If we do not continue to advance, we will slip back.

--Second, progress in negotiation of difficult issues comes only through patience, perseverance, and recognition of the tolerable limits of the other side. Peace is a process, not a condition. It can only be reached in steps.

--Third, failure to recognize and grasp the attainable will prevent the achievement of the ideal. Attempts to resolve all issues at one time are a certain prescription for stagnation. Progress toward peace can be thwarted by asking too much as surely as by asking too little.

--Fourth, the world community can help resolve chronic conflicts, but exaggerated expectations will prevent essential accommodation among the parties. This Assembly can help or hinder the negotiating process. It can seek a scapegoat or a solution. It can offer the parties an excuse to escape reality or sturdy support in search of a compromise. It can decide on propoganda or contribute to realistic approaches that are responsive to man's yearning for peace.

The Middle East starkly demonstrates these considerations. In the past year we have witnessed both the fourth Arab-Israeli war in a generation and the hopeful beginnings of a political process toward a lasting and just peace.

We have achieved the respite of a cease-fire and of two disengagement agreements, but the shadow of war remains. The legacy of hatred and suffering, the sense of irrecconcilability, have begun to yield--however haltingly--to the process of negotiation. But we still have a long road ahead.

One side seeks the recovery of territory and justice for a displaced people. The other side seeks security and recognition by its neighbors of its legitimacy as a nation. In the end, the common goal of peace surely is broad enough to embrace all these aspirations.



Let us be realistic about what must be done. The art of negotiation is to set goals that can be achieved at a given time and to reach them with determination. Each step forward modifies old perceptions and brings about a new situation that improves the chances of a comprehensive settlement.

Because these principles were followed in the Middle East, agreements have been reached in the past year which many thought impossible. They were achieved, above all, because of the wisdom of the leaders of the Middle East who decided that there had been enough stalemate and war, that more might be gained by testing each other in negotiation than by testing each other on the battlefield.

The members of this body, both collectively and individually, have a solemn responsibility to encourage and support the parties in the Middle East on their present course. We have as well an obligation to give our support to the U.N. peacekeeping forces in the Middle East and elsewhere. The United States applauds their indispensable role, as well as the outstanding contribution of Secretary General Waldheim in the cause of peace.

During the past year my country has made a major effort to promote peace in the Middle East. President Ford has asked me to reaffirm today that we are determined to press forward with these efforts. We will work closely with the parties, and we will cooperate with all interested countries within the framework of the Geneva Conference.

The tormented island of Cyprus is another area where peace requires a spirit of compromise, accommodation, and justice. The United States is convinced that the sovereignty, political independence, and territorial integrity of Cyprus must be maintained. It will be up to the parties to decide on the form of government they believe best suited to the particular conditions of Cyprus. They must reach accommodation on the areas to be administered by the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities as well as on the conditions under which refugees can return to their homes and reside in safety. Finally, no lasting peace is possible unless provisions are agreed upon which will lead to the timely and phased reduction of armed forces and armaments and other war materiel.

The United States is prepared to play an even more active role than in the past in helping the parties find a solution to the centuries-old problem of Cyprus. We will do all we can, but it is those most directly concerned whose effort is most crucial. Third parties should not be asked to produce miraculous outcomes not anchored in reality. Third parties can encourage those directly involved to perceive their broader interests; they can assist in the search for elements of agreement by interpreting each side's views and motives to the other. But no mediator can succeed unless the parties genuinely want mediation and are ready to make the difficult decisions needed for a settlement.

The United States is already making a major contribution to help relieve the human suffering of the people of Cyprus. We urge the international community to continue and, if possible, to increase its own humanitarian relief effort.

The United States notes with particular satisfaction the continuing process of change in Africa. We welcome the positive demonstration of cooperation between the old rulers and the new free. The United States shares and pledges its support for the aspirations of all Africans to participate in the fruits of freedom and human dignity.

#### THE NUCLEAR DIMENSION

The second new dimension on our agenda concerns the problem of nuclear proliferation.

The world has grown so accustomed to the existence of nuclear weapons that it assumes they will never be used. But today, technology is rapidly expanding the number of nuclear weapons in the hands of major powers and threatens to put nuclear-explosive technology at the disposal of an increasing number of other countries.

In a world where many nations possess nuclear weapons, dangers would be vastly compounded. It would be infinitely more difficult, if not impossible, to maintain stability among a large number of nuclear powers. Local wars would take on a new dimension. Nuclear weapons would be introduced into regions where political conflict remains intense and the parties consider their vital interests overwhelmingly involved. There would, as well be a vastly

heightened risk of direct involvement of the major nuclear powers.

This problem does not concern one country, one region, or one bloc alone. No nation can be indifferent to the spread of nuclear technology; every nation's security is directly affected.

The challenge before the world is to realize the peaceful benefits of nuclear technology without contributing to the growth of nuclear weapons or to the number of states possessing them.

As a major nuclear power, the United States recognizes its special responsibility. We realize that we cannot expect others to show restraint if we do not ourselves practice restraint. Together with the Soviet Union we are seeking to negotiate new quantitative and qualitative limitations on strategic arms. Last week our delegations reconvened in Geneva, and we intend to pursue these negotiations with the seriousness of purpose they deserve. The United States has no higher priority than controlling and reducing the levels of nuclear arms.

Beyond the relations of the nuclear powers to each other lies the need to curb the spread of nuclear explosives. We must take into account that plutonium is an essential ingredient of nuclear explosives and that in the immediate future the amount of plutonium generated by peaceful nuclear reactors will be multiplied many times. Heretofore the United States and a number of other countries have widely supplied nuclear fuels and other nuclear materials in order to promote the use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. This policy cannot continue if it leads to the proliferation of nuclear explosives. Sales of these materials can no longer be treated by anyone as a purely commercial competitive enterprise.

The world community therefore must work urgently toward a system of effective international safeguards against the diversion of plutonium or its byproducts. The United States is prepared to join with others in a comprehensive effort.

Let us together agree on the practical steps which must be taken to assure the benefits of nuclear energy free of its terrors:

--The United States will shortly offer specific proposals to strengthen safeguards to the other principal supplier countries.

--We shall intensify our efforts to gain the broadest possible acceptance of International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) safeguards, to establish practical controls on the transfer of nuclear materials, and to insure the effectiveness of these procedures.

--The United States will urge the IAEA to draft an international convention for enhancing physical security against theft or diversion of nuclear material. Such a convention should set forth specific standards and techniques for protecting materials while in use, storage, and transfer.

--The Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, which this Assembly has endorsed, warrants continuing support. The treaty contains not only a broad commitment to limit the spread of nuclear explosives but specific obligations to accept and implement IAEA safeguards and to control the transfer of nuclear materials.

Mr. President, whatever advantages seem to accrue from the acquisition of nuclear-explosive technology will prove to be ephemeral. When Pandora's box has been opened, no country will be the beneficiary and all mankind will have lost. This is not inevitable. If we act decisively now, we can still control the future.

#### THE ECONOMIC DIMENSION

Lord Keynes wrote:

"The power to become habituated to his surroundings is a marked characteristic of mankind. Very few of us realize with conviction the intensely unusual, unstable, complicated, unreliable, temporary nature of the economic organization . . . ."

The economic history of the postwar period has been one of sustained growth, for developing as well as developed nations. The universal expectation of our peoples, the foundation of our political institutions, and the assumption underlying the evolving structure of peace are all based on the belief that this growth will continue.



But will it? The increasingly open and cooperative global economic system that we have come to take for granted is now under unprecedented attack. The world is poised on the brink of a return to the unrestrained economic nationalism which accompanied the collapse of economic order in the thirties. And should that occur, all would suffer--poor as well as rich, producer as well as consumer.

So let us no longer fear to confront in public the facts which have come to dominate our private discussions and concerns.

The early warning signs of a major economic crisis are evident. Rates of inflation unprecedented in the past quarter century are sweeping developing and developed nations alike. The world's financial institutions are staggering under the most massive and rapid movements of reserves in history. And profound questions have arisen about meeting man's most fundamental needs for energy and food.

While the present situation threatens every individual and nation, it is the poor who suffer the most. While the wealthier adjust their living standards, the poor see the hopes of a lifetime collapse around them. While others tighten their belts, the poor starve. While others can hope for a better future, the poor see only despair ahead.

It can be in the interest of no country or group of countries to base policies on a test of strength; for a policy of confrontation would end in disaster for all. Meeting man's basic needs for energy and food and assuring economic growth while mastering inflation require international cooperation to an unprecedented degree.

Let us apply these principles first to the energy situation:

--Oil producers seek a better life for their peoples and a just return for their diminishing resources.

--The developing nations less well-endowed by nature face the disintegration of the results of decades of striving for development as the result of a price policy over which they have no control.

--The developed nations find the industrial civilization built over centuries in jeopardy.

Both producers and consumers have legitimate claims. The problem is to reconcile them for the common good.

The United States is working closely with several oil producers to help diversify their economies. We have established commissions to facilitate the transfer of technology and to assist with industrialization. We are prepared to accept substantial investments in the United States, and we welcome a greater role for the oil producers in the management of international economic institutions.

The investment of surplus oil revenues presents a great challenge. The countries which most need these revenues are generally the least likely to receive them. The world's financial institutions have coped thus far, but ways must be found to assure assistance for those countries most in need of it. And the full brunt of the surplus revenues is yet to come.

Despite our best efforts to meet the oil producers' legitimate needs and to channel their resources into constructive uses, the world cannot sustain even the present level of prices, much less continuing increases. The prices of other commodities will inevitably rise in a never-ending inflationary spiral. Nobody will benefit. The oil producers will be forced to spend more for their own imports. Many nations will not be able to withstand the pace, and the poorer could be overwhelmed. The complex, fragile structure of global economic cooperation required to sustain national economic growth stands in danger of being shattered.

The United States will work with other consuming nations on means of conservation and on ways to cushion the impact of massive investments from abroad. The preliminary agreement on a program of solidarity and cooperation signed a few days ago in Brussels by the major consumer countries is an encouraging first step.

But the long-range solution requires a new understanding between consumers and producers. Unlike food prices, the high cost of oil is not the result of economic

factors--of an actual shortage of capacity or of the free play of supply and demand. Rather it is caused by deliberate decisions to restrict production and maintain an artificial price level. We recognize that the producers should have a fair share; the fact remains that the present price level even threatens the economic well-being of producers. Ultimately they depend upon the vitality of the world economy for the security of their markets and their investments. And it cannot be in the interest of any nation to magnify the despair of the least developed, who are uniquely vulnerable to exorbitant prices and who have no recourse but to pay.

What has gone up by political decision can be reduced by political decision.

Last week President Ford called upon the oil producers to join with consumers in defining a strategy which will meet the world's long-term need for both energy and food at reasonable prices. He set forth the principles which should guide such a policy. And he announced to this Assembly America's determination to meet our responsibilities to help alleviate another grim reality: world hunger.

At a time of universal concern for justice and in an age of advanced technology, it is intolerable that millions are starving and hundreds of millions remain undernourished.

The magnitude of the long-term problem is clear. At present rates of population growth, world food production must double by the end of this century to maintain even the present inadequate dietary level. And an adequate diet for all would require that we triple world production. If we are true to our principles, we have an obligation to strive for an adequate supply of food to every man, woman, and child in the world. This is a technical possibility, a political necessity, and a moral imperative.

The United States is prepared to join with all nations at the World Food Conference in Rome to launch the truly massive effort which is required. We will present a number of specific proposals:

--To help developing nations. They have the lowest yields and the largest amounts of unused land and water;

their potential in food production must be made to match their growing need.

--To increase substantially global fertilizer production. We must end once and for all the world's chronic fertilizer shortage.

--To expand international, regional, and national research programs. Scientific and technical resources must be mobilized now to meet the demands of the year 2000 and beyond.

--To rebuild the world's food reserves. Our capacity for dealing with famine must be freed from the vagaries of weather.

--To provide a substantial level of concessionary food aid. The United States will in the coming year increase the value of our own food aid shipments to countries in need. We make this commitment, despite great pressures on our economy and at a time when we are seeking to cut our own government budget, because we realize the dimensions of the tragedy with which we are faced. All of us here have a common obligation to prevent the poorest nations from being overwhelmed and enable them to build the social, economic, and political base for self-sufficiency.

The hopes of every nation for a life of peace and plenty rest on an effective international resolution of the crises of inflation, fuel, and food. We must act now, and we must act together.

#### THE HUMAN DIMENSION

Mr. President, let us never forget that all of our political endeavors are ultimately judged by one standard--to translate our actions into human concerns.

The United States will never be satisfied with a world where man's fears overshadow his hopes. We support the U.N.'s efforts in the fields of international law and human rights. We approve of the activities of the United Nations in social, economic, and humanitarian realms around the world. The United States considers the U.N. World Population Conference last month, the World Food Conference a month from now, and the continuing Law of



the Sea Conference of fundamental importance to our common future.

In coming months the United States will make specific proposals for the United Nations to initiate a major international effort to prohibit torture; a concerted campaign to control the disease which afflicts and debilitates over 200 million people in 70 countries, schistosomiasis; and a substantial strengthening of the world's capacity to deal with natural disaster, especially the improvement of the U.N. Disaster Relief Organization.

Mr. President, we have long lived in a world where the consequences of our failures were manageable--a world where local conflicts were contained, nuclear weapons threatened primarily those nations which possessed them, and the cycle of economic growth and decline seemed principally a national concern.

But this is no longer the case. It is no longer possible to imagine that conflicts, weapons, and recession will not spread.

We must now decide. The problems we face will be with us the greater part of the century. But will they be with us as challenges to be overcome or as adversaries that have vanquished us?

It is easy to agree to yet another set of principles or to actions other nations should take. But the needs of the poor will not be met by slogans; the needs of an expanding global economy will not be met by new restrictions; the search for peace cannot be conducted on the basis of confrontation. So each nation must ask what it can do, what contribution it is finally prepared to make to the common good.

Mr. President, beyond peace, beyond prosperity, lie man's deepest aspirations for a life of dignity and justice. And beyond our pride, beyond our concern for the national purpose we are called upon to serve, there must be a concern for the betterment of the human condition. While we cannot, in the brief span allowed to each of us, undo the accumulated problems of centuries, we dare not do less than try. So let us now get on with our tasks.

Let us act in the spirit of Thucydides that "the bravest are surely those who have the clearest vision of what is before them, glory and danger alike, and yet notwithstanding go out to meet it."

APPENDIX II: PRINCIPAL ORGANS OF THE UNITED NATIONS

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GENERAL ASSEMBLY

The General Assembly is the only principal organ of the United Nations on which all 138 members are represented. They are:

Afghanistan	Egypt	Khmer Republic
Albania	El Salvador	Kuwait
Algeria	Equatorial Guinea	Laos
Argentina	Ethiopia	Lebanon
Australia	Fiji	Lesotho
Austria	Finland	Liberia
Bahamas	France	Libya
Bahrain	Gabon	Luxembourg
Bangladesh	Gambia	Malagasy Republic
Barbados	German Democratic	Malawi
Belgium	Republic	Malaysia
Bhutan	Federal Republic	Maldives
Bolivia	of Germany	Mali
Botswana	Ghana	Malta
Brazil	Greece	Mauritania
Bulgaria	Grenada	Mauritius
Burma	Guatemala	Mexico
Burundi	Guinea	Mongolia
Byelorussian S.S.R.	Guinea-Bissau	Morocco
Cameroon	Guyana	Nepal
Canada	Haiti	Netherlands
Central African	Honduras	New Zealand
Republic	Hungary	Nicaragua
Chad	Iceland	Niger
Chile	India	Nigeria
China	Indonesia	Norway
Colombia	Iran	Oman
Congo	Iraq	Pakistan
Costa Rica	Ireland	Panama
Cuba	Israel	Paraguay
Cyprus	Italy	Peru
Czechoslovakia	Ivory Coast	Philippines
Dahomey	Jamaica	Poland
Denmark	Japan	Portugal
Dominican Republic	Jordan	Qatar
Ecuador	Kenya	Romania

Rwanda	Syria	United Arab
Saudi Arabia	Tanzania	Emirates
Senegal	Thailand	United Kingdom
Sierra Leone	Togo	United States
Singapore	Trinidad and	Upper Volta
Somalia	Tobago	Uruguay
South Africa	Tunisia	Venezuela
Spain	Turkey	Yemen (Aden)
Sri Lanka	Uganda	Yemen (San'a)
Sudan	Ukrainian S.S.R.	Yugoslavia
Swaziland	U.S.S.R.	Zaire
Sweden		Zambia

The General Assembly held its 6th special session in New York, April 9-May 2, to study the problems of raw materials and development. The officers and most committee chairmen of the special session remained the same as for the 28th regular session which convened in 1973. The chairmen of the First, Second, and Fifth Committees--who were not present at the special session--were replaced by Knud-Arne H. Eliassen (Denmark), Medoune Fall (Senegal), and Mehdi Mrani Zentar (Morocco), respectively. The President was Leopoldo Benites (Ecuador).

The 28th regular session of the General Assembly, which had been suspended Dec. 18, 1973, reconvened on Sept. 16, 1974, decided to include the item on the situation in the Middle East in the draft agenda of the 29th session, and adjourned the same day.

The 29th regular session of the General Assembly convened Sept. 17 and was suspended on Dec. 18, to be resumed if circumstances warranted the Assembly's consideration of the agenda item on the situation in the Middle East. The Assembly elected Abdelaziz Bouteflika (Algeria) President, and the chairmen of the delegations of Austria, Central African Republic, People's Republic of China, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Haiti, Ivory Coast, Lebanon, Mexico, Nepal, Nicaragua, Philippines, Romania, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, United States, and Zambia as the 17 Vice Presidents.

The chairmen of the seven main committees, on which each member may be represented, were:

First (Political and Security)--Carlos Ortiz de Rozas (Argentina)



Special Political--Per Lind (Sweden)

Second (Economic and Financial)--Jihad Karam (Iraq)

Third (Social, Humanitarian, and Cultural)--  
Aminata Marico (Mali)

Fourth (Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories)--  
Buyantyn Dashtseren (Mongolia)

Fifth (Administrative and Budgetary)--Costa P.  
Caranicas (Greece)

Sixth (Legal)--Milan Sahović (Yugoslavia)

The General Committee (steering committee) is composed of the President, the 17 Vice Presidents, and the chairmen of the seven main 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 Dec. 31 of the year given in the heading:

Permanent Members: China, France, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, United States.

1974: Australia, Austria, Indonesia, Kenya, Peru.

1975: Byelorussian S.S.R., Cameroon, Costa Rica, Iraq, Mauritania.

On Oct. 11 the Assembly elected Guyana, Italy, Japan, Sweden, and Tanzania for terms beginning Jan. 1, 1975.

### ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL

ECOSOC is composed of 54 members elected by the General Assembly for 3-year terms ending Dec. 31 of the year given in the heading:

1974: Argentina, Bolivia, Burundi, Canada, Chile, China, Czechoslovakia, Ethiopia, Finland, India, Japan, Kenya, Pakistan, Poland, Sweden, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, Zaire.

1975: Algeria, Brazil, Fiji, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Guatemala, Guinea, Indonesia, Mali, Mongolia, Netherlands, Senegal, Spain, Trinidad and Tobago, Turkey, Uganda, Venezuela, Yugoslavia.

1976: Australia, Belgium, Colombia, Congo, Egypt, German Democratic Republic, Iran, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Liberia, Mexico, Romania, Thailand, United States, Yemen (Aden), Zambia.

On Dec. 4 the General Assembly elected Bulgaria, Denmark, Ecuador, Gabon, Norway, Peru, and Yemen (San'a), and reelected Argentina, Canada, China, Czechoslovakia, Ethiopia, Japan, Kenya, Pakistan, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, and Zaire for terms beginning Jan. 1, 1975.

ECOSOC held its organizational session for 1974 and its 56th session in New York, Jan. 7-10 and Apr. 22-May 17, respectively. It held the first part of its 57th session in Geneva, July 3-Aug. 2, and the resumed part of its 57th session in New York, Oct. 14, 18; Nov. 19, 26, 29; and Dec. 5, 10, 16.

### TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL

The Trusteeship Council is composed of two members (marked with a \*) that administer territories and the four permanent members of the Security Council that do not administer territories:

\*Australia, China, France, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, \*United States.

The Trusteeship Council held its 41st session in New York, June 3-14 and Oct. 15-23.

INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE

The International Court consists of 15 members elected by the General Assembly and the Security Council for 9-year terms ending Feb. 5 of the year given in parentheses. Members are listed in order of precedence.

Manfred Lachs (Poland) (1976), President  
Fouad Ammoun (Lebanon) (1976), Vice President  
Isaac Forster (Senegal) (1982)  
André Gros (France) (1982)  
Cesar Bengzon (Philippines) (1976)  
Sture Petré (Sweden) (1976)  
Charles D. Onyeama (Nigeria) (1976)  
Hardy C. Dillard (United States) (1979)  
Louis Ignacio-Pinto (Dahomey) (1979)  
Federico de Castro (Spain) (1979)  
Platon D. Morozov (U.S.S.R.) (1979)  
Eduardo Jiménez de Aréchaga (Uruguay) (1979)  
Sir Humphrey Waldock (United Kingdom) (1982)  
Nagendra Singh (India) (1982)  
José María Ruda (Argentina) (1982)

SECRETARIAT

The Secretariat consists of a Secretary General, who is the chief administrative officer of the organization, and such staff as the organization may require. The Secretary General is appointed by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council; the staff is appointed by the Secretary General under regulations established by the General Assembly.

On Dec. 22, 1971, the 26th General Assembly appointed Kurt Waldheim (Austria) Secretary General for a 5-year term beginning Jan. 1, 1972 and ending Dec. 31, 1976.

APPENDIX III: UNITED STATES MISSIONS

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U.S. 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. It serves as the channel of communication for the U.S. Government with the UN organs, agencies, and commissions at the Headquarters and the 135 other permanent missions accredited to the United Nations and 6 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. In 1974 the United States participated in 43 conferences and meetings held under UN auspices in New York, in addition to the 3-month session of the General Assembly.

The chief of mission, who has the rank of ambassador, is the U.S. Representative to the United Nations; he also represents the United States in the Security Council. He is assisted by other persons of appropriate title, rank, and status, who are appointed by the President. These persons, at the direction of the U.S. Representative, represent the United States in any organ, commission, or other body of the United Nations, including the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, and the Trusteeship Council.

The mission has a staff consisting of political, economic, social, financial, legal, military, public affairs, and administrative advisers. In 1974 approximately 195 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 consultation, 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; the International Organizations Immunities Act of 1945, as amended; and the Convention on Privileges and Immunities of the United Nations (entered into force with respect to the United States Apr. 29, 1970), 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 U.S. mission in Geneva is under the direction of the U.S. Representative, with the rank of ambassador, who is accredited to the European Office of the United Nations as well as to other international organizations with headquarters in Geneva. The mission is responsible for the representation of U.S. interests in UN bodies such as UNCTAD, UNHCR, ECE, WHO, ILO, ITU, Commission for Narcotic Drugs, and UN Fund for Drug Abuse Control, and in other international bodies such as GATT, CCD, and the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration. In 1974 the staff consisted of 84 Americans, including personnel detailed by U.S. Government Departments other than the Department of State, and 44 local employees.

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, and makes policy and program recommendations to the Department of State. Officers of the mission serve on delegations to larger conferences and frequently represent the United States in smaller international meetings. In 1974 the United States participated in 215 conferences and meetings in Geneva held under the auspices of the UN and the specialized agencies. The mission is also responsible

for liaison with the missions of other states located in Geneva.

OTHER U.S. MISSIONS

The United States also maintains missions at the headquarters of FAO (and WFP) in Rome, ICAO in Montreal, UNESCO in Paris, and IAEA and UNIDO in Vienna. The responsibilities and functions of these missions are similar to those of the Geneva mission.

APPENDIX IV: UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVES

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Permanent Representative and Chief of U.S. Mission to the United Nations: John Scali.

Deputy Permanent Representative to the United Nations: W. Tapley Bennett, Jr.

Deputy Permanent Representative on the Security Council: William E. Schaufele, Jr.

Representative on the Economic and Social Council: Clarence Clyde Ferguson, Jr.

Alternate Permanent Representative for Special Political Affairs: Barbara M. White.

U.S. Representative to the European Office of the United Nations and Other International Organizations: Francis L. Dale.

Deputy U.S. Representative to the European Office of the United Nations and Other International Organizations: Jules Bassin (through Mar. 31); Manuel Abrams (from May 26).

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Sixth Special Session (New York, Apr. 9-May 2)

Representatives: John Scali; William E. Schaufele, Jr.; John H. Buchanan, Jr.; Robert N. C. Nix; Clarence Clyde Ferguson, Jr.

Alternate: Barbara M. White.

29th Regular Session (New York, Sept. 17-Dec. 18)

Representatives: Henry A. Kissinger; / John Scali; W. Tapley Bennett, Jr.; Stuart Symington; Charles H. Percy; Thomas H. Kuchel.

Alternates: Oliver C. Carmichael, Jr.; Joseph M. Segel; William E. Schaufele, Jr.; Clarence Clyde Ferguson, Jr.; Barbara M. White.

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/ The Secretary served as chairman of the delegation, ex officio, during his presence at the session.

Advisory Commission of UNRWA

Representative: G. McMurtrie Godley.

Working Group on the Financing of UNRWA

Representative: Charles O. Coudert.

UN Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation

Representative: Richard H. Chamberlain, M.D.

Alternate: Austin M. Brues, M.D.

Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space

Representative: W. Tapley Bennett, Jr.

Alternates: Oscar E. Anderson, Jr.; Donald P. Black; Herbert K. Reis.

Conference of the Committee on Disarmament

Representative: Joseph Martin, Jr.

Alternate: Robert W. Drexler.

Trade and Development Board of UNCTAD

14th session (Geneva, Aug. 20-Sept. 14)

Representative: Francis L. Dale.

Alternates: Manuel Abrams, Robert R. Brungart, Maynard W. Glitman.

Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations

Representative: William E. Schauffele, Jr.

Advisory Committee on the UN Program of Assistance in the Teaching, Study, Dissemination, and Wider Appreciation of International Law

Representative: Stephen M. Schwebel.

Industrial Development Board of UNIDO

8th session (Vienna, May 2-14)

Representative: William J. Stibravy.

Alternate: Melvin L. Schuweiler.

Permanent Representative to UNIDO: William J. Stibravy.

UN Commission on International Trade Law

7th session (New York, May 13-17)

Representative: E. Allan Farnsworth.

Alternate: Robert E. Dalton.

Special Committee on the Question of Defining Aggression

7th session (New York, Mar. 11-Apr. 12)

Representative: Robert B. Rosenstock.

Alternates: Robert M. Immerman, Michael J. Matheson.



Committee on Relations with the Host Country

Representative: Barbara M. White.

Governing Council of UNEP

2d session (Nairobi, Mar. 11-22)

Representative: Christian A. Herter, Jr.

Alternate: Roy D. Morey.

Preparatory Committee for the UN Conference-Exposition  
on Human Settlements

(New York, May 28-31)

Representative: William C. Trueheart.

Working Group on Currency Instability

Representative: David L. Stottlemeyer.

Alternate: Edward E. Keller, Jr.

Ad Hoc Committee on the Special Program

Representative: Clarence Clyde Ferguson, Jr.

Alternate: Martin M. Tank.

SECURITY COUNCIL

Representative: John Scali.

Deputies: W. Tapley Bennett, Jr.; William E. Schaufele, Jr.

Military Staff Committee

Representatives: Vice Adm. Joseph P. Moorer, USN;  
Lt. Gen. Donald H. Cowles, USA; Lt. Gen. Duward L.  
Crow, USAF (through June 30); Lt. Gen. Marion L.  
Boswell, USAF (from July 1).

Deputies: Comdr. Edward J. Melanson, Jr. USN;  
Col. Charles S. Johnson, Jr., USA (through May 31);  
Col. William Robert Daniel Jones, USA (from June 1);  
Col. Robert E. Sheridan, USAF.

TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL

41st session (New York, June 3-14, Oct. 15-23)

Representative: Barbara M. White.

Alternate: Edward E. Johnston (June 3-14 only).

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL

Organizational session for 1974 (New York, Jan. 7-10)

Representative: Clarence Clyde Ferguson, Jr.  
Alternate: Robert W. Kitchen, Jr.

56th session (New York, Apr. 22-May 17)

Representative: Clarence Clyde Ferguson, Jr.  
Alternates: Sheldon B. Vance; Robert W. Kitchen, Jr.;  
Patricia Hutar.

57th session (Geneva, July 3-Aug. 2)

Representative: John A. Scali.  
Alternates: Clarence Clyde Ferguson, Jr.;  
Francis L. Dale; Robert W. Kitchen, Jr.; Roy D. Morey;  
Stephen M. Schwebel; William J. Stibravy; Martin M. Tank.

Resumed 57th session (New York, Oct. 14, 18; Nov. 19, 26,  
29; Dec. 5, 10, 16)

Representative: Clarence Clyde Ferguson, Jr.  
Alternates: Robert W. Kitchen, Jr.; Martin M. Tank.

Commission on Human Rights

30th session (New York, Feb. 4-Mar. 8)

Representative: Philip E. Hoffman.  
Alternates: Warren E. Hewitt, Guy A. Wiggins.

Commission on Narcotic Drugs

3d special session (Geneva, Feb. 18-Mar. 1)

Representative: Sheldon B. Vance.  
Alternates: Harvey R. Wellman; John R. Bartels, Jr.;  
Robert L. Dupont; Roger O. Egeberg.

Population Commission

3d special session (New York, Mar. 4-15)

Representative: William H. Draper, Jr.  
Alternates: Philander P. Claxton, Jr.;  
John W. McDonald, Jr.

Commission on Social Development

(Did not meet in 1974)

Representative: Jean Picker.

Statistical Commission

18th session (Geneva, Oct. 7-18)

Representative: Joseph W. Duncan.

Alternate: Edwin D. Goldfield.

Commission on the Status of Women

25th session (New York, Jan. 14-Feb. 1)

Representative: Patricia Hutar.

Alternates: Lois Evans, Shirley B. Hendsch.

Economic Commission for Africa

(Did not meet in 1974)

Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific

30th session (Colombo, Mar. 27-Apr. 8)

Representative: Clarence Clyde Ferguson, Jr.

Alternates: Christopher Van Hollen, Anthony Geber.

Economic Commission for Europe

29th session (Bucharest, Apr. 18-29)

Representative: W. Tapley Bennett, Jr.

Alternates: Harry G. Barnes, Jr.; William K.

Miller.

Economic Commission for Latin America

8th extraordinary session, Committee of the Whole  
(New York, Jan. 24-25)

Representative: John W. McDonald, Jr.

Alternate: Myles L. Greene.

9th extraordinary session, Committee of the Whole  
(New York, Oct. 21-22)

Representative: Clarence Clyde Ferguson, Jr.

Economic Commission for Western Asia

1st session (Beirut, June 3-8)

Observer: Harvey T. Clew.

Executive Board of UNICEF

Representative: Michael N. Scelsi.

Alternate: John J. Hutchings.

Committee on Housing, Building, and Planning

(Did not meet in 1974)

Committee on Nongovernmental Organizations

(New York, Feb. 4-8)

Representative: Cameron R. Hume.

(Geneva, July 3)

Representative: Arthur M. Stillman.

Alternate: Richard A. Poole.

Intergovernmental Committee of the UN/FAO World Food Program

25th session (Rome, Apr. 22-26)

Delegate: Andrew J. Mair.

Alternates: Paul J. Byrnes, Arthur Mead.

26th session (Rome, Oct. 24-31)

Delegate: Arthur Mead.

Alternates: James F. Keefer; Christopher A.

Norred, Jr.

Executive Committee of the High Commissioner's Program (UNHCR)

25th session (Geneva, Oct. 14-22)

Representative: Francis L. Kellogg.

Alternate: James L. Carlin.

Governing Council of the UNDP

17th session (New York, Jan. 14-Feb. 1)

Representative: Clarence Clyde Ferguson, Jr.

Alternates: Robert W. Kitchen, Jr.; Stuart H.

Van Dyke.

18th session (Manila, June 5-24)

Representative: Clarence Clyde Ferguson, Jr.

Alternates: William H. Sullivan; Robert W.

Kitchen, Jr.; Douglas N. Forman, Jr.; Gordon W. Evans.

Committee on Science and Technology for Development

2d session (New York, Mar. 11-29)

Representative: Frederick Seitz.

Alternates: Robert W. Kitchen, Jr.; Rodney W.

Nichols.

Preparatory Committee for the World Food Conference

1st session (New York, Feb. 11-15)

Representative: Edwin M. Martin.

2d session (Geneva, June 4-10)

Representative: Edwin M. Martin.

3d session (Rome, Sept. 23-Oct. 4)

Representative: Edwin M. Martin.

Alternate: Don Paarlberg.



Special Interessional Committee

(New York, Nov. 11-15, Dec. 5)

Representative: Clarence Clyde Ferguson, Jr.

Alternate: J. Wallace Hopkins, Jr.

SPECIALIZED AGENCIES AND IAEA

Food and Agriculture Organization

63d session FAO Council (Rome, July 15-19)

Delegate: David L. Hume.

Alternates: John L. Mills, Ralph W. Phillips.

64th session FAO Council (Rome, Nov. 18-29)

Delegate: Gordon O. Fraser.

Alternates: Christopher A. Norred, Jr.;

Ralph W. Phillips.

Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization

32d session IMCO Council (London, May 21-24)

Representative: Ronald A. Webb.

Alternate: Rear Adm. Roderick Y. Edwards,

USCG (ret.).

33d session IMCO Council (London, Oct. 1-2)

Representatives: Richard Bank, Carl J. Grip.

Alternate: Rear Adm. Roderick Y. Edwards,

USCG (ret.).

5th extraordinary Assembly (London, Oct. 16-18)

Representative: Adm. Owen W. Siler, USCG.

Alternates: Richard Bank; Rear Adm. Roderick Y.

Edwards, USCG (ret.); Carl J. Grip.

International Bank for Reconstruction and Development

U.S. Governor, Board of Governors: George P.

Shultz (through June 19), William E. Simon (from  
June 20).

Alternate U.S. Governor: William J. Casey.

U.S. Executive Director: Charles O. Sethness.

Alternate U.S. Executive Director: Hal F. Reynolds.

International Civil Aviation Organization

21st session ICAO Assembly (Montreal, Sept. 24-Oct. 15)

Chief Delegate: Raymond J. Waldmann.

Delegates: Charles O. Cary, Betty C. Dillon.

Alternates: Alexander P. Butterfield, H. Rowan Gaither, John C. Sauls, Rosario J. Schibilia, John H. Shaffer.

U.S. Representative on ICAO Council and Permanent Representative to ICAO: Betty C. Dillon.

International Development Association

The Governors, Executive Directors, and Alternates are the same as those of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

International Finance Corporation

The U.S. Governor, Alternate Governor, Executive Director, and Alternate Executive Director of the IBRD also serve as the U.S. Governor, Alternate Governor, Director, and Alternate Director of the IFC.

International Labor Organization

59th International Labor Conference (Geneva, June 5-25)

Visiting Minister: Richard F. Schubert.

Government Delegates: Edward B. Persons (Chairman), Dale Good.

Alternate: Allen R. DeLong.

Employer Delegate: Edwin P. Neilan.

Worker Delegate: Bert Seidman.

U.S. Government Substitute Representative on Governing Body: Edward B. Persons.

International Monetary Fund

U.S. Governor, Board of Governors: George P. Shultz (through June 19), William E. Simon (from June 20).

Alternate U.S. Governor: Arthur F. Burns.

U.S. Executive Director: William B. Dale (through Feb. 28), Sam Y. Cross (from May 3).

Alternate U.S. Executive Director: Charles R. Harley.

International Telecommunication Union

U.S. Representative, Administrative Council: Thomas E. Nelson.

UN Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization  
18th General Conference (Paris, Oct. 17-Nov. 23)

Delegates: R. Miller Upton (Chairman), E. Ross Adair,  
Rosemary L. Ginn, William B. Jones, Gordon H. Scherer.

Alternates: William G. Harley, Stephen H. Hess,  
J. Roger Porter.

U.S. Member, Executive Board: Edward O. Sullivan  
(through Oct. 26), Gordon H. Scherer (from Oct. 27).

U.S. Permanent Representative to UNESCO: William B. Jones.

Universal Postal Union

17th Universal Postal Congress (Lausanne, May 22-July 5)

Head of Delegation: E. T. Klassen

Deputy Head of Delegation: Benjamin F. Bailar

Delegates: H. Edgar S. Stock, James S. Cottman,  
Arthur Eden, Irma E. Harrison, Michael P. E. Hoyt,  
Joseph F. Jones, Michael J. Regan.

1974 session UPU Executive Council (Bern, Feb. 9-23)

Head of Delegation: H. Edgar S. Stock.

World Health Organization

27th World Health Assembly (Geneva, May 7-24)

Delegates: Charles C. Edwards, M.D. (Chief  
Delegate); S. Paul Ehrlich, Jr., M.D. (Alternate  
Chief Delegate); Francis L. Dale.

Alternates: Milo D. Leavitt, M.D.; Francis W.  
Parnell, Jr., M.D.; David J. Sencer, M.D.

U.S. Representative, Executive Board: S. Paul Ehrlich,  
Jr., M.D.

World Meteorological Organization

U.S. Member, Executive Committee: Robert M. White.

International Atomic Energy Agency

18th General Conference (Vienna, Sept. 16-20)

Representative: Dixy Lee Ray.

Alternates: John A. Erlewine, Abraham S. Friedman,  
Dwight J. Porter, Gerald F. Tape.

U.S. Representative, Board of Governors: Gerald F. Tape.

U.S. Permanent Representative to the IAEA: Gerald F. Tape.





