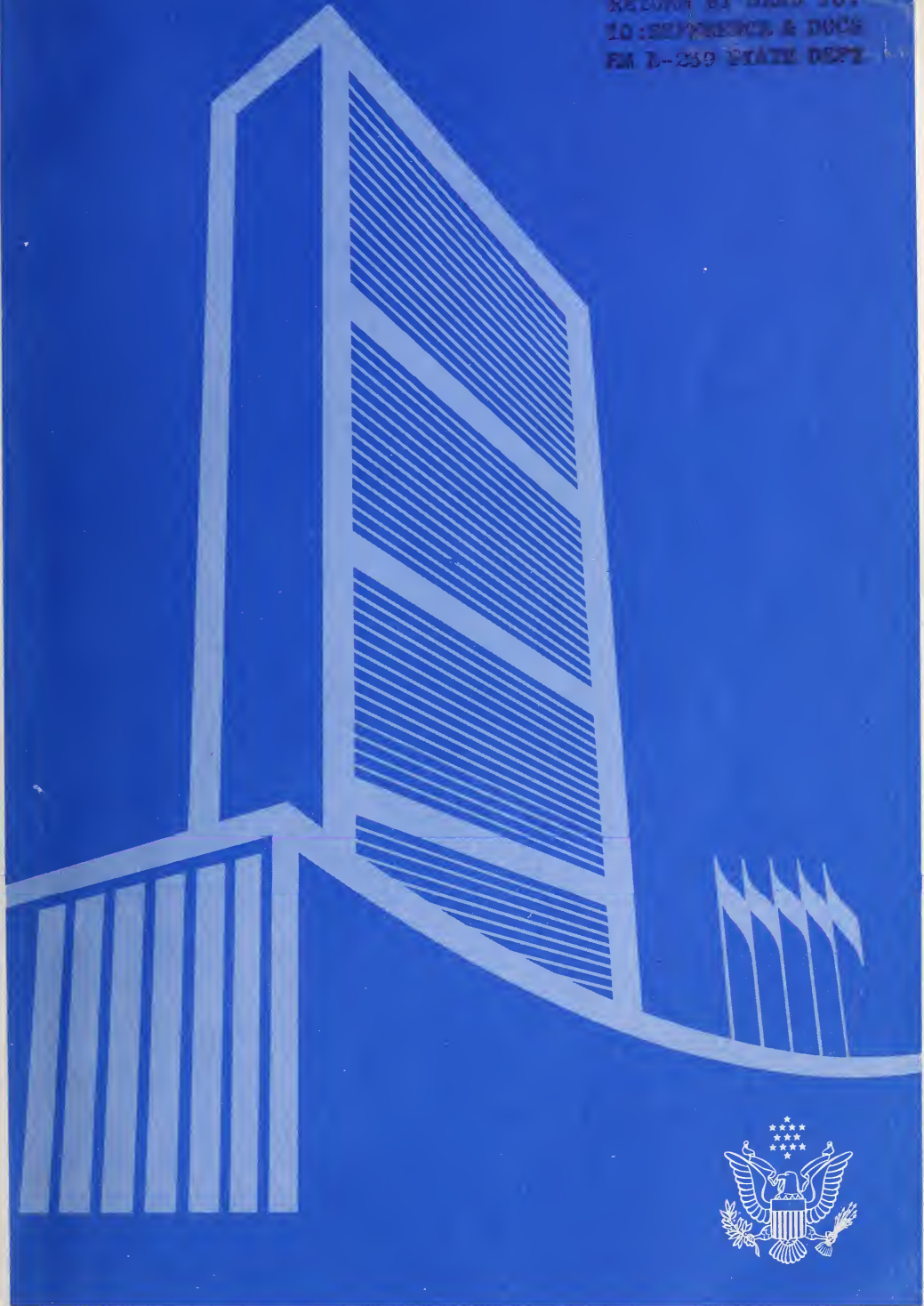


# U.S. Participation in the UN

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REPORT BY THE PRESIDENT TO THE CONGRESS FOR THE YEAR 1970

## Abbreviations and Short Forms

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
Committee of 33	— Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations
CCD	— Conference of the Committee on Disarmament
ECA	— Economic Commission for Africa
ECAFE	— Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East
ECE	— Economic Commission for Europe
ECLA	— Economic Commission for Latin America
ECOSOC	— Economic and Social Council
FAO	— Food and Agriculture Organization
GATT	— General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
IAEA	— International Atomic Energy Agency
IBRD	— International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
ICAO	— International Civil Aviation Organization
ICRC	— International Committee of the Red Cross
ICSU	— International Council of Scientific Unions
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
NATO	— North Atlantic Treaty Organization
OAS	— Organization of American States
OAU	— Organization of African Unity
OECD	— Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
UNCITRAL	— UN Commission on International Trade Law
UNCTAD	— UN Conference on Trade and Development
UNCURK	— UN Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea
UNDP	— UN Development Program
UNESCO	— UN Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization
UNFICYP	— UN Force in Cyprus
UNHCR	— Office of the United Nations 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
WMO	— World Meteorological Organization

# **U.S. Participation in the UN**

REPORT BY THE PRESIDENT TO THE CONGRESS FOR THE YEAR 1970

**DEPARTMENT OF STATE PUBLICATION 8600**  
**International Organization and Conference Series 96**  
Released September 1971

**BUREAU OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION AFFAIRS**

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# LETTERS OF TRANSMITTAL

## *The President of the United States*

*To the Congress of the United States:*

It is my pleasure to transmit to the Congress the 25th annual report of United States participation in the United Nations, covering events during calendar year 1970.

In my address to the United Nations on the occasion of its 25th anniversary ceremonies, I said that the United States "will go the extra mile in doing our best toward making the United Nations succeed." This has been true of the United States ever since the Charter was signed in San Francisco in 1945, and it will continue to be the case.

If the United Nations is to succeed, I believe that we must now work diligently to make it more effective and more responsive to the demands of today's world. It is clear, for instance, that we must improve the techniques for international cooperation as well as introduce greater efficiency in the operations of the UN system as we conduct more of our foreign affairs through multinational institutions. We achieved significant progress last year in this regard, and we intend to move rapidly now to accelerate the process.

In July, 1970, I established a Commission for the Observance of the 25th Anniversary of the United Nations and asked it to reappraise the organization's potential and to make recommendations which would strengthen the organization and improve the effectiveness of U.S. participation. The thoughtful and comprehensive report which the Commission has recently submitted will help us form a fresh view of the capabilities and limitations of the United Nations, and its recommendations are now being given careful attention.

Much of what transpired in the United Nations and its related agencies during 1970 was of direct interest to the United States. For example, on October 24, 1970, the UN General Assembly adopted an International Development Strategy that charts an orderly course for multilateral assistance during the Second Development Decade, which began on January 1 of this year. Early in December, 1970, the

Assembly adopted an American-initiated resolution calling for the humanitarian treatment of prisoners of war. The Assembly also overwhelmingly endorsed the establishment of a UN Fund for Drug Abuse Control and appealed to members to join together in seeking the means to control the spread of drug addiction throughout the world. And on December 16 the International Civil Aviation Organization, a specialized agency of the United Nations, made progress toward controlling the crime of air piracy by adopting in The Hague a convention for the suppression of unlawful seizure of aircraft. The United States and 49 other nations signed the convention on that day. The United Nations also took significant action to deal with other world concerns such as population control, the protection of our environment, and the use of the seas and seabed. We expect much more to be done.

In its peacekeeping role during 1970, the United Nations played a major part in encouraging better relations among the states of the Middle East, including an agreement to a new cease-fire which has been vital to maintaining the peace in that critical area of the world. UN forces and observers also continued to help keep the peace in the troubled areas of Cyprus and Kashmir. As the search continued for better methods of preserving the peace, the General Assembly on the last day of the 25th anniversary commemorative session approved by acclamation a Declaration on Friendly Relations among States.

These were only a part of the broad spectrum of developments and accomplishments during 1970. It is gratifying, therefore, to add this volume to the record of U.S. participation in the United Nations.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Richard Nixon".

THE WHITE HOUSE,  
*September 1971.*

# *The Secretary of State to the President*

DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
*Washington, July 26, 1971*

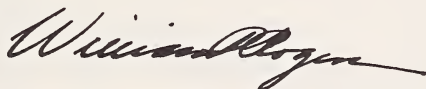
THE PRESIDENT:

Under the United Nations Participation Act (Public Law 264, 79th Congress), the President transmits annually to the Congress a report on United States participation in the United Nations. A report on the activities of the United Nations and the specialized agencies for the year 1970 has therefore been prepared.

As in previous years, the report is a comprehensive survey of the Government's participation in the work of the United Nations and the specialized agencies.

I recommend that you approve the report for transmittal to the Congress.

Respectfully submitted,

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "William P. Rogers". The signature is written in a cursive style with a long, sweeping underline.

THE PRESIDENT,  
*The White House.*

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# The 25th Anniversary of the United Nations

Inasmuch as 1970 constituted an important anniversary—the 25th—in the history of the United Nations, the General Assembly in 1968 determined that the event should be celebrated in an appropriate manner. In 1969 it decided to hold a special commemorative session in 1970 culminating on UN Day (October 24th). The theme of the 25th anniversary was “Peace, justice, and progress.”

A 25-member-state preparatory committee<sup>1</sup> was established to coordinate plans for the anniversary, to organize suitable activities to be undertaken by the United Nations, and to consider proposals for increasing the effectiveness of the organization. Among its recommendations were the adoption or signing of a “final document,” and the holding of a World Youth Assembly.

To commemorate the 25th anniversary of the signing of the UN charter, the city of San Francisco and interested citizens invited UN delegates and other dignitaries to take part in ceremonies on June 26. On display was the original Charter of the United Nations together with the

---

<sup>1</sup> The President of the General Assembly on Oct. 31, 1969, appointed the following member states to the committee: Austria, Bulgaria, Byelorussian S.S.R., Canada, China, France, Ghana, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, India, Iran, Italy, Lebanon, Mauritania, Peru, Philippines, Somalia, Sweden, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Uganda, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, and United States.

Statute of the International Court of Justice.

## WORLD YOUTH ASSEMBLY

The World Youth Assembly was held in New York from July 9 to 17 with nearly 650 participants from 113 member states, 5 nonmember states, 12 non-self-governing territories, and 28 nongovernmental organizations.<sup>2</sup> Delegates were invited to participate as individuals and not as representatives of governments. The maximum age was to be 25. The United Nations urged member nations to let the youth elect their own delegates.

The participants from the United States, ranging in age from 18 to 23, were picked by a committee of non-governmental organizations.

The expenses of the World Youth Assembly, other than those for conference servicing, were met by a special voluntary fund and the UN Secretary-General made several appeals for funds to governments, foun-

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<sup>2</sup> All member states were invited to send up to 5 young people; similar invitations were sent to selected non-self-governing territories. In addition, the Assembly's Planning Committee, composed of 13 international youth and student organizations, was authorized to select up to 126 participants. The Committee in turn invited some national and international youth and student organizations to nominate candidates among whom were the young people from countries not represented in the United Nations.

dations, corporations, and individuals. The United States, like most governments, responded negatively to the appeal and did not contribute, but private American organizations did, and U.S. as well as foreign airlines in international service provided free round-trip tickets to a number of participants.

The purposes of the Assembly were to draw the attention of young people to the principal problems before the United Nations, to allow them to give their views on matters related to peace and progress, and to ascertain ways in which they might be able to support the United Nations.

The Assembly established four commissions to consider the four major agenda topics: world peace, development, education, and man and environment. All but the Commission on World Peace carried on their work without incident. In that Commission, however, Eastern Europeans, like-minded participants from other countries, and the practiced youth politicians of a number of international youth organizations dominated the proceedings and prevented some delegates from expressing their views or having them registered in the Commission's report.

On July 16 a petition signed by participants from 27 countries (including the United States) and 3 nongovernmental organizations was distributed at a press conference. The petition protested (1) "the cynical attempts to manipulate the conference by representatives of the Soviet-East European bloc and representatives of the undemocratic left," and (2) the prominence of professional delegates and professional "youths." On July 17 the Steering Committee of the Assembly formally protested the selection of some delegations by governments and asked that statistics on the age of participants be made public, expressing regret that so many were overage. It also went on record against interference by governments and their local missions in the work of the Assembly.

Each Commission developed its own report, and those on development, education, and man and environment contained a wide range of generally thoughtful recommendations. The reports of all four Commissions were noted by the plenary Assembly and made available to permanent missions to the United Nations, participants in the Assembly, and international youth and other nongovernmental organizations concerned.

Only one document was formally adopted: a consensus message to the General Assembly that expressed in considerable detail the participants' opposition to colonialism, imperialism, militarism, aggression, and racism wherever found. It specifically called for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia, American troops from Indochina, and Israeli troops from occupied Arab territories. In other paragraphs it, *inter alia*, affirmed the participants' conviction that the cooperation of the young must be intensified, called for "universality" in the United Nations, urged the United Nations to support the efforts of peoples against underdevelopment, and recommended that the World Youth Assembly be convened every 2 years.

## COMMEMORATIVE SESSION

The 25th anniversary commemorative session, held from October 14 through 24 as part of the 25th General Assembly, included addresses by the Secretary-General, Assembly President Hambro, and representatives of 86 member states.

President Nixon was one of 42 heads of state or government to speak during the commemorative session. His address on October 23 reaffirmed continuing U.S. support for the United Nations and discussed several areas where he believed international action through the United Nations to be in the world interest. These areas were:

—Furthering economic development in the spirit of the Second Development Decade.

—Strengthening the UN capacity to make and to keep the peace.

—Coordinating worldwide protection and restoration of the environment.

—Devising means to ensure that the resources of the sea are developed for the benefit of all mankind.

—Supporting national efforts to control the population explosion.

—Curbing international traffic in narcotics.

—Putting an end to the practices of sky piracy and the kidnaping and murder of diplomats.

—Ensuring that the human rights of prisoners of war are not violated.

The commemorative session culminated on October 24, the anniversary of the Charter's entry into force, with the adoption by acclamation of three documents: (1) Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Cooperation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations; (2) International Development Strategy for the Second UN Development Decade; and (3) Declaration on the Occasion of the 25th Anniversary of the United Nations.

The Friendly Relations Declaration is an important statement of international law that elaborates and clarifies seven basic principles of international law contained in the UN Charter. (See also p. 209.)

The International Development Strategy is a comprehensive statement of essentials for national and international action during the Second Development Decade, 1971-80. Despite reservations by the United States and other countries on various points, the document is a major step toward a systematic and more rational approach to economic and social development. (See also p. 69.)

The 25th Anniversary Declaration embodies the Assembly's consensus on

common purposes, reflecting basic aims of the Charter with particular emphasis on development, disarmament, and the elimination of racism and colonialism.

A fourth document relating to the 25th anniversary had been adopted earlier, on October 12, though not by acclamation. This was the "Program of Action for the Full Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and People." (See also p. 183.)

## PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION

The President's Commission for the Observance of the 25th Anniversary of the United Nations was established by Executive Order 11546 on July 9, 1970. The President asked the Commission to identify matters of overriding importance to the effectiveness of the United Nations and of U.S. participation therein, and to suggest initiatives particularly appropriate to the anniversary year. The Commission was directed to consult both official and public opinion and to make recommendations to assist in the determination of U.S. policy toward the United Nations.

The Commission, under the chairmanship of Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, consisted of 50 persons from many sectors of public and private life and included young people as well as those with many years of experience in foreign affairs.

The Commission held its first meeting on July 10 and appointed a working group and an executive director. The full Commission met again on August 5 and September 10 to review and approve an interim report issued September 14. The report identified four major areas in which imaginative initiatives to revitalize the United Nations and to make American participation more effective should be considered by the United States.



*First*, in the area of peacekeeping and peaceful settlement of disputes, the Commission decided to consider recommendations for making available adequate staff and military forces for UN peacekeeping, better machinery for "preventive diplomacy," improved staff and facilities for mediation of disputes, and strengthening the International Court of Justice.

*Second*, in the area of organization and structure of UN institutions, the Commission decided to consider parliamentary reforms such as weighted voting and more efficient procedures for the General Assembly, more reliable and equitable methods of financing the organization, and improved personnel selection in the UN Secretariat.

*Third*, in the area of developing international programs and machin-

ery to attack problems beyond the scope of single nations, the Commission decided to consider how best to deal with the worldwide effects of environmental changes brought about by accelerated scientific and technological changes.

*Fourth*, in the area of strengthening international law and cooperation, the Commission decided to consider, *inter alia*, how to solve the currently critical problems of drug abuse and international hijacking of commercial aircraft.

During the fall and winter of 1970 the Commission held public hearings in Atlanta, St. Louis, Des Moines, Rochester (New York), Portland (Oregon), and San Francisco and received testimony from more than 280 groups and individuals. The Commission's final report to the President was scheduled for April 1971.

# Part I

## *Maintenance of Peace and Security*

### Disarmament and Arms Control

#### Conference of the Committee on Disarmament

Since its enlargement in 1969, the CCD has had 26 members.<sup>1</sup> The U.S. and Soviet Representatives serve as cochairmen. In 1970 the American delegation was led by Gerard Smith, Director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA). In his absence, ACDA Assistant Director James F. Leonard served as U.S. Representative. There were two sessions of the Conference in 1970: February 17–April 30 and June 16–September 3.

#### **SEABED AND OCEAN FLOOR**

In 1969 the CCD began intensive negotiations on a treaty prohibiting the emplacement of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction on the seabed and ocean floor. At the end of the 1969 session, the United States and the Soviet Union had submitted a revised joint draft

<sup>1</sup> Argentina, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Ethiopia, France, Hungary, India, Italy, Japan, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Netherlands, Nigeria, Pakistan, Poland, Romania, Sweden, U.S.S.R., U.A.R., United Kingdom, United States, and Yugoslavia. France does not participate.

treaty to the CCD. After a lengthy debate, the 24th General Assembly approved a resolution urging the CCD to take into account all proposals and suggestions and to try to prepare a draft treaty for consideration by the General Assembly.

At the opening meeting of the CCD in 1970, the U.S. Representative noted that sympathetic consideration would be given to the suggestions of other countries for improving the draft. He expected that the Conference would be able to present the General Assembly with an agreed text in the fall of 1970.

On April 23 the United States and the Soviet Union submitted a revised joint draft treaty that took several suggestions into account. The first two articles incorporated language suggested by Argentina to reconcile various suggestions on defining the area covered by the treaty:

#### *Article I*

1. The States Parties to this Treaty undertake not to emplant or emplace on the seabed and the ocean floor and in the subsoil thereof beyond the outer limit of a seabed zone as defined in Article II any nuclear weapons or any other types of weapons of mass destruction as well as structures, launching installations or any other facilities specifically designed for storing, testing or using such weapons.

2. The undertakings of paragraph 1 of this Article shall also apply to the seabed zone referred to in the same

paragraph, except that within such seabed zone, they shall not apply either to the coastal State or to the seabed beneath its territorial waters.

3. The States Parties to this Treaty undertake not to assist, encourage or induce any State to carry out activities referred to in paragraph 1 of this Article and not to participate in any other way in such actions.

### *Article II*

For the purpose of this Treaty the outer limit of the seabed zone referred to in Article I shall be coterminous with the twelve-mile outer limit of the zone referred to in Part II of the Convention of the Territorial Sea and the Contiguous Zone, signed in Geneva on 29 April 1958 and shall be measured in accordance with the provisions of Part I, Section II, of this Convention and in accordance with international law.

A revised verification article took account of the amendment proposed by Canada in the General Assembly and represented a synthesis of the views of many countries. It provided for observation and consultation, with due regard to the rights of coastal states. It also permitted recourse to the UN Security Council if consultation and cooperation did not remove doubts on the fulfillment of treaty obligations. A new article provided that the treaty would not affect the position of parties on law-of-the-sea issues. Another new article, based on a Mexican suggestion, stated that the treaty provisions should not affect obligations under international agreements on nuclear-free zones.

A thorough discussion produced several amendments to improve and clarify the new draft. On July 30 Sweden and eight other nonaligned nations submitted a working paper proposing three changes: (1) an explicit requirement for states initiating verification procedures to notify all other parties; (2) a provision permitting verification "through appropriate international procedures within the framework of the United Nations and in accordance with its Charter"; and (3) a new article requiring parties to continue negotiations on "further measures relating to a more com-

prehensive prohibition" of the use of the seabed for military purposes.

In their revised draft treaty of September 1, the United States and the Soviet Union accepted the nine-power amendments to the verification article. In response to suggestions by Argentina, Brazil, and Mexico, they modified this article to assure the rights of coastal states. They also added a new article obligating parties to continue negotiations on "further measures in the field of disarmament for the prevention of an arms race on the seabed, the ocean floor, and the subsoil thereof." Nearly all delegates expressed approval of the new draft, which was submitted to the 25th General Assembly as an annex to the annual CCD report.

### **CHEMICAL AND BACTERIOLOGICAL (BIOLOGICAL) WEAPONS**

The CCD discussed the revised U.K. draft convention of August 26, 1969, prohibiting the use, production, and possession of biological weapons and the Soviet draft convention of September 19, 1969, banning the production and possession of both chemical and bacteriological weapons. At the opening meeting, the U.S. Representative supported the U.K. proposal. Noting that there were significant differences between chemical and biological weapons, he pointed out that the latter had never been used and few nations had developed any capabilities in this field. On the other hand, many states maintained stocks of chemical weapons for deterrent purposes, and it would be extremely difficult to verify a ban on the production and stockpiling of chemical weapons.

On April 21 he tabled a working paper on toxins—poisonous substances produced by biological organisms—describing certain toxins that had been discussed as agents of biological warfare. The paper said that, as announced by the White House on February 14, the United States has renounced the production, stock-



piling, and use of toxins and has confined its military program on toxins to research and development for defensive purposes only. Thus, the U.S. policy on toxins is identical to its policy on biological programs. Later, the U.S. Representative suggested that the U.K. draft convention be amended to include toxins, and on June 30 he proposed a formal amendment to this effect. This was accepted by the United Kingdom, which submitted a revised draft convention on August 18.

Even though the United States did not consider it feasible to negotiate a single agreement on both chemical and biological weapons at this time, it was "committed to achieving effective controls on chemical weapons," as the U.S. Representative said on March 17. For chemical weapons, the verification problem was difficult but not necessarily insoluble. Although the United States did not consider that a ban on the production and possession of chemical weapons could be verified by national means alone, it believed that substantial progress could be made by studying monitoring and inspection techniques.

On March 16 the United States submitted a working paper on the relationship between the manufacture of chemical weapons and the peaceful chemical industry. This paper pointed out that many industrial and commercial chemicals could also be used as weapons or as components of weapons. Later, the United States submitted a working paper on the use of economic data to monitor a ban on chemical weapons. It concluded that this method could have ancillary value but was not by itself a substitute for direct on-site inspection. Another U.S. study showed that the problem of identifying nerve-gas production facilities could not be solved by "off-site observation."

The Soviet Representative urged adoption of the Soviet draft convention, which he regarded as a sound basis for solving the problem of chemical and bacteriological weapons. He

maintained that the two types of weapons were similar and had been treated as a single problem on the scientific, political, and military levels. Criticizing the United States and the United Kingdom for advocating a separate convention on bacteriological weapons, he charged that they were trying to postpone indefinitely a solution of the problem of chemical weapons.

The Soviet draft convention did not contain any verification provisions, and the Soviet Representative argued that inspection was not feasible. He did not see anything constructive in the U.S. working papers and charged that they were politically designed to leave chemical weapons unbanned.

On April 14 Poland, Hungary, and Mongolia proposed adding a "safeguards" article to the Soviet draft convention. This article would permit parties to submit complaints of noncompliance to the Security Council, which would inform parties of the results of its investigation. The three powers also tabled a draft Security Council resolution in which the Security Council would declare its readiness to implement the new article. The Soviet Representative fully agreed with the tripartite proposal and said that it would provide a reliable safeguards system and complaint machinery. The U.S. Representative declared that it was not satisfactory. "It is not adequate," he said, "to suggest that there will be a complaint mechanism when there may be no means of knowing whether and when the facts exist for invoking the mechanism."

There were also suggestions on verification from other nations. The Swedish Representative ranked "the requirement of open information as the first and fundamental element" in a verification system and saw value in requiring open reporting on the agents used in chemical and biological weapons. She thought that complaints should be submitted to the Secretary-General rather than to the

Security Council. The U.S. Representative agreed that openness, reporting, and other "self-policing" measures could be important elements. In his view, however, some on-site technical inspection clearly appeared to be required.

In a joint memorandum of August 25, the 12 nonaligned members of the CCD declared that both chemical and biological weapons "should continue to be dealt with together in taking steps toward the prohibition of their development, production and stockpiling and their effective elimination from the arsenals of all states." Recognizing the importance of the verification issue, they stated that reasonable guarantees and safeguards should be devised and that verification should be based on a "combination of appropriate national and international measures, which would complement and supplement each other."

On August 27 the U.S. Representative noted that the session had been both encouraging and disappointing in the field of chemical and biological weapons. He was encouraged because nothing had been said to indicate that the U.K. draft convention was unsound. The efforts of delegations to examine the complex factors that had to be dealt with before progress could be made on chemical weapons were also encouraging. On the other hand, the refusal of the Soviet Union and other countries to take advantage of the opportunity to make progress on biological weapons was discouraging. Denying Soviet charges that a ban on biological weapons alone would stimulate an arms race in chemical weapons, he pointed out that the United States had not produced any lethal chemical weapons since President Nixon's November 1969 decision to halt production of biological weapons. He warned that it would take time to reach agreement on chemical weapons and that there was a "long and a difficult road ahead." Finally, he declared that the

Soviet draft convention did not begin to cope with the problem of controlling chemical weapons and could not therefore be a basis for negotiation.

On August 19, while the CCD was still in session, President Nixon submitted the Geneva Protocol<sup>1</sup> to the Senate and requested its advice and consent to ratification, subject to a reservation recommended by the Secretary of State permitting retaliatory use of chemical weapons. The Secretary of State also reaffirmed the U.S. position that the protocol did not prohibit the use in war of riot-control agents and chemical herbicides. In his message to the Senate, the President said that the United States would seek "further agreement on effective arms-control measures in the field of biological and chemical warfare."

#### **COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN**

At the opening meeting the U.S. Representative reaffirmed support for a comprehensive test ban and again said that verification should include some on-site inspections. During the session the United States submitted a report on Project Rulison, an underground nuclear explosion which had been used as a subject for seismic investigation. In addition, in compliance with a 24th General Assembly resolution, it furnished the Secretary-General on May 1 with a list of American seismic stations that would undertake to participate in an international exchange of seismological information for the purpose of facilitating the achievement of a comprehensive test ban.

The Soviet Representative had little to say on this question. He again stated that the Soviet Union favored a ban on underground testing and maintained that this could be verified by national means of detection.

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<sup>1</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.

Declaring that political decisions were needed, he warned against attempts to concentrate on technical aspects of the problem. At the same time, he recalled previous Soviet interest in "some constructive compromise proposals." In its reply to the Secretary-General, the Soviet Union stated that it saw no need for the international exchange of information on seismic stations. The Soviet Union added, however, that it was engaging in the international exchange of seismological data.

The Canadian Representative, who had taken the initiative in proposing the exchange of information on seismic stations, on August 10 introduced a working paper that summarized the results of the Secretary-General's inquiry and suggested relevant questions that might be examined in future work in this area. The United Kingdom on July 28 submitted a working paper outlining a possible worldwide seismic network of 26 stations of quality comparable to 4 existing U.K. stations and 3 large arrays, including the U.S. large aperture seismic array (LASA), which would transmit information to a Data Collection and Collation Center. The Swedish Representative commented that a system comprising the stations mentioned in the Canadian paper, without a data center, might be more acceptable than the U.K. system but that the risks would be greater. She renewed her proposal for a comprehensive test ban based on "verification by challenge," rather than by obligatory on-site inspection.

#### **FISSIONABLE MATERIALS PRODUCTION CUTOFF**

In his opening statement, the U.S. Representative urged the Conference to give renewed consideration to the U.S. proposal to halt the production of fissionable materials for weapons purposes, with IAEA safeguards. Although several other delegations endorsed this proposal, the Soviet Representative did not comment. In

previous negotiations, the Soviet Union rejected the cutoff on the ground that it involved excessive verification and would not reduce nuclear armaments.

#### **CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS AND MILITARY EXPENDITURES**

The CCD has generally focused its attention on nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction. In his opening statement, the U.S. Representative declared that this emphasis should not cause the Conference to neglect the problems of conventional weapons. Although there had been no nuclear war since 1945, there had been many conflicts involving conventional weapons. He also pointed out that the world arms expenditures had increased from \$120 billion to \$200 billion per year during the period 1962-69 and that only a small part of the increase was spent on strategic arms.

In the U.S. view, these were questions that concerned all countries and not only the nuclear powers. "Indeed," he said, "the initiative and the basic responsibility for regional arms limitation must rest with the nations concerned." The United States encouraged regional arrangements or "other steps that could reduce competition among nations" and was ready to work with other countries. As an arms supplier, it would be ready to cooperate in implementing agreements among the parties concerned.

The United Kingdom, Sweden, and several other countries also expressed concern about conventional weapons. The U.S. Representative found this encouraging and said that increased concern was fully merited. During the period 1964-69 the nations of the world spent one trillion dollars for military purposes, "more than was spent in the same period for all forms of public education and health care." He warned that time was "not on our side," since the diffusion of advanced technology was bound to increase the difficulty of



conventional arms control. Political developments and competition for arms markets might also "create new imbalances and fuel tensions." The effort should therefore not be delayed. It was a universal problem, and all nations, whether suppliers or recipients of arms, had a stake in finding a solution. The CCD and other international organizations had a duty to work on the problem.

The U.S. Representative recognized that regional arms limitation arrangements, like other forms of arms control, were difficult to achieve. Nevertheless, it was important to explore opportunities and take initiatives, as the NATO Foreign Ministers had recently done in proposing exploratory talks on mutual and balanced force reductions in Europe. This suggested that there might be opportunities for similar initiatives in other areas. The CCD might study unilateral measures that had been adopted by Japan, the United States, and other countries to minimize the effects of regional hostilities.

#### **GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT**

At the opening meeting the Soviet Representative proposed resumption of negotiations on general and complete disarmament. He added that this should not "entail any slackening of efforts" on such partial disarmament measures as a convention on chemical and bacteriological weapons and the seabed treaty. Several other delegates suggested that the United States and the Soviet Union submit revised versions of their 1962 plans for general and complete disarmament.

The U.S. Representative reaffirmed support for general and complete disarmament as the ultimate goal. He believed, however, that the best way to progress toward this goal was to concentrate on specific meas-

ures. He warned that progress could not be made in a vacuum but would "depend in large part upon the existence of a suitable international political climate." He urged those who suggested revising the U.S. and Soviet plans to review the records of the 1962 negotiations, which showed that the Conference began to make real progress toward general and complete disarmament only when it began to examine individual measures.

The Soviet Representative recognized the interrelationship between security and disarmament but did not agree that security and disarmament problems must be solved simultaneously, since that might postpone "the solution of urgent questions in the field of disarmament . . . until progress had been made on ensuring international security." He accordingly opposed a Swedish suggestion to link the strengthening of UN peacekeeping machinery with disarmament. He saw no opposition between the problems of general and complete disarmament and partial measures and maintained that they could be solved on parallel lines. He emphasized the need for all militarily significant states to participate in the implementation of measures of nuclear disarmament and general and complete disarmament.

Several countries favored a comprehensive disarmament program. Speaking for a number of delegations, the Italian Representative outlined a comprehensive program for achieving general and complete disarmament through a series of agreements rather than a single treaty. On August 27 Mexico, Sweden, and Yugoslavia submitted a draft comprehensive program outlining various basic principles, including the need for adequate peacekeeping and verification arrangements. This tripartite program envisaged a flexible approach combining discussion of general and complete disarmament with negotiations on partial measures.

# General Assembly

On October 23, in his address to the commemorative session of the General Assembly, President Nixon stated:

There is no greater contribution which the United States and the Soviet Union together could make than to limit the world's capacity for self-destruction.

This would reduce the danger of war. And it would enable us to devote more of our resources, abroad as well as at home, to assisting in the constructive works of economic development and in peaceful progress . . . .

He also told the General Assembly:

Through arms control agreements, let us invest our resources in the development that nourishes peace.

The General Assembly's First Committee (Political and Security) had seven agenda items relating to disarmament before it: (1) general and complete disarmament; (2) chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons; (3) urgent need for suspension of nuclear and thermonuclear tests; (4) implementation of the results of the 1968 Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States; (5) establishment, within the framework of the IAEA, of an international service for nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes under appropriate international control; (6) signature and ratification of Additional Protocol II of the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (Treaty of Tlatelolco); and (7) economic and social consequences of the armaments race and its extremely harmful effects on world peace and security.

The first three items derived from the report of the CCD, the fourth from a report of the Secretary-General, and the fifth from a report of the IAEA; the sixth was proposed by Mexico and the seventh by Romania.

A related item, on the economic and social consequences of disarmament, was considered by the General

Assembly's Second Committee (Economic and Financial).

## U.S. STATEMENT

The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Charles W. Yost, spoke on November 2, the first day of the disarmament debate, and noted "how fatefully important it is for humanity that we should move as rapidly as we can to control and reduce the burden of armaments." Reviewing disarmament activities in the past year, he commented particularly on the work of the CCD in producing a widely acceptable draft treaty on seabed arms control, and pointed out:

The negotiation of this treaty seems to us an outstanding example of how an important multilateral instrument can be developed with the participation and the significant help of many countries. It constitutes an example that we hope will serve as a guide in the negotiation of other multilateral treaties of disarmament and arms limitation.

He said that the treaty was a limited but valuable step that could be taken now. The United States therefore regarded it as another "building block in the arms control structure which the world community has been seeking to erect during the past decade." He hoped that the General Assembly, as it had done with the nonproliferation treaty,<sup>1</sup> would commend the seabed treaty and request that it be opened for signature.

The U.S. Representative also noted the work of the CCD on the subject of chemical and biological weapons. He commented that this work was unquestionably leading to a better understanding of the issues involved in coming to grips with the control of chemical weapons but that much work remained to be done. The United States continued to believe that it would be possible and desirable to reach early agreement on a sepa-

<sup>1</sup> Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, done at Washington, London, and Moscow July 1, 1968; entered into force Mar. 5, 1970.

rate convention prohibiting biological weapons. On the question of a comprehensive test ban, he stated that the United States continued to favor such a ban with adequate verification which must include on-site inspection. He also discussed conventional armaments, saying that the United States regarded as an important development the fact that this subject received increasing attention at the CCD during the previous summer. The United States was convinced of the need to halt and reverse the increase in military expenditures on these weapons.

#### **GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT**

Four resolutions were adopted on this agenda item.

##### **Seabed Arms Control Treaty**

The seabed arms control treaty represented the most significant accomplishment in the disarmament field since the nonproliferation treaty. The draft treaty had been the subject of intensive negotiations at the CCD for the past 2 years and was widely supported by most CCD members and other countries. Discussion in the First Committee ranged over a variety of aspects of the treaty including the verification provisions and the effect, if any, the treaty would have on states' territorial sea claims. In response to questions by the Mexican Representative, the U.S. Representative, Mr. Leonard, on November 16 stated that the treaty did not affect the sovereignty, under international law, of coastal states over territorial waters or the legal position of states with respect to claims concerning territorial seas. He also confirmed the previous American interpretation that the provisions of article I obliging parties not to induce other states to carry out prohibited activities applied to nuclear-free zones. The Soviet Representative

made a similar interpretation of these treaty provisions.

The United States and 36 other nations introduced a resolution that commended the draft treaty, requested that it be opened for signature, and expressed the hope for the widest possible adherence to it. The sponsors later accepted a minor Peruvian amendment to the resolution (which the Committee subsequently adopted unanimously) but opposed Peruvian proposals to change the draft treaty. On November 17 the First Committee rejected the Peruvian proposed treaty amendments and approved the amended resolution by a vote of 91 (U.S.) to 2, with 6 abstentions. The plenary vote on December 7 was 104 (U.S.) to 2, with 2 abstentions.

##### **Strategic Arms Limitation Talks**

On November 13 Sweden introduced a resolution, sponsored by 13 states, noting the bilateral negotiations between the United States and the U.S.S.R. on the limitation of offensive and defensive strategic nuclear weapon systems and urging all nuclear weapons states to bring about an immediate halt in the nuclear arms race and to cease all testing as well as deployment of offensive and defensive nuclear weapon systems. The resolution was adopted in the First Committee by a vote of 80 to 0, with 14 abstentions (U.S.). The United States abstained as it had on a similar resolution in 1969 because it regarded the resolution as not contributing to the delicate strategic arms negotiations between the United States and the U.S.S.R. The Soviet Union, however, in contrast to its position last year, voted for the resolution, emphasizing that it was addressed to all nuclear powers. This resolution was adopted in plenary on December 7 by a vote of 102 to 0, with 14 abstentions (U.S.).



## **Safeguards and the Nonproliferation Treaty**

On November 17 Malta, breaking new ground, submitted a resolution which noted the development of new techniques of uranium enrichment and requested the IAEA to pay attention to the safeguards required with respect to such new techniques in its development of safeguards under the nonproliferation treaty. This resolution was adopted by the First Committee on November 30 by a vote of 91 (U.S.) to 0, with 5 abstentions, and in plenary on December 7 by a vote of 107 (U.S.) to 0, with 7 abstentions.

## **Comprehensive Program of Disarmament**

As noted above (see p. 10), Mexico, Sweden, and Yugoslavia submitted a draft comprehensive program to the CCD on August 27. In the First Committee, they joined three other countries—Ireland, Morocco, and Pakistan—in submitting a revised program, attached to a draft resolution in which the General Assembly would (1) declare that the program was a “broad and flexible document” covering all the main aspects of disarmament, (2) recommend that the CCD take it into account, and (3) decide to include the question of progress under the program on the agenda of the next General Assembly. The six powers later dropped the third provision. On December 1 they resubmitted the program as a separate document. On the next day, joined by 10 new cosponsors, they introduced a revised resolution urging the CCD to make more intensive disarmament efforts, expressing appreciation for proposals on comprehensive programs submitted by various states to the CCD and the General Assembly, and recommending that the CCD take into account in its work the six-power and other proposals.

The U.S. Representative supported the resolution but added that his vote should not be interpreted as an endorsement of the six-power program, even though that document contained “many useful concepts.” The Soviet Representative, though not opposed in principle to a comprehensive program, took the position that thorough preparations and extensive consultations would be necessary to work out a generally acceptable document. Since he found the six-power program unsatisfactory on several counts, he announced that the Soviet Union would abstain.

The First Committee adopted the 16-power draft resolution on December 3 by a vote of 91 (U.S.) to 0, with 11 abstentions. The vote in plenary on December 7 was 106 (U.S.) to 0, with 10 abstentions.

## **CHEMICAL AND BACTERIOLOGICAL (BIOLOGICAL) WEAPONS**

On October 23 the U.S.S.R. and eight other Communist countries submitted a revised version of their 1969 draft convention on chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons. The new draft incorporated the “safeguards” article proposed by Hungary, Mongolia, and Poland in the CCD.

The United Kingdom on November 6 introduced a draft resolution that (1) took particular note of the revised U.K. draft convention on biological warfare, the revised nine-power draft convention, the 12-nation memorandum of August 25, and other papers and views put forward in the CCD; and (2) requested the CCD to “give urgent consideration to reaching agreement on effective measures,” taking into account all proposals.

On November 9 Hungary, Mongolia, and Poland introduced a draft resolution that took note of the various proposals and requested the CCD to “give urgent consideration to reaching agreement on a complete prohibition and elimination of chem-

ical and bacteriological (biological) weapons.”

The United States supported the U.K. resolution, which it regarded as a fair resolution that would stimulate negotiations without prejudging their result. It opposed the tripartite resolution on the ground that it would in effect decide in favor of the Communist draft convention.

The U.K. and the tripartite resolutions were not pressed to a vote. Instead, the First Committee approved on November 19 a new resolution sponsored by the 12 nonaligned members of the CCD and Tunisia. This resolution, approved by a vote of 94 (U.S.) to 0, with 3 abstentions, commended the basic approach in the 12-nation memorandum. It noted the importance of reaching agreement on chemical and bacteriological (biological) methods of warfare and stated that such weapons should continue to be dealt with together in taking steps toward their prohibition. It also noted the importance of verification in this field.

The U.S. Representative noted that the resolution called for taking “steps” toward a complete solution and stated that it would be consistent with this approach to ban biological agents and toxins, along the lines of the U.K. draft convention, as a first step.

The General Assembly adopted this resolution on December 7 by a vote of 113 (U.S.) to 0, with 2 abstentions.

#### **SUSPENSION OF NUCLEAR AND THERMONUCLEAR TESTS**

The First Committee considered and adopted two resolutions on this agenda item. A resolution sponsored by a widely representative group of 40 states was introduced by Canada on November 18 and adopted the same day by a vote of 74 (U.S.) to 0, with 14 abstentions. It urged all governments to improve their capability to contribute high quality seismic data, and it invited those gov-

ernments in a position to do so to consider assistance in the improvement of worldwide seismological capabilities to facilitate, through the assured international availability of seismic data, the achievement of a comprehensive test ban. It also invited CCD members to cooperate in further study of the issue.

The Soviet Representative abstained from voting on this resolution. He explained that the U.S.S.R. was willing to participate in the international exchange of seismic data provided that there was no obligation to accept international inspection or control and the data were evaluated by each state rather than by an international body. The Soviet Union felt, however, that the large-scale exchange of data presupposed a comprehensive test ban agreement and the use of national means to verify its implementation.

The resolution was adopted on December 7 in plenary by a vote of 102 (U.S.) to 0, with 13 abstentions.

A second resolution on this subject was sponsored by 11 states and adopted in committee on November 18 by a vote of 88 (U.S.) to 0, with 1 abstention. This resolution called upon all nuclear-weapon states to suspend nuclear-weapon tests in all environments and requested the CCD to continue urgently its deliberations on a treaty banning underground nuclear-weapon tests. The U.S. Representative said after the vote that the United States understood the language of the resolution to call for a suspension of tests in all environments pursuant to an adequately verified treaty.

The General Assembly on December 7 adopted this resolution by a vote of 112 (U.S.) to 0, with 1 abstention.

#### **CONFERENCE OF NON-NUCLEAR-WEAPON STATES**

This has been a regular agenda item since the 1968 Conference. A draft

resolution introduced by the Netherlands and sponsored by 12 non-nuclear-weapon states was adopted in the First Committee on November 25 by a vote of 70 (U.S.) to 0, with 8 abstentions. In this resolution the General Assembly noted the reports of the Secretary-General and the IAEA concerning implementation of the results of the conference, recommended that international sources of finance keep under review their policies regarding the financing of peaceful nuclear projects, and invited the IAEA and other bodies to continue appropriate action on the recommendations of the non-nuclear conference. The General Assembly adopted the resolution on December 7 by a vote of 106 (U.S.) to 0, with 9 abstentions.

#### **INTERNATIONAL SERVICE FOR PEACEFUL NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS**

Article V of the nonproliferation treaty provides that each party to the treaty take steps to ensure that, in accordance with the treaty, under appropriate international observation, and through appropriate international procedures, potential benefits from any peaceful applications of nuclear explosions will be made available on a nondiscriminatory basis to non-nuclear-weapon states that are party to the treaty. A resolution introduced by Austria on behalf of six sponsors on November 19 stated the General Assembly's appreciation for the work undertaken by the IAEA on the establishment within the framework of the IAEA of an international service for peaceful nuclear explosions under appropriate international control, and it requested the IAEA to continue and intensify its program in this field. Adopted in the First Committee on November 25 by a vote of 89 (U.S.) to 0, with 5 abstentions, the resolution was approved by the General Assembly on December 7 by a vote of 109 (U.S.) to 0, with 5 abstentions.

#### **LATIN AMERICAN NUCLEAR-FREE ZONE**

On November 12 Mexico introduced a draft resolution, cosponsored by 18 Latin American states, that appealed to nuclear-weapon states to sign and ratify Additional Protocol II of the Treaty of Tlatelolco. This Protocol obliges nuclear-weapon states to respect the Latin American nuclear-free zone created by the treaty. The United States and the United Kingdom have both signed the Protocol, and the United Kingdom has ratified it. The President has submitted the Protocol to the Senate for its advice and consent to ratification. The resolution notes these actions with satisfaction, but deplors the fact that not all nuclear-weapon states have signed the Protocol.

The First Committee approved the resolution on November 18 by a vote of 71 (U.S.) to 0, with 11 abstentions. On December 7 the General Assembly in plenary session adopted it by a vote of 104 (U.S.) to 0, with 12 abstentions.

#### **ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES OF THE ARMS RACE**

On November 19 Romania introduced a resolution, eventually sponsored by 26 states, requesting the Secretary-General to prepare, with the assistance of qualified consultant experts appointed by him, a report on the economic and social consequences of the arms race and of military expenditures. The U.S. Representative expressed concern about the cost of preparing this study and on November 23 the Secretariat estimated the total cost would be \$153,100, very close to the figure proposed by the United States as a maximum. The First Committee adopted the resolution unanimously on November 25. The U.S. Representative stated at that time that the United States was "grateful that the Secretariat accepted our suggestion that the cost of the study be kept at a reasonable fig-



ure, thus assisting the United Nations in making efficient use of resources.”

The General Assembly adopted the resolution unanimously on December 7.

#### **ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES OF DISARMAMENT**

In addition to the First Committee's consideration of disarmament problems, both the General Assembly's Second Committee (Economic and Financial) and ECOSOC have from time to time since 1960 considered the question of the economic and social consequences of disarmament. This consideration focuses on preventing economic dislocations from disarmament and on diverting the resources thus released to economic and social development.

On November 18 the Philippines (later joined by the Central African Republic, Colombia, and Cyprus) introduced in the Second Committee a resolution which in its final form requested the Secretary-General (1) to formulate suggestions for the guid-

ance of states and UN organizations with a view to establishing a link between the Disarmament Decade and the Second UN Development Decade so that an appropriate portion of the resources released by disarmament could be used for assistance to developing countries; and (2) to propose measures for the mobilization of world public opinion in support of the link between disarmament and development.

The draft was approved by the Second Committee on November 23 by a vote of 74 to 9, with 14 abstentions (U.S.), and adopted by the General Assembly on December 11 by a vote of 87 to 9, with 14 abstentions (U.S.).

The United States abstained because it believed that the suggestions requested from the Secretary-General could lead to activities duplicating the substantive negotiations of the CCD and other bodies, and because the resolution contained the presumption that an international organization could commit to foreign economic assistance national resources freed by disarmament.

## **Outer Space**

During 1970 the United States participated actively in meetings of the UN Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space,<sup>1</sup> its Scientific and Technical Subcommittee, its Working Group on Direct Broadcast Satellites, and its Legal Subcommittee. Proposals by the United States and others to broaden the foundation of international understanding of the practical benefits from space technol-

<sup>1</sup>Members of the Committee: Albania, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, Chad, Czechoslovakia, France, Hungary, India, Iran, Italy, Japan, Lebanon, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Poland, Romania, Sierra Leone, Sweden, U.S.S.R., U.A.R., United Kingdom, United States.

ogy were endorsed by the Scientific and Technical Subcommittee. The Working Group on Direct Broadcast Satellites gave further consideration to the social, cultural, legal, and other implications of satellite broadcasting. The Legal Subcommittee moved closer to completion of a convention on liability for damage caused by objects launched into outer space.

### **Scientific and Technical Subcommittee**

The Subcommittee held its seventh session April 14-24 in New York and

considered these general topics: (1) Exchange of Information, (2) Encouragement of International Programs, (3) International Rocket Launching Facilities, (4) Education and Training, (5) Registration and Identification of Objects Launched into Outer Space, (6) Efficient Use of the Geostationary Orbit, and (7) Coordination of UN Space Activities.

Under "Exchange of Information" the Subcommittee studied two reports prepared by the Secretariat: one on space activities of the United Nations and other international bodies, and the other on national and cooperative international space activities. The Subcommittee recommended that both reports be updated annually and that member states be encouraged to submit information on their space programs, with special emphasis on cooperative activities and developments likely to be of interest to developing countries. The Subcommittee also recommended that the Secretary-General prepare reports on other methods of bringing the potential benefits of space technology applications to the attention of government administrators.

As in previous years, the Subcommittee focused particularly on "Encouragement of International Programs." There were special antecedents for the Subcommittee's emphasis this year on programs related to the remote sensing of earth resources. In President Nixon's address to the 24th General Assembly he had offered to share with the world community the benefits of the U.S. earth resources surveying program as it developed and fulfilled its promise. Moreover, that same Assembly had adopted a U.S.-cosponsored resolution inviting member states to share their experience in earth resources surveying programs with one another. To this end the United States had invited the Outer Space Committee to Houston in January for briefings on the U.S. program and a tour of facilities. In addition, on U.S.

initiative, the Subcommittee urged member states conducting national programs in such space technology applications to invite UN technical panels to observe and study them. The Subcommittee further recommended that the Secretary-General organize the appropriate technical panels, particularly including representatives of developing countries, to accept such invitations. The Subcommittee also agreed that at its next meeting it should review pertinent materials on earth resources surveying, including working papers submitted by the United States and others and documents prepared or provided by the Secretary-General. The Subcommittee recommended that it be authorized, after such review, to determine whether, at what time, and in what specific frame of reference to convene a working group on earth resources surveying with special reference to satellites.

Under "International Rocket Launching Facilities" the Subcommittee welcomed reports on the Thumba Equatorial Rocket Launching Station in India and the CELPA Mar del Plata Rocket Launching Station in Argentina, and recommended continued UN sponsorship of those stations.

Under the heading "Education and Training" the Subcommittee drew the attention of member states to new training opportunities in space technology applications that had been offered by the United States and Italy. The U.S. offer was to support annually up to 10 graduate university fellows nominated by the United Nations. The Subcommittee also noted that educational opportunities already existed in some other member states and urged additional states, if they are able, to provide similar education and training opportunities.

After a study of the problems of "Registration and Identification of Objects Launched into Outer Space," the Subcommittee concluded that the complementary national capabilities,

particularly of launching states, should be the basic resources for the identification of space objects. The Subcommittee recommended that documents on this subject prepared for the meeting, including working papers submitted by the United States and Canada, also be brought to the attention of the Legal Subcommittee.

Under "Efficient Use of the Geostationary Orbit," the Subcommittee expressed the desire to be kept informed of the results of ITU studies on utilization of this natural space resource.

Under the final heading, "Coordination of UN Space Activities," the Subcommittee considered a report on natural resources satellites, given it by ECOSOC for its information and comments. Noting the mandate from the General Assembly to the Outer Space Committee to be the focal point for outer space international cooperation and to continue studies in connection with the remote surveying of earth resources, the Subcommittee made preliminary comments, several of which were aimed at avoiding unnecessary duplication within the UN system. The Subcommittee recommended that it undertake a more detailed study of the ECOSOC report at its next meeting.

## Working Group on Direct Broadcast Satellites

The Working Group on Direct Broadcast Satellites met in New York May 11-21 to consider further the social, cultural, legal, and other implications of satellite broadcasting.

The U.S. position was that there was a fundamental distinction between the implications of satellite broadcast reception by special community receivers and direct reception by unaugmented home receivers. Such control as governments may wish to exercise is possible under the former system, which will first be

used in 1974 in India under an experimental program with a U.S. satellite. While the home receiver system would not easily be subject to such control, an earlier meeting of the Working Group had concluded that in any case it would not become technically and economically feasible before 1985. The Working Group registered some disagreement as to whether the distinction was fundamental or merely technical. There was also no consensus on whether additional legal instruments are needed to govern satellite broadcasting. The United States maintained that legal instruments beyond those already affecting satellite broadcasting are unnecessary and that premature regulations could even inhibit rather than promote international cooperation as the technology becomes operational.

The Working Group concluded that various approaches to international cooperation, on a number of levels, would be needed in order to realize the potential benefits of satellite broadcasting, particularly by developing countries. Noting that work on aspects of this subject is underway in other UN bodies, the Working Group concluded that it had completed its work, at least until further material of substance became available.

## Legal Subcommittee

The Legal Subcommittee continued in 1970 to give its attention entirely to the negotiation of a draft convention on liability for damage caused by objects launched into outer space. Informal consultations of the Subcommittee from April 1 to 10 produced some prospect for fruitful negotiations at the Subcommittee's ninth session, June 8-July 3, in Geneva. The most intensive efforts by the United States and others at both meetings were aimed at reaching agreement on two key provisions needed to complete the draft conven-



tion. Though these efforts were unsuccessful, the Subcommittee did reach agreement on the preamble and 13 articles of the draft treaty. The agreed provisions represent a considerable advance over article VII, the liability article, of the Outer Space Treaty. They include: (1) the basic principle of absolute liability for damage caused on the surface of the earth or to an aircraft in flight; (2) the principle of fault liability for damage caused elsewhere than on the surface of the earth; (3) the principle of joint and several liability for space projects involving more than one country, including for this purpose a state from whose territory or facility a space object is launched; (4) the right of the claimant state to have compensation paid in its own currency or the currency of a launching state; (5) the procedures for the presentation of claims, beginning with diplomatic negotiations; and (6) the waiver of any rule requiring the exhaustion of local remedies prior to presenting a claim.

In the attempt this year to reach a consensus on two key provisions—the settlement of unresolved claims and the applicable law—it became clear that agreement was unlikely on a text that would provide for binding decisions by a three-party claims commission. It was also clear that the U.S.S.R. was unlikely to agree to a text including a specific reference to any national law other than the law of the launching state.

A formula first put forward by Brazil in 1969 appeared to be the most hopeful basis for solution of the impasse on the nature of claims commission awards:

The award of the commission shall be final and binding if the parties have so decided; otherwise the commission will render a final and recommendatory award.

This formula was supported by the United States, France, and Brazil at the June–July Subcommittee meet-

ing as a possible basis for compromise, but most others showed little inclination to move from their previous positions.

The disagreement on the question of applicable law also remained unresolved at the end of the Subcommittee meeting. The United States had hoped a compromise might be reached on the basis of a formula proposed by Italy during the April consultations and revised by the United States as follows:

The compensation which the launching state shall be liable to pay for damage under this Convention shall be determined in accordance with international law, and the principles of justice and equity, in order to provide full reparation in respect of the damage and thus restore the person, natural or juridical, state or international organization on whose behalf the claim is presented, to the condition equivalent to that which would have existed had the damage not occurred.

There were indications that many other members of the Legal Subcommittee might have agreed to this compromise formula, despite its lack of reference to any national law, because it established the principle according to which the victim would be restored, to the extent possible, by full compensation for his losses. The U.S.S.R., however, did not favor this or similar formulas establishing the principle of full compensation. Instead, with Bulgaria and Hungary it proposed the following formula:

The compensation which the respondent state shall be required to pay should be determined in accordance with international law having in view the aim to compensate according to the Convention the entire damage caused to a contracting party or to natural or juridical persons in respect of which this contracting party may present a claim.

If there is agreement on any other applicable law between the claimant and the respondent, then that law should be applied.

This formula was unacceptable to most other Subcommittee members,

including the United States because the principle established was more ambiguous and less generous than that of their national laws.

## General Assembly

The First Committee of the General Assembly considered the outer space item December 9–11 and approved four resolutions. On December 16 the Assembly in plenary session adopted all four.

The first resolution, introduced by Sweden and sponsored by 10 states, summarized and endorsed the conclusions of the Working Group on Direct Broadcast Satellites. It was approved by the First Committee by a vote of 91 (U.S.) to 0, with 8 abstentions, and adopted unanimously by the General Assembly.

The second resolution, with 20 cosponsors, was introduced by Australia. It expressed the view that a satisfactory liability convention should “ensure the payment of a full measure of compensation to victims” and contain “procedures which would lead to the prompt and equitable settlement of claims.” The resolution urged that such a draft convention be submitted to the General Assembly at its 26th session. The First Committee approved the resolution by a vote of 85 (U.S.) to 8 (U.S.S.R.), with 6 abstentions, and the plenary adopted it by a vote of 108 (U.S.) to 8, with 2 abstentions.

An omnibus resolution, cosponsored by the United States and 12 others and introduced in the First Committee by Austria, summarized and endorsed other work of the Outer Space Committee in 1970, particularly its encouragement of international programs to promote such practical applications of space technology as earth resources surveying. The omnibus resolution was approved by the First Committee by a vote of 82 (U.S.) to 0, with 14 abstentions, and adopted in plenary by a vote of 110 (U.S.) to 0, with 9 abstentions.

Finally, a resolution cosponsored by

## Outer Space Committee

The Outer Space Committee met in New York September 1–17, under the chairmanship of Ambassador Heinrich Haymerle, the Permanent Representative of Austria to the United Nations. (Subsequent to the Committee meeting Ambassador Haymerle’s successor as Austrian Permanent Representative, Ambassador Kurt Waldheim, was unanimously elected at a special meeting of the Committee to replace Ambassador Haymerle as chairman.)

The Committee reviewed the work of its two Subcommittees and its Working Group on Direct Broadcast Satellites.

In authorizing the Scientific and Technical Subcommittee to consider at its next meeting whether a working group on earth resources surveying should be convened, the Committee stipulated that such a working group, if established, should be limited to Committee members and entail no additional expenses. The Committee noted that Brazil, Mexico, and the United States had invited technical panels—as proposed by the Scientific and Technical Subcommittee—to observe space applications programs in their countries.

The Committee endorsed the conclusions of the Working Group on Direct Broadcast Satellites and agreed to keep under review the question of reconvening it.

While regretting the failure of the Legal Subcommittee to reconcile differences on “settlement of claims” and “applicable law,” the Committee concluded that completion of the liability convention should remain “the firm priority task of the Committee.”

the United States and seven others was introduced in the First Committee by the Philippines. It called for further action by the WMO to find

ways to mitigate the harmful effects of typhoons and storms. The resolution was unanimously approved in both committee and plenary.

## Seabed and Law of the Sea

On December 15, 1969, the 24th General Assembly had adopted four resolutions: (1) requesting the Secretary-General to ascertain the views of member states on the desirability of convening at an early date a conference on the law of the sea to review the regimes of the high seas, continental shelf, the territorial sea and contiguous zone, and fishing and conservation of the living resources of the high seas, particularly in order to arrive at a definition of the area of the seabed beyond national jurisdiction, in the light of the international regime to be established for that area; (2) referring to the Seabed Committee the major seabed issues including the task of preparing for the 25th General Assembly a statement of principles to govern the deep seabed; (3) requesting the Secretary-General to prepare a further study on various types of international machinery for the deep seabed; and (4) declaring that, pending the establishment of an international regime, states and persons, physical or juridical, are bound to refrain from deep seabed exploitation. The first and fourth resolutions were adopted over U.S. opposition.

### Seabed Committee

Following an organizational meeting on February 26, the Seabed Committee<sup>1</sup> held two sessions in 1970—

<sup>1</sup> The Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Seabed and Ocean Floor beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction had

the first in New York and the second in Geneva.

At its first session (March 2–26), the Committee continued its effort to obtain agreement on a balanced declaration of seabed principles, as well as develop an agreed catalog of rules and regulations that would apply to the deep seabed. The meeting was generally inconclusive, and it was agreed that informal consultations on principles should take place in June and July in New York. While consensus was not achieved in these consultations, certain areas of general agreement began to emerge.

During the period May 15–18, members of the Seabed Committee and UN Secretariat visited “Tektitite 2” in the U.S. Virgin Islands. “Tektitite 2” is a U.S. underwater research program. On June 2 a similar group visited the SS *Glomar Challenger*, a U.S. deep sea scientific exploration and drilling research ship.

The Committee’s final meeting in 1970 was in Geneva (August 3–28). Although its Legal Subcommittee was able to make substantial progress toward achieving agreement on principles, certain outstanding areas of disagreement still remained at the end of the session. An “anonymous

42 members in 1970: Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Bulgaria, Cameroon, Canada, Ceylon, Chile, Czechoslovakia, El Salvador, France, Iceland, India, Italy, Japan, Kenya, Kuwait, Liberia, Libya, Malagasy Republic, Malaysia, Malta, Mauritania, Mexico, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Peru, Poland, Romania, Sierra Leone, Sudan, Tanzania, Thailand, Trinidad and Tobago, U.S.S.R., U.A.R., United Kingdom, United States, and Yugoslavia.



draft" was produced which outlined generally the areas of agreement and disagreement. The U.S.S.R. accepted for the first time the use of the term "common heritage" to describe the seabed beyond the limits of national jurisdiction; however, it was unable to agree to any reference to equitable sharing of the benefits to be derived from deep seabed exploitation. Latin American states were unable to agree to principles that would state the need for a precise seabed boundary, and the United States remained opposed to any principle that would endorse a moratorium on deep seabed exploitation.

The Seabed Committee also considered in August the Secretary-General's second report on alternative types of international machinery and a Secretariat report on the benefits to be derived from deep seabed exploitation. In addition, the Seabed Committee discussed rules and procedures that might have applicability to the deep seabed and considered a report of the Secretary-General on marine pollution resulting from exploration and exploitation of the deep seabed. The Committee, however, made no concrete recommendations in these respects, other than to request a further and more detailed Secretariat report on benefits.

Finally, the dumping of nerve gas in the Atlantic Ocean by the United States on August 18 was drawn to the Committee's attention. During the discussion the U.S. Representative gave an account of the safety measures undertaken and pointed out that there had been no reasonable alternative. On August 20 the Committee adopted a statement conveying to the Secretary-General its concern at the practice of using the seabed for the purpose of dumping toxic, radioactive, and other noxious materials. The statement also noted the U.S. assurances that effective precautions had been taken to mitigate any harmful consequences arising from the nerve

gas dumping and that such dumping would not occur again.

The 1970 report of the Seabed Committee was issued in October and included reports by the Legal Subcommittee and the Economic and Technical Subcommittee as well as the Secretariat reports on international machinery and benefits. The report also contained as annexes the U.S.-proposed seabeds convention (see below) and the U.K. and French seabeds regime working papers.

## U.S. Proposals

On May 23 President Nixon in his statement on U.S. oceans policy proposed that all nations adopt as soon as possible a treaty under which they would renounce all national claims over the natural resources of the seabed beyond the point where the high seas reach a water depth of 200 meters and would agree to regard these resources as the common heritage of mankind. The President proposed that this treaty establish an international regime for the exploitation of seabed resources beyond this limit. The regime would provide for the collection of substantial mineral royalties for international community purposes, and it would establish rules to prevent unreasonable interference with other uses of the ocean, protect the ocean from pollution, assure the integrity of investment necessary for such exploitation, and provide for peaceful and compulsory settlement of disputes. The President proposed two types of machinery to authorize exploitation of seabed resources beyond a depth of 200 meters. Coastal nations would act as trustees for the international community in an International Trusteeship Area extending from the 200-meter depth of water out to a fixed limit on the continental margin. Agreed international machinery would authorize and regulate exploitation beyond that point.

The President also noted that it was important to assure unfettered and harmonious use of the oceans as an avenue of commerce and transportation and as a source of food. The United States had for over 2 years been engaged with other states in an effort to obtain a new treaty on the breadth of the territorial sea (12 miles), freedom of transit through and over international straits, and certain coastal state preferences with regard to high seas fisheries.

On August 3 the United States presented the Seabed Committee with a draft UN convention on the international seabed area in furtherance of the President's May 23 statement. The draft convention followed the outline contained in the President's statement and provided detailed rules pursuant to which the deep seabed might be exploited, as well as a proposal for a new international organization which would govern exploration and exploitation of the deep seabed. The draft convention would assure the international community, for the first time in history, of a substantial, independent source of income to be used for the benefit of mankind, particularly developing countries. It was generally favorably received by the Seabed Committee. Most delegations felt that the draft convention would considerably expedite the work of the Committee in achieving agreement on an international regime for the deep seabed, as well as on an international organization to implement that regime. The U.S. proposal was by far the most comprehensive paper submitted to the Committee.

## General Assembly

The First Committee of the 25th General Assembly discussed the seabed item November 25–December 8, December 11–14, and December 15–16. The principal focus of the debate was on a possible declaration of sea-

bed principles and the convening of a new conference on the law of the sea. Four resolutions were adopted by the Committee on December 15 and 16 and by the General Assembly on December 17.

On October 23 President Nixon, in his address to the General Assembly, reaffirmed the urgency of reaching international agreement on outstanding oceans issues and expressed his hope that the U.S. draft seabed convention would receive early and favorable attention. In furtherance of its oceans objectives and meeting the desire of most other countries to hold a single, comprehensive conference, the United States later cosponsored a resolution which provided for holding a conference on the law of the sea in 1973.

On November 26 the U.S. Representative, Senator Claiborne Pell, stated the specific U.S. objectives. He noted that the rapidly advancing frontiers of technology required urgent achievement of international solutions to outstanding oceans issues; otherwise, increasingly expansive national claims might result in conflict. He stated that it was of the utmost importance that the 25th General Assembly decide to convene a new conference on the law of the sea and set firm dates for it. He emphasized that final conference decisions could not be put off beyond early 1973 and that such a date would provide states with "sufficient time for adequate preparation." He noted that the principal issues that needed to be considered at the conference were "an international regime for, and definition of, the area of the seabed and ocean floor beyond the limits of national jurisdiction," and "the question of the breadth of the territorial sea and related questions of international straits and conservation and management of the living resources of the high seas, including the interest of coastal states with respect to fisheries on the high seas." He said that the U.S. and many other delega-

tions also recognized "the importance of taking conference action to secure effective regulation of marine activities to prevent pollution."

#### **DECLARATION OF SEABED PRINCIPLES**

The draft declaration had been carefully worked out with key delegations in private consultations conducted by the Chairman of the Seabed Committee, Ambassador Amerasinghe of Ceylon, in the period following the Committee's August session. It was transmitted to the First Committee on November 24 as reflecting "the highest degree of agreement attainable at the present time." A draft resolution embodying the declaration was submitted on December 2 and ultimately sponsored by 46 widely representative states. It was referred to repeatedly in the general debate as a delicate compromise to which there should be no substantive amendments.

The resolution declared that the seabed beyond the limits of national jurisdiction is the common heritage of mankind, it shall not be subject to appropriation by states or individuals, and no state shall claim sovereign rights over any part of it. Also, no state or individual shall acquire rights with respect to the deep seabed or its resources incompatible with the international regime to be established. All activities with regard to the exploration and exploitation of the resources of the area shall be governed by such regime.

The resolution provided that the area shall be open to use exclusively for peaceful purposes by all states, without discrimination, in accordance with the regime to be established, and that states shall act in the area in accordance with the applicable principles and rules of international law. It stated further that exploitation of seabed resources shall be carried out for the benefit of mankind as a whole, taking into particular consideration the interests and needs of the develop-

ing countries. It provided that the area's reservation exclusively for peaceful purposes shall not prejudice measures that have been or may be agreed upon in the disarmament context, and that an international regime shall be established by treaty and provide for the orderly and safe development and rational management of the area and its resources, while ensuring equitable sharing by states in the benefits derived therefrom.

States are to promote international cooperation in deep seabed scientific research and to cooperate in the adoption and implementation of international rules, standards, and procedures for the prevention of pollution and the protection of the natural resources of the area. States shall pay due regard to the rights and interests of other states which may be affected by seabed activities, and the principles shall not affect the legal status of the water and air space superjacent to the area. Nor shall the principles affect the rights of coastal states with respect to measures to prevent grave and imminent danger to their coastlines resulting from pollution or the threat thereof caused by seabed activities, subject to the international regime to be established.

Finally, the resolution provided that states shall be responsible for the activities of entities or persons under their jurisdiction, that damage caused by seabed activities shall entail liability, and that disputes with regard to seabed activities shall be resolved in accordance with the UN Charter and the international regime to be established.

The resolution was adopted in the First Committee on December 15 by a vote of 90 (U.S.) to 0, with 11 abstentions, and in plenary by a vote of 108 (U.S.) to 0, with 14 abstentions.

The United States voted for this resolution as a delicate compromise which would permit the international community to proceed directly to a



conference to establish an internationally agreed seabed regime.

#### **PRODUCTION OF SEABED MINERALS**

The resolution on this subject was introduced by Kuwait on December 2 and, in its final form, was sponsored by 17 states. It requested the Secretary-General to (1) identify and study the problems arising from the production of certain minerals from the deep seabed; (2) examine the impact they will have on the economic well-being of developing countries, in particular on the price of mineral exports on the world market; (3) propose effective solutions for dealing with these problems; and (4) submit the study to the Seabed Committee in 1971. The Seabed Committee, in turn, is to submit a report on this question to the 26th General Assembly. The resolution was adopted in committee on December 15 by a vote of 86 (U.S.) to 0, with 18 abstentions, and in plenary by a vote of 104 (U.S.) to 0, with 16 abstentions.

The United States voted for this resolution because it recognized the desire of developing countries to obtain information on and consider the possible economic impact of future seabed production, especially with respect to any adverse effects on prices of raw materials produced on land by developing countries.

#### **ACCESS TO THE SEA FOR LANDLOCKED COUNTRIES**

The resolution on this question was introduced by Bolivia on December 10 and, in its final form, was sponsored by 12 landlocked states. It requested the Secretary-General to prepare an up-to-date study on the question of free access of landlocked countries to the sea and to submit the study to the Seabed Committee for consideration in 1971. The Seabed Committee is to submit a report on this question to the 26th General Assembly. The resolution was adopted

in committee on December 15 by a vote of 89 (U.S.) to 0, with 16 abstentions, and in plenary by a vote of 111 (U.S.) to 0, with 11 abstentions.

The United States voted for this resolution because it recognized the special problems of landlocked states and the need to consider what measures might be appropriate within the general framework of the law of the sea to help resolve these problems.

#### **LAW OF THE SEA CONFERENCE**

Under this resolution the Assembly decided to convene in 1973 a Conference on the Law of the Sea to deal with the establishment of an equitable international regime for the seabed beyond the limits of national jurisdiction, a precise definition of the area, and a broad range of related issues including those concerning the regimes of the high seas, the continental shelf, the territorial sea (including the questions of its breadth and international straits) and contiguous zone, fishing and conservation of the living resources of the high seas (including the question of the preferential rights of coastal states), the preservation of the marine environment, and scientific research. The resolution provided that the 26th and 27th General Assemblies shall review the progress of the preparations for the conference and that the 27th General Assembly may postpone the conference if it determines the preparatory work to be insufficient. The resolution decided to enlarge the Seabed Committee by 44 members<sup>1</sup> and instructed it to

<sup>1</sup> Afghanistan, Algeria, Bolivia, Byelorussian S.S.R., Colombia, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Kinshasa), Cyprus, Denmark, Ecuador, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Guyana, Hungary, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Lebanon, Mali, Mauritius, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Panama, Philippines, Senegal, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sweden, Tunisia, Turkey, Ukrainian S.S.R., Uruguay, Venezuela, and Yemen. One member had not been selected by the end of the year.

meet in Geneva in March and in July–August 1971, to prepare draft treaty articles on a seabed regime based on the Declaration of Principles and a comprehensive list of the other law of the sea subjects to be dealt with by the conference, and to draft articles on such other subjects. The resolution was adopted in committee by a vote of 100 (U.S.) to 8, with 6 abstentions, and in plenary by 108 (U.S.) to 7, with 6 abstentions.<sup>1</sup>

The United States cosponsored this resolution with 24 other countries. The United States had worked vigorously to assure a decision by the 25th General Assembly that a conference on the law of the sea would be convened in 1973 to deal with those problems on which progress toward

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<sup>1</sup> The resolution as adopted by the First Committee was amended in plenary to increase the Committee by 44 members instead of 39 members and to change slightly the dates of the Seabed Committee meetings in 1971.

international agreement is urgently needed. In introducing the draft resolution on December 15 the U.S. Representative, John R. Stevenson, pointed out that the United States had “worked for a resolution which could be broadly supported at this session of the General Assembly,” and would “resist any changes to the draft resolution.” He stated that the resolution gave “focus to our substantive discussions by pinpointing certain issues of importance to delegations, including not only the international regime for the seabed but also the breadth of the territorial sea and related issues of straits and fisheries.” Mr. Stevenson emphasized that the precise agenda for the conference had yet to be determined and that the statement of issues in the resolution prejudiced “neither the organizational arrangements for their consideration in the committee and the conference nor the substantive results reached.” He also emphasized that the “draft resolution does not establish any particular order of work.”

## Peaceful Settlement

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### Bahrain

On May 11 the Security Council convened at the request of Iran and the United Kingdom to consider the report of the Secretary-General's Personal Representative to Bahrain. In their letters to the Council President of May 4 and 5, respectively, the Iranian and British Representatives referred to the note of March 28 by which the Secretary-General had informed Council members that he had agreed to exercise his good offices, at the request of the United Kingdom and Iran, by sending a Personal Representative to Bahrain “to ascer-

tain the wishes of the people” concerning their future status. Following consultations with the parties, he had designated for this task Vittorio Winspeare Guicciardi, Under Secretary-General in charge of the UN Office at Geneva.

Mr. Winspeare was in Bahrain from March 30 to April 18. In his report he noted that his mission was well-publicized locally and that he was thus able to carry out extensive consultations with a large number of people, both as individuals and as representatives of organizations—governmental, religious, social, and others. He also reported that the mission was conducted smoothly

throughout, with the full cooperation of all parties.

At its May 11 meeting the Council unanimously adopted a resolution endorsing the report of the Secretary-General's Personal Representative and welcoming the conclusions and findings of the report, in particular that "the overwhelming majority of the people of Bahrain wish to gain recognition of their identity in a fully independent and sovereign state free to decide for itself its relations with other states."

Following the adoption of the resolution all Council members and Iran made brief and generally laudatory speeches. The Iranian and U.K. Representatives pointed out that the Council's decision had ended a long-standing dispute between their countries. Most speakers noted that the settlement was a success for the United Nations and demonstrated the organization's ability to provide effective machinery when disputing parties seek a peaceful solution. U.S. Ambassador Yost praised the Council's "highly constructive action" and congratulated the parties concerned. He expressed U.S. gratification at the willing and cooperative role of the Secretary-General and pleasure that the Council had not proved wanting when recourse was had to the processes of peaceful accommodation.

## Cyprus

Although the intercommunal situation remained relatively calm in 1970 and there was some movement toward a return to normal conditions of life, tensions continued to exist. These were temporarily heightened by the attempt, on March 8, on the life of President Makarios, the assassination a week later of former Interior Minister Polycarpus Georghadjis, and the Trikomo incident in August when three Turks were shot by Greek-Cypriot National Guardsmen. As a result of measures taken by the

Government of Cyprus, and the restraint shown by the Turkish-Cypriot community, tensions subsided but minor intercommunal incidents throughout the year continued to illustrate that the potential for violence on the island remains.

The Security Council met on June 9 and again on December 10 to consider reports of the Secretary-General, and on each occasion unanimously adopted resolutions continuing the existence of the UN Force in Cyprus for an additional 6 months. At their request, the Representatives of Cyprus, Greece, and Turkey participated in these meetings, at which the United States and other Council members expressed concern at the slow pace of the intercommunal talks being conducted by the Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot negotiators, Glafkos Clerides and Rauf Denktash. The continuing problem of financing UNFICYP was also discussed.

At the June 9 meeting the U.S. Representative, Ambassador William B. Buffum, expressed regret that it had not been possible to put into effect more of the UN proposals for deconfrontation and normalization of relations between the two communities. He urged that the two negotiators and their communities maintain attitudes of compromise and accommodation with a view to accepting what was best in the long term for Cyprus, rather than what they might judge to be best in the short term for their respective communities. At the December 10 Council meeting the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Christopher H. Phillips, noted that, in the U.S. view, the presence of UNFICYP continued to be necessary for the maintenance of peace in Cyprus, and drew attention to the statement in the report of the Secretary-General that "the situation now prevailing in Cyprus is one of 'negative stability,' quiet on the surface, but strained, abnormal and fraught with the serious danger inherent in the continuing close con-



frontation of well armed and trained forces. Ambassador Phillips added:

We observe with regret that the intercommunal talks seem to have lost momentum, virtually no progress having been made in the last 6 months. Both sides seem to have stiffened their positions. Yet those talks represent the best method of settling the intercommunal problem. Unless the talks can move forward in a spirit of accommodation and trust, Cyprus and its neighbors and friends can never be sure that the stability of the area will not be disrupted. We urge both sides to redouble their efforts to deal with the difficult but far from insoluble constitutional problems of a Cyprus settlement.

On the difficult problem of UNFICYP financing, he said:

At a time when the United Nations is seeking to revitalize its peacekeeping procedures it would be most incongruous if UNFICYP's task in Cyprus were to be prejudiced by lack of necessary financial support. My Government is prepared to do its part but considers that no single member should bear a disproportionate share of the burden. In this connection, I should like once again to make clear that in linking the amount of our payments to the amounts paid by others, the United States hopes to encourage additional contributions.

## Guinea

In a telegram to Secretary-General U Thant on November 22, President Sekou Touré of Guinea stated that "Guinean national territory was the object of armed aggression by Portuguese forces this morning at about 2 a.m. Landing craft, violating our territorial waters, landed mercenary commando troops at several points in Conakry . . . and carried out cowardly bombing of several points of the town. . . . the Government . . . requests the immediate intervention of airborne troops of the United Nations with a view, in cooperation with our National Army, to reducing the last positions held by Portuguese mercenaries and to driving the vessels

of the aggressors from our territorial waters." On the same day Guinea's Permanent UN Representative requested an urgent Security Council meeting.

In a letter to the Security Council President on November 22 the Portuguese Chargé at the United Nations denied the accusations of Guinea as an effort "to ascribe to third parties responsibilities for troubles occurring in that country." He expressed the hope that the Council would reject the accusations, stating that Portugal followed a policy of scrupulous respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of countries bordering it, "notwithstanding aggressions committed by those less respectful of the international law that rules relations between states."

Portugal did not participate in the Security Council's consideration of Guinea's complaint.

### UN MISSION ESTABLISHED

When the Council convened in the evening of November 22, it heard a report from the Secretary-General on his exchange of messages with the Guinean Government and on information received from the UNDP resident representative in Conakry. Following exposition of the Guinean complaint by its Representative and statements by a number of nonmembers of the Council participating in the debate without vote, the Council considered a resolution cosponsored by Burundi, Nepal, Sierra Leone, Syria, and Zambia. The original text had included specific reference to Portugal, but this was deleted in a revised draft when it appeared that the original proposal could not command sufficient support for adoption.

The revised resolution, adopted unanimously, (1) demanded the immediate cessation of "the armed attack" against Guinea and the immediate withdrawal of "all external armed forces and mercenaries" together with the military equipment used in the



attack; (2) decided to send a special mission to Guinea to report immediately on the situation, the mission to be formed after consultation between the Council President and the Secretary-General; and (3) decided to maintain the matter on the Council's agenda. The resolution was adopted after the rejection, by a vote of 3 (U.S.) to 0, with 12 abstentions, of a U.S. amendment to provide for formation of the mission "after consultation among members of the Security Council." Ambassador Yost explained that he supported the resolution despite rejection of his amendment in view of the importance of the resolution and of assurances of one of its cosponsors that the Council President would in fact consult all Council members about the mission.

On November 24, the Secretary-General announced that, following consultations between himself and the Council President and between the President and Council members, it had been decided that the mission would be composed of the Permanent UN Representatives of Colombia, Finland, Nepal (chairman), Poland, and Zambia. Accompanied by UN Secretariat staff, the mission arrived in Conakry, Guinea, on November 25 and returned to UN Headquarters on November 29.

#### **MISSION REPORT**

In its report, issued December 3, the mission explained that during its stay in Guinea it had obtained information through oral statements and documents provided by the Guinean Government; statements of a number of diplomatic representatives (including the U.S. Ambassador) and other foreign residents of Conakry, as well as members of the African Independence Party of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC); visual observations; and interviews with seven prisoners made available by the Guinean authorities. Having analyzed all the material it had gathered, much of

which it annexed to its report, the mission reached the "considered opinion" that (1) ships manned and commanded by predominantly white Portuguese troops and officers were used to transfer "the invading force" to Guinean waters; and (2) the force consisted of units of Portuguese armed forces, mainly African troops from Portuguese Guinea under regular white Portuguese officers, and a contingent of dissident Guineans trained and armed on the territory of Portuguese Guinea. In the mission's "best judgment" the invading force of 350-400 men was assembled in Portuguese Guinea, and the November 22-23 action "was carried out by naval and military units of the Portuguese armed forces, acting in conjunction with Guinean dissident elements from outside the Republic of Guinea."

#### **COUNCIL CONDEMNS PORTUGAL**

The Security Council met on December 4, 5, 7, and 8 to consider the mission's report. Some 21 states in addition to Council members took part in the debate, most criticizing Portugal severely for its failure to grant independence to its territories in Africa. There was also considerable criticism of NATO and "imperialist" support of Portugal, but little specific criticism of the United States. Portugal took no part in the Council proceedings but in further letters to the Council President on December 4 and 7 continued to deny any responsibility for the attack on Guinea.

On December 8 the Security Council by a vote of 11 to 0, with 4 abstentions (France, Spain, U.K., U.S.), adopted a resolution sponsored by Burundi, Nepal, Sierra Leone, Syria, and Zambia that endorsed the conclusions of the UN mission and strongly condemned the Government of Portugal "for its invasion of the Republic of Guinea." The resolution also: (1) demanded that Portu-

gal pay full compensation to Guinea and requested the Secretary-General to assist in assessing the damage; (2) appealed for "moral and material" assistance to Guinea; (3) declared that "the presence of Portuguese colonialism on the African Continent is a serious threat to the peace and security of independent African states"; (4) urged states to refrain from providing Portugal with "any military and material assistance enabling it to continue its repressive actions against the peoples of the territories under its domination and against independent African states"; (5) called on Portugal to apply without delay to those peoples in the "territories under its domination" the principles of self-determination and independence; (6) warned Portugal that in the event of repetition of armed attacks against African states the Security Council would consider "appropriate effective steps or measures" in accordance with relevant Charter provisions; (7) called on Portugal to comply with all Security Council resolutions, especially the present one; and (8) requested states, "in particular Portugal's allies," to exert influence on the Portuguese Government "to ensure compliance" with the resolution. The resolution concluded with a request that the Council President and Secretary-General "follow closely" the resolution's implementation, and a Council decision to remain seized of the matter.

#### **U.S. POSITION**

Speaking in the Security Council shortly before the vote on December 8, Ambassador Yost deplored the loss of life, injuries, and physical damage caused by the attack and emphasized the serious view the United States took of such an attack, "which appears to have been prepared and mounted outside the country." He reiterated the assurances contained in President Nixon's message to Pres-

ident Sekou Touré "that the United States opposes any infringement of Guinean national sovereignty or outside interference in the internal affairs of the Republic of Guinea." In commending the mission's work he said that the U.S. Government had no reason to question its considered opinion and judgment concerning responsibility for the attack. He cited the report's conclusion that there had been participation of elements of the Portuguese armed forces in the armed raid, "an action which my Government must condemn."

Ambassador Yost explained, however, that there were a number of other provisions in the resolution that the United States could not support. Although the United States did not view the resolution as constituting a finding that a situation under Chapter VII of the Charter (possibly involving mandatory measures) existed or as committing the Council to future action under Chapter VII, it believed that the resolution went too far in that direction and created unwarranted presumptions about future Council action. The United States viewed the events of November 22-23 as very serious but could not support the very far-reaching conclusions some of the resolution's provisions sought to draw from those events.

In reaffirming U.S. support for exercise of the right of self-determination by the people of the Portuguese territories in Africa, Ambassador Yost urged redoubled efforts to resolve through peaceful means the fundamental problem underlying much of the violence in Africa. He expressed the view that the Council's resolution would have been more realistic and have done more to promote a settlement if it had taken account of the Charter requirement to seek solutions to disputes by discussion and by a common will to look for and find peaceful means of settlement.

## FOLLOWUP REPORT

Pursuant to the Council's resolution, the Secretary-General on December 8 informed the Government of Guinea of his readiness to dispatch immediately to Guinea a team of Secretariat officials to assist in assessing the extent of damage suffered by Guinea. In his reply of December 15 Guinean President Touré stated that "the moral and material damage caused to the Guinean nation cannot be expressed in monetary terms, especially as the aggressor persists in denying his offense." He urged the Secretary-General "to cancel outright the dispatch of the appraisal mission" and asserted that the only acceptable reparation was immediate "independence for the African territories of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau)."

In an interim report to the Security Council on December 22 containing this information, the Council President and the Secretary-General stated that they would continue to follow developments in the area and would issue further reports, "as necessity arises," on implementation of the resolution of December 8.

## Korea

The General Assembly again took up the Korean question in 1970. As in previous years three items relating to Korea appeared on the provisional agenda when the General Committee met on September 16-17 to make recommendations on the agenda.

1. "Withdrawal of United States and all other foreign forces occupying South Korea under the flag of the United Nations," proposed on August 15 by Algeria, Bulgaria, Byelorussian S.S.R., Congo (Brazzaville), Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Mauritania, Mongolia, Poland, Somalia, Southern Yemen, Sudan, Syria, Ukrainian S.S.R.,

and the U.S.S.R., later joined by Guinea and Iraq. Romania supported the request.

2. "Dissolution of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea,"<sup>1</sup> also proposed August 15 and supported by the same 19 nations.

3. "Question of Korea: Report of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea," proposed August 15 by the Secretary-General following the receipt of an August 13 report from UNCURK.

Over Soviet objections, the General Committee on September 17 recommended inscription of the UNCURK report by a vote of 16 (U.S.) to 5, with 3 abstentions. The Committee then adopted by a vote of 10 to 5, with 9 abstentions, a U.S. recommendation that the three interrelated items be combined, as they had been in previous years, under a single item entitled "Question of Korea." The Committee also recommended that the combined item be allocated to the First Committee.

In the plenary's consideration of the General Committee's report on September 18, the Soviet Union again attempted to delete the UNCURK report item by requesting separate votes on the subitem on the report and on the main title. These attempts were defeated by votes of 72 (U.S.) to 24, with 15 abstentions, and 71 (U.S.) to 24, with 16 abstentions, respectively.

## INVITATION ISSUE

Through consultations and organizational meetings of the First Com-

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<sup>1</sup> UNCURK 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 are Australia, Netherlands, Pakistan, Philippines, Thailand, and Turkey. Chile, an original member of the Commission, withdrew on Nov. 14, 1970.



mittee it was decided that the question of issuing invitations to Korean representatives to participate in the debate would be taken up several weeks before the debate on the substantive issue. Two draft resolutions, almost identical to those submitted in 1969, were before the First Committee for consideration when debate opened on October 26. They were:

1. A draft resolution finally sponsored by 27 states (Algeria, Bulgaria, Byelorussian S.S.R., Ceylon, Congo (Brazzaville), Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Guinea, Hungary, Iraq, Mali, Mauritania, Mongolia, Nigeria, Poland, Romania, Somalia, Southern Yemen, Sudan, Syria, Tanzania, Ukrainian S.S.R., U.S.S.R., U.A.R., Yemen, Yugoslavia, and Zambia) that would "invite simultaneously and without condition" representatives of both the Republic of Korea and North Korea to participate without right to vote in the debate on the Korean question.

2. A draft resolution finally sponsored by the United States and 18 others (Australia, Belgium, Colombia, Costa Rica, Gabon, Gambia, Greece, Japan, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Panama, Philippines, Rwanda, Swaziland, Thailand, and Togo) that would invite a representative of the Republic of Korea to participate in the debate and would reaffirm willingness to invite a representative of North Korea provided the latter first accepted—as had the Republic of Korea—"the competence and authority of the United Nations . . . to take action on the Korean question."

On October 27 the U.S. Representative, Aloysius A. Mazewski, briefly recalled the important role that the United Nations has played in Korea since 1947. Stressing that the two parties at interest have not put *themselves* on the same footing, the U.S. Representative noted that the

Republic of Korea "has made clear again and again its cooperative attitude toward the United Nations and, specifically, the fact that it accepts unequivocally the competence and authority of the United Nations within the terms of the Charter to take action on the Korean question."

North Korea, on the other hand, "in at least three official statements this year . . . has again denied the authority of the United Nations to act on the Korean question." North Korea, he said, "which makes no secret of its *contempt* for the United Nations, wishes to use the *platform* of the United Nations in order to *get rid* of the United Nations."

The draft resolution cosponsored by the United States rested, he declared, "upon one unambiguous and necessary principle: those whom we invite to participate in our substantive debate should first accept the competence and authority of the United Nations to take action on the Korean question within the terms of the Charter. . . . Surely this is reasonable."

On October 30 the Committee voted on the two draft resolutions. The 27-power "unconditional" resolution was defeated by a vote of 40 to 54, with 25 abstentions.

Those in favor were:

Afghanistan	Mongolia
Albania	Morocco
Algeria	Nepal
Bulgaria	Nigeria
Burma	Pakistan
Burundi	Poland
Byelorussian S.S.R.	Romania
Ceylon	Somalia
Congo	Southern Yemen
(Brazzaville)	Sudan
Cuba	Syria
Czechoslovakia	Tanzania
Ethiopia	Tunisia
Guinea	Uganda
Hungary	Ukrainian S.S.R.
Iraq	U.S.S.R.
Jordan	U.A.R.
Kenya	Yemen
Libya	Yugoslavia
Mali	Zambia
Mauritania	



Those opposed were:

Argentina	Liberia
Australia	Luxembourg
Belgium	Malagasy
Botswana	Republic
Brazil	Malawi
Cambodia	Malaysia
Canada	Malta
China	Netherlands
Colombia	New Zealand
Costa Rica	Nicaragua
Dahomey	Niger
Dominican	Panama
Republic	Paraguay
El Salvador	Philippines
Fiji	Rwanda
France	Senegal
Gabon	South Africa
Gambia	Spain
Greece	Swaziland
Guatemala	Thailand
Haiti	Togo
Honduras	Trinidad and
Iceland	Tobago
Ireland	Turkey
Israel	United Kingdom
Italy	United States
Ivory Coast	Uruguay
Japan	Venezuela
Lesotho	

Those abstaining were:

Austria	Indonesia
Bolivia	Iran
Cameroon	Jamaica
Central African	Kuwait
Republic	Laos
Chad	Lebanon
Chile	Mexico
Cyprus	Norway
Denmark	Saudi Arabia
Equatorial	Sierra Leone
Guinea	Singapore
Finland	Sweden
Guyana	Upper Volta
India	

The U.S.-cosponsored 19-power resolution was then adopted by a vote of 63 to 31, with 25 abstentions.

#### **SUBSTANTIVE DEBATE**

The First Committee considered the substantive aspects of the Korean question at six meetings, from November 19 to 24. Republic of Korea Foreign Minister Choe Kyuha addressed the Committee on November 19.

Before the Committee were three draft resolutions corresponding to the

three subitems of the question and similar to those presented the previous year:

1. A draft resolution cosponsored by 24 states (Algeria, Bulgaria, Byelorussian S.S.R., Congo (Brazzaville), Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Guinea, Hungary, Iraq, Mali, Mauritania, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, Somalia, Southern Yemen, Sudan, Syria, Tanzania, Ukrainian S.S.R., U.S.S.R., U.A.R., Yemen, and Zambia) called for the withdrawal within 6 months of all American and other foreign military personnel deployed in South Korea under the title of "United Nations Forces."

2. A draft resolution cosponsored by the same 24 states called for the dissolution of UNCURK.

3. A draft resolution cosponsored by 21 states (Australia, Belgium, Canada, Colombia, Costa Rica, Gabon, Gambia, Greece, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Panama, Philippines, Rwanda, Swaziland, Thailand, Togo, U.K., and U.S.) reaffirmed the mandate of UNCURK. It also reaffirmed that the objectives of the United Nations in Korea are to bring about the establishment of a unified, independent, and democratic Korea and the full restoration of peace and security in the area and expressed the belief that arrangements should be made to achieve those objectives through genuinely free elections.

On November 19 the U.S. Representative noted that the two draft resolutions calling for the withdrawal of UN forces and the dissolution of UNCURK "would strip the Republic of Korea of the presence and protection of the United Nations and of its friends, who are there at its express invitation, and would leave the future peace and reunification of Korea to be determined by the un-

certain course of events in that particular part of the world." To withdraw UN forces from South Korea, as called for by the draft resolution, "would be an invitation not to peaceful reunification but to renewed aggression from the north," he said.

The U.S. Representative recalled North Korea's continuous violations of the Armistice Agreement as reflected in reports of the UN Command. Citing recent statements by North Korean Premier Kim Il-Sung and Republic of Korea President Park, he said,

... I do not think any impartial person can question which one is aggressive and which desires to turn away from violence and toward peace. . . .

... The obstinate and aggressive posture of North Korea has not changed—and, as a result, the unification of Korea in peace and freedom remains a distant prospect.

Advocating the adoption of the U.S.-cosponsored draft resolution reaffirming the mandate of UNCURK, Mr. Mazewski concluded that:

... history in our time chose Korea for a major test of whether the community of nations can assure to its members, against any challenge that may arise, that precious right to find its own way—in other words, the right of national self-determination.

When we vote to uphold that right for the Korean people, we vote by implication to uphold it for all nations—for ourselves. I think that is a good practical reason for every member to support this resolution.

#### ASSEMBLY ACTION

Voting November 24 on the three draft resolutions, the First Committee decisively rejected the draft resolutions calling for the withdrawal of foreign forces and the dissolution of UNCURK by votes respectively of 32 to 60 (U.S.), with 30 abstentions, and 32 to 64 (U.S.), with 26 abstentions. The draft resolution cosponsored by the United States was then adopted by a vote of 69 to 30, with 23 abstentions.

Those in favor were:

Argentina	Japan
Australia	Laos
Austria	Lesotho
Belgium	Liberia
Botswana	Luxembourg
Brazil	Malagasy Republic
Cambodia	Malawi
Canada	Malaysia
China	Malta
Colombia	Mauritius
Congo (Kinshasa)	Mexico
Costa Rica	Morocco
Cyprus	Netherlands
Dahomey	New Zealand
Denmark	Nicaragua
Dominican Republic	Niger
El Salvador	Norway
Ethiopia	Panama
Fiji	Paraguay
France	Peru
Gabon	Philippines
Gambia	Rwanda
Greece	Saudi Arabia
Guatemala	Senegal
Guyana	South Africa
Haiti	Spain
Honduras	Swaziland
Iceland	Sweden
Iran	Thailand
Ireland	Togo
Israel	Turkey
Italy	United Kingdom
Ivory Coast	United States
Jamaica	Uruguay
	Venezuela

Those opposed were:

Albania	Nigeria
Algeria	Poland
Bulgaria	Romania
Byelorussian S.S.R.	Somalia
Congo (Brazzaville)	Southern Yemen
Cuba	Sudan
Czechoslovakia	Syria
Equatorial Guinea	Tanzania
Guinea	Uganda
Hungary	Ukrainian S.S.R.
Iraq	U.S.S.R.
Libya	U.A.R.
Mali	Yemen
Mauritania	Yugoslavia
Mongolia	Zambia

Those abstaining were:

Afghanistan	Chile
Bolivia	Finland
Burma	Ghana
Burundi	India
Cameroon	Indonesia
Central African Republic	Jordan
Ceylon	Kenya
Chad	Kuwait
	Lebanon

Nepal  
Pakistan  
Sierra Leone

Singapore  
Tunisia  
Upper Volta

On December 7 the General Assembly in plenary session adopted by a vote of 67 (U.S.) to 28, with 22 abstentions, the resolution recommended by the First Committee reaffirming the mandate of UNCURK and continuing the UN role in Korea.

## Middle East

### PEACEMAKING EFFORTS

As 1970 closed, the principal parties to the Middle East dispute had informed the Secretary-General's Special Representative, Gunnar Jarring, of their readiness to resume talks under his auspices looking toward establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East in accordance with Security Council Resolution 242 of November 22, 1967.

From March 10 to 26 Ambassador Jarring was at UN headquarters, having returned from Moscow, where he was serving as Swedish Ambassador. However, he found no new elements that would permit him to organize active discussions with the parties. In August, however, as the result of a U.S. proposal to the Governments of Israel, Jordan, and the U.A.R., the Secretary-General invited Ambassador Jarring to return to New York again.

The Four Power talks on the Middle East among the Permanent Representatives to the United Nations of France, the U.S.S.R., the United Kingdom, and the United States, which had resumed on December 2, 1969, continued throughout this period but produced no agreement on balanced guidelines which might assist Ambassador Jarring in getting the parties together. However, after their meeting on August 5 Ambassador Yost, as chairman, issued a statement that the Representatives of the Four

had discussed the latest developments "which are favorable for the resumption of Ambassador Jarring's mission. They welcomed these developments." He also noted that the Four reached agreement on a communication to this effect to the Secretary-General.

In a note to the Security Council dated August 7, the Secretary-General reported that the U.S. Government had informed him of the acceptance by Israel, Jordan, and the U.A.R. of a proposal it had made the previous June, and that Ambassador Jarring had received confirmation of these acceptances. As a result, Ambassador Jarring had addressed a letter to the Secretary-General on August 7 stating that the three governments concerned had agreed: (1) that having accepted and indicated their willingness to carry out Resolution 242 in all its parts, they would designate representatives to discussions to be held under Ambassador Jarring's auspices, "according to such procedure and at such places and times as I may recommend, taking into account as appropriate each side's preference as to method of procedure and previous experience between the parties"; (2) that the purpose of the discussions was to reach agreement on a just and lasting peace based on (a) their mutual acknowledgment of each other's sovereignty, territorial integrity, and political independence, and (b) Israeli withdrawal from territories occupied in the 1967 conflict, both in accordance with Resolution 242; and (3) that, to facilitate Ambassador Jarring's task, the parties would strictly observe, for at least 90 days, the cease-fire resolutions of the Security Council. The United States informed the Secretary-General that on the same day it had received the acceptance of Israel and the U.A.R. to a standstill cease-fire for the same 90-day period. The cease-fire period later agreed on was 10 p.m. Greenwich mean time August 7 until at least 10 p.m. Greenwich mean time November 5.



Following consultations with the parties, Ambassador Jarring on August 21 invited them to take part in discussions opening in New York on August 25. He met on that day with representatives of each of the three parties, but the Israeli Representative informed him that he was instructed to return to Israel for consultations. By this time the U.A.R., aided by the U.S.S.R., had begun a major violation of the military standstill agreement. On September 3 the United States announced that its latest evidence confirmed that there had been violations of the cease-fire standstill agreement.

The Israeli Representative informed Ambassador Jarring on his return to New York on September 8 that "Egypt has gravely violated the cease-fire standstill agreement," the strictest observance of which Israel considered one of the central elements of the U.S. peace initiative and of the talks under Ambassador Jarring. "Therefore, so long as the cease-fire standstill agreement is not observed in its entirety, and the original situation restored, Israel will not be able to participate in these talks." Ambassador Jarring continued informal consultations with the representatives of the U.A.R. and Jordan, but under the circumstances his efforts could not be productive.

The Four Power talks continued but in view of the deadlock over talks under the auspices of Ambassador Jarring they made no progress. However, at a dinner given by the Secretary-General on October 23 in honor of the foreign ministers of France, the U.S.S.R., the United Kingdom, and the United States agreement was reached upon a statement urging that this deadlock be broken. The statement, as issued by the United Nations, read as follows:

The four Foreign Ministers had a useful exchange of views with the Secretary-General and Ambassador Jarring on the situation in the Middle East.

They agreed to exert their utmost efforts (1) to enable Ambassador Jarring to resume his mission at the earliest possible date; (2) to search for possibilities through the agreement of the parties directly concerned to extend the observance of the cease-fire for a period to be determined; and (3) to find a peaceful solution on the basis of Resolution 242 of the Security Council.

It was also announced that the Four Powers would continue their consultations, and their permanent representatives in New York would meet again on October 28.

Following this statement and adoption of the General Assembly resolution on the Middle East on November 4 (see below), Ambassador Jarring resumed contact with the parties to invite them to reenter talks. The Representatives of Jordan and the U.A.R. informed him that their governments remained willing to do so; the Israeli Representative said that the matter was under consideration in the Israeli Cabinet. Ambassador Jarring returned to Moscow pending an Israeli decision and on December 30 received a message there from the Israeli Foreign Minister of Israel's readiness to resume participation in talks under his auspices.

#### **GENERAL ASSEMBLY CONSIDERATION**

Between October 26 and November 4 the General Assembly debated the "Situation in the Middle East," an item which had been on its agenda since the emergency special session in 1967 but which had not since been the subject of a debate. Representatives of over 50 countries took part in the debate which centered on three draft resolutions. The first was submitted on October 28 by a group of 21 Afro-Asian states and Yugoslavia; the second was introduced on October 29 by the United States; and the third was introduced on November 3 by Argentina on behalf of 21 Latin American countries.



## **Afro-Asian Draft Resolution**

In its final form, after the sponsors had accepted amendments proposed on November 3 by France, the draft in its operative paragraphs (1) reaffirmed the inadmissibility of acquisition of territory by force; (2) reaffirmed that "the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East should include the application of both the following principles: (a) withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from territories occupied in the recent conflict; (b) termination of all claims or states of belligerency and respect for and acknowledgement of the sovereignty, territorial integrity, and political independence of every state in the area and its right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force"; (3) recognized that respect for the rights of the Palestinians was an indispensable element of peace in the Middle East; (4) urged the speedy implementation of Security Council Resolution 242; (5) called on the parties to resume contact with Ambassador Jarring "in order to enable him to carry out, at the earliest possible date, his mandate for the implementation of the Security Council resolution in all its parts"; (6) recommended an extension of the cease-fire for 3 months in order that the parties might enter into talks under Ambassador Jarring; (7) requested the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council within 2 months and to the General Assembly as appropriate on the efforts of his special representative and on the implementation of Resolution 242; and (8) requested the Council to consider, if necessary, making arrangements under relevant Charter articles to ensure the implementation of its resolution.

The most important amendments proposed by France were the addition of paragraph (2) above which reproduced in full the first operative paragraph of Security Council Resolution 242, and paragraph (6)

which recommended extension of the cease-fire.

## **U.S. Draft Resolution**

The U.S. draft resolution would have had the General Assembly (1) endorse Security Council Resolution 242 and urge that it be carried out in all its parts; (2) recommend to the parties and all concerned that they exert their utmost efforts, taking into account the obstacles and difficulties which had arisen since the cease-fire standstill agreement went into effect, to create, in accordance with that agreement, the conditions necessary to establish the confidence in which the parties could resume discussions promptly under Ambassador Jarring; (3) endorse the Security Council resolutions of 1967 on the cease-fire and recommend that the cease-fire be extended for at least 3 months in order to facilitate the promotion of agreement as set forth in Resolution 242.

## **Latin American Draft Resolution**

The Latin American draft resolution would have had the General Assembly *inter alia* (1) support the cease-fire resolutions of 1967; (2) recommend, in order to facilitate the promotion of agreement envisaged in Security Council Resolution 242, that the cease-fire referred to in the Secretary-General's note of August 7, 1970, be scrupulously observed and extended for 3 months, and that suitable additional measures be taken for proper supervision of the cease-fire including, if possible, the use of UN observers now stationed in the region; (3) request the parties to instruct their representatives to resume discussion with Ambassador Jarring; and (4) request the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council in 2 months, and to the General Assembly as appropriate, on Ambassador Jarring's efforts and on the implementation of Resolution 242.

## **U.A.R. and Israeli Positions**

Opening the debate on October 26, the U.A.R. Foreign Minister denounced Israel's "continued and adamant rejection" of all international efforts to bring peace in the Middle East. He asserted that Israel had sought to suppress the U.S. initiative from the very moment that it had accepted it, and described as lies Israel's charges of U.A.R. violations of the cease-fire arrangements. He declared that the injustice inflicted on the Palestinian people by the Israeli aggression was the origin of tensions and war in the Middle East. He listed Israeli violations of agreements and rejections of General Assembly and Security Council resolutions and declared that Israel's policy of territorial expansion undermined the international order based on the UN Charter. He said that every member state had "a vital interest" in opposing such a policy. He regretted that the United States continued to provide Israel with military equipment and massive economic aid while the latter continued to occupy Arab territories.

Replying on October 28, the Israeli Foreign Minister said that the U.A.R. had violated the cease-fire standstill agreement through the construction and forward movement of a great missile system, and had launched "an international campaign of invective" to cover it up. Both on the ground and in the diplomatic areas the effect of these Egyptian actions, he said, was to wreck agreements and to prevent the peace dialogue from taking place. He declared that the U.A.R. violations of the cease-fire agreement were not defensive measures, but offensive preparations designed to change the cease-fire lines by renewed war.

The Israeli Representative urged the General Assembly not to overthrow the delicate balance of Security Council Resolution 242 or to preempt matters that had been deliberately left open in it for the discussion and agreement of the parties. He

called attention to the legitimate and urgent international interest in continued respect of the cease-fire recommended by the Security Council in June 1967 and embodied by the parties in the cease-fire standstill agreement of August 1970. In his view, the Assembly could appropriately call for the restoration of the August 7 situation in order that the Jarring mission might proceed.

## **U.S. Position**

In introducing the U.S. draft resolution on October 29, Ambassador Yost said that it would be irresponsible of the Assembly to adopt any resolution appearing to add to, subtract from, interpret, or distort the careful balance of Resolution 242. Noting developments in the search for peace in the Middle East, he said:

As a result of an intensive period of quiet diplomacy this summer, we were able to work out with the United Arab Republic, Jordan, and Israel an arrangement whereby all three explicitly stated their willingness to carry out Security Council Resolution 242 in all its parts and committed themselves to the goal of reaching agreement on a just and lasting peace between them based on mutual acknowledgment of one another's sovereignty, territorial integrity, and political independence and Israeli withdrawal from territories occupied in the 1967 conflict, both in accordance with Resolution 242. This was the first time such undertakings by all three parties had been entered into.

Ambassador Yost declared that if the Assembly were to single out one aspect of the package settlement envisaged under Resolution 242 and attempt to give it special weight or primacy, it would endanger the solid progress that the resolution represented. Moreover, any effort by the General Assembly to interpret or rewrite a Security Council resolution or to prejudice future Security Council action on a matter which had such direct bearing on the maintenance of international peace and security would, he said, pose serious legal and political problems. The United States

agreed that any settlement in the Middle East must take into account the legitimate concerns and aspirations of the Palestinians but had no preconceived ideas about what form Palestinian participation in a settlement would take.

Denying allegations that the United States supplied arms to Israel because it supported Israeli retention of Arab territories taken in June 1967, he said that the U.S. position supporting withdrawal had been stated by Secretary of State Rogers on December 9, 1969, and on a number of other occasions as well. Ambassador Yost noted that the United States had communicated with the U.S.S.R. on several occasions in an attempt to come to an arms limitation agreement, only to be rebuffed each time. The U.S.S.R. had continued to send massive shipments of arms to Israel's Arab neighbors. When the United States became convinced that the agreement on a standstill cease-fire had been deliberately violated by the installation of new SA-2 and SA-3 missiles near the Suez Canal, he said, it considered itself obliged to provide Israel with additional arms. There could be no doubt that the country from which these missiles came, as well as the government on whose territory they had been emplaced, was responsible for violations of the standstill. These violations brought about a significant change in the military *status quo* in the canal zone, and raised questions about adherence in good faith to arrangements and agreements once undertaken. These questions, he declared, must be resolved if the efforts at peaceful settlement were to go forward.

He quoted President Nixon's October 23 statement to the Assembly that "we urge the continuation of the cease-fire and the creation of confidence in which peace efforts can go forward." Eager as the United States was for the resumption of the talks under Ambassador Jarring, he stated,

the objective must be agreement on a peaceful settlement, not just resumption of talks. Ambassador Yost pledged that the United States would do its utmost to assist peace efforts; comparable efforts were required from others who seriously sought a peaceful settlement for the Middle East, and whose disregard of a key element of the hopeful start made in June and July lay at the root of the present impasse.

On November 4, just before the draft resolutions were voted on, Ambassador Yost observed that the Afro-Asian draft ignored the progress made in the area as a result of the acceptance by Israel, Jordan, and the U.A.R. of the U.S. initiative. The Latin American draft, on the other hand, represented neither party but was submitted in a "spirit of conciliation."

#### Assembly Action

On November 4 the General Assembly adopted the Afro-Asian draft resolution, as amended, by a vote of 57 to 16, with 39 abstentions.

Those in favor were:

Afghanistan	Lebanon
Bulgaria	Libya
Burma	Malagasy Republic
Burundi	Malaysia
Byelorussian S.S.R.	Mali
Cameroon	Mauritania
Ceylon	Mauritius
Chad	Mongolia
Chile	Morocco
China	Nepal
Congo	Nigeria
(Brazzaville)	Pakistan
Cyprus	Poland
Czechoslovakia	Romania
Equatorial Guinea	Senegal
Ethiopia	Sierra Leone
France	Somalia
Gabon	Spain
Gambia	Sudan
Ghana	Tanzania
Greece	Tunisia
Guinea	Turkey
Hungary	Uganda
India	Ukrainian S.S.R.
Indonesia	U.S.S.R.
Iran	U.A.R.
Japan	Upper Volta
Jordan	Yugoslavia
Kenya	Zambia



Those opposed were:

Australia	Malawi
Bolivia	Netherlands
Colombia	New Zealand
Costa Rica	Nicaragua
Dahomey	Panama
El Salvador	Paraguay
Iceland	United States
Israel	Uruguay

Those abstaining were:

Argentina	Jamaica
Austria	Laos
Barbados	Lesotho
Belgium	Liberia
Botswana	Luxembourg
Brazil	Mexico
Cambodia	Niger
Canada	Norway
Central African Republic	Peru
Denmark	Philippines
Ecuador	Singapore
Fiji	South Africa
Finland	Swaziland
Guatemala	Sweden
Guyana	Thailand
Haiti	Togo
Honduras	Trinidad and Tobago
Ireland	United Kingdom
Italy	Venezuela
Ivory Coast	

Algeria, Congo (Kinshasa), Iraq, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Southern Yemen, Syria, and Yemen announced that they were not participating in the vote.

Albania, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Maldives, Malta, Portugal, and Rwanda were absent.

Seven Arab states voted for the amended Afro-Asian draft, thereby affirming their commitment to Security Council Resolution 242 as the basis of a peaceful settlement in the Middle East. On the other hand seven Arab states did not participate in the vote because of the reaffirmation of Resolution 242 and because they considered too weak the paragraph on Palestinian rights.

Following the adoption of the revised Afro-Asian draft resolution, the Latin American draft resolution was put to a vote at the request of Paraguay. It was rejected by a rollcall vote of 45 (Israel, U.S.) to 49 (France, U.S.S.R., and all 14 Arab

states), with 27 abstentions (U.K.), and 6 absent.

The United States did not press its draft resolution to the vote.

## SECURITY COUNCIL ACTIVITY

As efforts toward a general political settlement in the Middle East continued, violations along the Lebanon-Israel border of the Security Council cease-fire resolutions led to two series of meetings of the Council during the year.

### Meetings of May 12-19

On May 12 Lebanon requested an urgent meeting of the Security Council to consider an Israeli land and air attack being carried out in the Arkoub region of southeastern Lebanon. In his letter to the Council President, the Lebanese Representative charged Israel with aggression, stating that Israeli armored and infantry units had invaded southern Lebanon and that several villages in the area had been bombed. The same day Israel requested that the Security Council meet to consider "the acts of armed attack, shelling, incursion, murder and violence perpetrated from Lebanese territory against the territory and population of Israel . . . ."

The Council convened on May 12 and unanimously adopted, as an interim measure, a draft resolution proposed by Spain demanding "the immediate withdrawal of all Israeli armed forces from Lebanese territory." Earlier a U.S. amendment to add "and an immediate cessation of all military operations in the area" was rejected by a vote of 2 (U.K., U.S.) to 0, with 13 abstentions, following defeat by a vote of 3 (Poland, Syria, U.S.S.R.) to 0, with 12 abstentions of a Soviet subamendment to add to the U.S. amendment "and stopping of Israeli aggression against Lebanon." Israel termed the resolution "one-sided" and "divorced from reality" since Israeli forces were already in the process of withdrawing.



In the course of six meetings on the question Israel maintained that its action was in self-defense and directed solely against concentrations of *fedayeen* and that the only casualties were guerrillas. Lebanon, on the other hand, accused Israel of attacking both civilian centers and Lebanese army positions, resulting in the death of 3 civilians and 7 soldiers and the wounding of 21 others.

During the debate the Soviet Representative made wide-ranging attacks on the United States and the United Kingdom whose policies, he claimed, were responsible for lack of progress in the Four-Power talks on the Middle East. Ambassador Yost, in reiterating the U.S. position on the Arab-Israel dispute, urged the Soviet Representative to refrain from further propagandizing and to join others in a sincere effort to bring about the peace envisaged in Security Council Resolution 242 of November 22, 1967.

On May 19 the Council adopted by a vote of 11 to 0, with 4 abstentions (Colombia, Nicaragua, Sierra Leone, U.S.), a resolution sponsored by Zambia that condemned Israel "for its premeditated military action in violation of its obligations under the Charter" and warned that if such armed attacks were to be repeated, the Council would "consider taking adequate and effective steps or measures in accordance with the relevant articles of the Charter." The resolution also deplored "the loss of life and damage to property inflicted as a result of violations of resolutions of the Security Council."

In explaining the U.S. abstention Ambassador Yost reiterated the full U.S. support for Lebanon's political independence and territorial integrity. The United States particularly regretted the disproportionate Israeli attack of May 12 (which he noted had terminated with the complete withdrawal of all Israeli forces) but could not overlook the provocations from Lebanese territory which pre-

ceded it. The adoption of a one-sided resolution which failed to take sufficient account of the repeated violations of the cease-fire originating from Lebanon and the resulting Israeli casualties would not assist in efforts to facilitate peace in the Middle East. Earlier Ambassador Yost stated that the United States continued to support the Secretary-General's proposal that Israel and Lebanon accept the stationing of UN observers in adequate numbers on both sides of their border to observe and help maintain the cease-fire.

#### Meeting of September 5

On September 5 the Lebanese Representative requested another urgent meeting of the Council, stating in his letter to the Council President that two Israeli infantry companies with air support had that day penetrated 7 kilometers into Lebanon, "bombing civilian installations and opening roads for Israeli military use, permitting further expansionist operations." In a letter dated September 4, the Foreign Minister of Lebanon informed the President of the Security Council that during the preceding 2 weeks Israel had carried out 58 "acts of aggression against Lebanese territory—air attacks, mortar shelling, incursions into the territory, the abduction of civilians, the dynamiting of dwelling houses and the construction of roads."

At the opening of the September 5 meeting, the Secretary-General informed the Council that the UNTSO Chief of Staff had instructed the Chairman of the Israel-Lebanon Mixed Armistice Commission to send two UN military observers to the area concerned in Lebanon for on-the-spot inquiries. In noting conflicting reports he had received from authorities of both sides regarding the withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanese territory, he again stressed the need for observers on both sides of the border.

The Lebanese Representative said that Israeli forces were still engaging the Lebanese Army inside Lebanese territory and reported that two civilians had been killed and two wounded. He asked the Council to call for an immediate and complete withdrawal of all Israeli forces, a strong condemnation of Israel, and application of mandatory sanctions against Israel under Chapter VII of the Charter.

The Israeli Representative stated that his government had carried out the action in response to over 200 acts of aggression against Israel committed from Lebanese territory since May 1970, resulting in the death of 15 Israeli civilians and 5 soldiers and the wounding of 38 civilians and 55 soldiers. The "minor" mission of September 4-5 directed solely against *fedayeen* had been completed, he said, and all Israeli forces had withdrawn from Lebanon.

The Spanish Representative introduced a draft resolution demanding "the complete and immediate withdrawal of all Israeli armed forces from Lebanese territory" which was adopted by a vote of 14 to 0, with the United States abstaining.

Speaking before the vote, Ambassador Buffum pointed out that there was conflicting evidence concerning continued presence of Israeli forces in Lebanon. If it were clear that they were still in Lebanon, the United States could support the resolution, but if the troops were not in Lebanon, the resolution would be redundant. In view of the disputed facts and the haste with which the Council was asked to pass judgment, the United States would abstain. Ambassador Buffum emphasized again that the United States fully supported maintenance of the territorial integrity of Lebanon. Deplorable as the Israeli attacks on Lebanon were, however, he said the Council could not in fairness disregard the continuing provocations from Lebanese territory. Israel, like Lebanon, had the right

under the Charter to freedom from attacks against its territory.

On September 7 the Secretary-General reported that Lebanon had informed UNTSO that the Israeli forces had withdrawn from Lebanese territory as of 7 a.m. Greenwich mean time on September 6. There was no further Council consideration of the question.

#### **UN RELIEF AND WORKS AGENCY FOR PALESTINE REFUGEES IN THE NEAR EAST**

On November 18 Commissioner General Laurence Michelmore opened the General Assembly debate in the Special Political Committee on UNRWA. In reviewing the difficulties confronting the Agency, he underlined the urgent need for increased revenues, particularly to cover growing education costs and increased enrollment in UNRWA schools. During the debate Michelmore predicted a deficit of \$5.5 to \$6 million for 1971 unless far more money than anticipated was forthcoming. Over 50 member states participated in the 2½-week debate. Statements were also made by representatives of the "Palestine Arab delegation" and the "Palestine Liberation Organization." The latter were heard, as in the past, without this constituting recognition of the delegation or organization in question. Although UNRWA's critical financial situation was the major focus for the debate, many facets of the Arab-Israeli dispute were discussed, and representatives in general restated in familiar terms well-known positions of their governments. Consideration of the item culminated with the adoption of six resolutions.

#### **U.S. Position**

In introducing a draft resolution similar to those sponsored by the United States in previous years (see below), the U.S. Representative, Richard H. Gimer, told the committee on November 23 that the United

States continued to consider UNRWA's operations essential under present circumstances in the Middle East. Noting that the Palestine refugee problem is inextricably linked with other issues dividing Israel and its Arab neighbors, he pointed out that its solution would come only as part of an overall settlement as envisaged in Security Council Resolution 242 of November 22, 1967. While the search for peace continues, however, UNRWA is required to help meet the basic needs of thousands of refugees. Mr. Gimer joined the Commissioner General and the UN Secretary-General in appealing to governments to contribute to UNRWA as generously as possible, addressing his remarks in particular to those who have "failed to do their share of this task for which there is a collective responsibility."

After outlining the extensive U.S. support to UNRWA since its inception, Mr. Gimer expressed the hope that drastic cutbacks in UNRWA's program, which would not only cause hardship but could aggravate political tensions, would not be required. If they were, he hoped other means to provide services to the refugees could be found, but he urged that the necessary critical decisions not be delayed.

The U.S. Representative welcomed Dr. Michelmore's assurances that, despite difficulties in certain areas, UNRWA had been able to maintain the integrity of its operations. He emphasized that "there must be no misuse of a UN agency by carrying out activities that contravene the Charter" under which all members are committed to support the process of peaceful settlement.

The U.S. draft resolution, after citing past resolutions on the subject, (1) noted with deep regret that repatriation or compensation of refugees as provided for in paragraph 11 of Assembly Resolution 194 (III) of December 11, 1948, has not been effected and that no substantial progress has been made in reintegrating

refugees by repatriation or resettlement; (2) asked the Palestine Conciliation Commission to continue its efforts toward implementation of paragraph 11; (3) expressed thanks to UNRWA's Commissioner General and staff and to specialized agencies and private organizations for their work in assisting the refugees; (4) directed the Commissioner General to continue his efforts, including rectification of relief rolls, to assure the most equitable distribution of relief based on need; (5) directed attention to UNRWA's continuing critical financial position; and (6) called upon all governments to make the most generous efforts possible to meet UNRWA's needs. The resolution was adopted in committee on December 4 by a vote of 91 to 0, with 2 abstentions, and in plenary on December 8 by a vote of 111 to 2, with 1 abstention.

#### **Resolutions on Displaced Persons**

On December 2 a "humanitarian" resolution was introduced by Sweden on behalf of 16 other cosponsors. It endorsed UNRWA's efforts to provide humanitarian assistance, on an emergency basis and as a temporary measure, to "other persons" displaced and in serious need as a result of the 1967 hostilities and appealed for contributions for this purpose. The resolution was adopted in committee on December 4 by a vote of 97 (U.S., Israel, Arab states) to 0, with 3 abstentions, and in plenary on December 8 by 114 (U.S.) to 1, with 2 abstentions.

Another resolution relating to the displaced persons was introduced by Pakistan on December 3 and also sponsored by Afghanistan, Mali, Mauritania, Somalia, and Yugoslavia. It called on Israel to take immediately effective steps for the return to their homes and camps of persons displaced since the 1967 hostilities and requested the Secretary-General to report to the General



Assembly on implementation of the resolution. This proposal was adopted in committee on December 4 by 83 (U.S., Arab states) to 7 (Israel), with 12 abstentions, and in plenary on December 8 by a vote of 93 (U.S., Arab states) to 5 (Israel), with 17 abstentions.

#### **"Palestinian Rights" Resolution**

The most controversial proposal considered under this item was a resolution introduced on December 3 and sponsored by eight nations (Afghanistan, Guinea, Indonesia, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Pakistan, and Somalia). After recalling a resolution of the 24th General Assembly which reaffirmed "the inalienable rights of the people of Palestine," the Assembly in this resolution recognized "that the people of Palestine are entitled to equal rights and self-determination, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations" and declared that "full respect for the inalienable rights of the people of Palestine is an indispensable element in the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East." The proposal was adopted in committee on December 4 by a vote of 46 (Arab states) to 19 (Israel, U.S.), with 37 abstentions, and in plenary on December 8 by a vote of 47 (Arab states) to 22 (Israel, U.S.), with 50 abstentions. Just before the plenary vote a Somali proposal, that the decision on this resolution should be by a majority of members present and voting, was approved by a vote of 49 to 44 (U.S.), with 27 abstentions. The Assembly had decided by a vote of 50 to 31 (U.S.), with 38 abstentions, to give priority to this proposal over one made by the Dominican Republic that the resolution was an "important question" under article 18 of the Charter, requiring a two-thirds majority. The United States supported the view that the resolution involved the maintenance of international peace and security and was

thus an "important question," since it dealt with the nature of a Middle East peace settlement and the political future of states in the area.

In an explanation of vote on December 8, Mr. Gimer recognized that the legitimate concerns and aspirations of the Palestinians had to be taken into account if there were to be a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. If the wording and intent of this resolution were merely intended to reaffirm and reinforce this position, he said, the United States could vote for it. However, the resolution distorted the Charter principle of self-determination by applying it not to a non-self-governing territory but to one or more sovereign members of the United Nations. Moreover, it also sought to distort Security Council Resolution 242 as the basis for a peaceful settlement in the Middle East despite overwhelming support for the Council resolution. Finally, the proposal did not even mention the refugee question, the subject under consideration. Mr. Gimer concluded,

The issues of achieving peace in the Middle East and the correct application of the Charter principle of self-determination are too important for any of us to take the easy way out by closing our eyes and pretending that we are voting for a resolution which does not do violence to these issues.

#### **UNRWA Finances**

UNRWA's grave financial problems were the principal subject of two statements by Commissioner General Michelmores to the Special Political Committee, as well as two special appeals to members by the Secretary-General—a written appeal dated October 2 and an oral one at the end of the committee debate on December 2. On November 25 the Committee Chairman also expressed the group's consensus on the need for additional contributions to UNRWA.

Concern over the financial situation led Norway on December 4 to propose a resolution establishing a

Working Group of nine states to study all aspects of the problem and to submit recommendations to the Assembly by December 14. The Working Group was also to assist the UN Secretary-General and the UNRWA Commissioner General, between the 25th and 26th Assembly sessions, in reaching solutions to the problems posed by UNRWA's financial crisis and to present a comprehensive report to the 26th General Assembly.

The Committee gave priority in the voting to this resolution and approved it on December 4 by a vote of 85 (U.S.) to 0, with 9 abstentions (U.S.S.R.). Acting on the Committee's urgent recommendation, the plenary on December 7 adopted the resolution without a vote. The Assembly President designated France, Ghana, Japan, Lebanon, Norway, Trinidad and Tobago, Turkey, the United Kingdom, and the United States as members of the Working Group.

The Working Group, chaired by the Turkish Representative, held five meetings between December 9 and 14 and was to meet again January 4. Its interim report stated that there was, in general, broad agreement on all aspects of the problem, including the need to concentrate on possible measures to prevent reduction of services in 1971. Nevertheless, it also referred to the possible need to reduce services, along lines that had been outlined by Dr. Michelmores, if additional contributions did not cover the anticipated deficit. The report noted that, in addition to its long-term financial problems, UNRWA also faced a cash or liquidity crisis.

The General Assembly took up this report on December 15 and unanimously adopted a resolution recommended by the Working Group. In it the Assembly renewed its appeal to all governments to join in a collective effort to solve UNRWA's financial crisis and endorsed specific recommendations of the Working Group concerning such measures as possible

fund-raising campaigns and efforts by UNESCO to obtain funds for educational services for the refugees.

#### **Pledging Conference**

On November 30, at the annual UNRWA pledging conference, 39 governments announced contributions totaling \$16,326,067 for financing the Agency's 1971 activities. Congratulating the Commissioner General and his staff for their achievements despite trying circumstances, the U.S. Representative, Mr. Gimer, pointed out that the United States had contributed over half a billion dollars to UNRWA during its existence and would continue to support UNRWA as long as it continued to render essential humanitarian services. Because Congressional action on the necessary appropriation had not yet been completed, he was unable to announce a pledge at the conference.

In again urging generous support for UNRWA, the U.S. Representative noted that failure to contribute to UNRWA would mean a cutback in the Agency's programs, with inevitable added suffering for the refugees. He expressed regret that a solution of the refugee problem had not yet been found, but hoped that through the efforts of Ambassador Jarring a peace settlement including such a solution would soon be achieved in accordance with Security Council Resolution 242 of November 22, 1967.

On December 18 the United States informed the Secretary-General of its pledge of \$22.2 million in cash and commodities, on the understanding that the U.S. contribution would not exceed 70% of total contributions from governments. The U.S. pledge was also conditioned on UNRWA's taking all possible measures to assure that no part of the U.S. contribution would be used to furnish assistance to any refugee receiving military training as a member of any guerrilla-type

organization or who had engaged in any act of terrorism.

### ISRAELI PRACTICES IN OCCUPIED TERRITORIES

The report of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories was placed on the 25th General Assembly agenda at the request of Iraq. The report, published on October 26, was prepared by a committee of three member states—Ceylon, Somalia, and Yugoslavia—appointed in September 1969 by the President of the Assembly pursuant to a resolution adopted by the 23d General Assembly. The Committee visited several Arab capitals as well as London and Geneva during the early part of 1970 to take testimony from a total of 146 persons regarding alleged violations of human rights by Israel in the occupied territories. The Committee did not visit Israel or the occupied territories, since Israel considered the Committee and its mandate biased and refused to cooperate with it.

The Committee concluded *inter alia* that "Israel is pursuing in the occupied territories policies and practices which are in violation of the human rights of the population of those territories." The Committee listed a number of specific steps which it believed Israel should be called upon to take. To ensure respect for human rights in the occupied territories the Committee also proposed, in effect, that the Assembly recommend to the states whose territory is occupied and to Israel that they each appoint a Protecting Power as provided in the Third and Fourth Geneva Conventions.

Over 20 states took part in the debate in the Special Political Committee, which lasted from December 7 to 11.

During the debate Arab and certain other delegations attacked Israel for its alleged widespread violation

of human rights in the occupied territories as well as its overall policy in relation to the Middle East conflict. Israel defended its "policy of normalization" in the occupied territories, rejecting the report of the Committee as a "vehicle of Arab propaganda." The Israeli delegation also reiterated its opposition to the Committee itself which it considered totally biased in its political orientation.

On December 11 Mauritania introduced a draft resolution finally sponsored by eight Afro-Asian states which was adopted in committee the same day by a vote of 49 to 14 (U.S.), with 37 abstentions. Among other things it called upon Israel to implement the recommendations of the Special Committee and to comply with the 1949 Geneva Convention Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War; requested the Special Committee to continue its work; urged Israel to receive and facilitate the work of the Special Committee; and decided to inscribe on the agenda of the 26th General Assembly an item on the report or reports of the Special Committee.

In a statement following the vote, the U.S. Representative, Mr. Gimer, explained U.S. opposition to the draft resolution on the grounds that it was unbalanced and unlikely to achieve the results its sponsors desired. While not insensitive to reports of Israeli action seemingly in contravention of the Fourth Geneva Convention, the United States was unable to pass judgment on the testimony received by the Committee since the debate showed there was conflicting evidence on every key point. He urged that Protecting Powers be appointed to ensure scrupulous adherence to the Geneva Conventions.

The resolution was adopted by the General Assembly in plenary session on December 15 by a vote of 52 to 20 (U.S.), with 43 abstentions.



# South Africa—Apartheid

South Africa's policies of racial discrimination were considered during 1970 by the General Assembly's Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa,<sup>1</sup> the Security Council, the 25th General Assembly, and other bodies in the UN system, including ECOSOC commissions and the specialized agencies.

## SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON APARTHEID

Starting on January 26 the Committee held 21 meetings during the year. It again commemorated the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (March 21) and held a special meeting on March 20 to mark the occasion. In a letter of March 31 to the Security Council's *ad hoc* subcommittee on Namibia (see p. 188), the Committee pointed out its long concern with this problem and its continuing advocacy of mandatory measures under Chapter VII of the UN Charter as the most effective means of inducing South Africa's compliance with UN resolutions on the subject. The Committee continued to follow developments concerning the repression of opponents of apartheid, in particular the rearrest under the Terrorism Act of 22 Africans who had been found not guilty under the Suppression of Communism Act. It devoted considerable attention to the question of apartheid in the field of sports and drew up a

<sup>1</sup> Established by the General Assembly in 1962 to keep the question of apartheid under continuing review and to submit reports as appropriate to the General Assembly and the Security Council. The members are Algeria, Costa Rica, Ghana, Guinea, Haiti, Hungary, Malaysia, Nepal, Nigeria, Philippines, and Somalia. On Dec. 8, 1970, the General Assembly, without a vote, approved the recommendation of the Special Political Committee to shorten the title to "Special Committee on Apartheid."

draft declaration on apartheid for consideration by the Committee for the 25th anniversary of the United Nations in its preparation of documents to mark that occasion.

The Committee rapporteur submitted a report on the military forces and equipment of South Africa, in which he emphasized the "phenomenal" growth of South Africa's military strength. The chairman noted both the varying observance by the major powers of the Security Council's 1963 and 1964 resolutions imposing an arms embargo on South Africa and the consideration being given in the United Kingdom to reopening arms sales to South Africa. At the chairman's suggestion, the Committee requested the Security Council to review the entire arms embargo question with the aim of further strengthening it. The Committee also suggested a number of ways this might be done.

## SECURITY COUNCIL

On July 15 a letter, signed by 40 member states, requested an urgent Security Council meeting on the question of apartheid and specifically on the situation arising from violations of the arms embargo established by Council resolutions in 1963 and 1964. When the Council met on July 17, it also had before it the Special Committee on Apartheid's report regarding South Africa's military strength and its recommendations on steps which might be taken to strengthen the embargo.

The subject was discussed extensively at five meetings of the Council. A number of speakers criticized those powers that continued to sell arms to South Africa, rejected the claimed distinction between arms for external defense and those capable of use in enforcing apartheid, and pointed out the serious consequences if this one concrete action which the United Nations had taken against apartheid was further weakened.

On July 23 by a vote of 12 to 0, with 3 abstentions (France, U.K., U.S.), the Council adopted a resolution which reiterated its total opposition to apartheid, reaffirmed its earlier resolutions establishing the arms embargo, and condemned the violations of that embargo. The resolution also incorporated the Special Committee on Apartheid's suggestions for strengthening the embargo by calling upon states (1) to implement the embargo without reservations; (2) to withhold all vehicles and equipment (and spare parts therefor) for use by South African military forces; (3) to revoke licenses and patents for the manufacture in South Africa of arms, ammunition, and military equipment; (4) to prohibit investment in or technical assistance for South Africa's arms industry; and (5) to cease providing military training for or other military cooperation with South Africa.

In a statement prior to the vote the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Buffum, reiterated the U.S. abhorrence and total rejection of the doctrine of apartheid. He reminded the Council that the U.S. embargo on the sale of arms to South Africa predated the Council's resolutions and was subject only to honoring existing contracts and to the right to reinterpret our policy in light of future security requirements. Commenting on the text of the resolution, he said:

. . . the United States is able to support the basic intent of the draft resolution before us and many of its specific provisions. In particular, we fully endorse the expression of total opposition to the policy of apartheid and the reaffirmation of [earlier] resolutions [establishing the arms embargo]. We supported them, we have fully and faithfully abided by them, and would wish that all states had done likewise.

He went on to state that the United States could not, however, support the resolution in its entirety.

It is clear that the more sweeping provisions contained in this draft resolu-

tion—provisions which go beyond the limits to which my Government can commit itself—cannot command the wide support in the Council that would make them effective. On the contrary, we would in all seriousness ask whether they may not carry with them the danger of weakening instead of strengthening the measure of compliance required to give practical effect to resolutions of this Council.

He concluded by expressing regret that the Council had not been able to achieve a resolution commanding unanimous support since such a conclusion to the debate would have contributed to the common objective of the Council members.

#### APARTHEID COMMITTEE'S REPORT

In its report to the General Assembly, the Special Committee discussed its activities during the year and set forth various conclusions and recommendations. Noting the threat of violent racial conflict in South Africa, it welcomed the Security Council's July 23 resolution strengthening the arms embargo, but regretted that its provisions were not made mandatory. It also believed that more comprehensive consideration of the apartheid question by the Council, with the aim of taking effective measures in a number of areas, was overdue. The Committee again urged material assistance for the liberation movements, and stressed the need both for treating the problems of southern Africa as a whole and for greater cooperation among UN bodies dealing with these issues. Finally, the Committee noted that

The lack of progress [in combating apartheid] is attributable to two main factors: the intransigence of the Government of South Africa, coupled with the uncooperative attitude of those states which continue to maintain diplomatic, consular, economic, commercial and military relations with the racist regime.

It hoped that, on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the United Nations, states would reexamine their

policies and "demonstrate by deeds their condemnation of apartheid."

## GENERAL ASSEMBLY

The Special Political Committee of the General Assembly began its annual consideration of the apartheid policies of the South African Government on October 6. The Committee had before it the report of the Special Committee on Apartheid, the report of the Secretary-General on the UN Trust Fund for South Africa, and related documents.

During the course of its debate a total of eight draft resolutions were introduced, of which seven were put to a vote and adopted. The first of these, sponsored by 52 states and introduced on October 8 by Somalia, reaffirmed and called upon all states to implement fully the Security Council resolution of July 23. The U.S. Representative, while reaffirming our longstanding arms embargo, reiterated the U.S. reservations on that resolution which had been expressed before the Council. The draft resolution was adopted by the Committee on October 9 by a vote of 96 to 1, with 6 abstentions (U.S.), and in plenary on October 13 by a vote of 98 to 2, with 9 abstentions (U.S.).

Four draft resolutions were introduced on October 29. The first of these, eventually sponsored by 45 states, was introduced by Somalia. It called for an intensification of the campaign against apartheid and, to this end, decided to expand the membership of the Special Committee on Apartheid by no more than seven members to be appointed by the President of the General Assembly.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On December 17 the President announced that he had appointed India, Sudan, Syria, and the Ukrainian S.S.R. to fill four of the seats, while leaving the other three seats vacant for the present. He also announced the appointment of Trinidad and Tobago to replace Costa Rica which had withdrawn.

The Committee adopted the draft resolution on November 4 by a vote of 97 to 1, with 5 abstentions (U.S.). The United States had not supported the 1962 resolution creating the Special Committee and considered it unlikely that its expansion would facilitate its work. The resolution was adopted by the General Assembly in plenary session on December 8 by a vote of 105 to 2, with 6 abstentions (U.S.).

Zambia introduced the second draft, sponsored by 42 states, which called for states to provide assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa in their struggle against apartheid. As finally amended, such assistance was specifically limited to the economic, social, and humanitarian fields and was intended not for any particular organization but for the people in general. The draft resolution was adopted on November 4 by a vote of 103 (U.S.) to 1, with 1 abstention. The vote in plenary on December 8 was 111 (U.S.) to 2, with 1 abstention.

The third draft resolution, introduced by Somalia and ultimately sponsored by 48 states, authorized the Special Committee on Apartheid to take certain actions during 1971 to combat apartheid, including trips away from headquarters. It also called for a study of the possibility of holding a trade union conference in 1972 to promote concerted action against apartheid by the trade union movement. The draft was adopted on November 4 by a vote of 94 to 1, with 8 abstentions (U.S.). The U.S. abstention was based largely on concerns regarding the financial implications of the additional activities contemplated. On December 8 the General Assembly in plenary session voted 106 to 2, with 7 abstentions (U.S.), to adopt the resolution.

The fourth draft, introduced by Malaysia and sponsored by 45



states, concerned measures to insure a wide distribution of information on the evils of apartheid and included requests for action by member states, nongovernmental organizations, and the Secretary-General. In the latter category, it requested an increase in UN publications on apartheid, continued provision of radio programs on apartheid to member states for broadcast to southern Africa, and continued consultations with the OAU on means to intensify the campaign against apartheid. The draft was adopted in committee on November 24 by a vote of 89 to 0, with 7 abstentions (U.S.), and in plenary December 8 by a vote of 107 to 2, with 6 abstentions (U.S.), the U.S. position again being based primarily on the substantial financial implications of the measures requested.

On October 30 Nigeria introduced a draft resolution, sponsored by 20 states, concerning the UN Trust Fund for South Africa. It reiterated the Assembly's earlier appeals for generous contributions and broadened the scope of the Fund to provide assistance, to the extent funds were available, to victims of repressive legislation in Namibia and Southern Rhodesia as well as in South Africa itself. The draft resolution was adopted on November 4 by a vote of 97 (U.S.) to 1, with no abstentions. The U.S. Representative pointed out that, while the United States approved the program of the Fund, U.S. support for the resolution did not constitute a commitment to make a contribution to the Fund. The resolution was approved in plenary on December 8 by a vote of 111 (U.S.) to 2, with 1 abstention.

On November 3 the final two draft resolutions were introduced by Somalia. The first of these noted the suggestion made during the commemorative session of the General Assembly for the creation of an in-

ternational crimes tribunal and asked the Special Committee on Apartheid to arrange for an expert study on the implications of apartheid in terms of international law. This draft was withdrawn, however, since a similar study was already being conducted at the request of the Commission on Human Rights.

The other draft, finally sponsored by 24 states, dealt with the general question of apartheid and, *inter alia*, reiterated the Assembly's condemnation of apartheid as a "crime against humanity" and reaffirmed its recognition of the "legitimacy of the struggle of the people of South Africa to eliminate, by all means at their disposal, apartheid."

The resolution also deplored the continued cooperation by certain states and foreign economic interests with South Africa in military, economic, political, and other fields. It urged all states to terminate diplomatic and consular relations with South Africa, "to end tariff and other preferences to South African exports," and "to suspend cultural, educational, sporting and other exchanges with the racist regime." Finally it again called the attention of the Security Council to "the grave situation in South Africa and in southern Africa as a whole" and recommended that the Council resume consideration of effective measures "including those under Chapter VII of the Charter."

The draft resolution was adopted on November 24 in Committee by a vote of 76 to 5 (U.S.), with 17 abstentions, and on December 8 in plenary by a vote of 91 to 6 (U.S.), with 16 abstentions. The extreme provisions of this resolution, and their similarity to those included in previous resolutions on which the United States had spoken at length, made an explanation of the U.S. negative vote unnecessary on this occasion.

# General Political Problems

## Peacekeeping

At its 24th session in 1969 the General Assembly once again requested the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations (Committee of 33)<sup>1</sup> to complete the guidelines for Model I peacekeeping missions—those dealing with “UN military observers established or authorized by the Security Council for observation purposes pursuant to Council resolutions”—and to submit a progress report on “any other models of peacekeeping operations.” By the end of 1970, however, the Committee’s work was no further advanced.

### WORKING GROUP

At its organizing session on March 20 the Committee of 33 agreed that its Working Group<sup>2</sup> should resume work “with great intensity” and approved a work plan including completion of the unagreed chapters of Model I (Observer Missions), preparation of a draft standard agreement between the United Nations and host

<sup>1</sup> Members of the Committee are Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Brazil, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, El Salvador, Ethiopia, France, Hungary, India, Iraq, Italy, Japan, Mauritania, Mexico, Netherlands, Nigeria, Pakistan, Poland, Romania, Sierra Leone, Spain, Thailand, U.S.S.R., U.A.R., United Kingdom, United States, Venezuela, and Yugoslavia.

<sup>2</sup> The Working Group, established by the Special Committee in 1968, consisted of the four officers of the Committee (Mexico—Chairman; Canada and Czechoslovakia—Vice Chairmen; and the U.A.R.—Rapporteur), France, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, and United States. Its first report, on Sept. 12, 1969, stated that it had agreed on a general scheme for Model I containing eight chapters, but no agreed text had been achieved for three of the chapters. In 1970 the meetings of the Working Group were opened to all Committee members.

countries on the status of military observers, and formulation of a definition and the principal elements of guidelines for Model II (Peacekeeping Operations), i.e., those of a larger scale involving organized contingents. It was hoped that by early May consultations would have reached the point where outstanding differences might be reconciled.

The Working Group held 14 meetings between May 4 and September 8 as well as a number of drafting sessions. Despite an evident desire to make progress on the unagreed elements held over from the previous year, it soon became clear that agreement could not be reached by semantic compromises in the absence of political decisions. Most of the discussion focused on the text for Chapter II dealing with the establishment (i.e., formation, strength, composition, and command), direction, and control of observer missions. The divergence of opinion paralleled that in the bilateral U.S.—U.S.S.R. discussions (see below).

The Working Group also considered the other incomplete chapters on legal arrangements and on financial arrangements, but almost no progress was made. Comments of a technical nature were circulated on a draft status of forces agreement but the effort was set aside to await agreement on the chapter on legal arrangements.

Consultations were held on a title and framework for Model II operations involving peacekeeping operations of a larger scale (such as that in Cyprus) carried out by organized troop contingents, but here again no progress was made.

### U.S.—U.S.S.R. BILATERALS

During 1970 the U.S. and Soviet delegations held discussions on peace-

keeping paralleling those in the Committee of 33. The United States had submitted suggestions to the U.S.S.R. early in the year in an attempt to find a basis for agreement on mutually acceptable guidelines for the conduct of peacekeeping missions.

The central feature of the U.S. proposals was a proposed committee of the Security Council to provide continuing consultation and advice to the Secretary-General after an operation had been launched. The Secretary-General would retain sufficient operational control to assure effectiveness in the conduct of a peacekeeping mission and flexibility in adapting it to changing circumstances. The U.S. suggestions included provisions for equitable financing and wider geographic participation in providing troops and facilities.

The discussions stalled, however, when the U.S.S.R. would neither accept the U.S. proposals nor offer a detailed substantive response or counterproposal. In general terms, the U.S.S.R. continued to stress the need for the Security Council to exercise control over operational matters once missions had been authorized by the Security Council. The key issues involved—direction and control of peacekeeping missions once they had been authorized by the Security Council—were similar to those in the unagreed chapters of Model I.

The Working Group, which recessed for long stretches waiting for the bilateral discussions to progress, became mired down through the summer and into September. As the opening of the 25th General Assembly approached, the United States urged accelerated private consultations to provide a basis for advancing the work of the Committee of 33. The United States hoped that even if complete agreement were not obtainable, the Committee might concentrate on certain specific and concrete actions for improving UN readiness to move on an authorized peacekeeping operation. It was felt that some concrete

achievement would have to be presented to the Assembly to show forward movement.

#### COMMITTEE OF 33

The Committee of 33 considered the issue and the report of the Working Group at several meetings in September. The chairman noted that although the debates in the Working Group had been constructive, the Committee would have to report that it had not been able to carry out the mandate entrusted to it by the Assembly. He concluded that it was appropriate and even necessary to consider whether there might not be other ways of dealing with the problem.

The debate reflected widespread frustration over the inability of the Working Group to complete its work on Model I, in the face of the encouraging progress that had been noted in the previous year's report. The discussions revealed the ambivalence of Committee members on whether progress must await agreement among the major powers. On the one hand there was wide realization that accommodation of the views of the major powers was essential to the success of peacekeeping; on the other, members were impatient at the slow progress and did not want to give the appearance of abdicating their responsibility.

Speaking for the United States, Ambassador Seymour Maxwell Finger regretted that no agreement had been reached but counseled continuing efforts to do so. At the same time he noted that members of the Committee were not passive spectators of the Working Group's activities but could advance proposals of their own for strengthening UN peacekeeping. The U.S.S.R. maintained, as it had throughout the year, that the Committee should not force the pace.

Finally, despite misgivings over the meager progress, the Committee concluded that "more time is required for



consultations towards reaching agreement on Model I, which would also facilitate progress on Model II," and recommended that the Assembly authorize the Committee to continue its work.

#### GENERAL ASSEMBLY

The 25th Assembly's Special Political Committee considered UN peacekeeping at nine meetings between November 5 and 13. Debate opened on a note of disappointment when the Committee of 33 Rapporteur reported that hopes for early completion of Model I had not been realized since fundamental differences remained unresolved. However, he said that if the General Assembly agreed to extend its mandate the Committee should be able to present a completed text in the not too distant future. Ambassador Cuevas Cancino of Mexico, Chairman of the Committee of 33, said, *inter alia*, that peacekeeping could only be successful if agreed to by all the permanent members of the Security Council. He stressed that continuous discussion was necessary to bring about unanimity, but in view of the lack of progress in the Committee of 33, he suggested that perhaps a smaller committee or another procedure should be devised for dealing with the peacekeeping issue.

The Canadian Representative noted that impatience over the inconclusive discussions in the Working Group and lack of progress in the bilateral talks should not be a reason for others to abdicate responsibility. The key question remained the degree of direct operational responsibility of the Security Council and the Secretary-General. He suggested that elements of a solution existed in creating a subsidiary organ of the Council or having recourse to the Military Staff Committee for certain purposes. In this fashion the Council could delegate its powers without derogation of its authority and might thereby make

use of the full resources at the disposal of the Secretary-General.

On the first day of debate, Ambassador Yost expressed his "deep disappointment" that something of substance on peacekeeping had not been produced for the 25th anniversary of the United Nations. If peacekeeping operations were to be put on a firmer foundation, there was "dire need" for improved standby arrangements, better advance planning, and assured and equitable financing. He recalled President Nixon's October 23 address to the Assembly stressing world interest in strengthening the practical means to help the United Nations keep the peace. There could be no question that many nations, including the nonaligned, wanted to strengthen UN peacekeeping machinery, as was shown at the nonaligned conference at Lusaka and by statements from many others. Ambassador Yost stressed that the Assembly should act now on concrete and specific measures.

Despite this plea, and corridor interest in a proposal for a roster of troop offers, only one proposal for concrete action was presented to the Assembly.

On November 6 Kuwait submitted a draft resolution, later cosponsored by Senegal and Swaziland, calling for the creation of a peace fund to finance operations authorized by the Security Council. The fund would be independent of the regular budget and would be derived from assessments in which the main financial burden would be borne by the permanent members of the Security Council, and the rest would be met by other developed countries "and to a smaller extent by developing countries." While this proposal picked up support from some smaller nations, it evoked little interest from the larger contributors. The draft was later withdrawn but in the resolution finally adopted by the Assembly, the peacekeeping committee was requested "to study carefully and to

take full account of the views expressed and the suggestions, proposals and documents presented to the present session," and report to the next session as appropriate.

The resolution adopted was submitted November 12 and sponsored by the eight members of the Committee of 33 Working Group plus Sierra Leone. It urged the Committee of 33 to "accelerate" its work on guidelines. As finally adopted, the resolution instructed the Committee of 33 to intensify its efforts with a view to completing by May 1, 1971, its report on the UN military observers established or authorized by the Security Council, "and to determine in the light of the progress achieved by that date whether alternative methods are advisable for the early fulfillment of its mandate to reach an agreement on peacekeeping operations in conformity with the Charter." The Committee of 33 was directed to submit to the next session "a completed comprehensive report" on UN military observers and a progress report on any other models of peacekeeping operations.

Speaking in support of the nine-power draft resolution, Ambassador Yost on November 13 noted the urgency of reaching agreement soon. He refuted Soviet insinuations that past peacekeeping operations were somehow flawed in their legality or inconsistent with the Charter or undertaken in the interests of certain members. The task, he said, "is not to dismantle the peacekeeping structure of the past but to strengthen it and improve it." He noted that the problem was to agree on guidelines which

. . . fully respect the political authority of the Security Council as well as the operational imperative of having a single executive. No one questions the ultimate authority of the Security Council to authorize operations or terminate them. It is simply a fact of life that operational decisions cannot effectively be made by a deliberative body.

He thought the Canadian idea of establishing a Security Council subcom-

mittee under article 29 of the UN Charter warranted the most careful consideration.

The U.S. Representative stressed two other considerations. One was the need for reliable and equitable financial arrangements under which costs were shared fairly among all members. In this connection, he said, the Kuwaiti proposal for a peacekeeping fund merited careful study. Although the United States had reservations about some of the specifics, it did not exclude in principle the peace fund idea and believed that discussion of financing methods should be examined by the Committee of 33.

The other consideration was the urgency of improving the state of readiness of men and facilities for peacekeeping emergencies. On this point he noted U.S. disappointment that the Assembly had not acted on the Canadian proposal that states should provide the Secretary-General with advance information on the personnel and equipment which they are prepared to make available on short notice. He declared that the United States would spare no effort to reach early agreement and that it would be looking for "practical solutions consistent with the Charter."

The nine-power resolution was adopted unanimously by the Special Political Committee on November 13 and by the General Assembly in plenary session on December 8.

## Charter Review

A Colombian initiative late in the 24th session led to the inclusion on the provisional agenda of the 25th General Assembly of an item entitled "Need to Consider Suggestions regarding the Review of the Charter of the United Nations." When the Assembly's General (steering) Committee considered the provisional agenda on September 16, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Yost, suggested that consideration of this item, along

with 10 others, be postponed until the 26th General Assembly. In making this suggestion he noted that the 25th session had a heavy workload, that considerable time during the session would be devoted to the commemoration of the UN 25th anniversary, and that certain items on the provisional agenda were not "urgent or ripe for action."

The U.S. suggestion that consideration of the Charter review item be postponed was supported by the British and French Representatives. The Soviet Representative opposed any review, declaring it naive to assert that, in the current political circumstances, a better instrument could be prepared in the foreseeable future. The General Committee, however, by a vote of 13 to 8, with 3 abstentions, decided to recommend inclusion of the item on the agenda of the 25th Assembly, which on September 18 accepted this recommendation in plenary without a vote. The Soviet Representative reiterated for the record his opposition to inclusion of the item.

#### **BACKGROUND**

Article 109 of the UN Charter provides that if a Charter review conference has not been held by the 10th General Assembly, the proposal to call such a conference should appear on the agenda for that session. When the 10th General Assembly considered this proposal it decided that such a conference should be held "at an appropriate time" and established a Committee on Arrangements for a Conference for the Purpose of Reviewing the Charter to keep the matter of timing under review. This committee of the whole continues in being but has not met since 1967. Its meetings, except for that in 1963 which was devoted almost exclusively to the question of Council enlargement, have been brief and perfunctory, since many UN members believe that the "auspicious interna-

tional circumstances" referred to in the 10th General Assembly resolution do not prevail. The only amendments of the Charter, those relating to the enlargement of the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council that became effective in 1965, were accomplished under article 108, which provides that amendments to the Charter come into force when they have been adopted by the vote of two-thirds of the members of the General Assembly and ratified by two-thirds of the UN membership, including all permanent members of the Security Council, thus giving the five permanent members a veto over any amendment in the ratification process. The same ratification procedures would apply to amendments proposed by a review conference.

#### **25TH GENERAL ASSEMBLY CONSIDERATION**

The Charter review item was considered by the Assembly's Sixth Committee (Legal) at seven meetings, beginning on November 30 and concluding on December 4. The discussion focused primarily on whether and in what circumstances general review would be desirable, rather than on specific suggestions for change. Specific suggestions advanced concerned such varied aspects of the United Nations as its peaceful settlement and peacekeeping capacities, the composition of the Security Council, the great-power veto, the coordinating role of ECOSOC, universality of membership, and the deletion of the "enemy states" provisions of the Charter (articles 53 and 107). Views expressed on the more general question of the desirability and timing of Charter review ranged from flat opposition to any review, to doubts about the usefulness of review in present circumstances, to advocacy of early review. At the same time emphasis was placed on the need for reaching as broad a consensus as possible if progress was to be made and potential damage avoided.



## U.S. Position

Speaking in the Sixth Committee on December 2, the U.S. Representative, Mr. Gimer, said that while the United States is not opposed to the "concept" of Charter review, it shares the doubts of others that "the time is propitious for doing so."

Addressing himself first to the question of strengthening the United Nations, the U.S. Representative noted the efforts already being made in this direction. He referred specifically to the work of the new Assembly committee on rationalization of Assembly procedures (see p. 66) and the Special Committee on Peacekeeping and pointed out that "two of the main areas of common concern which might be included in a review of the Charter are already being given extensive and appropriate consideration." He also expressed the view that improved implementation of article 33 of the Charter, not a changed text, is necessary to strengthen the UN peaceful settlement procedures, which depend "in large measure on the willingness of states to accept the need for positive dispute settlement machinery."

The U.S. Representative then observed:

The comment has been made that a Charter review exercise is needed because a large number of the present members of the organization did not participate in the drafting of the Charter in 1945. It is implied by some that subsequent members of the UN have been required to don some sort of straight jacket, made to fit the needs of others and comprised of a material incapable of sufficient stretch and give to fit the needs of a larger and different institution. Such a view seriously underestimates the brilliance of the achievement of the drafters of the Charter. . . .

A searching analysis of the Charter and the practice of the United Nations must lead to the conclusions: (a) that the Charter has worked well, that where the institution has encountered difficulties it is not because of faults of anachronisms in the drafting of the Charter but rather because of a lack of will on the part of states, original members and new members, to adhere to the

clear requirements of the Charter; and (b) that, as other speakers have pointed out, the Charter has not been interpreted or applied in a rigid and unbending manner. . . .

Noting the distinction made in the Charter between amendment and review and recalling that the Charter had already been amended to enlarge the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council, the U.S. Representative suggested:

It may be instructive to bear in mind that process as it forms a good model of circumstances which give rise to a useful decision to examine the question of amendment and how such a decision should be implemented. Perhaps states which may have specific proposals in mind might wish to consider informal contacts in order to explore whether sufficient support exists for their views for such an approach as this to be useful. Several delegations have referred to the anachronistic nature of the "enemy states" provisions of articles 53 and 107. Perhaps these articles, which certainly are outdated, are particularly amenable to such an approach.

The matter of expanding the Councils was carefully considered, the specific problem identified and the broad opinion of the majority of the members obtained as to the best method of dealing with the problem. It was handled under the aegis of the Committee on Arrangements for a Conference for the Purpose of Reviewing the Charter.

The U.S. Representative, after quoting the Secretary-General's reply to a press inquiry on April 21, 1970, in which he had said that "as far as my personal views are concerned, although Charter revision as regards some provisions is desirable, it will not be realistic for a long time to come . . . it is not a practical proposition," then outlined the dangers in untimely review.

To commence a detailed review of the Charter is, in part, to opt against evolution. If states are forced to state their positions on a wide range of Charter provisions in the context of an overall review process, there is considerable danger that, in addition to maximizing current differences, states will freeze their views in a way which will decrease the ability of the organization to continue to meet changing needs in an evolutionary way. A review exercise if

unsuccessful could even have the effect of decreasing confidence in the Charter and thus render a disservice to the United Nations and the cause of peace.

If nevertheless some members continue to believe that more benefit than harm would flow from a review of the Charter, machinery already exists to meet their needs. I refer, of course, to the existing Committee on Arrangements . . . .

#### **Views of Other Permanent Security Council Members**

The positions taken by the United Kingdom and France during the Sixth Committee discussion of the Charter review item were similar to that of the United States. The British Representative thought the Committee discussion had shown the unlikelihood of proposed changes in the Charter securing the degree of acceptance required by the Charter and that the desirability of embarking on Charter review depended on whether anything constructive was likely to emerge. The fault lay with the member states, he said, not with the Charter. The French Representative thought the international situation hardly favorable for an in-depth revision and also noted the absence of agreement on what changes would be desirable. The Chinese Representative said he could not support any proposal for Charter review, and the Soviet Representative declared all proposals to review the Charter "totally unacceptable" to the U.S.S.R.

#### **Assembly Action**

The Committee had before it a draft resolution sponsored by Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, and Nicaragua which would have requested the Secretary-General (1) to invite member states to communicate to him before August 1, 1971, their suggestions on review of the Charter, and (2) to convene the existing committee on a Charter review conference established by the 10th General Assembly to consider these suggestions

and report to the 26th General Assembly. The sponsors submitted a revision of this draft on December 2 incorporating amendments suggested by Lebanon which *inter alia* substituted July 1, 1971, for the August 1 date; asked the Secretary-General, rather than the committee on a Charter review conference, to submit a report to the 26th General Assembly; and decided to include the item "Need to consider suggestions regarding review of the Charter of the United Nations" on the agenda of the 26th session. At this stage, Lebanon, Haiti, Japan, and the Philippines became cosponsors of the draft, and later Liberia joined. Efforts to reach a consensus, while unsuccessful, resulted in still further modifications of the draft resolution.

As finally adopted on December 4, the resolution, after recalling in its preambular paragraphs the Assembly's 1955, 1967, and 1969 resolutions on Charter review and referring to the different views expressed during the consideration of this question at the 24th and 25th General Assemblies, invited the submission of views and comments by July 1, 1972, instead of 1971, asked the Secretary-General to report these views and comments to the 27th, rather than the 26th General Assembly, and included the Charter review item on the agenda for the 27th rather than the 26th session. The vote was 69 (China, France, U.K., U.S.) to 12 (Bulgaria, Byelorussian S.S.R., Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Iraq, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, Syria, Ukrainian S.S.R., U.S.S.R.), with 12 abstentions (Afghanistan, Belgium, Cambodia, Chile, Finland, Iran, Norway, Portugal, Saudi Arabia, Southern Yemen, Sweden, Yemen).

In explanation of vote, the Soviet Representative declared the draft resolution wholly unacceptable and said his delegation would not be guided by it if it were adopted. The Chinese Representative said that since it had been reduced to a purely procedural resolution he would vote for it on the

understanding that his vote should not be construed as prejudging his delegation's position with regard to the substance of the matter. The U.K. Representative said that he had voted for the draft on the understanding that it in no way prejudiced any delegation's position on the opportuneness or desirability of Charter review. Although he had voted for the draft resolution, the French Representative was not happy with it and hoped that the time permitted for reflection would permit the question to be approached with due prudence.

The U.S. Representative, Robert Rosenstock, expressed appreciation for the sponsors' efforts to reflect U.S. views in their draft resolution and regretted that a consensus had not been reached. The Committee, he said, had taken no final decision; that could be done at the 27th General Assembly in light of the comments of governments and of the international situation at that time.

The committee text was approved in plenary on December 11 by a vote of 82 to 12, with 11 abstentions, Belgium having shifted to an affirmative vote. In explanation of vote, the U.S.S.R. Representative reiterated that his delegation was categorically opposed to the question of Charter review being raised. The French Representative said his delegation would vote for the draft resolution because they considered it a procedural one that "does not prejudge the substance." With respect to substance, he said, "we are not persuaded that a review of the Charter would be timely."

## Membership

One new state was admitted to the United Nations during 1970, bringing the total membership to 127. After the adjournment of the 25th General Assembly another application, from Bhutan, was received on December 21. No action was taken

on this application by the end of the year.

### ADMISSION OF FIJI

The British colony of Fiji, an island group in the southwest Pacific with a population of over 500,000 and a total land area of more than 7,000 square miles, became independent on October 10, 1970, in agreement with the United Kingdom. In anticipation of this event, on October 2 the British had requested inclusion in the agenda of the 25th General Assembly of an additional item entitled "Admission of new Members to the United Nations," noting that it was their "understanding" that the Government of Fiji intended to submit an application for UN membership "very shortly" after attaining independence.

Fiji's application was in fact submitted on the day of its independence and the time differential between Fiji and New York permitted the Security Council also to meet on October 10 to consider the application. The Council adopted unanimously a draft resolution recommending Fiji's admission which was cosponsored by Sierra Leone, the United Kingdom, and Zambia. Three days later, on October 13, the General Assembly accepted this recommendation by acclamation.

Speaking in the General Assembly, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Yost, congratulated both the Fijian leaders, particularly Prime Minister Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara, and the United Kingdom as the former administering power. "By admitting Fiji to membership," he said, "the General Assembly affirms its belief that this new state is, in the language of the Charter, peace-loving and able and willing to carry out the obligations contained in the Charter." This conclusion he termed "well justified," noting that Fiji is the largest of any island group in the South Pacific, that its economy is vigorous, and its



political development well advanced. He then observed:

Fiji within her own national realm has already learned well the lesson of human interdependence. She is composed of three profoundly different racial and cultural groups which have earned the right to be called a nation by their determination to live and prosper together. As Sir Kamisese Mara said last May to the Committee of 24, speaking both for himself and for the leader of the opposition, Mr. S. M. Koya:

"We considered that the first priority of need for our people was understanding. We know this from bitter experience. Without this understanding we cannot tolerate one another and without tolerance we cannot create good will . . . .

"We know we must build one nation. We must build strong and we must build to last."

The wisdom of those words by Fiji's Prime Minister augurs well for the future of the Fijian nation, and for what it may yet contribute to peace, understanding, and tolerance in the world. . . .

#### **MICRO-STATE PROBLEM**

The Committee of Experts on the micro-state problem, established by the Security Council on August 28, 1969, held four closed meetings in the first 6 months of 1970, making a total of eight meetings to date, and on June 15 submitted an interim report to the Security Council.

This report contained no conclusions or recommendations. It referred to suggestions made by the U.S. and U.K. Representatives on the question of the relationship of small states to the United Nations and also to the suggestion of the French Representative that the Security Council's Committee on the Admission of New Members be reactivated. It concluded with the statement that the Committee would "continue its work in accordance with its terms of reference" and "submit a further report at a later stage." The Committee did not, however, meet again in 1970.

Annexed to this report were two documents. The first was the proposal

for the establishment of a new category of "associate membership" made by the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Phillips, at the Committee's meeting on September 26, 1969. Under this proposal those exceptionally small new states whose ability to carry out the obligations of the UN Charter is questionable and for whom such obligations "entail a disproportionately heavy burden" could opt for the status of associate member. Those receiving such status would

(a) enjoy the rights of a Member in the General Assembly except to vote or hold office;

(b) enjoy appropriate rights in the Security Council upon the taking of requisite action by the Council;

(c) enjoy appropriate rights in the Economic and Social Council and in its appropriate regional commission and other sub-bodies, upon the taking of requisite action by the Council;

(d) enjoy access to United Nations assistance in the economic and social fields;

(e) bear the obligations of a Member except the obligation to pay financial assessments.

The second annex was a British working paper submitted on May 25 that suggested an arrangement whereby an applicant for UN membership could voluntarily renounce certain of the rights of a member, particularly the right to vote and to be elected in certain UN bodies, on the understanding that its financial assessment would be only nominal.

When Fiji's application for UN membership came before the Security Council, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Yost, sought to have it referred in the first instance, under rule 59 of the Security Council's provisional rules of procedure, to the Council's Committee on the Admission of New Members. In doing so, he made clear that in the U.S. view "Fiji is, in the words of article 4 of the Charter, 'able and willing to carry out the obligations' contained in the Charter," and observed that had there been any doubt about Fiji's suitability for membership, reactivation

of the procedure set forth in rule 59 "might have seemed invidious."

Discussing rule 59, which provides that "unless the Security Council decides otherwise," membership applications shall be referred by the President of the Council to a committee of the whole of the Council before the Council itself considers them, the U.S. Representative said:

It was and is in strict accordance with the intent of the Charter and was designed to enable the Council itself to carry out in a conscientious manner its responsibilities under article 4 of the Charter; that is, to assure itself that the applicant is a peace-loving state which accepts the obligations contained in the Charter and is able and willing to carry them out. Unfortunately this rule, like some of the other principles and procedures wisely prescribed by our founding fathers, has fallen into abeyance and in recent years has not been applied as it should have been.

The United States believes that this is a mistake. We believe that the time has come, now that the United Nations has 126 members and will in a few days have 127, for the Council once again to pay strict attention to its responsibility laid down in the Charter in this regard; that is, to examine with care in each case whether the applicant is not only willing but able to bear the considerable burdens and obligations of membership. Certainly if the Council and the Assembly were so to deviate from the Charter as to admit in the future considerable numbers of states not able to carry the obligations of membership, not only would this amount in fact to a revision of the Charter but it would seriously weaken our organization. It would reduce its prestige, effectiveness, and credibility just at the time when, as we have all been saying during this session, it most needs strengthening and the widest possible public support.

As members of the Council know, the United States joined, in the Security Council Committee of Experts, in proposals made by a number of its members for the reactivation of the procedures laid down in rule 59. There was widespread endorsement of the proposal by both permanent and nonpermanent members. If no formal report to this effect has yet been submitted to the Council, it was because of an understanding that the Committee of Experts would act by consensus only. The United States considers it appropriate to raise the subject in connection with

the first application for membership submitted since the establishment of the Committee of Experts by the Security Council in August of 1969.

Instead of accepting the U.S. suggestion, the Council, however, by a vote of 10 to 1 (U.S.), with 4 abstentions (China, Colombia, Finland, Nicaragua), adopted a Zambian proposal that rule 59 be suspended on this occasion.

## Chinese Representation

Attempts during 1970 by supporters of Communist China to replace representatives of the Republic of China with those of Communist China once again were unsuccessful. Thus the position of the Republic of China was maintained throughout the year in the Assembly and all other UN organizations and related agencies of which it is a member.

The principal challenge to the Republic of China in the United Nations, as in previous years, was initiated in the General Assembly with the submission on August 14 of a request by 15 nations (Albania, Algeria, Congo (Brazzaville), Cuba, Guinea, Iraq, Mali, Mauritania, Romania, Southern Yemen, Sudan, Syria, Tanzania, Yemen, Zambia) for the inclusion of an item on the agenda entitled: "Restoration of the Lawful Rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations."

The United States, consistent with the position it has taken in the past, did not oppose the inscription of this item. On September 16 the Assembly's General Committee decided to recommend to the General Assembly inclusion of this item on the agenda. This recommendation was accepted by the General Assembly on September 18.

The Chinese representation issue was also raised in the Assembly's Credentials Committee on October 26, when the Soviet Representative requested a separate vote on the cre-

dentials of the Republic of China. In the vote which followed, the Credentials Committee decided by 5 votes to 2, with 1 abstention, that the credentials of the Republic of China were in order. Those voting in favor were Australia, Ecuador, Greece, Liberia, and the United States; those opposed were Poland and the U.S.S.R.; Ireland, as chairman, abstained; and Mauritania was absent. The Committee's report was accepted by the plenary Assembly on October 28.

#### GENERAL ASSEMBLY CONSIDERATION

On November 2, 18 nations (Albania, Algeria, Congo (Brazzaville), Cuba, Guinea, Iraq, Mali, Mauritania, Pakistan, Romania, Somalia, Southern Yemen, Sudan, Syria, Tanzania, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia) submitted a resolution which would "restore all its rights to the People's Republic of China . . . recognize the representatives of its Government as the only lawful representatives of China to the United Nations, and . . . expel forthwith the representatives of Chiang Kai-shek . . ."

Anticipating the tabling of this resolution, the United States and 17 other nations (Australia, Brazil, Costa Rica, Gabon, Haiti, Japan, Lesotho, Malagasy Republic, Malawi, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Philippines, Spain, Swaziland, Thailand, Togo—later joined by Gambia) had on October 13 tabled a resolution affirming that any proposal to change China's representation in the United Nations was an important question under article 18 of the UN Charter and therefore would require a two-thirds majority for adoption.

The debate on the two resolutions took place November 12–20.

#### U.S. POSITION

On November 12 Ambassador Phillips set forth the U.S. position on the issue, urging that the General Assembly once again affirm the important question principle and reject the

Albanian resolution. Noting that the important question resolution had been affirmed and reaffirmed by successive General Assemblies, Ambassador Phillips pointed out that article 18 of the Charter provides for essential protections of the rights of all members of the United Nations, and that it would set a most dangerous precedent if a member were to be expelled from the organization by the action of a simple majority. He continued:

Those who may be tempted to disregard the Charter's safeguards because of their views on the present issue should consider carefully whether at some future time on some future issue they might find themselves in a position similar to that in which some have sought to place the Republic of China.

He concluded that safeguards available pursuant to the Charter should apply to all without distinction and that reaffirmation of the "important question" principle thus involved far more than Chinese representation.

Turning to the 18-power draft resolution, Ambassador Phillips termed the proposal "both unwise and unjust." He drew attention to the constructive role which the Republic of China had played in the United Nations since the organization's founding, and to its work in assisting the process of development throughout the world. Taking note of the argument that the United Nations cannot ignore the world's most populous state, he said:

We have heard it said before . . . that the People's Republic of China is a reality that cannot be ignored. Indeed, that is so. And I do not believe that any of us here today, or any of the governments that we represent, ignores that reality. As far as the United States is concerned, as most are aware, we have actively sought to move from an era of confrontation to an era of negotiation. Representatives of my Government have met with representatives of the People's Republic of China twice this year and would have met more often had Peking been willing to do so. . . . The fact of the matter is, the United States is as interested as any in this room to see the People's Republic of



China play a constructive role among the family of nations. All of us are mindful of the industry, talents, and achievements of the great people who live in that ancient cradle of civilization.

But let us also remember . . . that the Charter nowhere confers upon states the right to make their own conditions for membership in the United Nations. Neither in the Charter nor in any resolution is it written that a state may say "We will join, but only if you expel member X." What the Charter does say is that membership shall be open to all peace-loving states able and willing to carry out the obligations of membership, and that members may be expelled only if they have persistently violated the principles of the Charter.

Ambassador Phillips declared that these reasons should require that the proposal to expel the Republic of China from the United Nations be rejected. He concluded:

Whatever views members may hold on the question of Peking's participation, we do not see how the purposes of this organization can be served by expelling any member which has long and faithfully observed the obligations set forth in its Charter.

#### ASSEMBLY ACTION

The debate on the two resolutions concluded on November 20, and the Assembly proceeded to vote on them. The important question resolution was adopted by a vote of 66 to 52, with 7 abstentions.

Those in favor were:

- |                          |                    |
|--------------------------|--------------------|
| Argentina                | Dominican Republic |
| Australia                | Ecuador            |
| Austria                  | El Salvador        |
| Belgium                  | Fiji               |
| Bolivia                  | Gabon              |
| Botswana                 | Gambia             |
| Brazil                   | Greece             |
| Cambodia                 | Guatemala          |
| Canada                   | Haiti              |
| Central African Republic | Honduras           |
| China                    | Iceland            |
| Colombia                 | Iran               |
| Congo (Kinshasa)         | Ireland            |
| Costa Rica               | Israel             |
| Cyprus                   | Italy              |
| Dahomey                  | Ivory Coast        |

- |                   |                |
|-------------------|----------------|
| Jamaica           | Paraguay       |
| Japan             | Philippines    |
| Jordan            | Rwanda         |
| Laos              | Saudi Arabia   |
| Lebanon           | Senegal        |
| Lesotho           | Sierra Leone   |
| Liberia           | South Africa   |
| Luxembourg        | Spain          |
| Malagasy Republic | Swaziland      |
| Malawi            | Thailand       |
| Malta             | Togo           |
| Mexico            | Turkey         |
| Netherlands       | United Kingdom |
| New Zealand       | United States  |
| Nicaragua         | Upper Volta    |
| Niger             | Uruguay        |
| Panama            | Venezuela      |

Those opposed were:

- |                     |                  |
|---------------------|------------------|
| Afghanistan         | Mali             |
| Albania             | Mauritania       |
| Algeria             | Mongolia         |
| Bulgaria            | Morocco          |
| Burma               | Nepal            |
| Burundi             | Nigeria          |
| Byelorussian S.S.R. | Norway           |
| Ceylon              | Pakistan         |
| Chile               | Peru             |
| Congo (Brazzaville) | Poland           |
| Cuba                | Romania          |
| Czechoslovakia      | Singapore        |
| Denmark             | Somalia          |
| Equatorial Guinea   | Southern Yemen   |
| Ethiopia            | Sudan            |
| Finland             | Sweden           |
| France              | Syria            |
| Ghana               | Tanzania         |
| Guinea              | Tunisia          |
| Hungary             | Uganda           |
| India               | Ukrainian S.S.R. |
| Iraq                | U.S.S.R.         |
| Kenya               | U.A.R.           |
| Kuwait              | Yemen            |
| Libya               | Yugoslavia       |
| Malaysia            | Zambia           |

Those abstaining were:

- |          |                     |
|----------|---------------------|
| Barbados | Mauritius           |
| Cameroon | Portugal            |
| Chad     | Trinidad and Tobago |
| Guyana   |                     |

Indonesia announced it would not take part in the vote and Maldives was absent.

The Assembly then voted on the 18-power resolution which, although it received a simple majority—51 to 49, with 25 abstentions—failed of adoption since it did not receive a two-thirds majority.

Those in favor were:

Afghanistan	Kenya
Albania	Libya
Algeria	Mali
Austria	Mauritania
Bulgaria	Mongolia
Burma	Morocco
Burundi	Nepal
Byelorussian S.S.R.	Nigeria
Canada	Norway
Ceylon	Pakistan
Chile	Poland
Congo (Brazzaville)	Romania
Cuba	Somalia
Czechoslovakia	Southern Yemen
Denmark	Sudan
Equatorial Guinea	Sweden
Ethiopia	Syria
Finland	Tanzania
France	Uganda
Ghana	Ukrainian S.S.R.
Guinea	U.S.S.R.
Hungary	U.A.R.
India	United Kingdom
Iraq	Yemen
Italy	Yugoslavia
	Zambia

Those opposed were:

Argentina	Liberia
Australia	Malagasy Republic
Barbados	Malawi
Brazil	Malta
Cambodia	Mauritius
Chad	Mexico
China	New Zealand
Colombia	Nicaragua
Congo (Kinshasa)	Niger
Costa Rica	Panama
Dahomey	Paraguay
Dominican Republic	Philippines
El Salvador	Rwanda
Gabon	Saudi Arabia
Gambia	Sierra Leone
Greece	South Africa
Guatemala	Spain
Haiti	Swaziland
Honduras	Thailand
Israel	Togo
Ivory Coast	Turkey
Japan	United States
Jordan	Upper Volta
Lesotho	Uruguay
	Venezuela

Those abstaining were:

Belgium	Guyana
Bolivia	Iceland
Botswana	Iran
Cameroon	Ireland
Central African Republic	Jamaica
Cyprus	Kuwait
Ecuador	Laos
Fiji	Lebanon
	Luxembourg

Malaysia  
Netherlands  
Peru  
Portugal  
Senegal

Singapore  
Trinidad and  
Tobago  
Tunisia

Once again, Indonesia did not take part in the vote and Maldives was absent.

## Strengthening International Security

The United States was one of 54 UN members to submit to the Secretary-General, pursuant to a 24th General Assembly resolution, its views on strengthening international security—an item placed on the agenda of the 24th session at the request of the U.S.S.R. In a letter dated May 1, 1970, Ambassador Yost discussed in particular the importance of making better use of existing procedures and machinery for peaceful settlement of disputes and peace-keeping and of improving and strengthening them. He made a number of specific suggestions concerning the use of UN factfinders, more effective use of the International Court of Justice, and greater recourse to such methods as conciliation, mediation, and good offices. In concluding, however, he emphasized that “above all a renewed commitment to the principles and purposes of the Charter is required—a rededication that would make of this 25th anniversary of the United Nations truly an event for celebration.” This and other letters were included in a report to the 25th General Assembly by the Secretary-General.

The 25th General Assembly’s discussion of this item, which had been referred to it by the previous Assembly, followed the pattern of the debate the year before. It was opened in the First Committee on September 28 with the introduction of a draft resolution by the Soviet Representative on behalf of his delegation and seven others. Other resolutions

proposed in the course of the debate were (1) introduced by Italy on September 25 and also sponsored by Australia, Belgium, Canada, Japan, and the Netherlands; (2) introduced by Brazil on October 7 and sponsored by 23 Latin American states; and (3) introduced by Zambia on October 12 and sponsored by 33 states, mainly from Africa and Asia. The debate continued at 14 meetings of the Committee between October 3 and 13, at which time the Committee authorized its chairman and other officers to consult with the sponsors of proposals and other interested delegations with a view to formulating, if possible, a single text. As a result, an informal working group, in which the United States participated, was established. This group in turn set up a drafting committee consisting of two representatives of the sponsors of each draft resolution, as follows: Bulgaria and Poland, Belgium and Italy, Brazil and Ecuador, and India and Yugoslavia.

#### **U.S. POSITION**

In a statement on October 9, Ambassador Yost emphasized the need to take concrete actions on individual issues in order to strengthen international security. The United States, he said, would not only apply the Charter principles for maintenance of international peace and security, but would also "work in every appropriate organ of the United Nations and sister agencies to achieve internationally acceptable solutions to the specific problems in this field which confront us." Commenting on the efforts of some to introduce in resolutions or declarations of a general nature language designed to engage the United Nations on one side or other of a dispute, Ambassador Yost appealed to the Committee to unite on a simple resolution "clearly based on the Charter, the whole Charter, and nothing but the Charter, omitting controversial and divisive elements." He continued:

Of course we must deal concretely with concrete disputes, specifically with specific problems. But let us do that under the appropriate items of our agenda: peacekeeping, disarmament, the Second Development Decade, apartheid, human rights, the Middle East, etc. And let us in regard to our present item unite on what unites us and put aside, for the moment at least, what divides us.

The U.S. Representative expressed the view that the proposals of Australia, Belgium, Canada, Italy, the Netherlands, and Japan and of the Latin American states met this criterion and urged adoption of a text that could command virtually unanimous support.

Although the four draft proposals varied in language and emphasis, they dealt in general with many of the same topics. In addition to reaffirming Charter provisions and principles, the drafts covered the following major subjects: disarmament, territorial integrity and military occupation, peaceful settlement and peacekeeping, regional arrangements, international law, economic and social development, decolonization, and human rights. It proved difficult, however, to arrive at agreed formulations, and informal consultations continued until the closing days of the Assembly.

On December 12 a new draft was introduced in the Committee by the Brazilian Representative. It was ultimately cosponsored by the eight drafting group members plus 28 additional states. This draft resolution was given priority in the voting and, after approval of two relatively minor amendments, was adopted in committee on December 14 by a vote of 106 (U.S.) to 1 (South Africa), with 1 abstention (Portugal). The four draft texts submitted earlier were not put to a vote. The committee-approved "Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security" was adopted in plenary on December 16 by a vote of 120 to 1, with 1 abstention.



## APPROVED DECLARATION

The approved declaration, containing 27 operative paragraphs, concentrated on the need for states to abide by the UN Charter and called for strengthening peacekeeping procedures, greater use of the Charter's peaceful settlement procedures, and "urgent and concerted" efforts to reverse the arms race. It touched on the full range of UN activity, containing paragraphs, *inter alia*, condemning apartheid, calling for elimination of colonialism, condemning "all forms of oppression, tyranny and discrimination, particularly racism and racial discrimination," and "emphatically" reiterating the need to eliminate the economic gap between developed and developing countries. In a provision implicitly critical of the Soviet Union's "Brezhnev doctrine," it reaffirmed "the right of peoples to determine their own destinies, free of external intervention, coercion or constraint, especially involving the threat or use of force, overt or covert." The declaration concluded with a request for a report to the 26th General Assembly by the Secretary-General "on steps taken in pursuance of the present Declaration."

Speaking before the committee vote, Ambassador Yost expressed skepticism about the need for "more sweeping hortatory declarations" that seek to restate and interpret the Charter, but he supported the draft declaration "in a spirit of compromise" although it was not entirely satisfactory to his delegation. He again urged "more effective United Nations action on the vital concrete issues before us."

## Periodic Security Council Meeting

The Security Council held its first periodic meeting under article 28(2) of the UN Charter on October 21, 1970, with the Spanish Foreign Min-

ister presiding. The United States was represented by the Secretary of State. Nine other Foreign Ministers attended, including those of China, France, the United Kingdom, and the Soviet Union. The four remaining members of the Council were represented by a Deputy Foreign Minister in one case and their Permanent Representatives to the United Nations in the other three. According to the communique issued after the meeting, which was closed, the Secretary-General gave a statement on the international situation, and there was a general exchange of views among Council members on "current issues affecting international peace and security."

Article 28(2) of the Charter states that "The Security Council shall hold periodic meetings at which each of its members may, if it so desires, be represented by a member of the government or by some other specially designated representative." The intent of article 28(2) was to provide an opportunity for discussion at a higher policy level than that normally represented at Council meetings. In implementation of this article, the Security Council's provisional rules of procedure call for periodic meetings to be held twice a year, at such times as the Council may decide. Until the past October, however, no periodic Council meeting had been held, despite repeated suggestions by all three Secretaries-General and the General Assembly that implementation of this Charter provision would be useful.

Discussion of the desirability of periodic Council meetings during the 24th General Assembly in connection with its agenda item on "Strengthening of International Security" led to a Finnish initiative in March 1970 designed to bring this matter before the Security Council. Following extensive consultations among Council members, agreement was reached on a consensus statement which the Security Council adopted on June 12.

In this statement, members of the Council expressed the view that "the holding of periodic meetings, at which each member of the Council would be represented by a member of the Government or by some other specially designated representative, could enhance the authority of the Security Council and make it a more effective instrument for the maintenance of international peace and security." They also stated their understanding that periodic meetings "would provide members with an opportunity for a general exchange of views on the international situation, rather than for dealing with any particular question, and that such meetings would normally be held in private, unless it is otherwise decided."

Speaking in the Security Council on June 12, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Yost, found it "particularly fitting" that the decision to hold periodic meetings should be taken during the 25th anniversary year of the United Nations. He said that the United States concurred in the assessment that "previous efforts to implement this important Charter provision failed not on their merits but on the basis of the prevailing atmosphere at the time when they were made." Observing that "the perfect time" for such an initiative is unlikely ever to exist, Ambassador Yost congratulated the Finnish Representative "for refusing to be discouraged, for seizing the initiative and in patient consultations working out" the consensus statement. The U.S. Representative then said:

Of course, no organ, no matter how important, can assure success through the adoption of procedures alone. The test will come during the periodic meetings themselves in the quality of the preparation, which will be a vital element, and in the statesmanship shown in the general exchange on the all-important problems under consideration. Parenthetically, I would like to note that it is our understanding resolutions on individual subjects will not, as a general rule, be adopted during the periodic meetings.

If this important provision of the Charter is utilized effectively as intended by its drafters, this could make a significant contribution toward strengthening the role of the United Nations, and the Council in particular, in fulfilling its chief function of maintaining international peace and security.

The communique issued by the Secretary-General following the periodic meeting on October 21 made specific reference to the Middle East situation, the problems of southern Africa, guidelines for future peace-keeping operations, and the need to strengthen the Council's capability "to act effectively for the maintenance of international peace and security." The communique stated that the members agreed that the holding of periodic meetings was an important step in the latter direction, and that they would examine possibilities for further improvement in the Council's methods of work in promoting the peaceful settlement of disputes. The communique also stated that there was agreement that the date of the next periodic meeting would be determined through consultations among Council members.

## Rationalization of General Assembly's Organization and Procedures

Toward the end of the 24th session, the Canadian Representative addressed a letter to the President of the General Assembly suggesting that the time had come to review Assembly procedures. He pointed out that though UN membership had more than doubled and there had been a great expansion of UN activities in the development field, the Assembly's methods of conducting its work had continued virtually unchanged. The system, he said, was cumbersome and imposed a heavy burden on all delegations. It would be particularly ap-

appropriate, he thought, to conduct a review on the occasion of the United Nations 25th anniversary.

The Canadian Representative later pursued this initiative in a letter of June 26, 1970, to the UN Secretary-General requesting the inclusion of an item entitled "Rationalization of the procedures and organization of the General Assembly" on the agenda of the 25th General Assembly. In the explanatory memorandum accompanying this request, Canada proposed that a committee be appointed by the President of the 25th General Assembly "to examine the established system of Committees and the allocation of agenda items, organization of the work of the Assembly, documentation, rules of procedure and related questions, taking into account all suggestions that might be submitted to it" and to report its findings and recommendation on specific measures to the 26th General Assembly.

The General (steering) Committee of the General Assembly on September 17 recommended that this item be included in the agenda of the 25th session and be considered directly in plenary without prior reference to a committee. The Assembly accepted this recommendation without debate on September 18.

When the plenary took up this item on November 9, it had before it a 32-power draft resolution requesting the General Assembly President to establish a 31-member Special Committee, on the basis of equitable geographic distribution, to study ways and means of improving the procedures and organization of the Assembly and to report to the 26th General Assembly. The draft resolution *inter alia* also asked member states to submit their views and suggestions to the Committee by February 28, 1971, asked the specialized agencies to provide any relevant information regarding their respective procedures, and asked the Secretary-General to give the Committee every assistance in the performance of its task.

This draft resolution was adopted the same day by a vote of 88 (U.S.) to 0, with 12 abstentions. A Bulgarian proposal to substitute the Assembly's General Committee for the proposed Special Committee and to delete the February 28 date for the submission of suggestions—on the grounds that rationalization of the Assembly's organization and procedures is a continuing long-term undertaking within the mandate of the General Committee—was defeated by a vote of 17 to 56 (U.S.), with 24 abstentions.

Speaking in support of the 32-power draft, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Finger, welcomed the Canadian initiative "most heartily." The United States, he said, had "already initiated a new study of the Assembly's procedures" and hoped to be able to present to the Committee "some concrete suggestions for procedural reform." He noted as worthy of expanded use in the future the 25th General Assembly's decision to postpone consideration of some items and to include them on the provisional agenda for the 26th session. "This type of pruning," he observed, "with a view to highlighting priorities seems to us essential if the Assembly sessions are to be kept within reasonable length and focused on the most relevant current issues."

After stressing the need for the Assembly to conclude its sessions on time, the U.S. Representative said:

In fact, Mr. President, I even wonder whether the time currently allocated for sessions is not too long. A substantially shorter session, carefully organized and planned, would be more productive and certainly would encourage attendance by the most senior government officials. Is it really necessary to repeat year after year so many resolutions on perennial items which are virtually identical with their predecessors adopted seriatim for many years before and which are by now so numerous that almost no one remembers them? Is it worthwhile for delegations to reiterate at length views and philosophies which they have expressed many times before? Must each General Assembly automatically take up all of the perennial items regardless of whether there is any real prospect of



progress during a given session? The danger of all this burdensome repetition is not just the time spent on it alone; in the process we lose the eyes and ears of the world. The attention of the press and other media and, most important of all, the attention of governments, tends to stray the more we persist in repeating ourselves, whether in speeches or in resolutions. The possibility of a time limit on plenary speeches and on the explanation of vote might well be considered. A more balanced allocation of the workload among the committees offers another promising avenue of approach. And less voluminous, more-to-the-point documentation would lift a heavy burden from our shoulders.

Noting that procedural innovations may present delicate problems since such innovations bear on the rules governing the participation of members in the Assembly, Ambassador Finger suggested that measures giving rise to concern

... might be put into effect on a provisional basis and be subject to review in the light of experience. Indeed, we see this whole problem of streamlining not as an effort restricted to next year but rather as a continuing and dynamic effort to enable the Assembly to adjust to its growing responsibilities and importance in the years ahead.

He assured the Assembly that the United States looked forward to participating actively in the new committee.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The Committee, as announced by the General Assembly President on December 17, is composed of Afghanistan, Austria, Barbados, Bolivia, Brazil, Burundi, Cameroon, Canada, Chile, Denmark, France, Greece, India, Japan, Lebanon, Liberia, Netherlands, Nigeria, Pakistan, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Senegal, Tunisia, U.S.S.R., U.A.R., United Kingdom, United States, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, and Zambia.

## Part II

# *Economic, Social, and Humanitarian Developments*

## Second Development Decade

On October 24 the General Assembly adopted as a major feature of the 25th anniversary commemorative session (see p. 2) an International Development Strategy for the Second UN Development Decade. This Strategy reflects a wide measure of agreement by the international community on a program of cooperative measures to improve the well-being and living conditions of the people in the developing countries during the coming Decade. The United States participated actively in the negotiation and drafting of this highly significant document, which embodied contributions from governments and virtually all the organizations in the UN system. Senator Jacob K. Javits, a U.S. Representative to the 25th General Assembly, hailed the "fashioning of this charter for development" as

perhaps one of the most momentous tasks undertaken by the nations of the world since the original Charter of the United Nations was drafted some 25 years ago.

## Development of the Strategy

The first UN Development Decade, the 1960's, was the result of a U.S. initiative in 1961. The objective

set for this Decade was the attainment by the developing countries of a minimum annual rate of growth of aggregate national income of 5% by the end of the Decade. Few policy measures were advocated and these were described in general terms. There was little effort to coordinate the policies of member states and the organizations of the UN system until late in the Decade.

The detailed International Development Strategy for the Second UN Development Decade, which has popularly become known as "DD-II," was prepared in response to a widespread feeling during the mid-1960's that the first UN Development Decade might not be a success. In June 1965, the Secretary-General issued his appraisal of the First UN Development Decade and noted that in the first years of the 1960's the rate of growth of the developing countries had actually slowed while that of the developed nations had accelerated. This feeling of lack of success persisted, despite the achievement in the closing years of the Decade of its 5% growth objective.

In 1968 the General Assembly decided that the strategy for the 1970's would enunciate, within a comprehensive and integrated framework, goals and objectives, both general and sectoral, as well as concerted policy measures at the national, re-

gional, and international levels for realizing those goals and objectives.

The adoption of the strategy by the General Assembly and the proclamation of the 10 years beginning January 1, 1971, as the Second UN Development Decade was the result of work by the entire UN system over a period of several years, culminating in a series of intensive negotiations in 1970.

The UN bodies that made the major contributions to the Strategy were the Committee for Development Planning, UNCTAD's Trade and Development Board, the Preparatory Committee for the Second Development Decade, ECOSOC, and the General Assembly. The latter four were the principal loci of the international negotiations for the Strategy in 1970.

At its sixth session (New York, January 5–15) the Committee for Development Planning<sup>1</sup> devoted most of its attention to DD–II, particularly the basic objectives and the question of review and appraisal. The Committee's reports greatly influenced the final format and content of the Strategy.

The Trade and Development Board, at its ninth session (third part, Geneva, February 2–16), concluded its intensive negotiations on most of its contribution to the Strategy, including language on key aid, trade, and financial subjects. The Board did not reach agreement on several important issues, however, including the transfer of resources to developing countries, and these unresolved questions were next considered by the Preparatory Committee for DD–II.

The Preparatory Committee, es-

tablished by the General Assembly in 1968, was composed of the 27 members of ECOSOC (see p. 228) and 27 additional members<sup>2</sup> appointed by the President of the General Assembly. This Committee was responsible for the overall preparation of the draft International Development Strategy for the Decade.

The Preparatory Committee held its fifth and sixth (final) sessions in New York (February 24–March 13; May 11–28). At these sessions an overall strategy was prepared on the basis of submissions from all elements of the UN system. A few disagreed issues were clearly identified for subsequent consideration by ECOSOC at its 49th session (Geneva, July 6–31) and by the General Assembly at its 25th session.

In a final series of intensive, and largely informal, negotiations from September 18 to October 16 the General Assembly's Second Committee (Economic and Financial) completed the International Development Strategy.

The resulting 84-paragraph statement is a unique consensus of current international thinking on the whole range of economic and social development issues and a prescription for dealing with those issues.

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<sup>2</sup> For 1970 the appointed members were: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Byelorussian S.S.R., Cameroon, Chile, Colombia, Federal Republic of Germany, Guatemala, Iran, Kuwait, Lebanon, Liberia, Mauritius, Mexico, Morocco, Netherlands, Nigeria, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Spain, Sweden, Tanzania, Thailand, U.A.R., and Venezuela. Although members, Bulgaria, Byelorussian S.S.R., Poland, Romania, and U.S.S.R. refused to participate as they objected to the selection of committee members on the basis of the so-called "Vienna formula" which permitted the inclusion of nonmembers of the United Nations such as the Federal Republic of Germany. (The "Vienna formula" includes all states members of the United Nations, or any of the specialized agencies or the IAEA, or parties to the Statute of the International Court of Justice.)

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<sup>1</sup> An expert group composed of 18 economists, serving in their individual capacities, appointed by ECOSOC for 3-year terms. John P. Lewis of the United States was appointed April 3 to fill the vacancy created by the death of Max Milliken late in 1969.



# Content of the Strategy

The Strategy has five major sections: a preamble, development goals, policy measures, provision for periodic review and appraisal, and mobilization of public opinion.

## GOALS

By contrast with the first Development Decade, the Strategy takes an integrated approach to development embracing both economic and social factors, a concept which the United States strongly supported. The overall rate of growth in gross national product established as a goal for the developing countries as a whole during DD-II is at least 6% annually. The possibility of raising this 6% growth target will be examined in the review and appraisal process halfway through the Decade. The Strategy also established an annual per capita growth target of 3.5%, calculated on the basis of an average annual increase of 2.5% in the population of developing countries, which is less than the average rate at present forecast for the 1970's. Achievement of the 3.5% growth target would double per capita real income in 20 years. In addition, the Strategy set qualitative goals for education, health, nutrition, housing, and social welfare.

## POLICY MEASURES

The Strategy contains a comprehensive set of policy measures encompassing the social, scientific, and technological fields as well as the economic and financial. These measures are largely an amalgam of texts on trade and finance negotiated among governments, texts based on proposals by the specialized agencies and other UN bodies, and recommendations of the Committee for Development Planning.

The effort to meet economic and social development goals is a dynamic process. To measure progress toward these goals, adjust priorities in the light of such progress, and reassess the goals themselves requires a feedback mechanism. The Strategy provides for biennial review and appraisal of progress and for review of the goals and policy measures. This is the first such undertaking by the United Nations and could be a crucial element contributing to the success of the Strategy. The initial reviews will be carried out nationally, regionally, and sectorally, leading up to ECOSOC and the General Assembly which is responsible for overall review. The United States strongly endorsed incorporating in the Strategy arrangements for review and appraisal which, in the language of the Strategy, are

necessary to keep under systematic scrutiny the progress towards achieving the goals and objectives of the Decade—to identify shortfalls in their achievement and the factors which account for them and to recommend positive measures, including new goals and policies as needed.

## Adoption and Reservations

On October 16 the Second Committee approved the Strategy without a vote, but formally recorded in its report to the Assembly some 45 statements of interpretation, observation, and reservation on various parts of the Strategy made by individual or groups of delegations from both developing and developed countries. Despite such reservations, most members agreed the document would provide a charter for a new venture in international cooperation.

The U.S. statement, made by Senator Javits on October 16, spelled out reservations or interpretations of some 11 of the 84 paragraphs. Senator

Javits reaffirmed U.S. support for the concept of the Decade and said:

... the United States regards the strategy as providing a framework for international cooperation. It will cooperate with other governments to give effect to the strategy in the broadest spirit of international solidarity and, as far as its resources may permit and its laws may provide, accepts the policy measures set forth in the strategy as a guide to a concerted program of action.

At the same time, the United States did not accept language in the document which it regarded as implying a legal commitment where one did not exist. One of the most important paragraphs, from the viewpoint of the less developed countries, was that calling for each developed country, by specified dates, to provide annual financial resource transfers of at least 1% of its gross national product. With respect to this paragraph the U.S. Representative joined in the "international reaffirmation of the aid target," and declared American readiness to make "our best efforts to increase both official and private flows," but declared his government's inability to say when it might meet the 1% target, or even to guarantee that it eventually would meet it. In the case of a number of subjects the United States had supported the inclusion of the subject and was in full agreement

with the purpose of the proposed action, but did not agree that setting specific targets or dates was an effective approach toward achieving the desired goal.

On October 17, during the final plenary consideration of the Strategy, Senator Javits said:

... the Strategy and the Decade address themselves to the most central economic and social problem on man's immediate agenda—namely, can the benefits of modern technology be made available in sufficient measure to all mankind to lift off the backs of hundreds of millions of peoples in the developing world much of the burden of ceaseless toil and anxiety that they have endured for centuries?

The proclamation of an internationally accepted development strategy is a major step toward a systematic and more rational approach to the economic and social development so desired by all men, and will greatly enhance the efforts of developing and developed countries alike. It will also provide the basis for a meaningful coordination of national and international programs.

My Government joins, therefore, in this solemn effort of promulgating a global development strategy of development. . . .

Without a vote the Assembly adopted the Strategy, subject to the reservations and observations made in the Second Committee, on October 24.

## Economic Cooperation

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### Economic Commission for Europe

ECE, oldest of the regional economic commissions, was established immediately following the Second World War to assist in the reconstruction of the European economy. Its

original concerns were with the basic sectors of the economy and with the fundamental problems of production, distribution, and trade in Europe. Today, over a generation later, almost all its members have highly industrialized economies and their problems are related to growth, complexity, and technology. ECE is also concerned with many

issues, such as environment, which go beyond conventional economic problems.

The Commission is composed of the European members of the United Nations, the United States, and the Federal Republic of Germany; Switzerland is an observer. Its activities are not limited to its members, however, and any UN member can participate in ECE meetings on subjects of interest to it.

During 1970 environment was a major concern of the ECE which focused its attention on preparations for its Ministerial Conference on the Environment to be held in Prague, Czechoslovakia, in May 1971. A preparatory meeting for the Conference was held in March, and the first meeting of Senior Governmental Advisers on Environment in December considered a draft program of work to be finalized at the Prague Conference. Additional environmental activities included a seminar on river basin management held in London in June, a seminar on the desulphurization of fuels and combustion gases held in Geneva in October, and the regularly scheduled meetings of the Committee on Water Problems and the Working Party on Air Pollution. The United States took an active role in each of these environmental activities.

At its 25th plenary session held in Geneva, April 14-24, ECE instructed its Committee on Development of Trade to consider the Executive Secretary's Analytic Report on Intra-European Trade (i.e., East-West trade), paying particular attention to the recommendations on the practical steps that might be taken to promote, facilitate, and diversify such trade. Subsequently, at its 19th session, in December, the Committee agreed on measures for an informal meeting of experts on East-West trade to discuss the actions required to carry out some of the practical measures suggested in the analytic report.

ECE continued its significant economic and technical cooperation. In addition to the exchange of information, substantive discussions during 1970 took place concerning the establishment of international safety standards on the construction of automobiles, the facilitation of customs procedures and documents concerning container transport, factors affecting labor productivity in rolling mills, mathematical methods and computer techniques, the construction of low-cost housing, and the standardization of agricultural products.

## Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East

ECAFE, with 27 members and 4 associate members, has a geographical scope extending from Fiji to Iran, and from Japan to New Zealand. During 1970, the Commission concentrated on preparations to assist member nations in meeting their social and economic development goals for the Second UN Development Decade and on ways to expand regional trade. With U.S. support, the Commission launched several new undertakings, including the Asian Statistical Institute in Tokyo, a regional telecommunications survey, and the South-East Asia Iron and Steel Institute.

As one of the five nonregional members (France, Netherlands, U.S.S.R., U.K., U.S.), the United States took part in all major ECAFE meetings during the year, including the Commission's 26th plenary session in Bangkok, April 14-27. The Commission adopted several resolutions, including one on population in relation to economic and social development, which the United States strongly supported, and one on performance evaluation during the Second UN Development Decade.

Also during 1970, the Territory of



Papua and New Guinea was admitted as an associate member, Bangkok was selected as the permanent headquarters of the Commission, and numerous steps were taken to streamline the administration and functioning of the Commission.

The United States took part in the annual meetings of ECAFE's standing committees on trade, industry and natural resources, and transport and communications. Other meetings attended by the United States dealt with typhoons, population, social development, water resources, telecommunications, statistics, offshore prospecting for minerals, petroleum, mining legislation, and regional industrial development. In addition, the United States supported ECAFE activities by providing the services of experts and advisers in such fields as statistics, geology, water resources, population, and trade development.

The United States continued to contribute to the program of the Mekong Coordinating Committee which is developing, under international auspices, plans for several hydroelectric and irrigation systems in the lower Mekong River Basin, which includes parts of Cambodia, Laos, Thailand, and the Republic of Vietnam. In 1970, the United States provided the services of a water resources adviser, a systems analyst, and an engineer adviser to the Committee.

During the past year the feasibility study for the first stage of the Pa Mong multipurpose mainstream project between Laos and Thailand was completed. Studies were initiated on the potential of islands that will emerge in the Pa Mong reservoir, and the problems that will be encountered in the resettlement of population in the reservoir area. Work continued on a study of waterborne diseases and investigations to determine the availability of groundwater and potash in the Basin area, and investigations began into the potential for a fishery industry in the

Nam Ngum reservoir. Preliminary design work on a dike to be constructed above Vientiane on the Laos side of the river was also initiated.

Construction of the \$31 million Nam Ngum Dam in Laos continued with completion of the dam scheduled for mid-summer 1971. The United States is providing half of the costs of the dam which is financed by an IBRD-managed fund.

## Economic Commission for Latin America

ECLA was established in 1948 to assist member governments in solving problems related to formulating and coordinating economic development policies and technical assistance programs. Its members are 24 Latin American countries, the United States, the United Kingdom, France, the Netherlands, and Canada; British Honduras and the West Indies Associated States are associate members.

ECLA meets biennially to study the recent economic development of the area, review the activities of its committees and subgroups, and establish a program for future work. There was no meeting of the Commission in 1970. However, the Committee of the Whole held two extraordinary sessions, its fifth and sixth, at UN Headquarters in New York during 1970.

The fifth extraordinary session, May 4-7, was convened to discuss trends in the Latin American economy and decide on future methods of financing the Latin American Institute for Economic and Social Planning (ILPES). ILPES was established by ECOSOC in 1962 to provide training and advisory services and to undertake research in economic planning techniques for member countries. It has been financed as a project of the UN Special Fund with the support of the Inter-American Development Bank which en-

sured its financing for an initial 5-year period, as well as a subsequent 4-year period. Although the United States agreed to the continuation of ILPES, it opposed 10-year UNDP financing for the Institute, favoring instead only short-term financial arrangements. With support from other developed countries for the U.S. position, an amended resolution was adopted by a vote of 28 (U.S.) to 0, with 1 abstention, which deleted all references to long-term financing.

The sixth extraordinary session of the Committee of the Whole, June 22-23, was devoted exclusively to considering means of providing international aid to assist Peru's recovery from the effects of the earthquake which struck that country in May. After extensive debate the Committee approved two resolutions.

The first resolution was sponsored by 23 members and unanimously adopted. *Inter alia*, it expressed sympathy to Peru, urged continued assistance from ECLA members, requested the Secretary-General to ask the UNDP and specialized agencies to use maximum resources to meet Peruvian requests for assistance in reconstruction, and requested ECOSOC (1) to recommend that countries make additional contributions to the UNDP, taking into account the special needs of Peru as well as other exceptional needs, and (2) to urge the IBRD to give special consideration to Peruvian credit requirements because of the serious situation there.

The second resolution, introduced by Cuba and cosponsored by Chile and Mexico, requested ECOSOC to recommend the establishment of a UN disaster relief fund, the first task of which would be to provide for all of Peru's immediate reconstruction needs. This resolution was adopted by a vote of 12 to 6 (U.S.), with 8 abstentions.

In explaining his vote against this resolution the U.S. Representative noted that bilateral assistance imme-

diately after a disaster was considerably more effective and rapid than multilateral assistance rendered by the United Nations. The United States believes that a permanent UN institution designed solely to provide immediate relief after disasters would immobilize scarce resources that could better be devoted to meeting the continuing problems of development. The United States supported a UN role in the later phases of rehabilitation, however, because the United Nations has the continuing presence in a country needed to carry out longer term rehabilitation operations.

(See p. 108 for more on disaster relief.)

## Economic Commission for Africa

The ECA is the only Africa-wide economic organization. Its membership includes all African countries except South Africa; France, Spain, and the United Kingdom are associate members. It is the only UN regional economic commission of which the United States is not a member, but the United States actively supports its activities by maintaining a full-time liaison office at its headquarters in Addis Ababa, attending a number of its meetings, and providing technical and economic assistance.

ECA is charged with the task of promoting and facilitating concerted action for the economic and social development of Africa; maintaining and strengthening the economic relations of African countries and territories; undertaking research and studies of economic and technical development; collecting, evaluating, and disseminating economic, technological, and statistical information; and assisting in the formulation of coordinated policies for promoting economic development in the region. The Commission also provides ad-

visory services to its members in various economic and social fields.

To carry out these tasks ECA's activities in 1970 included the following: (1) establishment in Addis Ababa of an African Trade Promotion Center; (2) training of African government officials in administration; (3) seminars on youth services programs and on education and training for development; (4) meetings of the Preparatory Committee for the African Population Conference and the Working Group on Fertility Studies and Population Programs; (5) an East African sub-regional meeting on housing finance; (6) a symposium on the utilization of science and technology in Africa; and (7) the establishment in the ECA secretariat of a Population Division and an Economic Research and Planning Division. In addition, ECA sponsored studies on livestock development in Africa, the promotion of private investment, the mobilization of domestic savings, and the feasibility of a Trans-Saharan and an East-West highway system.

Besides participating in many of these meetings, the United States supported ECA activities by providing training for African officials, and by providing American experts in such fields as agriculture, trade, livestock production and marketing, industrial development, water resources, statistics, and demography. In addition, the United States continued to provide, in 1970, a special adviser on agricultural matters to the Executive Secretary of ECA.

## UN Development Program

The UNDP is the world's largest program of multilateral technical assistance. It is the hub for all technical assistance activities in the UN system and disburses over 70% of the funds expended by the various international organizations involved. The UNDP responds to requests from

member states for assistance designed to provide the necessary basis for the attraction of investment capital. All states that are members of the United Nations, the specialized agencies, or the IAEA are eligible for assistance, and UNDP projects are currently underway in some 130 countries and territories.

Projects of 2- to 5-year duration in such fields as agriculture, education, disease eradication, transportation, and 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 the United Nations or one of the other organizations of the UN system.

The UNDP has its headquarters in New York. Its Administrator, Paul Hoffman, is an American, while its Deputy Administrator, C. V. Narisimhan, is an Indian. Mr. Narisimhan is also an Under Secretary-General of the United Nations and Chef de Cabinet to the UN Secretary-General. On December 7, 1970, the UN Secretary-General announced extension of the Administrator's term of office for a 1-year period beginning January 1, 1971. Mr. Hoffman has served as Administrator of the UNDP since its founding in 1966. Previously he served as Managing Director of the UN Special Fund during the entire period of its operation.

### POLICY AND ADVISORY BODIES

The UNDP's policies are established by a 37-nation Governing Council which meets twice each year, ordinarily at New York in January and at Geneva in June. The Council approves the program and administrative recommendations of the Administrator, and, since it is entrusted with the supervision of all UN technical cooperation activities, also reviews the program of technical as-



sistance financed from the regular UN budget. The Governing Council is composed of representatives of 17 developed countries and 19 developing countries, with one seat alternating between the two groups. The United States has been a member of the Governing Council since the UNDP's establishment in 1966.

In addition, the UNDP receives advice from an Inter-Agency Consultative Board (IACB) and from an Advisory Panel on Program Policy. The IACB, which provides other organizations of the UN system with consultative participation in the UNDP's decision- 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 prior to each Governing Council session in order to review projects proposed by the Administrator and to advise him concerning the appropriate executing agencies.

The Advisory Panel on Program Policy was appointed by the Administrator on September 30, 1970, to provide "creative thinking on new approaches to development." The Panel, headed by David A. Morse, former Director General of the ILO and a U.S. citizen, is comprised of nine specialists in economic development and six *ex officio* members, including the UN Under Secretary-General for Economic and Social Affairs and the executive secretaries of the UN regional economic commissions.

#### **FIELD ORGANIZATION**

A key element in the UNDP operation is the field representative, known as the resident representative, who advises the host government on development planning and UN assistance and coordinates the operation of UNDP-financed programs within the country under his jurisdiction. Designated by the 25th General Assembly as leaders of the UN teams in their

respective countries, many of the 94 resident representatives have on their staffs representatives of the FAO and UNIDO in the roles of senior agricultural and industrial advisors. Fourteen resident representatives are U.S. citizens.

#### **FINANCING**

The financial resources of the UNDP come principally from voluntary contributions pledged by governments. During 1970, 126 governments pledged \$226.1 million compared with \$198.6 million pledged in 1969. In addition, assisted governments contributed about \$15 million for local costs of projects. The United States—which has been the leading contributor to the UNDP since its founding—pledged \$86.3 million in 1970, subject to the condition that its contribution should not exceed 40% of the governmental contributions, including assessed and audited local costs.

#### **DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE**

The largest projects mounted by the UNDP are in the Special Fund, or preinvestment, component. Costing an average of slightly more than \$2 million each, with funds provided jointly by the UNDP and the recipient countries, these projects may engage the services of a score of international experts and a substantial quantity of equipment. Approximately 800 such projects were underway at the end of 1970. At its two regular sessions in 1970, the Governing Council approved 161 Special Fund projects expected to cost a total of \$361 million. Of this amount, \$139 million will be provided by the UNDP and \$222 million by the recipient governments in the form of counterpart contributions. The Council's action raised the number of Special Fund projects approved since 1959 to a net of 1,234 (the total number approved less those subsequently canceled), with financing to consist of \$1.2 billion in UNDP resources and

\$1.7 billion in counterpart contributions.

Of the projects approved through 1970, a total of 479 are surveys of natural resources and/or feasibility studies, 444 involve technical education and training, 277 provide for applied research, and 34 consist of economic development planning.

By economic sector, the projects are as follows: agriculture, 457; industry, 323; public utilities, 180; construction and physical planning, 21; health, 15; education and science, 106; social welfare, 6; public administration and other services, 57; and multi-sector, 69.

By geographic region the projects are divided as follows: Africa, 455; Asia and Oceania, 310; the Americas, 283; Middle East, 95; Europe, 85; and interregional or global, 6.

Projects undertaken by the UNDP under its Technical Assistance component consist primarily of fellowships and advisory services. The approximately 2,500 such projects financed by the UNDP each year cost an average of only \$2,500 each and may be completed in a period of several months. Expenditures for the projects have been determined on the basis of country targets and regional and interregional targets, with the former totaling \$49.2 million and the latter \$11.7 million for 1970.

#### **ADMINISTRATIVE REFORM**

In June 1966, the Governing Council requested the Administrator to undertake a study of the administrative capacity of the UNDP to handle a greatly enlarged program. Sir Robert Jackson of Australia was appointed by the Administrator to carry out the project, and his report, "A Study of the Capacity of the United Nations Development System," was completed in November 1969. In general, the report concluded that the *ad hoc* development of the UN economic and social system had resulted in cumbersome machinery, and it recommended a

wide-ranging series of reforms to ensure the creation of a centralized policymaking body located in a reorganized and strengthened UNDP.

Pursuant to procedures worked out at the 9th regular session of the Governing Council in January 1970, the report was considered at a special session of the Governing Council in March 1970 and again at the 10th regular session in June. The United States supported many of the basic recommendations and worked closely with a number of other governments in the two sessions of the Governing Council to elaborate them and to ensure their acceptance.

The reforms approved in June 1970 by the Governing Council—and supported with only minor reservations by the United States—included the adoption of a UN Development Cooperation Cycle (UNDDC), a process which lays particular stress on country programming in order to coordinate UNDP assistance with the recipient countries' own development plans. A UNDP country program will be formulated by the government of each recipient country in cooperation with representatives of appropriate organizations of the UN system under the leadership of the UNDP resident representative. In order to give the developing countries an indication of the magnitude of resources which may be available from the UNDP over a 5-year period of time and thus to facilitate formulation of their country programs, the Administrator was instructed to propose indicative planning figures for each recipient. When completed, country programs will be transmitted by the resident representatives to the Administrator, who will submit them to the Governing Council along with his recommendations for approval. In addition to the programming of UNDP assistance, the UNDDC includes the formulation, appraisal, approval, implementation, evaluation, and followup of specific projects. In this regard, the Govern-

ing Council delegated to the Administrator for a 3-year period authority to approve individual projects falling within the framework of country programs and authorized him to delegate such authority to the respective resident representatives. Moreover, it made clear that the Administrator was responsible for all aspects of project implementation, thus clarifying the issue of whether ultimate responsibility for projects rested with the UNDP or its executing agencies.

Of particular importance was the Governing Council's unanimous acceptance of the need for organizational changes in the UNDP, both at headquarters and in the field. Insofar as headquarters reorganization is concerned, the Governing Council provided the Administrator with guidelines including provision for the establishment of (1) a unit for long-term policy planning and (2) four regional bureaus with direct links to both the Administrator and the resident representatives. At the country level, the Governing Council called for maximum delegation of authority to the resident representatives and recognized the need to strengthen their role. In this regard it called for recognition of the resident representative as having full overall authority for the UNDP programs in their respective countries, and it stressed the importance of their central coordinating role with respect to all other development assistance programs undertaken by organizations in the UN system. The relationship of the resident representatives to the field representatives of other UN organizations was described as that of "leader of the team."

A number of important decisions were also taken to provide for a new financial and budgetary system designed to improve the management and utilization of UNDP resources. The major features of the new system include (1) creation of a single fund by complete amalgamation of the Special Fund and Technical Assistance components; (2) abolition of

the "full funding" concept employed for Special Fund projects and provision for fuller utilization of resources; (3) adoption of a more rational system for the allocation of resources between country programs, inter-country programs, program support services, and administrative services; and (4) provision for improved budget planning and for co-operation by the Administrator in efforts to achieve common budgeting policies and accounting systems throughout the UN system of organizations.

The Governing Council's consensus on organizational and operational reform of the UNDP was approved unanimously on July 22 by ECOSOC and without objection on December 11 by the General Assembly. The reforms were to be initiated in 1971 subject to the Governing Council's consideration at its 11th session of the Administrator's proposals for their implementation. They should contribute to the UNDP's increased effectiveness and enable it to meet more quickly and adequately the needs of the developing world.

#### **UN REGULAR PROGRAM**

Provision is made annually in the UN assessed budget for the Regular Program of Technical Assistance. Funding in 1970 amounted to \$6.9 million, of which \$1.5 million was for industrial development projects that were reviewed and approved by the Industrial Development Board of UNIDO. The remaining \$5.4 million was used for projects in the fields of nonindustrial economic development, social development, public administration, narcotic drug control, and human rights advisory services.

General policy guidance for the UN Regular Program of Technical Assistance is provided by the Governing Council of the UNDP. At the 10th session of the Governing Council in June 1970 the UN Commissioner for Technical Cooperation noted that as a result of the Council's



recommendations the Regular Program had begun to concentrate on those areas, such as human rights and public administration, where its distinct contribution could be more readily seen, and to restrict its aid to a limited number of countries. This was necessary because of the Regular Program's limited resources. As of the end of September 1970, the Secretary-General had approved projects for 1971 in only 83 of the more than 100 countries which had requested assistance. Further reduction was anticipated for subsequent years.

#### **UN VOLUNTEERS**

In 1970 a long considered proposal—a corps of UN Volunteers—came into being.

After discussing a report of the Secretary-General on the feasibility of creating an international corps of volunteers for development, the 49th ECOSOC on July 28 adopted by a vote of 22 (U.S.) to 0, with 3 abstentions, a resolution on the subject sponsored by Greece, India, and Pakistan. The Council noted "the interest which the United Nations is increasingly showing in the participation of youth in national and international development efforts," and recommended that the 25th General Assembly adopt a resolution (1) establishing as of January 1, 1971, an international group of volunteers to be designated collectively and individually as UN Volunteers; (2) requesting the Secretary-General to designate the Administrator of the UNDP as Administrator of the UN Volunteers and to appoint a coordinator within the framework of the UNDP to promote and coordinate the recruitment, selection, training, and administrative management of the activities of the UN Volunteers; and (3) inviting member states, organizations, and individuals to "contribute to a special voluntary fund for the support of United Nations Volunteers activities."

On December 7 the General As-

sembly adopted by a vote of 91 (U.S.) to 0, with 12 abstentions, the resolution recommended by ECOSOC. The Administrator of the UNDP then took steps to implement the program as quickly as possible. He appointed a consultant knowledgeable in volunteer activities and held a series of preliminary meetings with representatives of the ILO, FAO, UNESCO, and nongovernmental organizations concerned with international volunteer service to develop administrative and substantive guidelines for the program. One result of these meetings was the decision to establish a clearinghouse operation in Geneva which would receive applications, cooperate with international volunteer organizations, and—in cooperation with the UNDP—select the participants in the program.

#### **CAPITAL DEVELOPMENT FUND**

The General Assembly established the 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 market rates but greater use of existing institutions. 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 the pledges to the Fund did not amount to enough to make a separate administration economic.

On December 11, 1970, over the strong objections and negative votes of the major developed countries, the UN General Assembly approved by a vote of 78 to 9 (U.S.), with 21 abstentions, a resolution requesting the UN Secretary-General to invite member states to contribute separately at

the same pledging conference to the UNDP and the Fund, and requesting the UNDP Governing Council to consider "all possibilities for reaching the objectives of the United Nations Capital Development Fund." The UNDP Administrator's progress report to the Governing Council noted that possibilities for expanding and accelerating the work of the Fund were being explored, but until it had significantly more money with which to operate, transactions would be small and limited in number.

Total cumulative resources of the Fund through December 1970 consisted of pledges equivalent to \$4.4 million, of which about 90% were inconvertible currencies; the equivalent of \$1.9 million had been paid in. At the 1970 pledging conference on October 30, 25 countries pledged the equivalent of \$954,000. As in the past, the United States neither attended the pledging conference nor made a pledge. In fact, none of the developed countries made pledges. Although the Capital Development Fund has made "continuous efforts" to complete several projects, none had been completed through December 31, 1970.

## UN Conference on Trade and Development

UNCTAD is an organ of the UN General Assembly primarily concerned with the trade problems of developing countries. The United States is a member of the Trade and Development Board (UNCTAD's permanent organ) as well as all principal committees.

### TRADE AND DEVELOPMENT BOARD

The 55-member Board held two sessions in Geneva during 1970: its ninth (third part) from February 2 to 16, and its tenth, from August 26 to September 24. At the ninth session the Board completed most of its work on the international strategy

document for the Second Development Decade, continued work on generalized preferences in favor of developing countries, and considered the UNCTAD work program for coming years.

At its tenth session the Board discussed several issues involving DD-II. One of its major accomplishments was agreement on a text on shipping and ports, which the United States supported, for inclusion in the International Development Strategy. The Board also discussed UNCTAD III, scheduled for spring 1972, and accepted an "illustrative list" of subjects prepared for the provisional agenda which will be drawn up at the 11th session of the Board. The Board adopted a resolution on the transfer of technology that established an intergovernmental group to consider UNCTAD activities in this field. The Board also adopted, by consensus, a resolution on commodities dealing with market access and pricing policy. The United States supported the resolution subject to a clarification of its own point of view on pricing policy. Another resolution adopted by consensus invited the UNCTAD Secretary General to appoint an *ad hoc* group of experts on special measures in favor of the least developed among the developing countries. The Board members also discussed nontariff barriers, generalized preferences, trade between the socialist states of Eastern Europe and the developing countries, trade among developing countries, supplementary finance, and a link between reserve creation and development aid.

### COMMITTEES

Since the Second UNCTAD Conference in 1968 the Committee on Commodities has been trying to complete action on a series of policy recommendations not agreed on at that Conference. The Committee completed this task at its fifth session in July 1970. The United States played

an active role in making this possible, submitting draft texts and otherwise seeking to resolve the long-standing differences which had blocked agreement on a number of important policy questions. The Committee negotiated a resolution on the disposal of surpluses and strategic reserves on terms which the United States could accept, subject to certain interpretive statements. A potentially troublesome proposal that the UNCTAD Secretariat should convene or assist commodity consultations among producing or consuming countries was resolved by establishing certain safeguards to protect the interests of other countries. Finally, as a result of a U.S. initiative well in advance of the meeting, a resolution was negotiated defining the extent of commitment that the Western developed countries could undertake on the two sensitive issues of access to markets and commodity pricing policy. It failed of adoption, due to a last minute complication, but was referred to the Board and later adopted by that body.

These actions cleared the way for the Commodities Committee to shift its attention to a program of studies it has undertaken to explore. These include newly stressed approaches to commodity trade problems—such as diversification to help avoid or reduce over-production—and an increased research and development effort to help natural products subject to competition from synthetics.

The Committee on Manufactures at its fourth session, January 20–30, discussed nontariff barriers affecting the exports of developing countries, with those countries urging establishment of a new permanent UNCTAD committee to work on liberalization. The developed countries, including the United States, resisted creation of such a committee and discussion of this issue is expected to continue at future sessions of the Committee. Other items covered at the fourth session include the work of the special

intergovernmental group on tariff reclassification, restrictive business practices, and cooperation with UNIDO for developing industrial production and exports.

Holding its fourth session in two parts (March 31–April 17 and September 21–October 12), UNCTAD's Special Committee on Preferences discussed the proposals of 18 developed countries to grant nonreciprocal, nondiscriminatory generalized tariff preferences to the exports of developing countries. At these meetings the United States continued to press for the establishment of a liberal system of generalized preferences which would benefit all developing countries and which would eliminate some of the discrimination that now exists in world trade. The U.S. delegation consulted widely with representatives of the developing countries to explain the U.S. proposals and to obtain their views. After intensive discussion the Committee produced a report containing "Agreed Conclusions" on such aspects of preferences as safeguard mechanisms, reverse preferences, special preferences, beneficiaries, duration, and institutional arrangements. Most importantly, members of UNCTAD approved the preference proposals as the basis for a "mutually acceptable" system of generalized preferences to benefit the developing countries. UNCTAD also noted the intention of the prospective preference-giving countries to seek the necessary legislative actions as rapidly as possible in order to implement the preferences as early as possible in 1971. Agreement by the developed countries to undertake this commitment represented one of the most important trade policy actions ever taken to meet the recognized need for special treatment of the developing countries.

The *ad hoc* Working Group on Rules of Origin, established by the Special Committee on Preferences, held its second (July 2–8) and third (December 7–15) sessions in 1970.



At the second session it examined several technical aspects including the criteria for determining substantial transformation of goods in international trade which might affect their origin and the possibility of devising a common certificate of origin form. At its third and final session the Working Group produced a report with "Agreed Conclusions" on various subjects such as wholly produced goods, minimal processes, direct consignment, and treatment of packing. The prospective preference-giving countries said that they would introduce rules of origin taking the agreed conclusions into account as fully as possible. The developing countries agreed that they would take the appropriate domestic action required on their part to implement the conclusions. During the discussion on rules of origin, the U.S. delegation sought to assure that origin requirements would be as uniform as possible, simple to administer, and lead to generally comparable conditions of access to developed countries' markets.

The Committee on Invisibles and Financing Related to Trade, at its fourth session at Geneva, July 20-31, considered the flow of financial resources and a report submitted in connection with the study of the balance of payments effects of private foreign investment. The Committee welcomed the case studies that had been carried out and decided that such studies should be continued, with broadened terms of reference to take into account other effects of private foreign investment, especially those on income, employment, the transfer of technology and skills, the creation of external economies, and the impact on the domestic market structure. The Committee also adopted resolutions on "continuity in provision of financial resources for development" and on "special measures in favor of the least developed among the developing countries." With respect to the latter, the United States and other developed countries

opposed the adoption of any provisions that would lessen the importance of self-help efforts by developing countries.

The Committee on Shipping at its fourth session, April 20-May 4, reached agreement on important resolutions on the expansion of the merchant marines of developing countries and on improved relations with the shipping conferences. These have been points at issue between the major maritime nations and the developing countries ever since UNCTAD was established. The United States has frequently disagreed on these issues with the other developed maritime nations, which have long opposed U.S. use of cargo reservations to assist its merchant marine and its national regulation of international shipping conferences.

The Committee recognized the principle that the shipping lines of developing countries should be admitted as full members of liner conferences operating in their national commerce and should have an increasing and substantial participation in the carriage of cargoes generated by their foreign trade. The developed countries were unwilling to endorse cargo preference measures but subsequently agreed broadly, in the context of the Second Development Decade, that developing countries could adopt such measures as may be appropriate to permit their shipowners to compete in the international freight market and thus contribute to a sound development of shipping.

Other resolutions called for improvements in the liner conference system in order to eliminate unfair practices and discrimination, to strengthen machinery for consultation with shippers and public authorities (especially regarding changes in freight rates), and to give special attention to the needs of the least developed countries to reduce the costs of their maritime transport and develop their ports.

As a result of decisions reached at the eighth session of the Trade and Development Board in 1969 an intergovernmental group meeting was held November 2-19 to consider trade expansion, economic cooperation, and regional integration. The session adopted some general conclusions regarding measures that might help to increase trade among the developing countries, including aid untying, financial and technical assistance, and multilateral payments arrangements, as appropriate. The United States supported efforts to untie bilateral financial assistance. The United States also stated its view that developing countries' payments arrangements should be supported by the participating countries and not depend on external assistance. In addition, the meeting discussed establishing *ad hoc* working groups to consider national and international support for expanding trade among the developing countries.

## General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade

With the addition in 1970 of Mauritius and the U.A.R., 78 nations were contracting parties to the GATT as of December 31, 1970. Additionally, one country, Tunisia, has acceded provisionally and 14 apply the GATT on a *de facto* basis. As a provisional agreement designed to spur the economic growth of its contracting parties by eliminating barriers to world trade, the GATT continues to be the principal legal instrument by which U.S. economic interests are protected and enhanced in the field of international trade policy.

The GATT consists of (1) agreed rules designed to insure that trade among the contracting parties is conducted on a fair and equitable basis, (2) procedures for application of these rules, and (3) schedules of tariff rates extended and legally bound by

individual contracting parties to all other contracting parties. Almost as important, the GATT contracting parties have established forums in which general and specific trade problems and disputes may be discussed.

While not a part of the UN system, the GATT Contracting Parties, functioning as an institutional entity, has cooperated closely with UN organizations. For example, the GATT Contracting Parties and UNCTAD jointly operate an International Trade Center to assist developing countries in their export development efforts.

Since entering into force on January 1, 1948, the GATT has provided the framework for six multilateral rounds of tariff negotiations, culminating in the Kennedy Round, completed June 30, 1967. The tariff reductions negotiated in the Kennedy Round are going into effect in five yearly stages, the third of which was implemented on January 1, 1970. A number of countries have accelerated the implementation of their Kennedy Round tariff reductions.

The Session of the Contracting Parties is the highest forum of the GATT and, as such, provides the impetus toward future work conducted under GATT auspices. The 26th Session met February 16-28 and in its conclusions emphasized the need to maintain the momentum of trade liberalization. The United States fully concurred in the conclusions of the Contracting Parties, which also stressed the importance of dealing with the trading problems of developing countries. The standing committees of the GATT were directed

on the basis of the comprehensive preparatory work that they have already done and of such additional work as may prove to be necessary, to proceed with the task of formulating conclusions on possibilities for concrete action that might appropriately be taken to deal with the problems that arise in the field of industrial and agricultural trade.

The Contracting Parties further directed the prompt completion of a

comprehensive study of the expected tariff situation after the full implementation of all Kennedy Round concessions in 1972. The purpose of the study is to provide information useful in possible future tariff negotiations.

During the remainder of 1970, the documentary inventories of nontariff barriers in the fields of industrial and agricultural trade were revised and extended and discussions were held on possible ways of approaching negotiations on this imposing array of trade impediments.

At the December 14-15 meeting of the GATT Committee on Trade and Development, many of the developing contracting parties to the GATT clearly announced their dissatisfaction with the rate of progress in dealing with their particular trade problems. A proposal was advanced for the establishment of a small, select group of developed and developing country representatives to consult with representatives of individual contracting parties, and thereafter to propose solutions to some specific developing country trade problems. At the end of 1970, the GATT Contracting Parties were considering the proposal.

The working party on border tax adjustment continued to meet in 1970. However, agreement could not be reached on the trade effects, if any, of current border adjustments. The working party recommended and the contracting parties approved—through their Council of Representatives—the adoption of a U.S. proposal for notification of changes in border tax adjustments and procedures for consultation regarding these adjustments.

## Commodity Trade

Much of the intergovernmental consideration of problems concerning trade in primary commodities takes place within the UN framework. One center of activity is FAO's Committee

on Commodity Problems, which keeps developments in agricultural trade under review, deals with such general questions as disposal of agricultural surpluses, and sponsors meetings on particular commodities—usually through formally established study groups.

Another is UNCTAD's Committee on Commodities, which exercises general surveillance over all intergovernmental commodity activities. In addition, UNCTAD's Secretary General convenes commodity conferences to negotiate formal agreements and arranges other meetings on specific commodities, as appropriate.

There are also independent commodity councils administering the international agreements that are in force for tin, sugar, coffee, wheat, and olive oil; independent study groups that deal with rubber, cotton, lead-zinc, and wool; and certain GATT committees concerned with commodities. The U.S. Government participates in most of these intergovernmental commodity activities.

The highlights of the year's activities on commodity trade within the UN framework are described below.

### TIN

The UN Tin Conference, sponsored by UNCTAD and held in Geneva from April 13 to May 15, negotiated the Fourth International Tin Agreement to replace an agreement due to expire on June 30, 1971. The U.S. Government participated in the negotiations but with no prior commitment that it would accede to the agreement. While not a member of the Tin Agreement, the United States consults with the International Tin Council regarding disposals from the U.S. stockpile, as they may relate to the buffer stock operations of the Agreement. It also cooperates in the Council's statistical and technical activities. A principal U.S. objective in the 1970 negotiations was to strengthen the elements of the agreement protecting consumers of tin.



The new agreement follows the pattern of previous tin agreements, relying on a buffer stock as the chief mechanism for stabilizing prices and providing for possible export quotas to reinforce the buffer stock operation. Proposals to increase the size of the buffer stock and to require that consuming countries share in the financing failed to carry. However, one consuming country, the Netherlands, announced that it would make a voluntary contribution. Certain changes were made to bring the buffer stock generally into line with the criteria governing use of the IMF's new buffer stock financing facility.

In November the IMF Executive Directors reviewed the text of the agreement and decided that, subject to certain conditions, its facility could be used to help finance required contributions to the tin buffer stock.

#### **WHEAT**

Upon invitation of the International Wheat Council, UNCTAD sponsored two meetings, in August and September, of a preparatory committee to examine the bases for a new International Grains Arrangement. The preparatory committee cleared the way for the convening of a formal negotiating conference in early 1971.

#### **COCOA**

Negotiations for a cocoa agreement, begun in 1962, reached an impasse in 1969. In the hope of establishing a basis for resuming negotiations, UNCTAD's Secretary General convened a meeting of the UNCTAD Cocoa Consultative Group in June 1970. It had been expected that the main issue would be the producing countries' desire to raise the target price range from the levels agreed in June 1968. The issue did not arise, however, presumably because current market prices would not have supported the request for higher target prices.

The meeting concentrated instead on technical issues regarding the sales quotas and buffer stock provisions of the draft agreement. It became clear that there were serious misgivings regarding their workability and considerable sentiment for clarifying and simplifying the draft agreement. The meeting adjourned on the understanding that UNCTAD's Secretary General would work on the technical issues, in consultation with interested governments. The date of any further meeting was left open, but the Secretary General continued to express hope that negotiations might be resumed in 1971.

#### **IRON ORE**

Basic changes in consumer needs, world production, and trade are occurring with respect to iron ore—a product of major export interest to many developing countries. Although there have been various studies of this product in ECE and OECD, none has looked at the particular problems faced by developing country exporters. In January UNCTAD sponsored an *ad hoc* consultation on iron ore to examine the questions of investments, freight rates, and price trends. No further meetings were scheduled, but it was understood that the Secretary General might conduct further studies and call another *ad hoc* meeting in time.

#### **TEA**

Pressures for a long-term agreement on tea continued in 1970, despite evidence that not all producing or consuming countries want an agreement at this time.

At the first meeting of the Working Party on Long-Term Measures (a subsidiary of the FAO Consultative Committee on Tea) in June 1970, it was decided to ask the executive heads of FAO and UNCTAD to appoint "conciliators" to consult with

the tea exporting countries in order to narrow the differences among them which have blocked progress toward an agreement. The United States abstained on this action since it considered that the decision to seek an agreement was taken on the basis of inadequate information and possibly faulty assumptions. The Working Party also encouraged the exporting countries to continue an informal export quota arrangement, pending conclusion of a long-term agreement.

When the Consultative Committee met late in 1970, the conciliators had little progress to report, and the exporters group had only partially completed plans for an informal arrangement for 1971, with no agreement on allocation of the proposed global quota among the exporting countries.

The United States has consistently urged that more attention be paid to trade-expanding, rather than trade-restricting, measures as a means of helping the exporting countries. The United States therefore particularly welcomed the decision of the Consultative Committee to establish a Standing Group on Promotion, which will explore the possibilities of expanding tea consumption in various countries.

#### **FATS AND OILS**

The recommendation for action on individual commodities adopted at the Second UNCTAD Conference in 1968 placed responsibility jointly upon the Director General of the FAO and the Secretary General of UNCTAD to study possible solutions to problems of trade in fats and oils and to consider, in consultation with interested governments, the necessity for establishing a consultative committee on oilseeds, oils, and fats to take the place of the FAO Study Group.

In line with this mandate, the FAO and UNCTAD executive heads jointly convened a special session of the Study Group in London, January 26–February 6. The issue domi-

nating the meeting was a procedural proposal that the proposed Consultative Committee be a joint body of the FAO and UNCTAD. The UNCTAD secretariat had, for some time, contributed to the servicing of the Study Group, which was generally referred to as the FAO/UNCTAD Study Group on Oilseeds, Oils, and Fats. Technically, however, the Study Group remained a subsidiary of the FAO Committee on Commodity Problems and it was primarily supported by the FAO secretariat. The intent of the proposal was to make the proposed new Consultative Committee a subsidiary of both the Committee on Commodity Problems and UNCTAD's Committee on Commodities.

Upon U.S. insistence, the special session recommended only that the proposal for a joint body be considered by the FAO and UNCTAD Committees.

UNCTAD's Committee on Commodities was the first to consider this proposal, at its July session. The United States took the lead in defining ways in which UNCTAD might be more fully involved in preparing for and servicing the Consultative Committee and successfully opposed an UNCTAD recommendation that the Committee be legally a joint body of the two organizations. This question was left open for further consideration by FAO's Committee on Commodity Problems.

By the time of that meeting, the proponents of a joint body had reconsidered their position and were prepared to agree that the Study Group, or Consultative Committee, should remain an FAO body although with the understanding that UNCTAD might extend such support to the group as it considered feasible and appropriate.

Since improved data are essential to a more thorough study of the problems of fats and oils, a Statistical Subcommittee was established and met twice during the year. The

Study Group met late in the year to review the work of the Subcommittee, the supply and demand outlook, and other matters of current interest.

## UN Industrial Development Organization

UNIDO is an autonomous organization within the UN system which was established in 1966 to promote and accelerate the industrialization of the developing countries.

UNIDO's administrative and research activities are funded through the regular UN budget; its operational activities are funded primarily by voluntary contributions, principally from the UNDP but partly from an annual pledging conference. Another source of operational funds is the UN Regular Program of Technical Assistance. In addition, UNIDO has a Special Industrial Services Fund, a small revolving fund which under certain circumstances is replenished by UNDP.

UNIDO held its annual pledging conference on November 10. In keeping with its view that operational funds for UNIDO should come through the UNDP, the United States attended the conference to demonstrate its support for the organization, but did not make a pledge. By the end of the year a total of 65 nations contributed \$1.9 million to the organization. The administrative and research budget for 1970 was \$10,433,000.

### INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT BOARD

The United States is a member of UNIDO's Industrial Development Board, the policy-formulating body of 45 states which meets annually to review past activities and approve future programs of work. The fourth session of the Board met April 20-30 at UNIDO's headquarters in Vienna and was attended by 44 of the 45 Board members as well as a large

number of observers from other UN organizations and private groups.

The session was preceded by the second meeting of the UNIDO Working Group on Program and Coordination, April 6-17. This group was established largely at the urging of the developed countries, including the United States, to study in detail UNIDO's work program and budget. Although the U.S. delegation to the Working Group felt that a clearer statement of work priorities needed to be established, the businesslike session was considered a further improvement in UNIDO's effort to make itself a more effective organization.

The fourth session of the Industrial Development Board followed the pattern of recent Board meetings which have been generally harmonious with no serious confrontations between the industrialized and developing countries. This particular session, however, produced little of substantive importance. As in the past, the developing countries called upon UNIDO to be more vigorous in fulfilling its task to accelerate industrialization.

The major issue, and the one that consumed the bulk of its time, was the question of convening a special conference of UNIDO. Originally put forward at the Board meeting in 1969, the matter was raised again during the 24th General Assembly which requested the 1970 session of the Industrial Development Board to consider the matter again. At its fourth session the Board devoted a considerable portion of its time to finding a compromise between the developing country position which strongly favored a major conference and the industrialized country position which was one of hesitancy about the usefulness of such a conference and a desire to see the cost of any conference kept to a minimum. The Board unanimously approved the convening in Vienna in 1971 of a 1 week Special International Con-



ference of all members of UNIDO i.e., all members of the United Nations, the specialized agencies, and (AEA). To minimize the costs the 1971 Board session will be shortened by 1 week and this period of time will be used for the Conference. The convening of the Conference and the specific dates of June 1-8, 1971, were subsequently approved without objection by the 25th General Assembly on November 19.

#### **PROGRAM ACTIVITIES**

In 1970 UNIDO was designated as the executing agency for an additional nine UNDP preinvestment projects, raising the total to 64 UNDP projects valued at \$115 million.

The number of UNIDO industrial development field advisers grew from 10 to 20 in 1970. Supported by the United States as a technique for increasing the organization's effectiveness in the field, these advisers are financed by UNDP and attached to the offices of its resident representatives. Additional positions are being considered for 1971 to enlarge this network of advisers with regional responsibilities for UNIDO activities. During the year UNIDO also sponsored a large number of meetings, seminars, and training courses to assist the developing countries to industrialize.

## **UN Population Program**

The United States continued during 1970 its strong support for UN activities in population and family planning matters. President Nixon reiterated this support in his October 23 address to the UN General Assembly:

It is in the world interest to ensure that the quantity of life does not impair the quality of life.

As the UN enters its Second Development Decade, it has both the responsibility and the means to help nations control the population explosion which

so impedes meaningful economic growth. The United States will continue to support the rapid development of UN services to assist the population and family planning programs of member nations.

The UN Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA), under the direction of Rafael M. Salas of the Philippines and assisted by an 18-member Advisory Board, provides assistance to countries in planning, programing, and implementing population projects. Its activities are closely coordinated with those of other organizations—bilateral and multilateral, public and private—working in the same field.

In 1970 UNFPA completed its first full year as the central funding mechanism for UN population activities, and it more than met its fund-raising goal of \$15 million. On January 24 the United States pledged up to \$7.5 million; in addition more than 20 other countries pledged a total of over \$7.6 million.

The UNFPA allocated \$6.7 million to nearly 200 projects during the year. This compares with \$1.2 million approved for 27 projects in 1969. Major projects included a \$1.7 million contribution to Pakistan's family planning program and \$400,000 to provide contraceptive supplies and expert advisers on family planning services to the U.A.R. Many of the projects were closely coordinated with U.S. bilateral programs in the countries concerned.

The specialized agencies also drew on the UNFPA as well as their own regular budgets to increase their population and family planning activities in fields within their competence. For example, 40 countries received assistance in this area from WHO during 1970. The World Bank group of organizations (IBRD, IFC, IDA) also responded to a number of requests for technical and financial assistance in the population field. The IBRD made a \$2 million loan to Jamaica in June as its first lending operation for facilities which can be

used for population and family planning purposes.

On December 11 the UN General Assembly adopted a resolution (sponsored in the Second Committee by India and five other states) designating 1974 as World Population Year and requesting the Secretary-General to prepare, in consultation with interested member states, a detailed program of proposed measures and activities to be undertaken by the organizations of the UN system during that year. The United States strongly supported this resolution which was adopted by a vote of 71 (U.S.) to 8, with 31 abstentions.

Earlier, the General Assembly had included as one of the policy measures of the International Development Strategy for the Second UN Development Decade a call on developing countries, developed countries, and international organizations to deal with problems of population growth that hamper development.

## Statistical Activities

At its 16th session in Geneva, October 5-15, ECOSOC's Statistical Commission took the first steps toward developing an integrated system of demographic, manpower, and social statistics. The Commission recognized the importance of such a system as part of a long-range program to provide adequate and better integrated bodies of data for detecting, describing, and dealing with social problems. It concluded that work should continue on the study of the basic series and the necessary classifications and concepts of such a system. However, it emphasized, with strong U.S. support, that equal priority should also be given to developing a set of social indicators—such as measures of the adequacy of income, job satisfaction, rates of violent crime, and the impact of pollution on the comfort and safety of life—that throw light on areas of social concern.

The Commission agreed on a new approach to the preparation and presentation of the integrated 5-year plans for international statistical programs. It decided that the kind of descriptive material previously presented for its consideration should be incorporated in a comprehensive Directory of International Statistics which would not require revision as often as every 2 years. What the Commission needed for fruitful discussion of programs at its biennial sessions were policy-oriented documents that would deal with statistical programs in terms of their bearing on, for example, full employment, income distribution, educational opportunities, and social and economic disparities.

The Commission decided that the working group established by ECOSOC in 1968 to consult with representatives of the United Nations and the specialized agencies on establishing an integrated and coordinated statistical program should be continued. And, in view of the nature of the tasks to be undertaken between the 16th and 17th sessions, the group should be expanded to include the members from Czechoslovakia, Ghana, and the United Kingdom, in addition to those from the United States, the U.S.S.R., and France (Chairman). The Commission requested the Secretary-General to arrange for a meeting of the working group early in 1971 so that it could, *inter alia*, consider coordination among the various data banks now being developed by the United Nations and the specialized agencies, and consider how the needs of national statistical offices might best be met.

### VITAL STATISTICS

The Commission completed work on the revised international recommendations for improvement and standardization of vital statistics, and

unanimously approved a draft resolution for consideration by ECOSOC in 1971 which would promote the implementation of the recommendations.

#### **NATIONAL ACCOUNTS**

The Commission reviewed developments since the 15th session and considered its future work in several areas of national accounts and balances, including (1) arrangements for data collection based on the revised System of National Accounts (SNA) (and on the developed System of Material Product Balances (MPS) in the case of centrally planned economies); (2) preparation of manuals and the provision of other forms of assistance to developing countries seeking to establish, improve, and extend suitable systems of national accounts and correlated basic statistics; (3) development of a classification of goods and services that is linked with the International Standard Industrial Classification and an elaboration of the purpose and activity classifications of the SNA with respect to both government and private bodies serving households (for use in the system of demographic, manpower, and social statistics); (4) publication of "Basic Methodological Rules for the Compilation of the Statistical Balance of the National Economy," which contains the description of the MPS, and consideration of further work on links between the SNA and the MPS; (5) formulation of draft guidelines on the balance-sheet and revaluation accounts of the SNA; (6) development of guidelines for a system of price and quantity statistics to fit into the framework of national economic accounts; and (7) further work on the distribution of income, consumption, and wealth aimed at formulating proposals for a system of statistics in this area that would be complementary to the systems of national accounts.

#### **INDUSTRIAL STATISTICS**

The Commission considered the objectives, concepts, and methods of constructing and maintaining central registers of establishments and enterprises for use in the collection, processing, and tabulation of statistics of economic units and agreed to include this subject in its future work program. The Secretary-General was requested (1) to gather information on the practices and experience of countries that have developed such registers and on problems encountered in building and maintaining them; (2) to undertake preparation of a technical handbook on the subject; and (3) to report on the progress of this work at the 17th session.

Draft guidelines for the 1973 World Program of Industrial Statistics, covering the objectives, methods, scope, and content of national inquiries undertaken as part of the Program, were reviewed and approved with a few modifications. The Secretary-General was requested to revise the guidelines in the light of suggestions from the Commission, national statistical authorities, and interested international organizations, and to issue them as definitive international recommendations. The Commission also reviewed a draft background study of the distributive trades and services. Questions were raised on a number of points on which the Commission felt that further study was required, and the Secretary-General was requested to revise both the study and the international recommendations in this field, and to report on the work at the Commission's next session.

#### **OTHER SUBJECTS**

Among other subjects considered was a proposed classification of commodities in international trade by Broad Economic Categories (BEC), an earlier version of which had been disapproved on the basis of objections raised by the United States and other



countries. The Commission agreed unanimously that the revised version met the requirements specified at earlier sessions, and it approved publication of the BEC for international use and as a guideline for countries wishing to use or adapt it for national purposes.

The Commission reviewed the progress on revising the Standard International Trade Classification (SITC) and expressed its views on questions of policy that had arisen. The Commission decided that essential changes in the SITC should not necessarily be precluded simply to maintain historical continuity, but that each change should be evaluated on its merits. It also recommended that in revising the SITC a close relation be maintained with the Brussels Tariff Nomenclature, and that attention should also be given to needs for linking data classified according to the SITC with the economic activity classification in the International Standard Industrial Classification. The Commission took note of the preparatory work undertaken by the UN Statistical Office, the Conference of European Statisticians, and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA), on the development of a key between the revised SITC and the CMEA nomenclature.

On the basis of a report concerning the need for data analyzing international trade by mode of transportation, the Commission decided to include this subject in its program of future work, and recommended that the Secretary-General continue studying the problems involved and investigate the possibility of collecting such data for processing in the UN International Trade Statistics Center.

The Commission discussed the need for better statistical data on both external and internal migration. It concluded that a review should be undertaken of the international migration statistics, covering methods of collection, types of data, definitions employed, and tabulations published,

with a view to amending or extending the international standards on this subject which have not been changed since their adoption in 1953. The Commission felt that data collection on internal migration might not be an appropriate subject for worldwide recommendations because of the diversity of regional and even of national situations. Instead, it suggested consideration of techniques for compiling data and of the types of information with particular regional significance that might be appropriately undertaken in regional meetings.

## UN Institute for Training and Research

At its annual meeting in November UNITAR's Board of Trustees discussed and approved the training and research plans submitted by the Executive Director, Chief S. O. Adebo of Nigeria. The Board took three important decisions: (1) to establish a UN staff college to serve the entire UN system, (2) to focus research efforts on projects enhancing the effectiveness of the UN system, and (3) to establish a commission on "new perspectives in international cooperation" to examine major world trends in scientific and social developments that have implications for the future of the UN system.

An estimated budget of \$1,443,000 was adopted for 1971; the 1970 revised budget was \$1,340,000. In addition, some activities continued to be financed by special grants for fellowships, lectures, and special surveys. The United States again made a voluntary contribution of \$400,000 to be paid on a matching basis not to exceed 40% of the cumulative unrestricted cash contributions by all governments.

### GENERAL ASSEMBLY CONSIDERATION

The General Assembly's Second Committee considered UNITAR in

two meetings on November 9. The Executive Director presented his annual report in which he reviewed the training and research programs and discussed plans for the future. He noted that panels had been set up to examine training requirements in diplomacy and international economic cooperation, and that new programs were planned on multilateral diplomacy.

On the research side, UNITAR had completed during 1970 (1) an overall study and five country studies on the emigration of highly skilled manpower from the developing countries, (2) comparative country studies (U.K. and Peru) on measures against racial discrimination, (3) an analytical report of the findings of an international research conference on race relations, (4) a study on relations between the United Nations and the OAU, (5) a study of marine pollution problems and remedies, and (6) a case study in the verification of international treaties. The latter dealt with the methods and procedures by which the IAEA has established and administered safeguards designed to insure that the nuclear materials and information it makes available are not used for military purposes. Additional studies on the use by the mass media of information on the United Nations and on the transfer of technology from developed to developing countries were nearing completion at year's end.

Chief Adebo reviewed the priorities approved by the Board, which stressed operational research on the UN system and peace research. He also noted UNITAR's increased involvement in studies related to environmental problems and other issues arising from scientific and technological change.

Statements by some 27 delegations supported UNITAR activities, although with widely varying emphases on which projects should be accorded priority. There was also general support for improving UNITAR's finan-

cial condition, but no indication that the countries who should contribute more would in fact do so.

#### U.S. POSITION

Speaking for the United States Ambassador Glenn A. Olds said that UNITAR should pursue two fundamental principles in planning its research:

1. It should determine the fields in which it had special competence and could render useful service without duplicating the work of other agencies.

2. It should insure that it was directly helping to improve the effectiveness of UN operations.

In the latter connection the U.S. Representative urged that UNITAR deal in particular with the purposes and functions of UN committees and the operation of the General Assembly. He fully endorsed UNITAR's research efforts on the peaceful settlement of disputes, and suggested that it propose new measures and techniques in that field.

He observed that the prime objective of UNITAR training should be to improve the competence of UN staff, particularly at the middle and higher levels. He therefore welcomed the proposed UN staff college. He was pleased to note that the Executive Director and the Board of Trustees believed it could be established without placing any additional burden on the UNITAR budget.

Finally, he expressed the view that all countries concerned with the work of UNITAR should make a proportionate contribution to its financing.

The Second Committee unanimously adopted a resolution on November 9 introduced by Denmark and sponsored by 22 members, including the United States, which (1) took note of the Executive Director's report, (2) noted with satisfaction UNITAR's increasing effectiveness in the discharge of its responsibilities,

and (3) expressed the hope that it would have greater and wider financial support.

The General Assembly in plenary session adopted the resolution without objection on November 19.

## Social Cooperation

Social cooperation includes activities in such fields as health and nutrition, labor, education, vocational training, housing and urban development, crime prevention and control, and social welfare.

ECOSOC's Commission for Social Development has the primary responsibility for developing UN policy and programs in these fields, but specific aspects of social policy are also the concern of the Population Commission; the Commission on Human Rights; the Commission on the Status of Women; the Commission on Narcotic Drugs; and the Committee on Housing, Building, and Planning.

Programs in this field are carried out by a number of UN bodies including WHO, ILO, UNESCO, UNICEF, UNHCR, and the regional economic commissions.

## Social Development

Geneva was the site of a highly successful 21st session of the Commission for Social Development from March 4 to 20. The highlight of the session, the report on the September 1969 meeting of experts in Stockholm on social policy and planning in national development, gave further impetus to the Commission's discussion of the social aspects of planning for the UN Second Development Decade. The intersectoral approach to planning was identified in the Commission's discussion of social aspects of nutrition, land reform, and

trends in the social situation of children.

### **SOCIAL POLICY AND PLANNING AND THE SECOND DEVELOPMENT DECADE**

"Social Policy and Planning in National Development: Report on the Meeting of Experts, Stockholm, 1-10 September 1969," went far in clarifying the role of social factors in the development process.

The 10 development experts<sup>1</sup> who had met in Stockholm called the world's attention to the fact that in practice development leaves behind, or even in some cases creates, large areas of poverty, stagnation, marginality, and actual exclusion of people from economic and social progress. In their view development should be a single indivisible process and they urged a unified approach to development analysis and planning which would fully integrate the economic with the social approach in the formation of policies at the national and international levels. Such an approach should (1) leave no important section of the population outside the scope of change and development; (2) effect structural change and activate all sectors of the population and social organizations to ensure their participation in the development process; (3) aim at social equity, including the achievement of equitable distribution of income in the nation;

<sup>1</sup> From Brazil, Canada, India, Kenya, Mexico, Philippines, Poland, Sudan, Sweden, and United Kingdom.



and (4) give high priority to the development of human potentials, including the provision of employment opportunities and the needs of children.

Pointing out that the purpose of social development is to improve the quality of life, Mrs. Jean Picker, the U.S. Representative on the Commission for Social Development, said: "People, within their own societies, must be able to do more than just survive. They must have goals which are possible, and which are within their reach. And we believe there must be a method of measuring whether we are reaching these goals." The U.S. Representative supported the February 20 statement of the President of the IBRD that "development indicators" are needed that go beyond the measure of growth of gross national product to provide practical yardsticks of change in other economic, social, and moral dimensions of the modernizing process. She continued,

Indicators . . . could serve several purposes. They would be warning signals of dangerous or undesirable trends in national life, and could call attention to the need for remedial action before the problems reached a crisis. They could help assess the performance of a nation's social institutions, and of special programs established to remedy social ills. Finally, and more important, they could serve as the basis for more informed and enlightened planning and action in both public and private sectors.

The U.S. Representative then urged the United Nations to undertake the task of defining social indicators that would serve as measurements of development.

A resolution based on U.S. recommendations was unanimously approved by the Commission on March 19. The resolution, which should serve as the basis for the Commission's work during the Second Development Decade, *inter alia*, requested that (1) UN bodies preparing the strategy for the Second Development Decade consider the unified approach

to development and the role of the Commission for Social Development in examining social progress during the decade; (2) the UN Secretary-General undertake further work on the unified approach; (3) the Secretary-General ensure effective coordination of the work undertaken on social indicators of development by the UN Research Institute for Social Development and other agencies in the UN system, and assist governments in developing such indicators at both national and regional levels; and (4) the Secretary-General consult with the specialized agencies to further strengthen interagency cooperation in development work, particularly at the country level.

ECOSOC adopted substantially the same resolution on May 26.

On October 30 the General Assembly's Second Committee adopted by a vote of 68 (U.S.) to 0, with 8 abstentions, a resolution which confirmed the need for an integrated UN policy approach to development planning in the Second Development Decade and requested ECOSOC to ensure the contribution of the Commission for Social Development to the aspects of the International Development Strategy directly related to matters within the Commission's competence. On December 11 the General Assembly in plenary session approved the resolution by a vote of 100 (U.S.) to 0, with 10 abstentions.

#### **SOCIAL ASPECTS OF NUTRITION**

The Commission's discussion of nutrition centered on its interdisciplinary nature involving technical as well as economic and social factors. The fact that undernutrition was the result not only of low food production but also of inequitable distribution and of habits of consumption was noted, together with the marked variation in nutritional levels existing within as well as between countries.

The U.S. Representative emphasized the role of the family as the

basic social unit in any attempt to improve nutrition, and other delegates stressed the special needs of children and pregnant and nursing mothers. While agreeing with others that extensive research was necessary to identify nutritious foods, the U.S. Representative commented on the social problems involved in introducing new foods into peoples' eating habits. She suggested the possibility, instead, of increasing the nutritive value of traditional foods.

The U.S. Representative also noted that little research had yet been done on the socio-cultural restraints to improving nutrition in many societies (such as religious restrictions on diet) or on means of overcoming or bypassing such restraints.

On March 18 the Commission unanimously adopted a draft resolution which *inter alia* recommended that governments adopt adequate food and nutrition policies as an integral part of their national development plans for the Second Development Decade, with the aim of eliminating hunger and malnutrition and making available the benefits of proper nutrition to all sectors of the population, particularly children and other vulnerable groups. The FAO was requested to strengthen its assistance to governments in the formulation and implementation of sound food and nutrition policies, taking due account of the importance of education and research, the necessity for effective interdisciplinary and interagency collaboration, and the key role of women and the family as a whole. The resolution was subsequently approved by ECOSOC on May 26.

#### LAND REFORM

The Fifth Report on Progress in Land Reform was prepared by the Secretary-General in collaboration with the FAO and ILO, and based on the conclusions of the World Land Reform Conference held at Rome in

1966. The report disclosed that during the last decade, with some exceptions, little progress had been made toward the two main social objectives of land reform: the creation of better and more equitable living conditions in rural areas, and the bridging of the gaps in opportunities and incomes between rural and urban populations. Although there was some disagreement among Commission members over the methods of obtaining a redistribution of rural income, there was general acceptance of the goal itself. Many delegates emphasized the need for basic structural changes and financial services to accompany land reform programs.

Dr. Roland Perusse, Special Assistant to the Governor of Puerto Rico and a member of the U.S. delegation, identified the purpose of land reform as the use of land for the common good. He related Puerto Rico's experience with land reform programs and stressed the need for each country to develop its own policies and programs. He agreed with the Secretary-General that the prospects of the "green revolution," the term applied to the breakthrough in agricultural productivity achieved from the introduction of high yielding varieties of grain in many parts of the world, had made meaningful land reform more urgent than ever, and he supported the proposal of the UN Research Institute for Social Development that it undertake an intensive program of studies into the implications of the "green revolution."

On March 18 the Commission unanimously adopted a draft resolution that *inter alia* (1) expressed its concern that the Second Development Decade take fully into account the essential role of comprehensive agrarian reform, not only for rural development but also for balanced development as a whole, (2) recommended that the Secretary-General appoint a highly qualified specialist in the social aspects and overall planning of land reform to participate in

the work of the FAO Special Committee on Agrarian Reform, and (3) supported the UN Research Institute for Social Development's proposed study of the "green revolution."

ECOSOC approved the resolution on May 26.

#### TRENDS IN THE SOCIAL SITUATION OF CHILDREN

The emphasis in the study prepared by the Secretary-General on this subject was on the needs of the child and his right to adequate protection and effective preparation for a useful life. In endorsing the report the Commission expressed great concern for the plight of children in many countries because of malnutrition and lack of adequate health care and educational opportunity. However, there was a pervasive sense that the report had included little that was specific to remedy the situation.

Considerable stress was put on raising levels of living for the family. Members from developed countries spoke of family planning, parent education, and better preschool care. The United States drew attention to its approach of a guaranteed minimum family income, and the U.S. Representative also described various preschool programs in the United States designed to overcome cultural deprivation in children.

On March 18 the Commission unanimously adopted a resolution which *inter alia* (1) invited the Secretary-General and competent UN organizations, particularly UNICEF, to learn more about the needs of children and youth in order to assist governments in carrying out coordinated and intersectoral measures to satisfy those needs; (2) stressed the importance of the transition from adolescence to adulthood and recommended that the international community, and particularly UNESCO, devote special attention to the psychosociological problems involved; and (3) drew the attention of member states and UN organizations to the

need to increase their efforts to prevent and eliminate suffering among children, to meet the needs of handicapped children, and to protect children in unfortunate situations.

ECOSOC adopted the resolution on May 26.

## Social Defense Activities

The highlight of UN activities in the field of social defense was the Fourth UN Congress on the Prevention of Crime and Treatment of Offenders which convened at Kyoto, Japan, August 17-26. An official delegation of 26 members, chaired by the Honorable Roger J. Traynor, Chief Justice (retired) of the Supreme Court of California, represented the United States. Nearly 100 other U.S. citizens also registered officially as participants. A total of 366 delegates from 84 other nations participated in the Congress. In addition, 3 UN specialized agencies, 2 intergovernmental organizations, and 32 nongovernmental organizations were represented.

The principal agenda items for the Congress were (1) Social Defense Policies in Relation to Development Planning, (2) Participation of the Public in the Prevention and Control of Delinquency, (3) Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners in the Light of Recent Developments in the Correctional Field, and (4) Organization of Research for Policy Development in Social Defense.

In addition, lectures on significant developments in social defense were presented by experts from six different countries. Judge Traynor presented one of the papers, entitled, "The Role of Law in Protecting Prisoners' Rights." Others were presented by participants from Belgium, Bolivia, U.A.R., Uganda, and U.S.S.R.

Preparations for the Congress had been initiated in the United States a year in advance of the meeting. In response to the invitation of the



UN Secretary-General, a "national paper" entitled "The Administration of Justice in a Changing Society" was prepared under the supervision of an expert committee which included representatives of Federal agencies and national organizations in the field of social defense. The paper was made available in all conference languages.

As soon as working papers on the substantive items on the agenda were made available, an interagency planning group prepared position papers for the use not only of members of the official delegation but also of all U.S. citizens registered as participants in the Congress.

The Congress concluded that social defense planning should be an integral part of national planning and emphasized that the prevention of crime cannot be effectively undertaken unless it is closely related to economic and social development. The critical need for baseline information and the importance of training personnel in the methods of comprehensive planning were stressed. The United Nations was urged to support the gathering of statistics on a uniform basis and to provide additional training and research institutes to strengthen the competence of developing countries to undertake social defense planning. Developing countries were also urged to take greater advantage of available technical assistance resources in support of such efforts.

The Congress reached unanimous agreement concerning the need for greater public knowledge and participation in efforts to improve crime prevention and control. Special importance was attached to enlisting the cooperation of youth in volunteer activities and to the potential contributions of ex-offenders in such programs. It was proposed that the United Nations sponsor regional meetings and provide support for workshops and seminars in individual countries to focus upon issues relating

to greater public participation in social defense efforts.

The Congress emphasized the need to organize research programs to develop information critical to policy development in social defense. It urged the United Nations to consider the organization of workshops, seminars, and conferences to improve communication between researchers, policy makers, and administrators. The importance of regional and sub-regional systems of collaboration in social defense planning was stressed and the participation of the UN Social Defense Research Institute in such activities was recommended. The Institute was also called upon to provide in its work program opportunities for the training of research personnel.

It was the consensus of the Fourth Congress that the Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Offenders, adopted in 1955 at the First UN Congress, continued to be generally applicable to current practice. The Congress proposed, however, that in the light of current developments in correction a working party be created to undertake an evaluation of the Rules. It suggested that the working party consider the advisability of dividing the Rules into two groups, one including those containing fundamental principles which might at some future date form the basis for an international agreement, and the other including those devoted to technical issues relating to treatment which may be subject to modification or amendment.

The Congress adopted no formal resolutions, but its Steering Committee, of which both Judge Traynor and Dr. Thorsten Sellin, a U.S. participant, were members, presented to the final plenary session a Declaration which was unanimously approved.

The Declaration noted the urgency of the need for the world community of nations to improve its planning for economic and social development in the light of the increasing seriousness

and proportions of crime in many countries. It pointed to the serious consequences for society of the insufficient attention that is now being given to measures of crime prevention and called upon countries to coordinate and intensify their crime preventive efforts. It also urged the United Nations and other international organizations to strengthen international cooperation in crime prevention and to ensure the availability of technical assistance to countries desiring such assistance for the development of action programs in crime prevention and control. The Declaration concluded with the recommendation that special attention be given to the administrative, professional, and technical structure necessary for more direct and purposeful action in the area of crime prevention, including the treatment of offenders.

The Congress marks a significant turning point in the international approach to the issues relating to prevention of crime and treatment of the offender. For nearly a century, discussions of the Congresses had focused almost exclusively upon prison reform, but since the inception of the meetings under UN auspices, the discussions have focused upon wider issues. It was not until the Fourth UN Congress, however, that emphasis was placed upon the importance of viewing crime prevention and control programs in relationship to other human welfare services and activities. Also for the first time the Congress emphasized the relevance of the development of adequate information systems and research programs to support essential planning, both within the criminal justice system and for the integration of social defense into plans for social development.

Immediately following the Congress the UN Secretary-General convened a meeting of the Advisory Committee of Experts on the Prevention of Crime and Treatment of Offenders. Myrl E. Alexander, re-

cently retired Director of the U.S. Bureau of Prisons, represented the United States. The discussions of the group centered on the recommendations of the Congress and other proposals to strengthen the social defense program of the United Nations.

## Narcotic Drugs

The United States continued in 1970 to exercise strong leadership in international efforts to control and eventually eliminate the illicit production, trafficking in, and abuse of narcotic drugs. The United States was also concerned about the growing misuse of psychotropic substances such as LSD and amphetamines.

The main international body concerned with bringing multilateral cooperation to bear on all facets of narcotics and dangerous drugs—and by extension psychotropic substances—is the UN Commission on Narcotic Drugs, composed of 24 nations which are drug producers and/or major victims of this scourge. The Commission held two special sessions in 1970, one on psychotropic substances and one on integrated international action against drug abuse.

### PSYCHOTROPIC SUBSTANCES

Acting under a special authorization from ECOSOC, the Commission held its first special session in Geneva January 12–30. The session was limited to an examination, begun in 1967, of a draft document to control psychotropic substances which are not now under international control. In addition to the Commission members it was attended by representatives of 21 other governments, 4 international organizations, and 5 nongovernmental organizations. The session's work advanced sufficiently so that a plenipotentiary conference to prepare the final document for

signature and eventual ratification was scheduled for January 1971.

#### **NARCOTIC AND DANGEROUS DRUGS**

With the sharp increase in drug abuse has come the recognition that progress can be registered only with a concerted and simultaneous international attack on all aspects of the problem: supply, illicit traffic, and demand. The United States took the lead in calling for the second special session of the Commission, and an ECOSOC resolution adopted unanimously on July 24 asked the Commission to "consider short and long-term policy recommendations for integrated international action against drug abuse" and to submit a report by November 1 "for consideration and transmittal to the General Assembly for action at its 25th session."

The second special session met in Geneva September 28–October 2. A total of 36 governments, 7 international organizations, and 5 nongovernmental organizations took part.

The Commission examined in detail (1) the need for more effective ways to suppress the illicit drug traffic by strengthening national and international means of enforcement, (2) the need to end the illicit production of narcotic raw materials, and (3) the need to reduce the illicit demand for drugs of abuse.

The U.S. delegation presented a series of proposals concerning (1) the need for amendments to the Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs, 1953, to make it more fully effective in controlling the problem; (2) the need for sharper focus on the courses of action currently available under the Single Convention to secure more effective action by the parties; (3) the need to improve the efficiency of police and customs officers in all countries; (4) the need for the Commission and other international agencies to take a positive position in the development of proper drug abuse programs; (5) the need

for WHO and other bodies to develop the means for international collection and exchange of data on the treatment, rehabilitation, and social reintegration of addicts; (6) the need for further study of the socioeconomic measures required to facilitate the limitation and eventual suppression of illicit opium cultivation; and (7) the need for a special UN fund sustained by voluntary contributions to carry out an expanded UN program.

On October 2, by a vote of 18 (U.S.) to 0, with 5 abstentions, the Commission adopted a U.S.-initiated nine-power resolution recommending to ECOSOC that the Secretary-General establish a voluntary fund for drug abuse control. The U.S. delegation announced an initial contribution of \$2 million to the Fund, subject to congressional agreement. On November 11, by a vote of 22 (U.S.) to 0, with 2 abstentions, ECOSOC requested the UN Secretary-General to establish a UN Fund for Drug Abuse Control as an initial measure and as a matter of urgency.

In his address on October 23 to the 25th anniversary session of the General Assembly, President Nixon emphasized that the scourge of drugs could be eliminated through international cooperation. He urged all governments to support the recent recommendations of the Commission on Narcotic Drugs and to support a strengthened narcotics treaty that would restrict production solely to medical and scientific purposes.

On December 15, in a resolution adopted by a vote of 106 (U.S.) to 0, with 8 abstentions, the General Assembly strongly endorsed ECOSOC's decisions; welcomed the establishment of the UN Fund for Drug Abuse Control; and appealed to governments, to the organizations of the UN system, to foundations, and to the public in general to give full support to the efforts toward drug control.

By year's end the Secretary-General was completing details for the mechanics of the Fund's operation.



# Advisory Social Welfare Services

The UN program of Advisory Social Welfare Services, financed from the UN Regular Program of Technical Assistance (see p. 79), provides technical advisers, fellowships, professional literature, and assistance to demonstration projects in every geographical area of the world. The United States participated actively in this program.

UN Fellows from 21 countries, both developed and developing, were programed in the United States in 1970. They included officials and scholars concerned with social policy and planning, community development, social welfare administration, youth development, family and child welfare, social work education, family therapy, and rehabilitation. Their programs encompassed a variety of work-study-consultation arrangements, and included academic programs at such schools as Washington University, Syracuse University, San Diego State College, Case Western Reserve University, University of Michigan, University of Chicago, and the University of Missouri.

Eight of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare's 10 regional offices helped program the Fellows by bringing them in touch with the facilities most appropriate for their individual programs. In addition, private agencies throughout the country provided special program assistance. These included the American Public Welfare Association, the National Federation of Settlements and Neighborhood Centers, the National Urban League, Planned Parenthood-World Population, League of Women Voters, Health and Welfare Councils, local members of the National Council of Service to International Visitors, and the Child Welfare League of America.

Some Fellows who were government officials were especially interested in discussing with U.S. officials the criteria for balancing development and determining what portion of the national budget should be devoted to social development. Others, responsible for the preparation of social welfare legislation, conferred with U.S. officials on the proposed Family Assistance Plan legislation. All were interested in learning about American policy developments and administrative improvements which could be applied in their own countries to gain the most from limited budgets.

Five American social workers, a community development specialist, and a day care specialist served as UN advisers to governments in East Asia, the Middle East, and Africa. Their programs included, *inter alia*, advising the Thai Government on social welfare training projects; serving as a training adviser in the development of a youth training program in Hong Kong; advising the Government of Cyprus on the drafting of public assistance legislation and the concomitant restructuring of the welfare program; and developing and expanding general social welfare services in Korea. Four other U.S. experts served as regional or interregional advisers on social welfare and community development training, social development, rural and community development, and social defense. One of these experts, on the staff of ECAFE, planned and organized the joint ECAFE-UNICEF Workshop on Social Welfare In-Service Training which was held in Bangkok early in the year.

Americans also took part in activities sponsored by the UN European Social Development Program. A social welfare planner from Columbia University participated in the Seminar on the Problems and Methods of Social Welfare Planning held in Rennes, France, in September, and other U.S. specialists attended the

Planning Meeting of the European Social Development Program for 1971 and meetings of working groups on public relations, family planning, and social demography.

The value of the U.S. participation in the UN program of Advisory Social Welfare Services was illustrated at the 15th International Conference on Social Welfare. The Conference was held in Manila in September and featured a number of U.S.-trained former UN Fellows. Conference leadership was provided by the Philippine Department of Social Welfare's executive staff. On this staff the Director of Family and Child Welfare, the Director of Rehabilitation, the Under Secretary of Social Welfare, and the Director of Training are all former UN Fellows who studied in the United States. Other U.S.-trained former UN Fellows from Brazil, Ceylon, India, Israel, Pakistan, U.A.R., Ghana, and Yugoslavia made outstanding contributions to the Conference deliberations, especially concerning community planning, delivery of services, and social research.

## Housing, Building, and Planning

### ECOSOC

Although the Committee on Housing, Building, and Planning did not meet in 1970, the 48th ECOSOC on May 28 adopted by a vote of 21 (U.S.) to 0, with 2 abstentions, a resolution which stressed, with specific reference to the Second Development Decade, the necessity of giving housing matters greater priority in development planning.

### GENERAL ASSEMBLY

In October the 25th General Assembly unanimously adopted the In-

ternational Development Strategy for the Second Development Decade (see p. 69) which included in the section on goals and objectives the statement that "Housing facilities should be expanded and improved, especially for low-income groups and with a view to remedying the ills of unplanned urban growth and lagging rural areas." The Strategy elaborated on this statement in the section on policy measures, and called for both public and private programs in this field and for the provision of appropriate international assistance.

Even though the 24th General Assembly had unanimously adopted a resolution in 1969 in which it decided to take up the question of housing, building, and planning as a matter of high priority at the 25th session, the question received only perfunctory attention.

On December 11, at its last meeting of the session, the Third Committee briefly considered the question along with several other topics. Only one draft resolution, sponsored by Pakistan and 33 other states from all geographic areas, was presented, and because of lack of time no opportunity was given for discussion. Statements were limited to explanations of vote.

The draft resolution, *inter alia*, recommended that member states formulate definite and long-term housing, building, and planning policies and programs, devoting particular attention to (1) solutions for the problems of rapid urbanization; (2) rapid improvement of housing, community facilities, and environmental sanitation in rural areas; (3) the evolution and application of regional planning for balanced rural and urban development; (4) the development of the building industry and building technology; (5) the review of the legislative framework governing land tenure; and (6) the planning of overall patterns of land use and appropriate infrastructural facilities.

## REGIONAL ACTIVITIES

The resolution further recommended that member states and the UN organizations concerned undertake all the following measures to improve conditions in housing and human settlements: (1) the elaboration of national policies and programs for development of housing and human settlements, (2) the establishment of national and regional centers for the study of all aspects of this subject, (3) the development of national training institutions for this subject, (4) the acceleration of domestic savings for financing housing and construction, (5) measures for environmental improvements, and (6) the expansion of low-cost housing. Developing countries and the international organizations concerned were invited to provide increased technical and financial assistance to the developing countries for these purposes. The resolution also called for a greater allocation of resources to the Center for Housing, Building, and Planning.

The United States joined with the United Kingdom, Australia, and Japan in submitting several amendments which would have focused the resolution more sharply on actions to be taken by member states (rather than by UN organizations), and would have restricted the financial implications of the recommendations. These amendments were all defeated by large majorities and the draft resolution was adopted by a vote of 79 to 0, with 9 abstentions (U.S.). The plenary Assembly adopted the resolution on December 15 by a vote of 106 to 0, with 9 abstentions (U.S.).

The United States abstained because it did not wish to prejudice the place that housing would receive in the development priorities of nations during the Second Development Decade, and therefore could not assume that "increased" assistance must necessarily be made for the housing sector in comparison with other sectors of the economy.

The UN regional economic commissions—ECE, ECAFE, ECLA, ECA—sponsored a number of meetings in 1970 devoted to the problems related to urbanization.

The Second ECE Symposium on Urban Renewal, held in Budapest April 27–May 7, provided for a general exchange of information and experience in this area. The ECE Committee on Housing, Building, and Planning met in Geneva August 31–September 4. In addition to discussing the latest trends in housing and urban affairs, the Committee also considered questions related to the impact of the new environmental activities on its work.

The Third ECE Seminar on the Building Industry, which included a tour of Soviet construction sites in many areas, was held in Moscow October 5–17. The United States presented a paper entitled "Operation Breakthrough," which outlined a major program by the Department of Housing and Urban Development to facilitate the introduction and production of industrialized building in the United States.

A U.S. Government official was one of a group of experts that met in New York November 30–December 4 to assist preparations for a global study on urban land policies and land use control which the ECE is undertaking. In addition to analyzing a number of regional reports, the group established the structure of the final study, reviewed basic policy issues, and formulated recommendations and conclusions for national and international action.

Two officials from the Department of Housing and Urban Development also participated in the December 14–16 meeting in Geneva of the ECE Group of Experts on Urban and Regional Research. This group is, *inter alia*, promoting greater direct contact between research organizations and experts in various countries.



In many of the above meetings U.S. Government participation was broadened to include representatives from private associations and industries professionally interested in construction and city planning. This participation is being actively encouraged by the U.S. Government.

Although U.S. representatives did not attend the meeting, three papers prepared by the Department of Housing and Urban Development and by the Department of Transportation were presented at the ECAFE Workshop on Urban Traffic and Transportation which was held in Bangkok in December.

## UN High Commissioner for Refugees

The primary responsibility of the UNHCR<sup>1</sup> is to provide legal and political protection to refugees within his mandate, i.e., within the scope of the statute of the Office. In addition the UNHCR is charged with promoting solutions to refugee problems through voluntary repatriation or assimilation within new national communities. Under authority contained in several General Assembly resolutions, the UNHCR also uses his good offices in similarly assisting refugees who have not been determined to be within his mandate. The High Commissioner has interpreted these resolutions as precluding UNHCR assistance to refugees displaced within their own countries or having the right of nationality within their countries of asylum.

The UNHCR activities are reviewed and supervised by an Executive Committee, composed of 31 governments including the United States. The 21st regular session of the Execu-

tive Committee was held in Geneva in September 1970. The U.S. Representative at this session was Francis L. Kellogg, who subsequently was appointed Special Assistant to the Secretary of State for Refugee and Migration Affairs.

### LEGAL AND POLITICAL PROTECTION

The first and most important element of the UNHCR's legal and political protection function is to assure that any repatriation of refugees is voluntary, that refugees are not forcibly repatriated, and that they are afforded effective asylum from persecution. The second element is to assure for refugees certain additional guarantees and rights—such as the right to work, the right to engage in self-employment, and freedom of movement—designed to improve their legal, political, economic, and social status in countries of asylum, thus facilitating their reestablishment on a basis of self-support and individual dignity. The primary tools of the UNHCR in carrying out his legal and protection responsibilities are the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and the 1967 Protocol which enlarges the applicability of the Convention while incorporating its substantive articles. The High Commissioner encourages further accessions to these instruments, supervises their application, and promotes constructive development or implementation of pertinent national legislative and administrative measures. By the end of 1970 a total of 60 nations had adhered to the Convention and 43 to the Protocol (the United States acceded to the Protocol in 1968); 41 states were parties to both the Convention and the Protocol.

The UNHCR maintains a Legal Assistance Program which in 1970 provided thousands of refugees with specialized legal assistance, chiefly on individual problems connected with efforts to secure their reestablishment.

<sup>1</sup> Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan (Iran) is the High Commissioner for Refugees. His current term expires Dec. 31, 1973.

## CURRENT PROGRAM

In 1955 the High Commissioner initiated a material assistance program for the benefit of refugees within his mandate. The program is designed to bolster the refugees' economic and social position, thus putting them on the road to self-support and integration into the life of their adopted country. Since the primary responsibility for assistance to refugees rests with the host country, the urgency and extent of refugee problems and the capacity of the host country to deal with them are criteria that the UNHCR must consider in relating his material assistance programs to available resources.

Even though there was a continuing influx of new refugees into various European countries of asylum during 1970, the resources of the local governments and of other intergovernmental, voluntary agency, and bilateral governmental refugee assistance programs were deemed essentially adequate. Therefore the UNHCR Current Program for Europe was confined largely to providing modest assistance toward the local integration of refugees who did not wish or were unable to emigrate. As has been done for the past several years, the UNHCR also continued to provide supplementary assistance, in collaboration with voluntary agencies and the Spanish Government, for newly arriving Cuban refugees in that country.

The major development in the UNHCR Asian program was the establishment in Saigon during the latter part of 1970 of a regional UNHCR office for Indochina. The UNHCR continued previous programs of assistance to Chinese refugees in Macau and to Tibetan refugees in India and Nepal. The UNHCR also continued its long-standing program for the reestablishment of European refugees arriving in Hong Kong from the Chinese mainland, even though few such refugees arrived during 1970.

In Latin America the Current Program continued to focus on assistance to aged and handicapped refugees of European origin who had been resettled from Europe in earlier years. The intention is to reduce their problems and consolidate the program to a point where local governments and voluntary agencies will be able to assume most of the responsibility for aiding these refugees.

Following the trend of recent years, the UNHCR in 1970 allocated the major portion (over 50%) of the Current Program resources for use in Africa. UNHCR projects in Africa are, for the most part, large-scale agricultural settlement schemes. The goal of self-support was largely accomplished in Burundi in 1970 where refugee settlements were included in an integrated zonal development project for the benefit of both refugees and the local population. The project owed a large measure of its success to the close cooperation and collaboration among the UNHCR, UNDP, FAO, and the Government of Burundi. Similar projects are underway in Tanzania and the Central African Republic and are under study in Uganda and Zambia.

During the latter part of the year, the UNHCR, at the request of and in cooperation with concerned governments, coordinated plans for and supervised the repatriation of some 4,700 Nigerian children who had taken refuge in neighboring countries during the civil war in Nigeria. The Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration cooperated with the UNHCR in arranging special chartered aircraft for the return of these children.

Eighty-one nations contributed \$4,632,332 toward the funding of the 1970 UNHCR Current Program; the United States contributed \$1 million. In addition, U.S. direct contributions to assist refugees of concern to the UNHCR included over \$1.3 million

in food for refugees in sub-Saharan Africa, approximately \$1.4 million for educational assistance to African refugee students, \$775,000 in food and \$500,000 for other assistance for Chinese refugees in Hong Kong and Macau, and \$3.2 million for refugees from Eastern European countries. Additionally, about two-thirds of the \$3.5 million contributed to the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration was for assistance to refugees. The United States also expended over \$87.4 million during fiscal 1970 for the care and resettlement of Cuban refugees in the United States.

The UNHCR Executive Committee at its 21st session approved a 1971 Current Program of \$6,572,000, covering assistance to refugees in more than 40 countries throughout the world.

A total of 134 nongovernmental organizations and social welfare agencies participated in or contributed to UNHCR programs in 1970.

#### **COOPERATION WITH OTHER UN BODIES**

Relations and coordination between the UNHCR and other elements of the UN system were further strengthened during 1970 in a number of fields, particularly economic and social development, human rights, assistance to refugees from non-self-governing territories in Africa, rural settlement, employment, and education and training. There was especially close cooperation with the UNDP, World Food Program, UNESCO, ILO, FAO, WHO, and UNICEF.

The United States has consistently urged the closest possible coordination between the UNHCR and other multilateral and private organizations in order to develop larger resources and greater flexibility in meeting refugee problems, stimulate broader development programs, and avoid duplication of effort.

#### **EMERGENCY FUND**

The High Commissioner has at his disposal a \$500,000 Emergency Fund, which is regularly replenished through repayment of refugee housing loans made under previous UNHCR programs. The Fund, established by the General Assembly in 1958, enables the High Commissioner to act effectively in emergency refugee situations that arise between Executive Committee sessions. During 1970, the UNHCR used the Fund extensively to meet emergencies in Africa, Asia, and the Near East.

#### **GENERAL ASSEMBLY ACTION**

On November 30 the General Assembly unanimously adopted a resolution which, *inter alia*, after expressing appreciation of the High Commissioner's accomplishments in the various aspects of his humanitarian task, commending the progress made in inter-agency cooperation, and noting with satisfaction the increased number and amounts of contributions from governments, requested the UNHCR to continue providing protection and assistance to refugees, and urged governments to continue their support of the UNHCR.

## **UNICEF**

In addressing UNICEF's Executive Board at its 1970 session (New York, April 20-May 1), the Secretary-General reviewed the main developments which had affected the situation of children in the past decade and expressed his belief that UNICEF's special task of cooperating with the developing countries for the benefit of their children was of great importance for the success of the Second Development Decade. The number of children under 15 years of age in the developing countries would increase in the 1970's by



an estimated 270 million to about 1,322 million. Their better health, education, and training were among the vital elements which would determine the future quality of human resources.

#### **TRENDS IN AID**

The 1970 meeting of the Executive Board reflected UNICEF's new approach to longer-term planning. More than two-thirds of the recommendations for aid approved by the Board committed funds for 2 and 3 years. Linked with long-term planning was the implementation of the Board's policy, encouraged and supported by the United States, of relating aid to national goals within the framework of the country's development plans. UNICEF's progress along these lines provided a positive response to the recommendations for country programing in the "Study of the Capacity of the United Nations Development System" (see p. 78).

An effort is now under way to relate the volume of UNICEF assistance to the stage of development of a country. In response to a U.S. request, the staff of UNICEF developed criteria for aid, based on population and per capita gross national product, setting a range of "orders of magnitude" for country programs. This approach, which will bring greater resources to Africa and Asia, will be reflected in the 1971 programs.

#### **PROGRAM EVALUATION**

UNICEF continued its pattern of reviewing each year one or more program areas. In 1970 it considered an assessment of projects for the education and training of women and girls for family and community life. In preparing the assessment, consultants had undertaken on-the-spot studies of projects in eight countries, and had used reports and evaluations of other projects. The assessment identified programs that need strengthening,

and reaffirmed the need for greater attention to projects in this field. One of the main conclusions of the assessment was that investment in such projects would yield greater results if they were closely associated with, or an integral part of, larger programs aimed at raising levels of family and community living and were set in the context of national development plans. During the Board's discussion of the assessment, the U.S. Representative cautioned against expanding UNICEF assistance into peripheral fields and emphasized the value of UNICEF retaining its identity as a children's agency.

#### **PROGRAM PROGRESS**

The Executive Board approved commitments totaling \$63.9 million. That sum included assistance for a number of multiyear projects. Allocations for programs in 1970 amounted to \$54.5 million for 193 projects in 112 countries: 34 in the Americas, 37 in Africa, 27 in Asia, 13 in the Eastern Mediterranean, and 1 in Europe.

Projects for health and nutrition (mostly for basic health services), with 67% of the commitments, continued to receive major support; education received 20%; and smaller amounts went to several other programs. This breakdown of assistance by program area reflects the priorities which the countries themselves selected.

#### **FAMILY PLANNING**

As the result of U.S. initiatives, UNICEF has accepted aid for family planning as a fundamental part of its program. Assistance for family planning is now being increasingly requested as part of maternal and child health services. In 1970 the scope of UNICEF assistance was enlarged to include provision of contraceptives in addition to other supplies, equipment, and training. Several requests for

UNICEF aid were taken up by the UN Population Fund.

### **EMERGENCY AID**

Requests for UNICEF emergency relief for children during the past year reached a new high. Though no longer an emergency agency, UNICEF's ability to act quickly and effectively is well known and it is often called upon. The Executive Board approved a \$7.3 million project for Nigerian relief and rehabilitation to be funded from special contributions. The United States contributed \$4 million.

Following the cyclone and tidal wave which struck East Pakistan in November, UNICEF was in a position to give quick assistance by making available much needed piping for the restoration of fresh-water wells, medical supplies, and vehicles already in the country. The United States made a special contribution of \$250,000 in Pakistan rupees to the Pakistan Relief Fund raised by UNICEF.

Other emergency aid was provided to Jordan, Liberia, Chad, Cambodia, Laos, Republic of Viet-Nam, Peru, Lesotho, Hungary, and Romania for a variety of disasters including flood, drought, cholera, and war.

### **TRAINING**

UNICEF's aid for training continued to be high. In recent years over 20% of UNICEF's aid has been for grants to trainees and teaching staff and for the local production of teaching materials, thus strengthening training capabilities within the country. Almost three-quarters of a million persons had received training stipends from UNICEF by the end of 1970.

### **FINANCIAL SITUATION**

UNICEF's resources in 1970 exceeded the \$50 million target estab-

lished by the Executive Board and endorsed by the General Assembly. Its total income, including funds given for specific purposes, was \$59.4 million. Of this sum, 124 governments gave \$42.3 million, an increase of \$8.9 million over 1969. Private fund-raising campaigns provided \$9.6 million, greeting card sales \$4.3 million, and other sources \$3.2 million.

The United States is an important supporter of UNICEF, both through governmental and nongovernmental contributions. The U.S. Government contributed \$13 million to the regular program in 1970. In addition, the greeting card sales and Halloween Trick-or-Treat collections are generously supported by the American public.

UNICEF has now set its sights on an annual income of \$100 million by 1975, a goal accepted by the Executive Board with no commitment implied for any member.

### **EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR**

Henry Labouisse, a U.S. citizen, completed a 5-year term as Executive Director in 1970 and was reappointed to continue during the remainder of the term of UN Secretary-General Thant. Mr. Labouisse's term in office was marked by harmony within the organization and an expanded and increasingly useful program. The United States strongly supported his reappointment.

## **Disaster Relief**

Several major natural disasters, including two of overwhelming proportions—the Peruvian earthquake in May and the East Pakistan cyclone and tidal wave in November—sharply heightened in 1970 UN interest in disaster relief.

Following ECLA's adoption of two resolutions concerning the Peru-

vian earthquake (see p. 75) the UNDP Governing Council on June 27 also adopted a resolution requesting ECOSOC to recommend the establishment of an emergency fund for disasters.

On July 10 and July 23 the 49th ECOSOC adopted resolutions similar to those previously adopted by ECLA and the UNDP. The United States cosponsored, with nine others, and voted for the resolution on measures to be taken following the earthquake in Peru. It voted against the recommendation to establish an emergency fund for disasters. In explaining its vote on the latter issue, the United States stressed that everything possible should be done to assist Peru, but that the proposed emergency fund would not help the stricken country obtain the type of assistance it needed quickly and effectively. It was also likely that the new fund, if established, would have only limited resources. No further action was taken toward establishing the fund during 1970.

On July 30 ECOSOC unanimously adopted a third resolution, sponsored by Norway, the United Kingdom, and the United States. In its final form this resolution, *inter alia*, (1) appealed to member states to offer "on an increasing scale" assistance to meet natural disasters, (2) recognized the role of the UNDP resident representatives in making the "preliminary assessment of the extent of a natural disaster," (3) reaffirmed the importance of "pre-disaster plans at the national level," and (4) stressed "the importance of stand-by relief units at the national level and of the stockpiling of supplies for use in emergency situations."

The 25th General Assembly considered the question of natural disasters in its Third Committee. On November 20 the Assembly unanimously adopted a resolution which had been sponsored in the Third Committee by 42 states, including the

United States. The resolution (1) appealed to member states to make generous contributions for emergency relief to the victims of the cyclone and tidal bore in East Pakistan; (2) requested the Secretary-General, member states, and all the organizations in the UN system to provide the largest possible volume of resources to assist the Pakistani Government in its programs of reconstruction, rehabilitation, and development in the affected area; and (3) invited the Secretary-General to ensure "the fullest possible coordination of the assistance."

On December 11 the Third Committee unanimously adopted a second resolution that had been sponsored by 70 states. This resolution, *inter alia*, (1) invited member states to inform the UN Secretary-General of the facilities and services they might be willing and able to provide, if requested, to assist in emergency relief operations; (2) invited the Secretary-General to submit to the General Assembly and ECOSOC detailed recommendations on how the UN system of organizations might be more responsive to calls for assistance from states that are victims of natural disasters; and (3) invited the UNDP, the IBRD, and other international credit organizations to give consideration to requests for assistance for the purpose of rehabilitation and development from countries stricken by natural disasters, without prejudice to other requests for assistance made by the countries prior to the disasters. The United States did not support the latter provision because it believed that it would in practice divert funds from the organizations' regular development programs for the purpose of providing substantial disaster relief, but voted for the resolution as a whole.

The General Assembly in plenary session unanimously adopted the resolution on December 15.



# Scientific Cooperation

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International cooperation in scientific fields occurs in many parts of the UN system. This section presents a brief review of the Advisory Committee on the Application of Science and Technology to Development, the UN Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation, and those scientific interests and activities of ECOSOC and the General Assembly not dealt with elsewhere.

Other sections of this report that contain material on scientific cooperation are those on Outer Space, Seabed and Law of the Sea, FAO, UNESCO, WHO, ITU, WMO, and IAEA.

## Application of Science and Technology to Development

The Advisory Committee on the Application of Science and Technology to Development is composed of 24 experts serving in their personal capacities. Dr. Carroll L. Wilson of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology has been a member since the ACASTD was created by ECOSOC in 1963.

The ACASTD held its 13th session in New York, April 1-10. At that time it reviewed ongoing work on the following topics: increasing the sources of edible protein in developing nations, science education, population, science and industrial development (with the cooperation of UNIDO), bilateral links between scientific institutions in developed and developing countries, application of computer technology to development,

preparations for the 1972 UN Conference on the Human Environment, the outflow of trained personnel from developing countries, and the application of space technology to development.

The ACASTD devoted considerable attention to the proposed World Plan of Action for the Application of Science and Technology to Development, and agreed that the World Plan document would consist of: (1) an introductory statement on the role of science and technology in development; (2) a general review of recent and possible future developments in science and technology; (3) global and sectoral targets; (4) a summary of the major proposals regarding development aspects of natural resources, food and agriculture, industry, transport and telecommunications, housing and urban planning, health, science and technology education, and population; and (5) where possible, a summary of regional proposals for each of these sectors. The ACASTD indicated that a final version of the World Plan of Action would be ready for its 14th session in 1971.

Consideration in depth was given by the ACASTD to the transfer of technology to developing countries. The Committee believed it important that ways be found as soon as possible to promote positive action by governments and by enterprises to hasten the flow of technology to developing nations, the development of indigenous technologies, and the formulation of specially adapted technologies to conditions in less developed countries and regions. The Committee also commented on the possible establishment of machinery

within UNCTAD to deal with the transfer of technology. The ACASTD recommended that an UNCTAD group working in this field be directed to prepare and negotiate inter-governmental agreements that would (1) promote access to foreign technology by developing countries; (2) reduce the costs to those acquiring such foreign technology; and (3) alleviate any restrictive conditions, imposed under licensing arrangements, which might hamper the expansion of the industries and exports of developing countries.

In its consideration of future institutional arrangements for science and technology in the UN system, the ACASTD noted the differences of opinion among states regarding the means of achieving a more efficient consideration of scientific and technological matters in various UN forums. For its part, the ACASTD endorsed the creation of a sessional committee of ECOSOC to deal with science and technology.

On July 30, the 49th ECOSOC unanimously adopted three resolutions on science and technology. The first resolution, *inter alia*, (1) drew the attention of member governments to the fact that a shortage of adequately trained manpower constituted one of the major constraints on the application of science and technology to the development of African countries; (2) recommended that the UNDP consider supporting, at the request of governments, the establishment of bilateral links between research and educational institutions in developed and developing countries; and (3) invited UN bodies to make use of the expertise of the ACASTD as a source of advice on scientific and technological matters.

The second resolution, concerning future institutional arrangements for science and technology, noted the lack of consensus on the particulars of such reorganization and deferred

consideration of this matter until the 51st session of ECOSOC.

In the third resolution ECOSOC stressed the importance of science education in relation to development but expressed its disappointment at the slow progress in the implementation of recommendations previously submitted by the ACASTD. The resolution went on to request the governing bodies of the UN organizations concerned, particularly UNESCO, to take the necessary steps for further implementation of the ACASTD recommendations.

On November 20 Romania introduced in the Second Committee of the General Assembly a draft resolution, ultimately sponsored by 20 states, which *inter alia* requested the Secretary-General to prepare, with the assistance of the ACASTD, a study that would (1) appraise the results achieved and the difficulties encountered in promoting science and technology and their application to development, (2) suggest ways to implement various recommendations made and measures agreed on and to remove difficulties which have been identified, (3) suggest practical ways of strengthening international cooperation in the new applications of science and technology in the economic and social fields, and (4) suggest additional forms of international action within the framework of the UN system to ensure that scientific and technical achievements are more effectively applied to the needs of all countries. The resolution further requested the Secretary-General to complete the report in time for its consideration during the first biennial review of the International Development Strategy for the Second Development Decade, and to make a progress report to ECOSOC at its 51st session.

The resolution was adopted by the Second Committee without objection on November 23, and by the plenary Assembly on December 7.

# Effects of Atomic Radiation

The UN Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation, established by the General Assembly in 1955, fosters and maintains continuing scientific evaluations of data concerning the effects of ionizing radiation on man and his environment. The 15-member Committee<sup>1</sup> held its 20th session in Geneva, September 21–25. At this session it discussed, on the basis of papers prepared by the UN Secretariat, recent information on genetic effects of radiation, induction of cancer by radiation, effects of radiation on the immune response, population doses from medical and occupational exposure, and radioactive contamination of the environment.

UNSCEAR decided to prepare a report dealing with evaluations involved in these subjects for submission in 1972 to the 27th General Assembly. The Committee also discussed the contribution that it might make to the 1972 UN Conference on the Human Environment concerning its experience with radiation problems. In view of the increasing number of peaceful applications of nuclear energy, the Committee decided that it would give detailed attention to the effects of such applications in its future reviews of environmental contamination.

In its report to the 25th General Assembly, UNSCEAR invited governments to submit available data on releases of radionuclides into the environment in order that it might assess the contribution of the peaceful uses of nuclear energy to the radiation exposure of man and the attendant risks.

<sup>1</sup> Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Czechoslovakia, France, India, Japan, Mexico, Sweden, U.S.S.R., U.A.R., United Kingdom, and United States.

On October 2 the General Assembly's Special Political Committee unanimously approved a resolution on UNSCEAR that was sponsored by the United States and 14 other states. After taking into account that UNSCEAR would in the future also give detailed attention to contamination resulting from peaceful uses of nuclear energy, the resolution *inter alia* (1) commended UNSCEAR for its valuable contributions to wider knowledge and understanding of the effects and levels of atomic radiation; (2) requested UNSCEAR to continue its work, including its coordinating activities, to increase knowledge of levels and effects of radiation from all sources; and (3) commended UNSCEAR for the contribution it might make to the Environment Conference and recommended that the UN Secretary-General fully utilize its expertise in further preparations for that Conference.

The General Assembly unanimously adopted the resolution on October 13.

## Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy

The UN Scientific Advisory Committee<sup>2</sup> met in Vienna on April 21 and 22 to finalize the provisional agenda, review financial guidelines and estimates, and make other recommendations to the Secretary-General regarding the Fourth International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy which is to be held September 6–16, 1971, in Geneva.

With regard to the agenda, the Committee recommended that the theme of the conference be "Benefits for mankind from the peaceful uses of atomic energy," and selected the following major topics for the presen-

<sup>2</sup> Brazil, Canada, France, India, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, and United States.



tation of papers at the conference: special applications of nuclear power; nuclear fuels, cycles, and materials; health, safety, and legal aspects of nuclear energy; applications of isotopes and radiation; safeguards; organizational and cooperative aspects of nuclear energy; and aspects of nuclear technology of particular interest for developing countries.

The Committee recommended that the number of papers at the conference be limited to 500 with an average length of 5,000 words each. It also recommended that the President of the Conference should be an American. Chairmen of the previous conferences were from India, France, and the U.S.S.R.

In December the UN Secretary-General submitted revised budget estimates for the conference to the Fifth Committee of the 25th General Assembly. Total expenses were estimated at \$68,300 for 1970, \$549,200 for 1971, and \$111,000 for 1972. The total cost for the conference was thus estimated at \$728,500, a reduction of \$204,300 or approximately 22% from the original estimate of \$932,800 submitted in 1969.

On December 3 the General Assembly adopted without objection a resolution sponsored by Canada, France, the United Kingdom, and the United States approving the provisional agenda for the conference. The resolution noted with satisfaction the reduced cost estimates for 1972 submitted by the Secretary-General and, on U.S. initiative, expressed the hope that the same consideration for economy would be applied to the costs for 1971. The resolution also endorsed the Secretary-General's other proposals, including the invitation to intergovernmental organizations and the general arrangements for the conference. Finally, the resolution commended the Scientific Advisory Committee for its work in drawing up the provisional agenda and noted with appreciation the contributions and

close cooperation of the IAEA in the preparations for the conference.

Also on December 3 the Secretary-General announced the appointment of Glenn T. Seaborg, Chairman of the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission, as President of the Fourth Peaceful Uses Conference.

## Marine Science

### INTERGOVERNMENTAL OCEANOGRAPHIC COMMISSION

During 1970 UNESCO's IOC actively fulfilled its role as the focal point within the UN system for the development of a long-term and expanded program of oceanic exploration and research. The IOC is concentrating on the International Decade of Ocean Exploration (the 1970's) as the acceleration phase of the long-term program. Its Group of Experts on Long-Term Scientific Policy and Planning (including two Americans) met in November and prepared, for consideration by the Commission in 1971, a series of recommendations to set the pattern for the future course of the long-term program.

The IOC continued to support a number of significant international oceanic research programs. The National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration coordinates U.S. participation in the on-going study of the Caribbean, and the Smithsonian Institution is taking an active part in the investigations of the Mediterranean. Two new regional programs began: (1) a study of the northeast central Atlantic, designed to provide a better understanding of the earth's formation, and (2) a study of the southern ocean, designed to complement the scientific research in Antarctica. The IOC also continued its research program in the Kuroshio Current region of the western Pacific.

The IOC's Working Group on Legal Questions Related to Scientific

Investigations of the Ocean assisted the Commission in developing a draft convention on the placement of and responsibility for Ocean Data Acquisition Systems (ODAS). The Working Group also formulated a set of guidelines to facilitate the conduct of oceanographic research by countries.

In cooperation with the WMO, the IOC continued its work on the development of the Integrated Global Ocean Station System, focusing on procedures for the management of oceanographic data and the further development of a global monitoring and prediction system.

The 16th General Conference of UNESCO, meeting in the fall of 1970, approved a broadened set of statutes for the IOC which gave it a strong role in oceanographic research and related services and authorized it to provide scientific guidance to the UN General Assembly, the specialized agencies, and other UN bodies. UNESCO further supported the IOC by approving a more than 40% increase in its budget for the 1971-72 biennium over the previous biennium.

## **ECOSOC**

On July 27 the 49th ECOSOC adopted a resolution dealing with the broad question of marine cooperation. After recalling its consideration in 1969 of reports on "Resources of the Sea Beyond the Continental Shelf" and "Marine Science and Technology," ECOSOC requested the Secretary-General, in consultation with appropriate organizations within the UN system, to prepare a brief background review covering the following items: (1) trends in traditional uses of the sea such as fisheries, shipping, and mineral exploitation; (2) foreseeable new uses and the likely intensification of existing uses of the sea; (3) the effects of these uses and other technological advances on the marine environment; and (4) conflicts in technical uses that may be foreseen. The Secretary-General was asked to

communicate the review to member states and then submit a brief report to ECOSOC that would incorporate the states' proposals for strengthening international cooperation relating to the seas.

## **Human Environment**

The 23d General Assembly in 1968 decided without objection to convene a UN Conference on the Human Environment in 1972, and the 24th Assembly in 1969 unanimously accepted the invitation of the Swedish Government to hold the conference in Stockholm in June. It also established a 27-member Preparatory Committee<sup>1</sup> to advise the Secretary-General and requested the Secretary-General to set up immediately a small Conference secretariat and at the appropriate time to appoint a secretary general of the Conference.

### **PREPARATORY COMMITTEE**

The Preparatory Committee held its first session from March 10 to 20 in New York. In its report to the Secretary-General it recommended that three main categories be considered for the Conference agenda: (1) environmental aspects of human settlements; (2) rational management of natural resources; and (3) environmental degradation from pollution and nuisances. During the year, the secretariat continued to refine these topics for further discussion by the Preparatory Committee in 1971.

The Preparatory Committee decided that the Conference should be action-oriented and, further, that it should prepare a draft declaration of basic principles on the human envi-

<sup>1</sup> Argentina, Brazil, Canada, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, France, Ghana, Guinea, India, Iran, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Mauritius, Mexico, Netherlands, Nigeria, Singapore, Sweden, Togo, U.S.S.R., U.A.R., United Kingdom, United States, Yugoslavia, and Zambia.

ronment for the Conference. It also drew up guidelines for the preparation of the national reports on the environment which would serve as background material both for its future sessions and for the Conference.

#### **ECOSOC**

The Secretary-General submitted the recommendations of the Preparatory Committee to the 49th ECOSOC which on July 27 unanimously adopted a resolution approving them. ECOSOC *inter alia* reaffirmed the action-oriented character of the Conference, expressed the hope that the Conference would promote the aims of the Second Development Decade, and urged that all efforts be made to keep the financial implications of the Conference to a minimum.

#### **SECRETARY GENERAL APPOINTED**

In November Maurice Strong of Canada was appointed secretary general of the Conference and met informally with the Preparatory Committee. It was agreed at that time that the next session of the Preparatory Committee should be devoted primarily to the further formulation of agenda topics for the Conference and to consideration of the structure of the Conference and the procedures to be observed in its preparation.

#### **GENERAL ASSEMBLY**

The General Assembly's Second Committee considered the Conference at four meetings in November and on the 27th adopted a resolution

that had been introduced by Sweden and in its final form was sponsored by 19 states. The Assembly (1) requested the Secretary-General to convene the second session of the Preparatory Committee in Geneva, February 8-19, 1971, and the third session in New York, September 13-24; (2) recommended that the Preparatory Committee include on its agenda one or more specific items relating to economic and social aspects in order to safeguard and promote the interests of developing countries with a view to reconciling national environmental policies with national development plans and priorities; and (3) recommended that the Preparatory Committee consider the financing of possible action with a view to ensuring that additional resources are provided developing countries in the context of the protection of the environment.

The United States voted against this latter provision which was adopted by a vote of 28 to 22, with 34 abstentions. The resolution as a whole was adopted in committee by a vote of 78 (U.S.) to 0, with 10 abstentions, and in plenary on December 7 by a vote of 86 (U.S.) to 0, with 10 abstentions. In general, the provisions with regard to developing countries were inserted at their behest and illustrated their continuing interest that environmental concerns should not be given preference to development and should not be allowed to draw away funds and energy from the developmental field.

The General Assembly also approved a budget of \$1,111,000 for the 1971 expenditures for the Conference.



# Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms

The principal focus of UN human rights activity in 1970 was on specific instances of human rights violations. There was a continued trend toward regular examination of an increasing number of actual human rights cases and an emphasis on improving procedures so that the United Nations can more effectively carry out its Charter mandate to promote human rights throughout the world. The center of UN action in this field continued to be the Commission on Human Rights which held its 26th session at UN Headquarters February 24-March 27.

The General Assembly in December adopted a U.S.-initiated resolution calling for full compliance with the 1949 Geneva Prisoner of War Convention. The resolution was adopted by a solid majority despite Communist efforts to prevent UN endorsement of humanitarian efforts to assist the prisoners of war held by North Viet-Nam.

## Violations of Human Rights

### COMMUNICATIONS

A landmark decision in the history of UN bodies dealing with human rights questions was taken by ECOSOC in May 1970 when it gave its approval to the new procedures for dealing with private communications concerning human rights violations which had been recommended by the Commission on Human Rights. Under the former procedures, laid down in 1959, the Commission had been forbidden to take any action on private petitions which were merely submitted to Commission members for

their information and were kept confidential. The new procedures are based upon proposals originally conceived by the Subcommission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities.

The new procedures provide for a screening committee made up of five Subcommission members to identify those communications that appear to reveal a consistent pattern of gross violations of human rights. The Subcommission, in turn, will consider these communications and decide which if any to refer for consideration by the Commission. The Commission will then examine any situation referred to it and decide either to study and report on it to ECOSOC or, with the consent of the state concerned, to investigate the situation through a special *ad hoc* committee.

In 1969, after an exhaustive study of the matter at its 25th session, the Commission on Human Rights decided to recommend the new procedures. However, the 46th ECOSOC withheld its approval and invited the Human Rights Commission to study the question again at its 26th session as a matter of priority and to report to the Council at its 48th session in 1970. In the meantime the Secretary-General was requested to seek the views of member states upon the new procedures.

At the 26th Human Rights Commission session, another searching debate took place during which the United States and other Western European and Latin American members again gave strong support to the initiative for more meaningful treatment of private communications. Acting upon a draft resolution sponsored by Chile, Guatemala, the Netherlands, New Zealand, and the Philippines, the Commission decided to

reaffirm its previous decision and to resubmit the recommended procedures to ECOSOC for approval. The Commission's resolution contained additional clarifying proposals specifying that no inquiry could be undertaken under the new procedures "until the remedies available at the national, regional and international levels have been exhausted," that such inquiries "must be carried out in cooperation with the government concerned," and that the inquiry body "must be such as to provide a reliable guarantee of its competence and impartiality." The Commission adopted the draft resolution by a vote of 15 (U.S.) to 10, with 7 abstentions.

At the 48th ECOSOC the proposal was once again the subject of intensive consideration. In spite of strong opposition led by the U.S.S.R., ECOSOC this time decided by a vote of 14 (U.S.) to 7, with 6 abstentions, to authorize the new procedures. The final resolution included several clarifying amendments which had been put forward by France along the lines of those proposed by the Commission. They were designed to assure greater governmental association with any investigations and to emphasize a conciliation role for the investigatory committees.

#### **MIDDLE EAST**

One of the principal items considered by the Commission was entitled, "Question of Human Rights in the Territories Occupied as a Result of Hostilities in the Middle East, including the Report of the Special Working Group of Experts."

The six-man working group, composed of experts from Austria, India, Peru, Senegal, Tanzania, and Yugoslavia, had been authorized by the Commission in 1969 to investigate allegations concerning Israeli violations of the Geneva Convention Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War (the Fourth Convention). (Under different man-

dates the same experts were also investigating various conditions in southern Africa—see below.) The report submitted by the working group was based upon extensive examination of witnesses and communications during the period between the 25th and 26th sessions. The working group had not been permitted to visit the occupied territories; Israel refused to cooperate with the group in any way. Recognizing that the evidence was one-sided the group nevertheless asserted its ability to reach the conclusion that in its opinion violations of the Geneva Convention relative to the protection of civilian persons in time of war had taken place. The report further concluded that from a juridical point of view the Fourth Geneva Convention applied to the occupied areas in question.

In the Commission's debate the Israeli Representative complained about the biased composition of the working group and its restricted mandate which did not cover treatment of Jews in Arab countries, and refused to take part in further discussion of the report.

The U.S. Representative, Rita E. Hauser, expressed the concern of the U.S. Government about possible violations of human rights throughout the whole Middle East area and called for a balanced approach to such violations in line with certain previous resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly. She argued that the human rights of those peoples living in the occupied territories as well as of those living in other countries in the Middle East should all be considered. She expressed inability to pass conclusive judgments on the report of the working group since on-the-spot investigations had not been possible. She concluded by noting that the basic task before the Commission should not be recrimination but a determination to take effective action to assure protection of human rights in the future throughout the area.

India, Lebanon, Mauritania, U.A.R., and Yugoslavia sponsored a draft resolution embodying a markedly one-sided approach in its condemnation of certain violations alleged to have been committed by Israel and in its provisions calling directly upon Israel to take certain measures. Under the draft resolution the Commission extended the mandate of the special working group by asking it to continue to investigate and report upon the alleged Israeli violations of the Fourth Geneva Convention in the territories militarily occupied by Israel since the outbreak of hostilities. The Commission further decided to take up the question again at its 27th session. The resolution was adopted by a vote of 12 to 0, with 16 abstentions (U.S.).

#### **SOUTHERN AFRICA**

Another report was presented to the Commission by the same six experts under a different mandate. Established by the Commission in 1967 to investigate charges relating to the treatment of political prisoners in South Africa, the group's mandate had been continued and widened at each succeeding session. At its 25th session the Commission expanded the mandate to cover the investigation of certain other allegedly grave conditions in southern Africa, including the question of capital punishment; the treatment of political prisoners and captured "freedom-fighters"; the condition of Africans in so-called "native reserves" and "transit camps"; and "grave manifestations" of apartheid in South Africa and of colonialism and racial discrimination in Namibia, Southern Rhodesia, and the African territories under Portuguese administration.

Although little time was available for a thorough consideration of the group's report, a draft resolution submitted by Ghana, India, Tanzania, and Yugoslavia expressed appreciation for the group's report; endorsed

its observations, conclusions, and recommendations; and requested the group to add to its mandate a study of the question of apartheid from the point of view of international penal law. The resolution also proposed a draft resolution for adoption by the General Assembly condemning certain specified actions of Portugal and Southern Rhodesia and repeating previously expressed calls upon all governments to sever all relations with South Africa and the illegal regime in Southern Rhodesia.

The U.S. Representative expressed regret that the working group's report had not been thoroughly studied by the Commission, and that the group's conclusions and recommendations had not received a more critical analysis. She also expressed opposition to certain provisions of the draft resolution, specifically those calling for U.K. intervention in Southern Rhodesia and the severing of relations with South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. The resolution was adopted by a vote of 22 to 0, with 7 abstentions (U.S.).

The Commission's proposed resolution for the General Assembly was subsequently approved by the 48th ECOSOC's Social Committee by a vote of 17 to 0, with 10 abstentions (U.S.), and adopted by the 25th General Assembly on December 15 by a vote of 79 to 1, with 34 abstentions (U.S.).

## **Human Rights and Scientific and Technological Developments**

Pursuant to a decision of the 23d General Assembly in 1968, the Secretary-General undertook a study of the problems for human rights arising from developments in science



and technology. As a preliminary step he compiled a summary account of studies made or in progress covering (1) respect for the privacy of individuals and the integrity and sovereignty of nations in the light of advances in recording and other techniques; (2) protection of the human personality and its physical and intellectual integrity, in the light of advances in biology, medicine, and biochemistry; (3) uses of electronics which may affect the rights of the person and the limits which should be placed on such uses in a democratic society; and (4) more generally, the balance that should be established between scientific and technological progress and the intellectual, spiritual, cultural, and moral advancement of humanity.

Lack of time prevented a detailed consideration of the report. The 25th General Assembly on December 15 unanimously requested the Commission to give priority examination to the report and to submit its suggestions and recommendations to the 26th Assembly for priority consideration.

## Racial Discrimination

The 25th General Assembly's Third Committee considered together at 19 meetings between October 15 and November 4 the agenda items on "the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination" and "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."

The debate dealt principally with measures for combating racial discrimination and the policies of apartheid and segregation in southern Africa. In many respects the discussion and resolutions adopted were

duplicative of other discussions and resolutions relating to problems in southern Africa considered by the General Assembly in other contexts. The Third Committee debate followed lines set in previous sessions when southern African human rights problems had been discussed. There was practically universal condemnation of the apartheid policies of South Africa. Attention also focused on conditions in Southern Rhodesia and the Portuguese territories with widespread displeasure being expressed on the part of most African delegations at the slow pace of progress in improving conditions in southern Africa. Dissatisfaction was also expressed with the allegedly insufficient support being given by the Western countries to measures designed to bring about improvements.

On November 4 the Third Committee adopted four resolutions on these two items, which were subsequently approved in plenary on November 30.

A 26-power resolution containing 14 operative paragraphs of condemnations, urgings, and requests encompassed the major African concerns with the slow progress in combating apartheid and racial discrimination in southern Africa. Principally because of its extravagant criticism of the policies of the United Kingdom and its calls for complete termination of all relations with the Government of South Africa, the United States voted against this resolution which was adopted in committee by a vote of 75 to 12 (U.S.), with 22 abstentions, and in plenary by a vote of 71 to 10 (U.S.), with 11 abstentions.

Another resolution, sponsored by 13 African and Asian states, *inter alia* affirmed that peoples under colonial and alien domination may use any means at their disposal to restore their right of self-determination and condemned the governments which deny this right to the peoples entitled to it. The resolution was adopted in committee by a vote of 67 to 12

(U.S.), with 28 abstentions, and in plenary by a vote of 71 to 12 (U.S.), with 28 abstentions. The United States voted against the resolution because it dealt with a number of political matters which were subject to examination by other more appropriate UN bodies.

The United States supported the other two resolutions. One, proposed by Finland, welcomed the establishment of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination which began functioning in 1969 pursuant to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. The resolution, which urged full support for the new Committee, was adopted unanimously in both committee and plenary.

The last resolution, sponsored by Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Costa Rica, France, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Nicaragua, the United Kingdom, and Uruguay contained a number of operative paragraphs condemning racial discrimination and encouraging efforts through the United Nations and the specialized agencies to combat the evil. It was adopted in committee by a vote of 49 (U.S.) to 47, with 16 abstentions, and in plenary by a vote of 49 (U.S.) to 33, with 10 abstentions. The large vote against this resolution reflected the dissatisfaction of many members with the comparative moderation of its operative paragraphs.

Both the Commission on Human Rights and the General Assembly adopted resolutions calling for active participation by member states in the observance of the International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination which had been proclaimed by the 24th Assembly. On December 7, in a proclamation concerning both Human Rights Day and Bill of Rights Day, President Nixon said:

I also call upon every American to note that the United Nations General Assembly has designated the year 1971 as the International Year for Action to

Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. It is my hope that all Americans will join in observing this year, through deeds and words which promote a spirit of brotherhood and of mutual respect among all people.

## Nazism and Racial Intolerance

Racial discrimination was also considered by the Human Rights Commission and the General Assembly in the context of their consideration of "measures to be taken against nazism and racial intolerance." Both bodies adopted resolutions similar to those of the past several years calling for continued vigilance in combating any resurgence of activities in the world inspired by nazism, racism, or similar ideologies. The context for future consideration of these subjects was significantly shifted by a General Assembly decision, by a vote of 108 (U.S.) to 0, with 6 abstentions, to change the title of the item at its next session to "measures to be taken against nazism and other totalitarian ideologies and practices based on incitement to hatred and racial intolerance." This change in emphasis originated in amendments proposed by France, the Netherlands, and the United Kingdom to a draft resolution sponsored by Iraq, Poland, and the Ukrainian S.S.R. During the debate on this item, the U.S. Representative Dr. Helen G. Edmonds, drew particular attention to the treatment of the more than 3 million Jews in the Soviet Union. She urged that those so desiring be allowed to emigrate.

## Human Rights in Armed Conflicts

### PRISONERS OF WAR

At the 25th General Assembly the subject of respect for human rights

in armed conflicts was lengthily discussed and five resolutions adopted. The general focus for the debate under the item related to reports issued by the Secretary-General dealing with possible means for improving the application of existing humanitarian conventions relating to armed conflicts or proposals for the development of new ones.

This subject has long been one of special interest to the International Committee of the Red Cross, which has played a central role in previous efforts to draft international conventions in the field, in particular the Geneva Conventions of 1929 and 1949. Pursuant to a decision taken at the 21st International Conference of the Red Cross held in Istanbul in September 1969, the ICRC had announced plans to convene a conference of government experts in May-June 1971 in Geneva to consult on improved means of enforcement and possible proposals for supplementing the existing international humanitarian law applicable to armed conflicts. There was a general feeling in the Third Committee that discussion of the broad ideas contained in the Secretary-General's final report should await the results of this ICRC conference of government experts.

The very long debate that took place in the Committee focused upon a number of draft resolutions highlighting various particular aspects of the subject of human rights in armed conflicts.

The United States, with 11 cosponsors (Belgium, Dahomey, Dominican Republic, Greece, Haiti, Italy, Malagasy Republic, New Zealand, Philippines, Thailand, Togo) proposed a resolution calling for better application of the Geneva Prisoner of War Convention of 1949 and endorsing the continuing efforts of the ICRC to secure effective application of the Convention. The resolution served to focus attention upon the plight of

U.S. prisoners of war in Southeast Asia.

When President Nixon addressed the General Assembly on October 23 during the 25th anniversary session he stated it to be "in the world interest to insure that the human rights of prisoners of war are not violated." The President stressed that the issue of the plight of prisoners of war was not a political or military issue, saying:

It is a humanitarian issue. The United Nations should register its concern about the treatment of prisoners of war and press all adversaries in this conflict, indeed in every conflict, to honor the Geneva Convention.

The principal statement on this subject in the Third Committee was made by Senator Claiborne Pell on November 6. He referred to the great concern felt in the United States over the inhumane treatment being endured by the American prisoners of war, and said:

For the present then, we can and should insist that no matter what the rights and wrongs of any conflict in the world, the combatants should strictly comply with the international conventions to which they are a party and conform to generally accepted standards of international conduct. It is easy to agree in peacetime to conventions on the laws of war; they are futile if they are not observed in time of war.

In closing his statement, Senator Pell underlined the humanitarian norms of conduct common to all men:

The war itself is not at issue here. There is no more fitting place in the United Nations than in this committee to reach through the wall of nation-states to hold fast to the common humanity that unites us. It would perhaps help smooth our way if all violations of the law, if all disregard for accepted standards of conduct, were condemned without regard to their source.

The failure to treat captured military men in accordance with accepted standards and conventions is not an act which affects only the combatants; on this small planet of ours each act which dis-



dains man's small progress toward a rule of law casts doubt upon his common future.

The U.S.-sponsored draft resolution was strenuously opposed by the Soviet Union and its supporters who attempted to characterize the U.S. initiative as a political move designed to gain support for one side in the Vietnam conflict. A gratifyingly large majority, however, supported the U.S. initiative as one promoting the observance of the basic human rights of prisoners of war in any conflict anywhere.

The U.S. resolution was adopted in committee on December 1 by a vote of 60 (U.S.) to 16, with 34 abstentions, and in plenary on December 9 by a vote of 67 (U.S.) to 30, with 20 abstentions.

The other resolutions, all adopted December 9, were (1) one initiated by France with nine cosponsors dealing with the protection of journalists engaged on dangerous missions in areas of armed conflict (85 (U.S.) to 0, with 32 abstentions); (2) a resolution proposed by Norway setting forth basic principles for the protection of civilian populations in armed conflicts (109 (U.S.) to 0, with 8 abstentions); (3) a procedural resolution initiated by the United Kingdom, with 12 cosponsors, transmitting the Secretary-General's reports to the Special Expert Conference to be convened by the ICRC in May 1971 and deciding to consider the question further at the 26th General Assembly session (111 (U.S.) to 0, with 4 abstentions); and (4) one proposed by Ceylon, India, Sudan, and the U.S.S.R., condemning certain actions of countries that engage in aggressive wars (77 to 2, with 36 abstentions (U.S.)). The United States abstained on the latter resolution because of paragraphs asserting misleading interpretations of certain existing conventions dealing with the humanitarian law of armed conflicts.

## High Commissioner for Human Rights

The proposal to establish a post of UN High Commissioner for Human Rights was first put forward by Costa Rica at the 20th General Assembly in 1965. According to the proposal, the High Commissioner would be an impartial high level UN official, functioning in conjunction with an expert advisory panel, who would focus attention on human rights problems and be a source of assistance and advice in their solution. The proposal was subsequently studied thoroughly in the Commission on Human Rights and a draft resolution providing for the establishment of such a post was drawn up in the Commission, approved by ECOSOC, and forwarded to the General Assembly for decision. At the 24th General Assembly in 1969 a substantive debate on the proposal began but lack of time prevented consideration of the draft ECOSOC resolution and the proposed amendments.

At the 25th General Assembly the United States attached high importance to a full discussion of this item so that a substantive decision could finally be reached. The United States, together with other supporters, worked actively to assure that adequate time would be allotted to the subject. The U.S.S.R. and other opponents of the proposal worked actively throughout the session to frustrate discussion of the item. An unusually large amount of time was spent on earlier items on the Third Committee's agenda (particularly racial discrimination and human rights in armed conflict) and the Committee did not reach the High Commissioner item until December. The Committee chairman then proposed limiting the debate to five instead of the seven meetings originally allotted. After a lengthy procedural debate the Committee voted to ac-

cept this limitation, and it became clear that the time would run out before the speakers' list was exhausted. Because many delegations were clearly unwilling to push such a far-reaching proposal to its conclusion without a thorough consideration, majority sentiment developed to put off the final decision until the next Assembly session. A motion advanced by Ceylon to adjourn the debate on the item was adopted by the Committee on December 7 by a vote of 54 to 38 (U.S.), with 15 abstentions. Consequently further consideration of the subject was deferred to the 26th General Assembly.

## **Subcommission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities**

The Subcommission held its 23d session in New York August 10-28. Its principal accomplishment was the final consideration of two studies which have been in progress for several years.

At its previous session the Subcommission had decided to forward to the Commission the study of equality in the administration of justice which had been prepared by its Special Rapporteur, Mohammed Abu Rannat of Sudan, but it had been forced to hold over to its 23d session consideration of the set of draft principles contained in the study. The Subcommission completed its consideration of the principles, adopted them, and transmitted them to the Human Rights Commission for examination with regard to the advisability of preparing a convention or a declaration.

The Subcommission also gave final consideration to, and approved a special study of racial discrimination in the political, economic, social, and

cultural spheres which was presented by its special rapporteur, Hernán Santa Cruz of Chile. This study had been prepared under the authority of an ECOSOC resolution adopted at its 39th session in July 1965.

Following ECOSOC's decision approving new procedures for dealing with private communications (see above, p. 116), the Subcommission began to consider appropriate procedures for dealing with the question of admissibility of such communications. The focus of debate was a set of draft procedures put forward by the U.S. member of the Subcommission, Clyde Ferguson, together with two of his colleagues. Other proposals were made by the U.S.S.R. and Pakistani members. Because of a shortage of time, the Subcommission reached no decision other than to give priority attention to this matter at its subsequent session. The Subcommission's debate on this question was seriously hindered by the delaying tactics of the Soviet member, who carried forward the determined opposition to the new procedures previously expressed by Soviet Representatives in the Human Rights Commission and in ECOSOC.

## **Status of Women**

The Commission on the Status of Women was established in 1946 to make recommendations and reports to ECOSOC on promoting women's rights and to develop proposals to give effect to the principle that men and women should have equal rights. At its 23d session, held in Geneva March 23-April 10, the Commission considered an agenda which, on U.S. initiative, had been revised and consolidated. The principal topics were (1) implementation of international instruments and national standards for the rights of women; (2) the development of women's role in society; (3) the role of women in the family; and (4) protection of women and children in emergency or wartime,

fighting for peace, national liberation, and independence. The Commission adopted eight resolutions, prepared seven for adoption by ECOSOC, and prepared two for submission by ECOSOC to the General Assembly.

#### IMPLEMENTATION OF INTERNATIONAL INSTRUMENTS

The Commission members noted that much progress had been made toward the recognition in law of the rights of women, but that there was still a discrepancy between the situation in law and practice. They stressed the need for equal rights in all fields—political, economic, and social—and acknowledged that to achieve this there must be basic changes in attitudes. To this end they continued their efforts to develop action programs.

#### ROLE IN SOCIETY

Many suggestions were made for improving women's status in, and contribution to, society. Among them were (1) strengthening the role of special governmental bodies, such as national commissions on the status of women; (2) coordination of international efforts at the regional level; (3) provision of child care facilities for working women; (4) greater UN assistance in programs to benefit women, including technical assistance projects, workshops, seminars, fellowships, and training courses; and (5) provision of more specialized vocational and technical training.

The Commission believed, however, that one of the greatest needs was for more and better education. In this regard it recommended, *inter alia*, that UNESCO give an important place to literacy programs for women, and that governments adopt the policy of "co-education" or equal access to education. The Commission stressed that women should be assured entrance to coeducational establishments and access to the same curric-

ula and instruction at all levels as are available to men so that the same training and occupational opportunities will be available to both sexes. It further recommended that scholarships, loans, and adequate facilities be provided for women in coeducational establishments.

The Commission adopted a number of resolutions for the development of women's role in society. Two of them were prepared for, and with minor changes were adopted by, the General Assembly.

The first of these, cosponsored in the Commission by the United States and nine others, urged all bodies in the UN system of organizations to take appropriate measures to ensure equal opportunities for the employment of qualified women in senior and other professional positions and requested the Secretary-General to include in his report on the composition of the Secretariat data on the employment of women in such positions. The resolution was approved by the 48th ECOSOC in May and adopted December 15 by the 25th General Assembly—on the recommendation of its Third Committee—by a vote of 107 (U.S.) to 0, with 6 abstentions. (See also p. 221 for related action proposed by the Fifth Committee.)

The other resolution, adopted unanimously by the Assembly on December 15, proposed a "program of concerted international action for the advancement of women." The development of such a program had been initiated by the 17th General Assembly in 1962, and has been a continuing area of concern to the Commission since then.

The resolution set forth general objectives and minimum targets to be achieved during the Second Development Decade in education, training and employment, health and maternity protection, and administration and public life and invited all member states to cooperate in achieving them. It recommended that con-



certed efforts be made to increase the resources available for technical cooperation projects which advance the status of women and that consideration be given to allocating a specific percentage of available funds for this purpose. It also recommended that conferences and seminars at regional and international levels be organized with the participation of high government officials and specialists in development problems to consider ways of promoting the status of women within the framework of overall development.

#### **ROLE IN THE FAMILY**

The Commission took note of a progress report on the status of women and family planning and requested its special rapporteur for this subject to continue her study with a view to completing it for submission to the 25th session of the Commission.

In considering the status of the unmarried mother, the Commission noted that the problem was a growing one. In one resolution, subsequently approved by ECOSOC, it urged states to take adequate measures to provide social assistance for both the mother and child, and invited states and the specialized agencies and nongovernmental organizations concerned to study the problems posed by the integration of the unmarried mother and her child into all spheres of society.

The Commission also proposed that ECOSOC adopt a resolution recommending that governments take all possible measures to eliminate any prevailing legal and social discrimination against the unmarried mother. The resolution recommended a series of general principles to guide governments in enacting legislation on this subject including (1) that ma-

ternal filiation should be recognized automatically in law in all cases as a fact of birth, and (2) that the unmarried mother should enjoy the fullest rights and duties provided by law, whether or not paternal filiation is established. Finally, the resolution invited member states to study the causes for the increase in the number of unmarried mothers and to adopt educational and other measures for the solution of this problem.

ECOSOC decided on May 28 to take no action on this draft resolution, and, instead, requested the Secretary-General to forward it to governments so that the Commission might reconsider it in the light of their comments.

#### **PROTECTION IN EMERGENCY OR WARTIME**

For the second year in a row the Commission considered the question of "protection of women and children in emergency or wartime, fighting for peace, national liberation, and independence." It adopted, by a vote of 22 (U.S.) to 0, with 6 abstentions, a resolution sponsored by the Byelorussian S.S.R., Malaysia, and Morocco that requested the Secretary-General (1) to give particular attention in his study on human rights in armed conflict (see p. 120) to the question of protecting the rights of women and children; (2) to consider further measures for promoting wider knowledge of the plight of women and children in armed conflicts; and (3) to submit to the Commission at its 24th session a report on this subject based on information available from the ICRC, UNRWA, UNICEF, and any other appropriate UN body. The resolution also requested the General Assembly to consider the possibility of drafting a declaration on the protection of women and children in emergency or wartime.

# Coordination and Organizational Issues

## Coordination Within the UN System

In 1970 ECOSOC resolved two major coordination problems arising within the UN system. The first problem was placed before it by the UN Assistant Secretary-General for Inter-Agency Affairs who asked it to take action in the dispute between the IAEA and the United Nations with respect to surveys for nuclear metals. The second problem concerned the establishment of an International Computer Center and the organizing of the UN system to cooperate in this important endeavor.

With respect to the first of these problems, the United States took the lead in urging ECOSOC to make a clear-cut decision on the differences between the IAEA and the United Nations. The problem arose because two UNDP projects for nuclear metal prospecting in Greece and Pakistan had been awarded to the IAEA. The United Nations attempted to get this award reversed on the ground that there was already a surplus of nuclear metals; that no single-purpose mineral surveys (as contrasted with multimineral surveys) should be undertaken; and that the IAEA, if it undertook these two projects, would be duplicating the work of the UN Resources Division.

On July 30 the 49th ECOSOC unanimously approved a resolution that reaffirmed the "primary role and responsibility" of the United Nations for conducting single or multimineral surveys, but recognized the "special competence and responsibility of the IAEA to conduct surveys for nuclear metals" and the need for the IAEA to "continue to cooperate with the United Nations in multimineral sur-

veys by making available to the United Nations, on request, experts for such surveys." This was clearly a case requiring decision by ECOSOC and ECOSOC justly ruled on behalf of the agency concerned.

Documentation on the most important coordination matter in recent years—interagency cooperation with respect to computers—arrived too late for full consideration by ECOSOC. These documents were a report by the Auditor General of Canada on "Electronic Data Processing in the UN Family of Organizations" and the special report of the ACC<sup>1</sup> on the subject. The latter report, presented by the UN Assistant Secretary General for Administration, recounted the efforts of the ACC Computer Users' Committee and the agreement which the ACC reached to establish in Geneva an International Computer Center with the United Nations, the UNDP, and WHO becoming the first full participants. The ACC also decided, subject to intergovernmental approval, to establish an Inter-Organization Board, replacing the Computer Users' Committee, to be responsible at the secretariat level for making all systems compatible and for achieving agreement on the formulation of programs of data processing.

Although there was broad agreement among the members of ECOSOC that these developments marked a substantial breakthrough in terms of inter-agency cooperation in a field of great concern to the United Nations in recent years, the Council was not prepared, pending further

<sup>1</sup> Administrative Committee on Coordination, composed of the UN Secretary-General and the executive heads of the specialized agencies and IAEA. The heads of other UN bodies are invited to attend as appropriate.

study, to take definitive action. Most members welcomed the report of the ACC and expressed their encouragement at the announcements by the WMO that it would participate in the common facility and by the ILO that it would not increase the capacity of its present computer but would use the common facility for any increased programming. The FAO and UNESCO also announced their willingness, if it could be arranged, to feed their increased programming into the common facility. The United States, while supporting the concept of a central computer facility in Geneva, insisted on the need to clarify the impact of such a move on the existing computer facility and capacity at UN Headquarters in New York.

On July 30 the 49th ECOSOC adopted a resolution, introduced by Italy and France and incorporating suggestions of the United Kingdom and the United States, that endorsed in principle the idea of creating a common system of data processing in Geneva, subject to further consideration at its resumed 49th session. The resolution also provided for ECOSOC agreement to the establishment of the Inter-Organization Board and expressed the opinion that "the establishment of the common system will make it possible for the specialized agencies concerned to stabilize their equipment at present levels."

On November 6 the resumed 49th session transmitted its report and affirmative recommendations to the General Assembly which also had before it the positive recommendations of the ACABQ. On December 17 the General Assembly, without objection, authorized UN participation in the International Computer Center and the Inter-Organization Board, subject to appropriate action by the legislative bodies of the UNDP and WHO.

During the 49th ECOSOC's discussion of coordination, the U.S.S.R.

introduced a draft resolution which, among other things, called upon the specialized agencies to consider making arrangements for desk surveys of their secretariats and in the meantime "to freeze at their present levels" their staffs. The United States agreed with many of the purposes of the draft, including the concern with the size of the staffs, but considered the request for a complete freeze to be unrealistic. The resolution was opposed by the developing countries which regarded it as an attempt to stifle the growth of the UN system right at the beginning of the Second Development Decade. In its final form the resolution, also cosponsored by Bulgaria, France, Italy, Tunisia, the United States, and Uruguay, and unanimously adopted, recommended that the executive heads of the United Nations, the specialized agencies, and the IAEA "take every possible action, including reassignment of present personnel in the light of priority programs, in order to ensure the maximum utilization of the said personnel." This is the first time that ECOSOC has made such a recommendation to the UN organizations.

## Joint Inspection Unit

1970 was a year of growing activity for the Joint Inspection Unit.<sup>1</sup> Over a dozen of its reports, on such topics as the activities of the ECA and of ECAFE, UN work in Malaysia and Singapore, and selected ideas for improving field operations, were submitted to ECOSOC and, as appropriate, to the governing bodies of the specialized agencies, together with comments of the executive heads.

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<sup>1</sup> Maurice Bertrand (France), Lucio Garcia del Solar (Argentina), Streten Ilic (Yugoslavia), C. S. Jha (India), Robert Macy (United States), Joseph Adolf Sawe (Tanzania), Sir Leonard Scopes (United Kingdom), and Aleksei Fedorovich Sokirkin (U.S.S.R.).



All of these reports included recommendations for improving the management of the UN system, some of which pertained to administrative action that the executive heads could take on their own initiative. However, a major problem continued to be inadequate consideration at the inter-governmental level. In some instances reports were received too late for appropriate consideration at one session of an organization with the result that they could be overtaken by events before they could be considered by the next session. The United States therefore cosponsored a resolution at the 49th session of ECOSOC urging that inspection reports and the comments of executive heads be given an important place on agendas of governing bodies as soon as possible after they are available and that appropriate followup action be taken. The resolution was adopted unanimously on July 30.

As the United States pointed out at ECOSOC, external evaluation of UN operations such as that provided by the Inspectors is essential to ensure the maximum efficiency in the UN system, and the Inspectors should continue their investigations and reports. The United States also considered that the subjects selected by the Inspectors were appropriate, and particularly those concerning the effectiveness of the assistance which the United Nations is giving to the developing countries. There is no doubt that ECOSOC action in reducing and curtailing its documentation is a direct result of a report on documentation undertaken by one of the Inspectors. The inspection report dealing with programming and budgets in the UN system is another valuable study. It has been under review by various UN bodies which are considering the desirability of an integrated system of long-term planning and program budgeting by the United Nations and the specialized agencies.

At the 25th General Assembly the United States reiterated its support for the Joint Inspection Unit and joined in the unanimous adoption on December 17 of a resolution which extended its existence on the present experimental basis through 1973.

## Nongovernmental Organizations

At its organizational meeting in January 1970 the 48th ECOSOC elected the following countries to the Committee on Nongovernmental Organizations (NGOs): Bulgaria, France, Ghana, India, Jamaica, Kenya, Norway, Pakistan, Sudan, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, United States, and Uruguay.

The consultative status of a number of nongovernmental organizations had been subject to review by the Committee under terms of a 1968 ECOSOC resolution which called for the examination of the purpose, function, and financing of each of the organizations. In 1969 the U.S.S.R. and Arab members of ECOSOC had attacked several organizations, among them the Coordinating Board of Jewish Organizations (CBJO), on which the NGO Committee had not reached agreement, and they had attempted to have the CBJO expelled from consultative status with ECOSOC. The Council, acting on a U.S. motion, and following a long and difficult debate, had agreed that the CBJO, of which B'nai B'rith is the leading national member, would remain in consultative status pending final action in the NGO Committee.

The status of the CBJO was the most prominent issue before the NGO Committee at its meeting in February 1970 when it decided by a vote of 8 to 5 to recommend continued consultative status for the CBJO.

On May 27, after 2 years of intensive deliberation, the 48th ECOSOC approved by a vote of 14 (U.S.) to 10,

with 3 abstentions, the granting to the CBJO of consultative status in Category II (comparable to the consultative rights and privileges it had exercised before). This approval was given explicitly subject to ECOSOC's right to terminate the status if it at any time becomes convinced that the CBJO has engaged in activities which are detrimental to or critical of decisions taken by the United Nations.

## Tourism

During 1970 increased interest in tourism as a factor in national economic development and international understanding was reflected in the progress toward transforming the International Union of Official Travel Organizations (IUOTO) from a nongovernmental organization into an intergovernmental organization. An Extraordinary General Assembly of the IUOTO in Mexico City in September adopted and referred to member states revised statutes to change IUOTO into "an international organization of intergovernmental character."

The revised statutes provide that the fundamental aim of the organization shall be "the promotion and development of tourism with a view to contributing to economic development, international understanding, peace, prosperity and universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion." In pursuing this aim, the organization shall pay particular attention to the interests of the developing countries in the field of tourism.

The transformed organization will be comprised of a General Assembly, an Executive Council, and a Secretariat. The Council will consist of full members elected by the Assembly on the basis of one member for each five full members, with a view to achieving fair and equitable geographical

distribution. The Assembly is to meet ordinarily only once every 2 years while the Council will meet at least twice a year.

Although the United States worked closely during the year with the IUOTO secretariat and with other interested countries in preparing the revised statutes and in refining the transformation procedure, it did not participate in the final vote on the revised statutes at Mexico City because there was inadequate time at the Assembly to review them in detail. The interested U.S. Government agencies are now studying the statutes and will consult fully with the Congress. Among the questions to be examined is the extent to which the activities of the transformed organization are likely to relate to U.S. tourism interests. These interests include the promotion of increased foreign travel to the United States as well as the opportunity for U.S. carriers and other business interests to participate in the development of tourism abroad.

The revised statutes provide associate membership for areas that do not conduct their own foreign relations and affiliate membership for the nongovernmental sector of tourism which has already made a major contribution to IUOTO. This is consistent with the U.S. position that an intergovernmental tourism organization should utilize and be responsive to the contributions of all significant bodies, whether or not they are states.

The revised statutes will enter into force 120 days after 51 states, whose official tourism organizations were full members of IUOTO at the time of adoption of the revised statutes, have formally signified their approval of the statutes. As of January 1, 1971, only two states had so signified.

The revised statutes pose a number of problems for the United States. The financial rules provide that the scale of assessment shall be based on the level of economic development

and the importance of tourism in each member country. The United States did not support this rule since it believed that the statutes should provide a fixed scale of assessments and that the standard used to arrive at that scale should give most weight to tourism instead of economic development. The United States proposed an amendment to establish the maximum contribution of any one member at not more than 5% of the budget for any financial year. (This would provide for a substantial increase in the U.S. share which in 1970 was \$11,500 or 3% of the IUOTO budget.) The amendment was defeated by a vote of 14 in favor to 43 opposed, with 9 abstentions.

The United States also believed that the administrative budget should include only costs for the staff of the organization, seminars and technical meetings, research, collection of statistics and distribution of information, publications, and other normal organizational costs. Operational activities of a technical assistance and pre-investment nature might be financed

through the UNDP or by voluntary contributions. While this appeared to be the general understanding of the Assembly, detailed language to this effect was not inserted in the revised statutes. The United States is continuing to encourage IUOTO to indicate more precisely the proposed financial structure of the transformed organization since this question and the matter of the assessment scale will be crucial factors in determining the U.S. decision on membership in the new organization. Whatever the decision of the U.S. Government, however, interested U.S. firms and organizations may seek affiliate membership in the transformed organization.

If the revised statutes enter into force the transformed organization will become known as the World Tourism Organization. The next General Assembly of IUOTO is scheduled for the fall of 1971. Should acceptance of the revised statutes be submitted by a majority of the members, this could also be the first meeting of the World Tourism Organization.

## Specialized Agencies and the IAEA

### International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and International Development Association

With its membership increased to 115 by the addition of Yemen, Cambodia, and Equatorial Guinea, the IBRD by December 1970 had increased its authorized capital from

\$24 billion to \$27 billion, of which \$23.207 billion has been subscribed. Of this, the United States has subscribed \$6.35 billion, or 27.36% of the total, of which \$635 million has been paid in. With weighted voting, the United States has 63,750 votes, or 24.44% of total voting power.

The Bank relies for its sources of funds on borrowings in international capital markets, which by December 31 had grossed over \$9 billion, as well as on its capital and reserves. Its reserves as of July 1970 were in excess of \$1.3 billion. By contrast, its affli-



ate, the IDA, with 107 members,<sup>1</sup> depends in part on the annual allocation of a share in the IBRD profits, and in part on replenishments from members. In July 1970, a "third replenishment" was agreed upon, by which a total of approximately \$813 million per year would be provided for 3 years; the first payment was scheduled for November 1971.

Whereas IBRD loans carry an interest rate of 7¼%, IDA credits bear no interest charge, and their service charge is only ¾%. IDA thus provides its members that are in the most difficult circumstances with a supplement or alternative to the IBRD loans. These differences aside, IDA has the same management and staff as the Bank, and finances the same general range of projects. Some projects, in fact, are financed in part by IBRD loans and in part by IDA credits.

Lending totals for the IBRD and IDA, for calendar years 1969 and 1970, are as follows:

	1969	1970
	(In millions of dollars)	
<b>IBRD Loans</b>		
Number	73	68
Amount	1, 225. 2	1, 615. 1
<b>IDA Credits</b>		
Number	39	59
Amount	463. 2	604. 8

Development lending by the IBRD and IDA combined in calendar year 1970 focused on the following principal areas:

	(In millions of dollars)	
<b>A. Agriculture</b>		
Number		33
Amount		357. 78
No. of countries		22
including		
1. <i>Irrigation</i>		
Amount		48. 5
2. <i>Investment Credit</i>		
Amount		58. 7

<sup>1</sup> Yemen, Cambodia, and Southern Yemen joined during 1970.

	(In millions of dollars)	
<b>3. General Agriculture</b>		
Amount		209
<b>4. Agriculture/Industries</b>		
Amount		41. 8
<b>B. Education</b>		
Number		12
Amount		101. 5
No. of countries		11
<b>C. Public Services Infrastructure</b>		
Number		55
Amount		1,281. 55
No. of countries		44
including		
1. <i>Transportation</i>		
Amount		552. 10
2. <i>Electric Power</i>		
Amount		615. 25
3. <i>Telecommunications</i>		
Amount		114. 2
<b>D. Industry</b>		
Number		3
Amount		51. 5
No. of countries		3
<b>E. Family Planning</b>		
Number		1
Amount		2. 00
No. of countries		1

A noteworthy agricultural project was a \$26 million IDA credit to the U.A.R. for drainage of the Nile Delta.

The IBRD regards educational loans and credits, which enhance students' subsequent employment opportunities and national reservoirs of badly needed skills, as among the soundest forms of investment to be made in the developing world. Among these in calendar 1970 were an \$11 million IBRD loan to the Ivory Coast for a project which included educational TV (see also p. 142) and an IDA credit of \$6.1 million to Kenya to establish its first University Faculty in Agriculture.

Infrastructural lending included a \$125 million loan to Mexico for electric power and a \$40 million loan to Yugoslavia for a telecommunications project.

A \$2 million loan went to Jamaica, the first to be used to support family planning.

# International Finance Corporation

An affiliate of the IBRD, the IFC encourages investment in private enterprises in developing countries through both lending and equity participation. In contrast to the IBRD, which requires host government guarantees for its loans and IDA credits, the IFC operates without such guarantees. With the accession of the Congo (Kinshasa), Gabon, and Yemen, the IFC's membership in calendar 1970 reached 95, and total subscriptions to capital, \$107 million. In addition to capital subscriptions, the IFC also obtains funds from repayments of investments, sales of equity and loan investments, and net income.

During calendar year 1970, the IFC invested \$118.6 million in developing countries, an increase of \$30.6 million over the year before. Since its establishment in 1956, the IFC's total investments by June 30, 1970, had reached \$476.5 million in 153 businesses in 43 countries. Others had invested \$2,132.7 million in these ventures, making a total of \$2,609.2 million.

Some of the IFC's recent commitments have been for a polyethylene plant in Brazil; textile and synthetic fiber plants in Ceylon, Colombia, Ethiopia, Malaysia, and Nigeria; tourism in Colombia; and an automobile plant in Yugoslavia. The financing of development banks in four countries, as well as the regional ADELA Investment Company in Latin America, are other important projects.

The IFC expects that investments in which it was associated during 1970 will provide over 19,000 new jobs, add \$53 million in new export capacity, and reduce needs for imports by approximately \$167 million.

The internal rate of return to the IFC over the years has averaged 9.08% per annum.

# International Monetary Fund

The basic objectives of the IMF are to promote exchange and monetary stability and to provide, under adequate safeguards, medium-term financial assistance to member countries in temporary balance-of-payments difficulties. Yemen and Barbados joined during 1970 and by year's end the IMF had 117 members with quotas totaling \$28,433 million, of which the U.S. quota was \$6,700 million. This reflects the implementation through the end of 1970 of the general quota increase agreed to earlier in the year. Total quotas will eventually reach \$28.9 billion if all members accept their full quota increases.

IMF resources are supplemented by the General Arrangements to Borrow, which became effective in 1962 and were renewed in 1966 and again in 1969 for a 5-year period to begin in October 1970. Under these Arrangements, the main industrial countries undertook to lend the IMF specified amounts of their currencies up to the equivalent of \$6 billion in the event that the stability of the international monetary system were endangered. As a result of subsequent exchange rate changes, the total commitment is now \$5.9 billion. The U.S. commitment under the Arrangements is \$2 billion.

On July 28, 1969, the Amendment to the IMF Articles of Agreement for the establishment of a facility based on special drawing rights (SDR) entered into force, following its acceptance by the required 60% of the Fund's members having 80% of the total voting power. In accordance with a resolution adopted by the

Board of Governors at its 1969 annual meeting, the IMF made an initial SDR allocation equivalent to \$3,414 million, effective January 1, 1970, to 104 participants in the Fund's special drawing account. The second allocation, approximately \$3 billion, was made on January 1, 1971; and a similar allocation will be made on January 1, 1972. The SDR allocation received by the United States for the first year was \$866,880,000. Its second year allocation was \$716,900,000.

## Food and Agriculture Organization

The celebration of FAO's 25th anniversary on October 16 provided opportunity for it and its member nations to rededicate themselves to raising levels of human nutrition and standards of living, improving the production and distribution of food, bettering the living conditions of rural populations, and ensuring man's freedom from hunger.

A World Agricultural Census was completed in 1970. This was the third in a series of 10-year censuses sponsored by FAO to provide basic data for use by the organization and its member governments in program planning, agricultural development, and other activities.

Some 1,800 persons attended the Second World Food Congress, held at The Hague, June 16-30. The main themes were conservation of man's environment, population growth in relation to economic development, and the role of youth in development. The final declaration of the Congress called upon governments to increase drastically the supply of resources for development and to channel an increasing proportion of agricultural development assistance and economic aid through an improved system of international cooperation.

FAO's field program continued to grow, and some 1,000 professional

staff members at FAO headquarters in Rome devoted close to one-half of their time to providing support services to projects financed from UNDP and other sources. The field program in 1970 employed approximately 2,270 experts in 105 countries and dependent territories. The U.S. contribution to FAO's regular program budget in 1970 amounted to \$10,083,458.

### WORLD SITUATION

Total agricultural production in the developed regions of the world remained relatively stable, with little or no increase in Western Europe and Oceania, some increase in Eastern Europe, and a decline in total production in North America. Among the less-developed areas, food production increased somewhat. East Asia showed the largest increase, with lesser gains in Latin America, while food production in Africa remained about the same as in 1969.

Although gross agricultural output in the developing countries rose continuously during the 1960's, per capita production declined in all of the developing regions except East Asia. Thus the problem of adequate food production and distribution on a worldwide basis remains paramount. The further development and introduction of high-yielding crop varieties; the expansion of livestock, dairy, and poultry production; the continuing increase in fertilizer usage; and the improvement of marketing and distribution processes are more important than ever in meeting the world's need for food and clothing.

The Indicative World Plan for Agricultural Development, completed in 1969, defined the magnitude of the world food problem and pointed out that by 1985, given the present population growth rates, the developing countries would require 80% more food than in 1962 merely to maintain existing nutrition levels. Thus continuing rapid agricultural growth is the alternative to starvation.



## AGRICULTURE

The FAO Agriculture Department conducts its activities through four divisions: Land and Water Development, Animal Production and Health, Plant Production and Protection, and the Joint FAO/IAEA Division of Atomic Energy and Agriculture. The work of these divisions in 1970 was again geared to the five areas of program emphasis: (1) development of high-yielding varieties, (2) closing the protein gap, (3) war on waste, (4) development of human resources, and (5) increasing foreign exchange earnings and savings.

Specific projects covered a wide range of activity. For example, more than 700 FAO specialists worked in developing countries on improving food, industrial crops, and pastures. New high-yielding varieties of wheat were identified through a 23-country project including the Near East, Africa, and southern Europe. Soybeans suitable to tropical conditions were introduced and tested in Burma, Malawi, and Latin America, and soybean cultivation was started in West Pakistan. Continuing their joint efforts to find safer and more effective uses of pesticides, the FAO and WHO recommended more than 250 pesticide residue levels as internationally acceptable for crops. By promoting and encouraging new techniques in farm management, agricultural mechanization, food processing and storage, and agricultural engineering, FAO helped many developing countries in making the transition from subsistence to commercial agriculture.

FAO continued to support animal health and protection research projects, including one to develop and improve vaccines for tick-borne diseases in Kenya, and one to establish facilities for diagnosis of animal diseases and vaccine production in the Near East. The FAO also established regional livestock training programs

in Latin America, Africa, and the Near East.

The United States took part in the FAO study groups, working parties, and committees on the establishment and operation of these programs and furnished technical experts and research data to assist FAO in carrying on its worldwide program on agriculture.

## FORESTRY

During the year FAO's Forestry Department published a report on inputs and costs of logging and transportation in tropical countries; promoted and coordinated various bilateral tree seed exchange programs; established forest tree seed centers to improve species; began to revise the document, "Forest Policy, Law, and Administration," taking into account the broad need for attention to the environment; and began preparation of a "Handbook on Forest Concessions" to assist governments in exercising control over forest exploitation in order to assure sustained forest production and achievement of long-term forestry development goals.

The United States participated in the meeting of the Committee of Alternates of FAO's North American Forestry Commission held in Washington, D.C., the 11th session of the Latin American Forestry Commission held in Ecuador, FAO's Regional Consultation on Forest Industrial Development in Latin America held in Mexico, the FAO/U.S.S.R. Seminar on Forest Influences held in the U.S.S.R., the FAO Study Tour of Forest Genetics and Tree Breeding in Hungary, and the third session of FAO's Committee on Wood-Based Panel Products held in Italy. Participation in these meetings enabled the United States to gain new information, to encourage the application of modern technology, and to promote national development of forests and forest industries in the develop-

ing countries. It also fostered within the United States an increased appreciation of the relationship of forestry development to total economic and social development.

## **FISHERIES**

FAO is the only global forum concerned with fisheries and its Fisheries Department, which is headed by a U.S. citizen, provides leadership in the effort to safeguard the living resources of the oceans. FAO was one of the first international organizations to respond to world concern about ecology and marine pollution when it organized and convened the FAO Technical Conference on Marine Pollution and its Effects on Living Resources and Fishing, December 9-18, in Rome. This Conference, attended by 415 environmentalists, focused world attention on the marine pollution problem, and developed conclusions that should be helpful in attacking the problem.

In 1970 FAO established a Fishery Industry Division to assist the building of such industries in interested developing countries. In addition it continued to encourage the developing countries to collect adequate data and statistics in order to assess the stocks of fish for management or development.

As more countries become interested in utilizing the fishery resources off their coasts, there are more UNDP fisheries projects carried out by FAO. In addition there are more expressions of concern about foreign exploitation of offcoast fisheries. The FAO African Regional Conference recognized this problem and requested that an African fisheries conference be convened to consider possible solutions. In view of the General Assembly proposal in December 1970 for a Law of the Sea Conference in 1973 that would include fishery matters (see p. 25) all of FAO's activities in this area have gained added importance.

The United States attended meetings of two major FAO regional fisheries bodies. The second session of the Indian Ocean Fishery Commission in Rome, and the 14th session of the Indo-Pacific Fisheries Council in Bangkok discussed needs for management of such stocks as tuna and considered means of developing and coordinating fishery development activities. An outstanding example of the latter is the International Indian Ocean Fishery Survey and Development Program which will be coordinated and executed by the Indian Ocean Fishery Commission under the leadership of a U.S. citizen. The United States is supporting this new project which should be in draft form by early 1971.

## **ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS**

FAO's work on economic and social problems is organized into five divisions: Economic Analysis, Commodities and Trade, Statistics, Nutrition, and Rural Institutions.

In the field of economic analysis, FAO stressed country program planning assistance, project evaluation, program appraisal, and economic intelligence. The country approach to all FAO-administered programs was followed for the first time in 1970, projects under Special Fund type UNDP-financing in 20 countries were reviewed, and all FAO programs were evaluated in five countries. Also, a feasibility study was completed for the Comahue region of Argentina, resulting in 38 specific project proposals, and FAO sponsored a regional training course in agricultural development, planning, and project analysis in New Delhi with 50 participants from 22 countries.

FAO's work on commodities and trade centered on problems of promoting commodity export earnings and import savings in developing countries. It established a Central Information Service on Food Aid Operations to assemble data relating to

trade transactions subject to the new consultative and reporting procedures accepted by the principal trading countries. It also established a study group on meat to deal with livestock and meat trade problems. Study groups for grains, rice, tea, hard fibers, jute, and kenaf continued to deal with commodity trade problems. The United States is represented on all of the study groups.

The United States continued its participation in the statistical development and analysis work of FAO, with agencies of the U.S. Government cooperating with FAO in a comprehensive program to train English-speaking technicians in the methods and procedures required for planning and conducting agricultural censuses. (The French Government conducts a similar program for French-speaking nations.) Food balance sheets were prepared showing the flow of agricultural production, utilization, and trade for the period 1961-67 for use in program evaluation and analysis, and FAO index numbers of food and agricultural production for the years 1961-65 were revised as the basis of a new country classification by economic region and subregion.

The FAO's nutrition program focused on the mobilization of human resources for rural development, planning at the family level, and women's participation in rural cooperatives and agrarian reform. The program supported over 250 field projects, typical examples of which were the project in Senegal which established nutrition education and school feeding programs throughout the country, and the FAO-WHO-UNICEF 10-week course in Lebanon for nutrition policy planners which was attended by 31 participants from 13 countries. The United States contributed to the nutrition program through its participation in the World Food Program (see below) as well as in other ways.

A World Conference on Agricultural Education and Training was held in Copenhagen July 28-August 8 with the cooperation of UNESCO and ILO. Ninety-five countries (including the United States) sent 350 participants, who urged a comprehensive approach to the problems of rural development through more efficient planning, better preparation of teachers, and establishment of coordinating bodies in the agricultural sector of member countries.

A Special Committee on Agrarian Reform established in 1970 and composed of leaders from both developed and developing countries, recommended action to modify land tenure systems and development of related institutions.

#### **DEVELOPMENT**

FAO continued its efforts to stimulate investment in agricultural development. The FAO/IBRD cooperative program financed 21 projects amounting to \$275 million, and FAO recommendations to regional banks raised the volume of agricultural investment still higher. FAO's Industry Cooperative Program, which helps stimulate private investment in developing countries, continued to grow and by the end of the year 90 private firms were participating in the program. Some 30 investment proposals ranging from the production of small farm equipment in Pakistan to pulp milling in Central America were under consideration. Also, the nucleus for a similar program with private banks was established in 1970.

The FAO participated in the design or implementation of a large number of UNDP-financed development projects, and administered many projects financed under trust funds provided by the Freedom-from-Hunger Campaign and other private and governmental donors. FAO participation in the design, administra-



tion, and implementation of projects supported by the World Food Program also contributed to international economic development in 1970.

Fifty-five FAO country representatives, who also serve as senior agricultural advisers to the UNDP resident representatives, provide a link between Rome Headquarters and the member nations participating in the UNDP. They work in cooperation with both the UNDP resident representatives and country officials to develop and carry out national development programs and projects.

The United States participates in FAO's development efforts in a variety of ways. The U.S. Agency for International Development (AID) and FAO engage in frequent consultation and exchange of information concerning specific development projects. In addition, the two agencies are jointly devising a methodology and model for agricultural sector analysis. Through its membership in FAO committees on agriculture, forestry, and fisheries, the United States contributes to the formulation of FAO developmental policy, and through its participation in regional commissions and attendance at conferences, the United States provides policy review and technical guidance to FAO development experts.

#### **UN/FAO WORLD FOOD PROGRAM**

The WFP, a joint undertaking by the United Nations and the FAO, was established on an experimental basis in 1962 and placed on a continuing basis in 1965. This multilateral food assistance program was supported by contributions of commodities, services, and cash from 80 member nations in 1970.

WFP provides food at the request of governments of less developed countries to help carry out economic and social development projects and to meet emergency/disaster situations. Special emphasis is given proj-

ects related to preschool and school feeding activities, and labor intensive and rural welfare projects. The United States has played a major role in encouraging WFP to assume greater responsibility and larger program operations in the multilateral food assistance effort.

Resources available to the WFP since its inception, including pledges for 1971-72, totaled \$719 million through the third quarter of 1970: \$513 million were in commodities and \$206 million in cash and services. An additional \$42 million worth of food grains were made available by the signatories of the Food Aid Convention of the International Grains Arrangement.

From the beginning of the program through 1970 a total of 478 economic development projects were approved in 83 countries involving commitments of more than \$1 billion. Of these projects, ranging from 3 to 5 years in length, 74 have been completed and 404 are in various stages of implementation. In addition, 122 emergency operations costing nearly \$100 million have been undertaken in 67 countries. More than \$18.3 million of this total was extended during 1970 to victims of floods, droughts, earthquakes, and other disasters.

In January 1970 the United States pledged to contribute up to \$125 million toward the WFP goal of \$300 million for the 1971-72 biennium. The pledge includes up to \$85 million in commodities, an estimated \$37 million in ocean freight required to ship the commodities, and up to \$3 million in cash for administrative support of the program. The U.S. commodity contribution is subject to the condition that it does not exceed 50% of the total contributions from all governments in commodities and cash used for the purchase of commodities. By the end of 1970, 59 other states had pledged a total of \$91,131,014 toward the WFP target of \$300,000,000.

# International Labor Organization

## INTERNATIONAL LABOR CONFERENCE

The International Labor Conference, which normally meets once each year, is the standard-setting body of the ILO. Member states are represented by tripartite delegations: one worker, one employer, and two government delegates, each with a separate vote. In 1970 the Conference held two sessions, one in the spring and one in the fall that was devoted entirely to maritime questions.

The 54th session, June 3–25, was attended by delegations from 111 of the 121 ILO member states. The Conference adopted four new international instruments: a convention and a recommendation on minimum wage-fixing, with special reference to developing countries; a new convention concerning annual holidays with pay, revising former standards; and a recommendation concerning special youth employment training schemes.

The Conference also considered the reports of the Governing Body's Working Party on the Program and Structure of the ILO, which for the past 7 years had been considering proposals to revise the ILO structure. The Conference decided to refer to the Governing Body for further consideration certain important outstanding questions concerning structure (particularly the transfer of authority from the Governing Body to the Conference, and the composition of the employer group of the Governing Body). It requested the Governing Body to provide for a special intersessional committee of the Conference to consider further matters of structure should the Conference consider it necessary in 1971. This, in effect, would transfer the consideration of structure from the Governing Body to the Conference where the

states wishing to make radical changes in the character of the organization exercise greater influence.

The Conference also decided, over the opposition of the U.S. Government, to adopt a supplement to the 1970–71 biennium budget for the purpose of providing a \$700,000 subsidy in 1971 to the ILO's International Center for Advanced Technical and Vocational Training at Turin, Italy. The United States took the position that training provided at the Center, which is a form of UN technical assistance for economic development, should be financed through the UNDP.

The 55th (Maritime) session of the International Labor Conference met October 14–30. This was the eighth maritime session held since the ILO was founded in 1919 and the first since 1958. Sixty-five member states were represented at the session which adopted eight new international instruments: a convention and a recommendation on accident prevention; a convention and two recommendations on crew accommodation, air conditioning, and the control of harmful noise; a recommendation on employment problems; a recommendation on vocational training; and a recommendation on seafarers' welfare at sea and in port.

## GOVERNING BODY

The Governing Body consists of 24 government members—14 elected and 10 who hold seats as the states of chief industrial importance;<sup>1</sup> 12 employer members; and 12 worker members. Twelve deputy seats for each of the three groups are also elected. The government, worker, and employer groups of the Conference form separate electoral colleges for the purpose of choosing the members of their respective groups on the Governing

<sup>1</sup> Canada, China, France, Federal Republic of Germany, India, Italy, Japan, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, and United States.

Body; the 10 states of chief industrial importance are excluded from participation in the government electoral college. The Governing Body serves for 3 years, and was last elected at the Conference in 1969. The next Governing Body election will take place at the 1972 Conference.

The most significant action by the Governing Body in 1970 was the election of a new Director General to succeed David A. Morse (a U.S. national) who in February announced his intention to resign effective May 31. There were two principal candidates: C. Wilfred Jenks of the United Kingdom, the Principal Deputy Director General of the ILO, and Francis Blanchard of France, a Deputy Director General of the ILO. In a close election on May 20, Mr. Jenks by a vote of 25 to 23 was elected to succeed Mr. Morse for a 5-year term beginning June 1. The U.S. government, employer, and worker members of the Governing Body supported the election of Mr. Jenks.

#### **CRISIS IN U.S.-ILO RELATIONS**

A serious crisis in relations between the United States and the ILO occurred when the Congress on October 7 took final action on the State Department Appropriation Bill from which it had cut \$3.7 million of the funds requested to pay the assessed contribution to the ILO for calendar year 1970 (\$7,458,875). In a letter of August 24 to the Chairman of the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee, the Department pointed out that "the United States has undertaken an international legal duty to pay the share of the budget that has been voted by the ILO General Conference" and would be in violation of that obligation if it did not pay the full assessment. The Department pointed out that "aside from broader foreign policy implications, failure to pay our obligatory assessment would seriously weaken the ability of the

United States to exert influence within the organization."

The congressional action was a reflection of a deep U.S. concern over the steady erosion of the tripartite concepts and practice of the ILO following the U.S.S.R.'s resumption of membership in 1954. Some results of this erosion were (1) the weakening of the autonomy of the employer and worker groups; (2) the introduction of special procedures to offset Eastern European inability to participate on a tripartite basis; (3) the development of a double standard by which the Eastern European states were granted a degree of immunity from discussion of their obligations with respect to ILO conventions; (4) the increased use of the ILO Conference for political attacks on free institutions in general and the United States in particular; and (5) the use of official ILO publications for articles by Soviet writers espousing views contrary to the very principles of this tripartite organization.

Between 1954 and 1959 the employer group of the Conference did not elect any Communist state delegates as voting employer members of tripartite committees because they did not represent employer interests but were in fact government-instructed delegates. In 1959, however, the Conference (over U.S. objections) adopted new procedures that resulted in giving two Communist state representatives voting "employer" membership on the tripartite committees of the Conference, thus overruling the determination of the group of delegates accredited to the Conference to represent employer interests. This, of course, imposed a limitation on the autonomy of the nongovernment groups and, by imposing government-instructed representatives as employer members of the committees, tended to weaken the influence of the employer group in the work of those committees.

In 1965 special arrangements were made to modify the results of the tri-



partite elections for membership on the 10 ILO industrial committees. The applications of Eastern European states for membership on these committees did not fare well in the elections, failing to win much support from the employer and worker groups which knew that the employer and worker delegates sent by Communist states to those committees could not represent independent employer and worker interests. In response to Soviet charges of "discrimination," and threats of retaliatory action unless the election results were "rectified," arrangements were made to increase the membership of each committee and to add a Communist state to 8 of the 10 committees.

Under standing procedures, the ILO Conference considers placing on a "special list" those member states which have persistently violated their treaty obligations to give effect to the provisions of ILO conventions that they have ratified. The U.S.S.R. and a number of other Eastern European states have ratified the ILO Convention on Freedom of Association. A committee of experts, which reviews the reports of member states on the manner in which they apply ILO conventions, had since 1959 determined that the U.S.S.R. and the other Eastern European states were in violation of the provisions of that convention. After acrimonious debate over those findings in 1961 and 1962, the Conference in 1963 decided that, rather than engage further in such debate, it would adjourn any discussion of the application of the Freedom of Association Convention by the Eastern European states and Cuba (which had also ratified the convention). At each subsequent Conference a similar decision has been taken. Thus, those states enjoyed an immunity from the application of procedures which are regularly applied as necessary to other member states. This double standard not only protects one group of ILO members from criticism, but undermines respect for

this important human right which is central to the tripartite character of the ILO.

Before Mr. Jenks' election the U.S. Government had informed him, as well as his predecessor, of its grave concern that the appointment of a Soviet national to a top policy-level position in the International Labor Office would tend to damage further the ILO's constitutional adherence to tripartism which is alien to Communist concepts. He was informed that the appointment of a Soviet national as Assistant Director General would raise very serious problems in the United States.

The decision by the new Director General, within a month of his assumption of the Director Generalship, to appoint a Soviet national to that post was seen as a cause for concern that under his leadership the trend of accommodation to Soviet pressures at the expense of the ILO's constitutional commitment to its tripartite character was likely to continue.

In response to continued expressions of concern by the United States some steps were taken in the ILO in the latter half of 1970 which demonstrated its awareness of and greater willingness to apply the fundamental standards of the organization more rigorously. For example, the normally scheduled 5-year election of industrial committee memberships was held by the Governing Body in November. When the Eastern European states fared no better than in the previous election, the Governing Body did not arrange to add Eastern European states to the committees as it had in 1965. The Director General issued instructions to the staff regarding the objectivity of ILO publications. There were also some indications of resistance to Soviet proposals for further erosions of the autonomy of the nongovernment groups to determine their own representation on tripartite bodies. It is hoped that these changes reflect the intention of the ILO to adhere to those stand-

ards which have in the past enabled it to bring to bear the independent views of governments, employers, and workers on a wide range of social problems affecting the welfare of workers.

## UN Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization

### 16th GENERAL CONFERENCE

The UNESCO General Conference, which meets every 2 years to discuss and approve the program and budget, held its 16th session in Paris, October 12–November 14. It approved a program for 1971–72 that will continue to emphasize education and the natural sciences, and adopted a budget for the biennium of \$89,898,560. The U.S. assessed contribution will be \$12.2 million per year, compared with \$10.6 million in 1970. The United States voted against the budget because it considered certain of the increases unjustified, including one for construction of a new building not expected to be fully utilized until 1985.

The Conference also adopted, by a vote of 63 to 1, with 8 abstentions (U.S.), a resolution calling upon UNESCO to place the Arabic language on the same level as the four working languages of the organization (English, French, Spanish, and Russian) by the 18th General Conference in 1974. This culminated a drive by the Arab countries, begun several years ago, to give Arabic full equality with the four working languages. The United States abstained because it believed that UNESCO's Rules of Procedure already adequately provided for the use of other languages, as appropriate, and that this resolution would result in unnecessary expense.

The United States also abstained on a lengthy resolution, adopted by a vote of 68 to 1, with 28 abstentions, that dealt with a number of topics, including "UNESCO's tasks with respect to the elimination of colonialism." The resolution reaffirmed UNESCO's earlier decision not to accord any help to the governments of Portugal, South Africa, or the illegal regime in Southern Rhodesia, and not to invite them to participate in UNESCO activities "until such time as the authorities of those countries desist from their policy of colonial oppression and racial discrimination." The resolution also requested the Director General "to undertake investigations of all international nongovernmental organizations enjoying relations with UNESCO which have branches, sections, affiliates or constituent parts" in those countries "with respect to the practice of racial discrimination or racial segregation in their policies, activities, or membership or their cooperation in any way with the apartheid policy of the Government of the Republic of South Africa." The resolution further called on the Executive Board, in light of the Director General's report to it on his investigations, to break off, as of December 31, 1971, all relations with those international nongovernmental organizations that had not established to the Board's satisfaction that they neither practiced racial discrimination or segregation in their policies, nor cooperated with South Africa in its apartheid policy.

The United States believed that this proposed action would undermine the effectiveness of many UNESCO-affiliated professional and technical organizations which maintain a presence in southern Africa and in their own ways work against apartheid and discrimination in any form. Such action would also have an adverse effect on UNESCO, depriving it of useful contacts in the countries and territories concerned as

well as of the assistance which the organizations render to the UNESCO program and operation. Although U.S. opposition to apartheid is clear and longstanding, it believed the issue was properly the concern of the political organs of the United Nations. The introduction of such political matters into the deliberations of technical bodies such as UNESCO could only serve to diminish the effectiveness of those bodies in their area of prime responsibility.

## EDUCATION

### International Education Year

The 24th UN General Assembly in December 1969 unanimously approved the designation of 1970 as International Education Year. Two of the themes emphasized for the Year were lifelong education and democratization of education. UNESCO coordinated activities within the UN system and provided guidance to member states and many nongovernmental organizations, concentrating its efforts on assisting each country and organization to reevaluate its own educational goals and its plans for the Second Development Decade.

Some 86 member states indicated an interest in the worldwide program to further education, and 42 of these states planned substantive programs including such activities as special television broadcasts and films, seminars and symposia, competitions in the field of education, original exhibitions, organization of training courses, production of posters and postage stamps, publication of articles and journals, and a special review of their national educational systems. Some countries organized campaigns to collect funds to improve their own educational systems, and 13 countries, including the United States, increased their aid to developing countries in this area.

## Other Activities

One of the ways that UNESCO furthers its education program is by organizing and sponsoring international conferences. In 1970 the United States participated in a number of these conferences, including: (1) a conference of Ministers of Education and Economic Planning in the Arab States, which inventoried educational progress and analyzed the problems involved in expanding and improving education at all levels; (2) the 32d session of the International Conference on Education, which considered current trends in world education, and, specifically, ways to reduce the dropout rate among primary school children; and (3) a world conference on agricultural education and training which was also sponsored by FAO and ILO.

The UNESCO/IBRD cooperative program in educational planning, financing, and development, begun in 1964, continued to expand during the year. One of its major undertakings was the launching of a nationwide "teaching by television" project in the Ivory Coast. The IBRD provided about \$1 million for the television facilities and \$10 million for the overall education project which includes creation of a TV production center and the building and equipping of 11 experimental schools. The project's goal is the complete reorganization of the Ivory Coast's primary school system by 1976 through the systematic employment of new educational methods and techniques in the training and retraining of teachers.

UNESCO continued its 10-year experimental project, begun in 1969, to improve education in the rural areas of Upper Volta for women and girls who are illiterate or have had only minimal schooling. The project, which received 2 million CFA francs from the Upper Voltan government in 1969 and 2.5 million in 1970, will encompass a wide range of literacy and educational activities, including health, social welfare, agriculture,



and rural development, to permit women and girls to participate more effectively in the economic and social development of their country.

UNESCO continued to emphasize educational publications. During 1970 it published, *inter alia*, a booklet on world progress in literacy during 1967–69 based on data from 93 governments and 9 organizations. The booklet provides for the first time a statistical analysis of world literacy, including data on teaching methods and techniques, and the relations of the literacy programs carried out by member states to UNESCO's World Experimental Literacy Program.

#### **NATURAL SCIENCES**

UNESCO's scientific program covers a wide range of activities including hydrology, environmental sciences, oceanography, natural resources, and science education.

As the sponsor of the International Hydrological Decade (IHD), begun in 1964 on U.S. initiative, UNESCO's work in the field of water resources continued to be both extensive and important. A project of special interest to the United States was the inauguration of an international field year for the Great Lakes to coordinate data collection by the United States and Canada. Other activities included the publication of handbooks and manuals, the sponsoring of graduate training courses in universities, and the sponsoring—often in cooperation with other interested agencies, such as the WMO, IAEA, and WHO—of conferences and seminars in all parts of the world. Symposia of particular interest to the United States were held in Germany in September on problems of surface water measurement, and in New Zealand in December on the results of research on representative and experimental basins.

A mid-Decade conference, held in December 1969, had recommended,

*inter alia*, that the program in the second half of the Decade be re-oriented away from the purely scientific toward the solution of more practical problems in hydrology. During 1970 the Coordinating Council of the IHD began to implement this recommendation by reviewing its working groups and panels and redefining their terms of reference. In addition, a working group composed of the United States and eight other countries continued its effort to develop a long-term system of international hydrological cooperation for the years after the close of the IHD.

UNESCO has for several years demonstrated a growing concern for international environmental problems. The United States both shares and encourages this concern. In 1970 the 16th General Conference decided to launch a long-term intergovernmental and interdisciplinary program on "Man and the Biosphere," which will involve a study of the structure and functioning of the biosphere; systematic observation of changes brought about by man in the biosphere and its resources; a study of overall effects of these changes on the human species; and education and information concerning these subjects. The Conference also established an International Coordinating Council to plan the program, define its priorities, supervise its execution, and make any necessary proposals for coordinating UNESCO's program with those conducted by other international organizations concerned. The United States was one of 25 member states elected to the Coordinating Council for 1971–72.

During the year UNESCO and the International Council of Scientific Unions completed a feasibility study for the establishment of a proposed jointly sponsored world scientific and technical information system. The study confirmed the feasibility of the concept and suggested a number of ways to expedite the establishment of the program. The United States

supports selective implementation of this system which will further worldwide scientific activities by providing a flexible network for voluntary exchanges of information among various information systems.

(For the work of UNESCO's Intergovernmental Oceanographic Commission see p. 113.)

## **SOCIAL SCIENCES AND HUMANITIES**

UNESCO's program in the social sciences and humanities during 1970 was designed to (1) improve international cooperation among social scientists and humanists, (2) provide clearinghouse services, (3) increase social science teaching and research, and (4) apply the social sciences to specific problems of economic and social development.

Largely as a result of U.S. recommendations this program has become less fragmented and more concentrated on specific problems requiring international cooperation. In 1970 the General Conference assigned high priority for the next biennium to four themes: (1) the contribution of the social sciences to development, particularly during the Second Development Decade; (2) human environment and population studies; (3) the introduction of social science perspectives into studies in the natural sciences, mathematics, and engineering; and (4) the contribution of the social sciences and humanities to human rights and peace.

In addition the Conference unanimously approved a U.S.-initiated resolution that called for the development of an international interdisciplinary program against drug abuse. This program will be financed initially by the UN Fund for Drug Abuse Control (see p. 100).

In 1965 UNESCO began an international study on "Main Trends of Research in the Social and Human Sciences." The first volume, subtitled "Social Sciences," was pub-

lished in 1970 and covers such disciplines as sociology, political science, social and cultural anthropology, economics, demography, and linguistics. The work was carried out by UNESCO in collaboration with national and international organizations, social science research centers, and some 300 specialists (including 33 Americans) who were consulted individually. The study is intended for the use of both professional social scientists and the national and international institutions responsible for organizing and financing scientific research programs.

American experts participated in all four of the international symposia in social science fields that UNESCO sponsored during 1970: (1) the implications of recent scientific research on the understanding of aggressiveness, (2) man and his environment, (3) the role of the social sciences in development, and (4) the present state of teaching of the management sciences.

## **CULTURE**

Eighty-eight states took part in the UNESCO-sponsored Intergovernmental Conference on the Institutional, Administrative, and Financial Aspects of Cultural Policies, which was held in Venice from August 24 to September 2. The U.S. delegation was headed by Nancy Hanks, Chairman of the National Endowment for the Arts. This Conference was the first government-level meeting held on a world scale to discuss matters related to culture. It provided an opportunity for the comparison of experiences regarding programs, management, administration, and budgeting; the discussion of common problems and solutions; and the consideration of ways to achieve greater international cooperation. The Conference stressed the importance of cultural considerations in environmental planning; the need for creative education in the arts in order to

encourage artists and to raise audience standards; the need to train administrators or managers of cultural programs; and the importance of UNESCO as a clearinghouse for worldwide experience in the arts.

UNESCO maintains an extensive cultural publication program including *inter alia* art books, translations of classics of world literature, bibliographies, and historical and anthropological studies. In 1969 it had launched, with a volume on the United States, a new series called "Studies and Documents on Cultural Policies." Six additional booklets, on Japan, France, Tunisia, the United Kingdom, the U.S.S.R., and Czechoslovakia, were published in 1970. Other publications of considerable use in the United States were two film catalogs—one on ethnographic films in the Pacific region, and the other a comprehensive one on archaeological, ethnographic, and historical films.

UNESCO continued to encourage and further the preservation of monuments and sites of historical interest and value. In response to a request from Cambodia under the terms of the Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict, UNESCO sent an expert to Cambodia to examine steps which might be taken to preserve Angkor Wat and other monuments and works of art. In light of the expert's suggestions, two missions were organized to pack and store 3,000 art items from Cambodian museums, to train local technicians for protective work, and to draw up a long-term program to protect cultural property.

In most instances, the preservation activities were related to tourism as a factor of economic development. In 1970 this work concentrated on three sites, preparatory to mobilizing international assistance for their preservation: Borobudur in Indonesia, Mohenjo Daro in Pakistan, and Philae in the U.A.R. As another aspect of preservation UNESCO con-

tinued to conduct extensive regional training programs for museographers and restorationists in Jos (Nigeria), Mexico City, and New Delhi.

On May 9 the President signed P.L. 91-243, as amended, which provided for U.S. accession to the Statutes of the International Center for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property.<sup>1</sup> The Center's training programs and its willingness to study the particular preservation problems of member states will be helpful to the United States in connection with the implementing of the Historic Preservation Act which, among other things, authorizes a program of matching grants to the States and the National Trust for Historic Preservation for the acquisition of historic sites and buildings.

Another notable cultural development during 1970 was the adoption by UNESCO's General Conference on November 14 of the Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export, and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property. American experts, both governmental and nongovernmental, played important roles in preparing the final text of the Convention, which reflects the serious concern of states at the illegal movement of national art treasures and the destruction through pillage and other means of the remains of ancient civilizations.

#### COMMUNICATION AND COPYRIGHT

The General Conference took a number of actions related to communication and copyright. The most important was its declaration of 1972 as International Book Year, which will highlight the importance of books in modern life. This decision is in line with the U.S. position of encouraging a much freer flow of information and

<sup>1</sup> The U.S. declaration of accession was deposited with UNESCO Jan. 20, 1971.



materials throughout the world and it has been endorsed by U.S. publishers and librarians.

As the culmination of several years of work, to which Americans had contributed substantially, the General Conference adopted a formal Recommendation on the Standardization of Library Statistics, and decided to support a program for improving international statistics available on education, manpower, and libraries.

At meetings held in Paris and Geneva in September, revisions were proposed to both the Universal Copyright Convention and the Berne Convention for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works. These draft proposals, which will be the subject of an international conference, incorporate U.S. suggestions for protecting an author's basic intellectual property rights while still providing certain privileges for developing countries. In a related move, the General Conference authorized the establishment of an International Copyright Information Center to assist developing countries to make greater use of copyrighted books.

UNESCO also cooperated closely with the Customs Cooperation Council in preparing the text of a Customs Convention on the Temporary Importation of Pedagogic Material. The Convention, which covers a variety of materials manufactured in the United States, such as programmed instruction material, language laboratories, closed-circuit television, and mobile libraries, was done at Brussels on June 8. The Convention will enter into force after five states have ratified or acceded to it.

## World Health Organization

### WORLD HEALTH ASSEMBLY

The 23d World Health Assembly, WHO's governing body, met May 5-

22 in Geneva. Of WHO's 128 members and 3 associate members, 124 sent delegations totaling 415 public health professionals. In addition, some 120 persons attended as official observers from the United Nations, the specialized agencies and nongovernmental organizations having official relations with WHO. Dr. Jesse L. Steinfeld, Surgeon General of the Public Health Service, served as the U.S. Chief Delegate.

### Financial Matters

A major Assembly function is to review and approve the program and budget. The Director General presented a 1971 budget totaling \$73,230,000, an increase of \$5,580,000 (8.25%) over that for 1970. The U.S. position was that a slower organizational growth rate was preferable; nevertheless, the Assembly approved the budget by a vote of 86 to 5, with 2 abstentions (U.S.). By a simple majority, the Assembly also approved a 1972 "order of magnitude" providing for a 10% increase, plus additional costs that might result from any salary increases recommended by the UN General Assembly. The level for the order of magnitude, i.e., the suggested increase for the second ensuing year, serves as a guide and is not binding on the Director General. The approved level was higher than the Director General's own planning figure of \$79 million (7.9%) and was opposed by the United States and most other large contributors.

The Assembly decided that its working capital fund would be a fixed dollar amount rather than a percentage of the budget and that the disposition of "casual income" was a matter to be decided annually. These interrelated actions established the principle, which the United States has long supported, that all of WHO's expenditures should be under direct membership control.

The Assembly also established a real estate fund for the purchase or

construction of new office space and the purchase or repair of staff housing in the field. The United States voted against the resolution providing an initial \$3 million for the fund because it questioned the need for such an amount since cost estimates were not definitive enough to make sound judgments. However, the resolution was adopted by a vote of 56 to 6 (U.S.), with 4 abstentions.

#### **Program Review**

The Assembly gave considerable attention to the revised global strategy for malaria eradication, making a thorough review of the administrative, financial, and technical problems relating to complete eradication. It was noted that of the 1,300 types of insecticides tested in WHO's evaluation program, none had been found as inexpensive nor as effective as DDT, and few as safe. The Assembly concluded that malaria continued to be a major public health problem in many tropical countries where eradication at present is impractical. In a resolution on this subject the Assembly called for intensified research, stressed the need for personnel training, and urged governments manufacturing insecticides to continue to make them available to the developing countries.

In considering the question of human environment the Assembly reaffirmed WHO's leading role in the prevention and control of environmental factors adversely affecting health. It requested the Director General to formulate a long-term program, to be submitted to the 24th Assembly, for environmental health including "insofar as practicable, a program for a worldwide system of surveillance and monitoring" of adverse environmental health factors.

The Assembly also approved expanding a pilot research project on the international monitoring of adverse reactions of pharmaceutical drugs into a primary operational

stage. The project, launched in 1967 at U.S. initiative with 10 participating nations, was transferred from the United States to WHO headquarters and will be treated as a regular program activity.

The Assembly also reviewed problems concerning yellow fever in Africa, research on alternate methods of vector control, quality control of drugs, and the community water supply program.

The Assembly gave special attention to the question of dependence on and abuse of narcotic and dangerous drugs. It requested the Director General to develop a plan for the international collection and exchange of data on the prevalence and incidence of drug dependence, and to seek the most effective ways of examining the medical, scientific, and social factors involved.

#### **PROGRAM ACTIVITIES**

WHO has two major areas of activity: technical assistance to governments and the establishment of international standards in health protection. As always emphasis continued to be on the former. In 1970 WHO had planned approximately 900 projects. The majority were single country projects, but some were intercountry or interregional. In addition to its regular budget, WHO administered funds made available by organizations such as UNICEF and UNDP, and special contributions earmarked for specific activities. The total funds administered by WHO in 1970 exceeded \$112,000,000.

#### **Cholera**

The importance and predominance of WHO in international health was underscored by its work in connection with the 1970 pandemic of cholera. Although the outbreak of El Tor cholera first appeared in 1961, in mid-1970 it spread rapidly through much of the Near East and

North Africa, and then jumped, for the first time in a century, to Africa south of the Sahara. By the end of the year 34 countries had reported 40,000 cases and it was generally conceded that there was a far larger number of unreported cases. It was immediately recognized that only WHO had the staff, communications system, and expertise to coordinate the counter-attack, which began immediately and continues.

#### **Malaria**

Reducing the worldwide incidence of malaria remained WHO's largest single program. By year's end 74.1% of the world's population was protected: 39.4% through the maintenance phase (the disease reported as eradicated), 16.4% in the consolidation phase (free from endemic malaria), and 18.3% in the attack phase (protected through spraying operations). A total of 55 countries received assistance in combating malaria and there were 21 regional or interregional projects.

#### **Smallpox**

The complete eradication of smallpox within a decade became a WHO priority in 1967. The organization is rapidly moving toward that goal. In 1970, there were reports of 27,369 cases of smallpox, a decrease of 77% from 1967, the first year of the campaign. During the year 43 countries received assistance.

#### **Other Communicable Diseases**

WHO continued to assist governments in attacking other communicable disease problems, through various programs designed to meet specific needs. In Cambodia, for example, WHO assisted in assessing the extent of the tuberculosis program and in planning and carrying out a control program which will eventually cover the whole country. In

Uganda, WHO is assisting in establishing an epidemiological and health statistical service to be responsible for control of all communicable diseases.

#### **Environmental Health**

WHO continued in 1970 to place major emphasis on environmental health, and a long-term program for environmental health began at WHO headquarters in Geneva. In its direct assistance to governments, WHO places particular emphasis on development of adequate water supplies and sanitary facilities. In 1970 over 200 separate projects were underway in 86 countries, supported by over 50 interregional activities. As always, WHO tailored the project to a country's need: in Barbados it assisted the Sanitation Board in reorganizing its refuse collection and disposal services; in Nepal it assisted in the preparation of a plan for the development of water supply and sewerage in greater Kathmandu and Bhaktapur.

#### **Health Promotion**

Improvement of public health administration is a prerequisite for the infrastructure needed for all other health activities. WHO assisted 124 countries (virtually its entire membership) with over 350 projects, supported by 48 intercountry activities. Examples show the variations. In Thailand assistance was supplied for integrating specialized programs into the general health services. Morocco continued to receive aid in developing national public health services and implementing the public health program within the framework of its economic and social development plan.

There were also some 79 country and intercountry programs in population dynamics or in maternal and child health care, which often contain a large component for family planning. Further, many of WHO's



other projects had activities related to family planning or population dynamics. In Ceylon, for example, a health education project in behavioral studies was designed to assist with baseline studies of knowledge, attitudes, and practices related to maternal and child health, family health, human reproduction, and related fields.

#### **Education and Training**

Strong emphasis has always been given to the need for more, and better trained, public health personnel. In addition to specific or general fellowships, many programs designed for other purposes necessarily contained an element for education and training: e.g., in Mali under the nursing program two nurse educators worked at developing training programs for nurses, midwives, and medico-social workers at the state-diploma and auxiliary levels. In Venezuela fellowships were provided to buttress an environmental health project on the health aspects of the planning and implementation of housing programs, particularly in rural areas.

#### **Other Activities**

WHO partially underwrites more than 150 international reference centers, of which more than 40 are in the United States. These centers collect and correlate data on various health problem areas through research carried out under different conditions throughout the world.

WHO also continued in 1970 its publications program to disseminate information on public health matters through distribution of material designed both for the public health administrator and the layman.

Finally, WHO sponsors more than 50 expert committees, each designed to bring together, in an individual capacity, outstanding men who will examine a specific topic. Fourteen expert committees met in 1970 on

such topics as drug dependence, family planning, and pesticide residues.

## **International Civil Aviation Organization**

The U.S.S.R., Southern Yemen, and Mauritius adhered to the Convention on International Civil Aviation in 1970, increasing ICAO membership to 120 governments. On August 1 Dr. Assad Kotaite of Lebanon began a 3-year term as Secretary General, succeeding B. T. Twigt of the Netherlands.

#### **REVISION OF WARSAW CONVENTION**

The 17th session of the ICAO Legal Committee, meeting at Montreal February 9–March 11, recommended important revisions to the passenger liability limits of the Warsaw Convention of 1929. Under that Convention, as amended by The Hague Protocol of 1955, the air carrier, unless it proves that an accident resulting in death or injury to a passenger could not have been prevented by it, shall be liable up to \$16,600. The ICAO Legal Committee recommended raising the air carrier's liability to \$100,000 under a new rule which would make the carrier liable, regardless of whether it was at fault, except where the negligence of the claimant contributed to the damage. These and certain other improvements in the Warsaw Convention will be considered at a diplomatic conference convened by the ICAO Council in 1971.

#### **EXTRAORDINARY ASSEMBLY ON AVIATION SECURITY**

Following mid-air explosions on board both Swiss and Austrian aircraft in February, 11 European nations requested an extraordinary session of the ICAO Assembly, which

was held at ICAO's headquarters in Montreal June 16-30. The Assembly was attended by 91 member governments, the U.S.S.R. as a nonmember government, and 12 international organizations including the International Air Transport Association, the International Federation of Airline Pilots Associations, three associations of international airport operators, and the International Criminal Police Organization.

The agenda called for the development of both technical and legal measures to prevent further acts of unlawful interference with international civil aviation and its facilities, including hijacking of aircraft, sabotage, and armed attacks. The United States played an active role in proposing action by the Assembly.

The Assembly was highly successful in reaching agreement on a long list of special security measures to be followed by governments, air carriers, and airport operators, and it recommended that these authorities coordinate their efforts through the development of international airport security committees. Appropriate international organizations were requested to continue their cooperation with ICAO to solve problems of unlawful interference. Governments were asked to exchange information—both directly and through ICAO—on physical security controls in airport plans and on research and development regarding weapons and explosives detection.

The Assembly requested (1) the urgent development by its Legal Committee of a treaty dealing with sabotage and other violent unlawful acts against international civil aviation, (2) completion and ratification of an ICAO-sponsored convention providing for punishment of aircraft hijackers, and (3) enactment by governments of national legislation providing severe penalties for hijacking and other forms of unlawful interference with international civil aviation. In a spirit of international co-

operation the governments represented at the Assembly unanimously adopted a solemn declaration and resolution condemning all acts of violence against international civil air transport and its facilities and calling upon governments to take concerted action to suppress such acts.

#### **COUNCIL ACTION ON UNLAWFUL INTERFERENCE**

The ICAO Council on October 1 adopted a U.S.-sponsored resolution proposing concerted international action to suspend air services to and from states which after a hijacking (1) detain passengers, crew, and aircraft contrary to the principles of article 11 of the 1963 Tokyo Convention on Offences and Certain Other Acts Committed on Board Aircraft, or (2) fail to extradite or prosecute persons responsible for such acts. The ICAO Legal Committee was directed to consider an international convention or other instruments to provide the legal framework for states to take joint action in the form of sanctions and other measures after a hijacking.

A second resolution, presented by Canada and also adopted on October 1, directed the Legal Committee to consider a special clause which might be incorporated in bilateral air transport agreements to provide for the enforcement of international legal obligations relating to unlawful interference with international civil aviation.

#### **LEGAL COMMITTEE CONSIDERATION OF UNLAWFUL INTERFERENCE**

In accordance with the directive given it by the Assembly, the ICAO Legal Committee, meeting in London, September 29-October 22, completed a draft convention on unlawful interference (other than hijacking) with international civil aviation. This draft convention, which the ICAO Council decided should be submitted to a diplomatic conference for adoption in

1971, declares as severely punishable offences various acts such as an armed attack against the life of a person on board an aircraft in flight and intentional acts that seriously damage aircraft or endanger safety of flight.

The ICAO Legal Committee, in accordance with the U.S.-sponsored and Canadian-sponsored resolutions adopted by the ICAO Council, also began consideration of what sanctions might lawfully be undertaken against a government that failed to perform its international obligations in those cases of unlawful interference with international civil aviation that involve international blackmail. A subcommittee of the Legal Committee, consisting of representatives of 11 governments including the United States, was established to consider the subject further in 1971.

#### **ADOPTION OF HIJACKING CONVENTION**

A diplomatic conference was convened by the ICAO Council at The Hague December 1-16 to complete the draft hijacking convention. The conference was successful, and 74 of the 77 governments attending voted in favor of adopting the Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Seizure of Aircraft. Fifty of these nations, including the United States, signed the Convention at The Hague. As of January 1, 1971, the Convention was opened for additional signatures at Washington, London, and Moscow until such time as it comes into force after ratification by 10 governments that had attended the conference.

The Convention is designed to ensure the prosecution of hijackers no matter where a hijacking takes place or a hijacker is found. States that become parties to the Convention will be required to initiate criminal proceedings against hijackers if they do not extradite them. (See also p. 215 for consideration of aircraft hijacking by the Security Council and General Assembly.)

#### **PERSONNEL STANDARDS**

Forty-seven member states and six international organizations attended the meeting at Montreal of ICAO's Personnel Licensing, Training Practices, and Medical Division, October 20-November 14. This division has the task of ensuring that ICAO standards for flight and ground personnel are in line with the higher safety requirements of advancing technological development in civil aviation. At this meeting extensive revisions were proposed to the international standards and recommended practices for training, licensing, and medical requirements. Strengthened requirements were recommended for pilots and flight instructors, air traffic controllers, and aircraft maintenance technicians. In some instances, medical requirements were made more demanding, and various new subjects of a medical nature were identified for special study in consideration of current and future effects on civil aviation activities.

## **Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization**

Much time and effort was spent by IMCO in 1970 in forwarding its work on preventing pollution of the sea, with particular emphasis on the prevention of oil spills and the mitigation of the effects of spills. To this end IMCO's Maritime Safety Committee, of which the United States is a member, adopted a resolution urging member states to implement unilaterally the provisions of the 1969 amendments to the 1954 Oil Pollution Convention, even before these provisions come into effect multilaterally as the result of their ratification by the requisite number of states. IMCO, through the Maritime Safety Committee, also considered the prep-



aration and adoption of standards to limit the size of individual tanks in tankships. This work began in 1970 on the understanding that it would be a significant part of IMCO's program for the mitigation of oil spills. IMCO also developed specifications for oily water separators and devices to measure content of oil in ballast water.

In the general field of safety of navigation, IMCO formulated traffic separation schemes to lessen the possibility of accident in such areas as the Hook of Holland and the English Channel. Additionally, it drew up final specifications regarding standards for shipboard navigational equipment, including radar, gyrocompasses, echo sounders, and radio direction finders. In this connection work has accelerated in preparation for the conference to be called by IMCO in 1972 on the Revision of the International Collision Regulations.

During the year plans were made for IMCO's participation in the 1972 Conference on International Container Traffic which will emphasize the safety aspects of container operation. IMCO also brought to virtual completion a code for the safe carriage by ship of noxious chemicals and made considerable progress on a basic code governing the safety of fishing vessels. IMCO also adopted in 1970 a document providing guidance on the training of seafarers. It is believed that this document will be particularly helpful to the authorities of developing countries.

The United States took an active part in IMCO's Legal Committee which in 1970 continued its review of the texts of the proposed conventions on Ocean Data Acquisition Systems, the Combined Transport of Goods, and the Carriage of Nuclear Substances. The Legal Committee also gave intensive consideration to the formulation of basic principles and the development of language for an International Compensation Fund for Oil Pollution Damage. IMCO

will convene an international conference in 1971 to finalize a convention with respect to this Fund if the necessary preliminary work has been completed. Such a convention would supplement the Convention on Civil Liability for Oil Pollution Damage which was adopted at a conference held in Brussels in 1969.

During 1970 IMCO significantly expanded its technical assistance activities. It undertook a 31-country survey to determine the needs of developing countries with respect to programs within its competence. The survey indicated a widespread need by developing countries for help in applying the international safety regime for shipping and in training their nationals in the manning of ships and the administration of their merchant marines. IMCO now has on its staff a full-time consultant for technical assistance activities.

## International Telecommunication Union

Membership in the ITU increased from 137 to 139 in 1970 with the accession of Equatorial Guinea and Swaziland to the International Telecommunication Convention. During the year the ITU continued to function as the specialized organization for maintaining and extending international cooperation for the improvement and rational use of telecommunications of all kinds. The ITU also continued to work closely with the United Nations during the year, especially in its role as a UNDP executing agency in the telecommunications field.

### ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL

The United States is a member of the Administrative Council which held its 25th session in Geneva, May 23-June 12 and completed its arrangements for convening a World

Administrative Radio Conference for Space Telecommunications in Geneva in June 1971. The Council also set the dates for several major ITU conferences during the next 4 years, including the convening of an ITU Plenipotentiary Conference in the fall of 1973. The Council reviewed and approved a 1971 budget of 27,571,500 Swiss francs of which the U.S. share of the assessment on member countries is approximately \$700,000. In addition, the Council took action on a number of other staff, organization, operational, and financial matters, including a decision to rent a new computer. The results of the Council's session were consistent with U.S. interests, and should result in greater efficiency and effectiveness for the organization.

#### **OTHER PERMANENT ORGANS**

The permanent technical organs of the ITU—the International Radio Consultative Committee (CCIR), the International Telegraph and Telephone Consultative Committee (CCITT), and the International Frequency Registration Board (IFRB)—all met during the year. The United States is a member of the first two bodies.

The 12th plenary assembly of the CCIR met in New Delhi January 21–February 11 to consider and approve nearly 600 texts on technical radio matters. The texts resulted from the work of the 15 CCIR Study Groups which met during 1969. Among these documents were important recommendations on (1) use of satellites for the transmission of telephony and television, (2) use of computers to improve reliability of forecasts of usable radio frequencies, and (3) reliability of radio services. In addition, the Assembly modified the structure of the CCIR Study Groups to bring them into line with current progress in radio communications.

The CCITT's Plan Committee for

Asia and Oceania met in Tehran April 20–30 and the Plan Committee for Europe and the Mediterranean Basin met in Warsaw September 14–23. Both meetings produced useful work toward the objective of an orderly development of telecommunications on a worldwide basis. In addition, various CCITT Study Groups met during the year to amend international standards for telephone and telegraph operations, switching, and signalling systems, and to consider other technical and tariff matters.

The essential function of the IFRB is the technical examination and registration of radio frequency notifications to insure interference-free radio operations throughout the world. The IFRB and its staff continued to carry out this function completely and effectively. During the year the IFRB conducted a radio frequency management seminar, primarily for the benefit of developing countries. Such seminars are part of a continuing program that provides the developing countries with the information necessary for a proper administration of national and international telecommunications.

#### **TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE**

Through technical advisory services, fellowships, and seminars the ITU, as a UNDP executing agency, provides much needed technical assistance to the developing nations in increasing their capabilities in the management and operation of telecommunications systems. A major project of the technical assistance program is the establishment and staffing of telecommunications training institutes to provide expertise to the developing countries. In addition, and as the result of requests from the developing countries, the ITU is expanding its program of technical telecommunications seminars. Finally, increasing numbers of technical experts from the developed countries, including the United States,

have been recruited for advisory positions on specific telecommunications projects and for studies in developing countries.

## Universal Postal Union

A new headquarters building for the UPU was formally inaugurated on May 20, 1970, in the presence of the President of Switzerland, a personal representative of UN Secretary-General Thant, and ranking postal officials from many parts of the world. The ceremonies in celebration of the opening of the new headquarters building in Bern began with an address to the assembled delegates which recalled the growth of the Union (whose membership increased to 143 during 1970 with the addition of Equatorial Guinea) and the evolution of the Union's importance for coordinating the development of postal services among all nations.

### **INTERNATIONAL POSTAL COMMUNICATIONS MATTERS**

The new rate structure for international mail approved by the UPU Congress in Tokyo in 1969 was agreed upon at the expense of compromising a basic principle of the Union, the uniform application of rates to mail categories. At the first meeting of the Executive Council after the Congress, it was decided that before further steps could be taken to simplify the rate structure, UPU members would have to decide whether their interests would be better served by more freedom in setting rates or by a return to uniformity.

The 1969 Congress had also approved a temporary scheme whereby countries that receive substantially more mail than they send out will have the right to demand reimbursement from those countries in which the excess mail originates. The Ex-

ecutive Council established a working party, of which the United States is a member, to study the elements involved in such compensation. The fact that some countries might have to increase rates in order to pass on to the public the cost of reimbursing other countries for imbalances in the exchange of mail will be a significant factor in the Council's study of the rate structure.

Current UPU regulations require that all articles mailed at a reduced rate must be prepared so that the contents can be easily inspected. The growing volume of printed matter exchanged between countries and the increasing use of mechanical equipment—by publishers for packaging and by postal facilities for sorting and routing purposes—has given rise to studies in both the Executive Council and the Consultative Council for Postal Studies of ways to facilitate modernization of mail processing without jeopardizing customs procedures and postal revenues.

The Executive Council initiated, on the instructions of the Tokyo Congress, a study to identify and provide special treatment for the official correspondence of diplomatic missions, consulates, and international organizations.

### **ORGANIZATIONAL MATTERS**

The developing countries had expressed their dissatisfaction at the Tokyo Congress with the present scheme for apportioning the expenses of the Union. They emphasized that under the present UPU system, the large industrial countries bear a relatively light financial burden, since no member now pays more than 4.8% of the expenses of the Union. A report will be submitted to the 1971 Executive Council which may provide the basis for new recommendations to the next Congress, scheduled for 1974.

In 1970 the United States chaired the Finance Committee of the Execu-



tive Council, which reviews the budget of the Union. The expenses of the Union were \$1,582,000, and the U.S. contribution was \$66,546, or approximately 4.2% of the total. The United States also became a member of a new working party formed to study the organization and structure of the International Bureau. In carrying out its task the working party will review practices in other UN specialized agencies related to the appointment and promotion of staff, and to the creation and classification of posts.

#### **TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE**

During discussions at the Executive Council of the UPU's financial needs in the area of technical assistance, developing countries renewed their call for increased contributions to the UPU's Special Fund. A proposal was made to ask all members to donate to the Special Fund each year a fixed percentage of their regular contribution to the Union. This proposal was dismissed at the initiative of the U.S. delegation, which pointed out that the UPU Congress had called on member countries to increase their contributions to the Special Fund only to the extent that such contributions were compatible with the technical cooperation policies of their individual governments. In many donor countries, it was pointed out, the established policy is to funnel all multilateral technical assistance funds through the UNDP, and not to support voluntary special funds in specialized agencies.

In 1970 the UPU had over half a million dollars in UNDP funds to carry out postal projects under the technical assistance component of that program. In addition, it was the executing agency for five regional projects—centered in Syria, Afghanistan, Turkey, Ivory Coast, and Thailand—under the UNDP pre-investment component.

#### **POLITICAL MATTERS**

The Executive Council had before it a number of resolutions of the 24th UN General Assembly dealing with colonialism and apartheid. Of particular relevance was one adopted December 23, 1969, recommending that all specialized agencies, and in particular ICAO, ITU, and the UPU, work out measures aimed at discontinuing collaboration with the governments of Portugal and South Africa and the regime in Southern Rhodesia. It was suggested that in compliance with this resolution the International Bureau should publish, at regular intervals, a list of those countries that have suspended postal services with Rhodesia. The United States pointed out, however, that the resolution was not addressed to individual countries and did not speak of the interruption of postal services, but rather of "measures aimed at discontinuing any collaboration" between the UPU and the Southern Rhodesian regime. This view was accepted and it was decided that further efforts should be made to determine more precisely what purpose this resolution has in reference to the UPU, and to communicate to the United Nations the difficulty that the UPU would have in complying with it.

## **World Meteorological Organization**

#### **WORLD WEATHER WATCH**

For planning purposes the WMO has divided the World Weather Watch (WWW) program into two phases: (1) the period 1968–1971 during which major effort would be placed on the implementation by members of the WWW plan by conventional observing techniques, and (2) the period 1972–1975 where emphasis would be placed on devel-

opment of modern technology to achieve WWW goals.

The principal goals to be achieved by the end of 1971 are (1) substantial improvement in the global observing system, (2) implementation of the global data processing system, (3) improvement of the global telecommunication system, (4) acceleration of the program to educate and train meteorologists, and (5) development of a global atmospheric research program.

Adequate weather data is generally unavailable for over 80% of the earth's surface, primarily the oceans and developing countries. A successful implementation of the WWW plan should overcome part of this deficiency and improve weather forecasts for such end-users as farmers and the construction, transportation, and fisheries industries.

Under the WWW each of the 133 WMO members<sup>1</sup> is called upon to implement needed improvements in observations, data processing, and communications in their territories. To the extent that members lack the resources required for implementation in their own territories, the WMO Voluntary Assistance Program (VAP), established by the fifth WMO Congress in 1967, can assist them in procuring radiosonde ground equipment, observational balloons, radiosondes, communications equipment, and long-term training. The VAP assistance is provided only to the extent that such assistance is not feasible under UNDP or other bilateral or multilateral arrangements. The assisted countries provide counterpart resources, usually local facilities and personnel.

At its annual meeting, October 8-16, the WMO Executive Committee, of which Dr. Robert M. White, Administrator of the U.S. National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA) is a member, re-

viewed requests from developing countries for assistance from VAP and reviewed the status of 295 projects that have already been approved for circulation to WMO members. Of these projects over 100 had received offers of whole or partial support from members and 9 projects had been completed by October. The United States contributed to projects in Bolivia, Brazil, Republic of China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ethiopia, Guatemala, Honduras, India, Indonesia, Paraguay, Somalia, Turkey, and Venezuela. The U.S. contribution to these projects during 1970 totaled \$1,500,000: (1) \$200,000 to the Voluntary Assistance Fund on a matching basis at a rate of 40% of the total unrestricted cash contributions of all WMO members; and (2) \$1,300,000 for contributions-in-kind to the Equipment and Services Program. The contributions-in-kind included U.S. equipment, experts, services, and U.S. training in meteorology for personnel from developing countries. This program is administered by NOAA.

A key part of the WWW is research to improve the understanding of the basic structure of the atmosphere. For this purpose a Global Atmospheric Research Program (GARP) is underway. To bring non-governmental scientists fully into this program, the WMO planned GARP in cooperation with the International Council of Scientific Unions. WMO and ICSU established a Joint Planning Staff to develop research plans, and tentatively agreed that the project on a hemispheric or global basis would be undertaken in 1976 with several interim experiments over a more limited geographical area. WMO's Executive Committee agreed to establish with ICSU a GARP Tropical Experiment in the South Atlantic and arranged for meetings to work out the details of the program and to receive commitments from the governments concerned.

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<sup>1</sup> The Bahamas joined during 1970.

## RELATED ACTIVITIES

The WMO Executive Committee also considered environmental questions, particularly pollution problems and the possible economic benefits of meteorology. It approved (1) the establishment of a network of stations to measure background air pollution on both worldwide and regional bases, (2) a statement on the present state of knowledge and possible practical benefits in some fields of weather modification, and (3) closer working arrangements with ICSU in the field of solar-terrestrial monitoring.

The United States attended three regional WMO meetings during the year—the fifth session of the Asian Regional Association held in Tokyo July 20–31, the fifth session of the Southwest Pacific Regional Association held in Kuala Lumpur August 3–15, and the fifth session of the South American Regional Association held in Bogota July 6–20. At these meetings the associations reviewed their plans for the WWW with particular attention to detailed arrangements for the regional networks of stations, communications, and data processing.

The United States also took part in the fifth session of the Commission for Synoptic Meteorology, held in Geneva June 15–July 3. The Commission developed procedures and regulations in the fields of weather forecasting, communications, global networks, and training and recommended improvements with particular emphasis on the problems relating to the WWW.

## TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

In addition to directing its own Voluntary Assistance Program, the WMO serves as executing agency for UNDP projects pertaining to meteorology and hydrometeorology. Many countries and territories received assistance during 1970 from the approximately \$1.3 million that WMO administered under the UNDP's technical assistance compo-

nent. In addition, 12 large-scale pre-investment projects were being carried out. Two new projects started in 1970: one in Guinea and Mali on a flood forecasting and warning system in the Niger River Basin, and another in Bolivia on development and improvement of the meteorological and hydrological services.

## U.S. SATELLITES

During 1970 the United States launched three new meteorological satellites: TIROS M, NOAA 1, and NIMBUS 4. All carried Automatic Picture Transmission System (APT) cameras, enabling users throughout the world to receive pictures on local inexpensive ground equipment. These satellites and four earlier weather satellites (NIMBUS 3, and ESSA 2, 8, and 9) that continued to perform satisfactorily enabled the United States to make available data on weather conditions to all nations of the world.

## International Atomic Energy Agency

The IAEA was established in 1957 as a result of President Eisenhower's atoms-for-peace proposal before the United Nations in December 1953. During 1970, the Agency continued to pursue its broad statutory objectives of promoting the peaceful uses of atomic energy throughout the world and ensuring, so far as it is able, that assistance provided by it, or at its request, or under its supervision or control, is not used in such a way as to further any military purpose.

Work was given a new impetus with the entry into force of the non-proliferation treaty in March 1970. By the end of the year 64 countries were parties to the treaty and an additional 34 had signed but not yet



ratified. The treaty gives the IAEA the responsibility for safeguarding nuclear materials intended for peaceful application in nonnuclear weapon states that accept its terms.

As in past years, the United States participated in all areas of the IAEA's activities and took the initiative in many of its major programs.

## **SAFEGUARDS**

The IAEA Board of Governors established a committee open to all member states to advise it on the IAEA responsibilities under the non-proliferation treaty, and in particular on the content of the agreements that will be required between the Agency and the parties to the treaty. The committee, in which the United States played a major role, met June 12–July 3, October 13–November 4, and December 1–11. The substance of the draft agreement drawn up so far provides for independent IAEA verification of the data and findings of national systems of control of the use of nuclear materials. By the end of December, 24 governments had entered into formal negotiation of such agreements with the IAEA.

Work with respect to the IAEA's previously established safeguards system continued to expand during the year. IAEA safeguards are now applied to 10 nuclear power stations comprising about 12% of the total world nuclear electrical generating capacity; to 68 other reactors; to 4 conversion, fabrication, and reprocessing plants; and to 74 other separate accountability areas. Of a total of 44 safeguards agreements that the IAEA Board has approved, 22 concern the transfer to the IAEA of the safeguards responsibilities provided for in U.S. bilateral Agreements for Cooperation.

In addition to safeguards applications, the development and improvement of safeguards methods and techniques was given a great deal of

attention. A symposium on progress in safeguards techniques, organized by the Agency in Karlsruhe, Germany, showed that there have been substantial improvements in methods of systems analysis, techniques of verification based on correlation of fuel cycle data, and new instruments. Panels of experts drew up recommendations on technical objectives of safeguards work, principles of inspection, requirements for information on the design of nuclear installations, and verification of nuclear materials.

## **NUCLEAR POWER AND REACTORS**

The number of new nuclear power plants on order or being built continued to grow and, consequently, the IAEA continued to emphasize the provision of practical services to member states during the early stages of a nuclear power project, including economic studies, siting surveys, and safety evaluations.

National programs for the use of nuclear power were reviewed at a symposium, organized jointly by the IAEA and ECE, on the economic integration of nuclear power stations in electric power systems. The Agency held a symposium in Oslo, Norway, on technical and economic aspects of small- and medium-sized power reactors, in which various developing countries have a special interest.

IAEA began to prepare estimates of the financial requirements of developing countries for their nuclear projects in the next decade and to survey possible sources of finance. Information received by year's end indicated that developing countries expect to install 20,000 to 25,000 megawatts of electricity of nuclear capacity between 1970 and 1980, which would require foreign exchange resources of 3 to 4 billion dollars.

More countries, including a few of the developing ones, are taking an interest in the development of fast-breeder reactors; and the IAEA

therefore sponsored a symposium on progress in sodium-cooled fast reactor engineering. Following this symposium, the annual meeting of the Agency's International Working Group on Fast Reactors was held. This group exchanges information and coordinates international meetings on fast reactor development programs.

The IAEA serves as a focal point for international cooperation in the field of nuclear power desalting, and continued to participate in a study by the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission's Oak Ridge National Laboratory on the potential application of nuclear powered energy centers to provide large amounts of fresh water and electricity for arid regions in the Middle East.

The IAEA and the European Nuclear Energy Agency of the OECD published a review of uranium resources including production and demand; and the IAEA convened a symposium to discuss the recovery of uranium from its ores and other sources. A panel of experts met to discuss uranium exploration geology.

The first international meeting on the peaceful uses of nuclear explosions, convened in Vienna, provided an important exchange of information which had not been available previously. A panel of experts also met at IAEA Headquarters in Vienna and considered the question of international observation of peaceful uses of nuclear explosions in the context of the NPT. The United States made important contributions at both of these meetings.

#### **ISOTOPES AND RADIATION SOURCES**

The Joint FAO/IAEA Division of Atomic Energy in Food and Agriculture continued many programs aimed at improving food crops. At meetings throughout the year, experts reviewed the uses of nuclear techniques in increasing the protein content of various plants, in pest control, and in

plant metabolism. Organizations in 19 countries, including the United States, agreed to take part in a new international project under the joint auspices of the IAEA, FAO, and OECD, devoted to the testing of irradiated food products for wholesomeness, research on the methodology of such testing, and dissemination of information resulting from this work. The United States pledged to contribute \$25,000 a year to the project for 3 years, subject to the availability of funds.

The program on medical applications and radiation biology continued to emphasize the physical aspects of nuclear medicine. In coordination with WHO, research was supported on diseases such as parasitic infections, deficiency diseases, and tropical anemias. A joint IAEA/WHO meeting helped to prepare international recommendations on absolute dose measurement.

The Agency continued its work on the use of nuclear techniques in hydrology, within the program of the International Hydrological Decade and in cooperation with UNESCO. It organized a symposium on the use of isotopes in hydrology and a special panel meeting on the use of carbon isotopes.

Industrial nuclear techniques were pursued, including work on the processing of fiber plastic composites for use as building materials. Research was performed on techniques for oil field evaluation and prospecting for nonnuclear minerals. The increasing interest of developing countries in industrial uses was shown in several proposals for UNDP projects which were being reviewed by the IAEA from the standpoint of their technical feasibility.

#### **ATOMIC ENERGY AND THE ENVIRONMENT**

The IAEA is well aware of the growing public interest in maintaining the quality of the environment and can point to a strong, continuing

program on matters of health and safety and the management of radioactive wastes. This was evident at a symposium on environmental aspects of nuclear power stations organized at UN Headquarters by the Agency and the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission, August 10-14. At this symposium, AEC Chairman Seaborg suggested that the Agency establish a central repository of data on the amounts and concentrations of radioactivity released in the environment in connection with civilian uses of atomic energy, and at year's end the IAEA was formulating plans to do so. The Agency has had under consideration for several years the desirability and practicality of instituting an international register of disposals of radioactive waste in the sea.

Since 1961, as part of its hydrology program and in cooperation with the WMO, the Agency has collected and published data from a worldwide network, involving about 65 countries, on the occurrence of tritium, deuterium, and oxygen-18 in precipitation. U.S. organizations and laboratories have cooperated in providing data and in performing analyses for this program.

Since its inception the Agency has been involved, with U.S. assistance, in such activities as establishing basic safety standards, disseminating information, and supporting research in the radiological safety field. During 1970, IAEA symposia reviewed work in radioactive waste management and in the use of nuclear techniques in the measurement and control of environmental pollution. One program in the latter field which may have wide-ranging results concerns the use of radioisotope tracer techniques to study the course of pesticide residues.

#### **INFORMATION AND LABORATORIES**

IAEA launched the International Nuclear Information System (INIS) on a limited basis in 1970, following initial proposals and continuous sup-

port from the United States. Under INIS, the Agency receives reports of new nuclear literature from members, prepares bibliographic indexes, assigns keywords, and makes them available to members in published as well as computer format. By the end of the year 36 countries and 8 international organizations were taking part in this work, thus assuring INIS of over 90% coverage of the world's publications on nuclear subjects. One component of INIS supplies microfiche copies of all reports received by the Agency.

#### **TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE**

During 1970 IAEA made expert services, equipment, and fellowships available to 52 countries—19 in Africa and the Middle East, 11 in Asia and the Far East, 11 in Latin America, and 11 others, mainly in Europe. The Agency organized 13 interregional training courses, 1 seminar, and 2 study tours for participants from developing countries—one in the U.S.S.R. on the uses of isotopes and radiation in agricultural research and the other in the United States and Canada on the industrial application of radioisotopes and radiation. Two training courses were held in the United States, one at Cornell University on the use of radioisotopes and radiation in animal science and veterinary medicine and the other at the Puerto Rico Nuclear Center on dosimetry in radiotherapy.

The United States has been a strong supporter of the IAEA technical assistance program, and for many years has furnished fellowships, experts' services, training courses, and items of equipment as well as cash contributions. In 1970 the cash contribution was about \$650,000 and the value of the contributions-in-kind was about \$750,000. In addition the United States urged upon all members the obligation to devote an increasing amount of resources and



constructive attention to this aspect of the IAEA program.

#### **ORGANIZATIONAL MATTERS**

The IAEA is financed by means of a regular or administrative budget, supported largely by assessments levied on the member states according to a scale developed by the United Nations, and an operational budget, supported mainly by voluntary contributions from member states. The operational budget covers some laboratory work and all technical assistance activities other than those carried out by the IAEA on behalf of the UNDP.

At its 14th General Conference, September 22–28, the IAEA adopted a regular budget for 1971 of \$13,778,000, an increase of 10.1% over 1970, and a scale of assessments under which the United States would pay 31.45%, compared to its 1970 rate of 31.5%. The General Conference further adopted an operational budget for 1971 of \$3,251,000, of which \$2,500,000—an increase of \$500,000

over 1970—was the target for voluntary contributions, with the remainder to be funded from special contributions and other sources. The United States announced that, subject to congressional approval, it would contribute in 1971 at least an amount equivalent to its 1970 contribution.

By a vote of 54 to 9, with 13 abstentions, the 14th General Conference also approved an amendment to the IAEA Statute that will increase the membership of the Board of Governors from 25 to 34, if it is ratified by two-thirds of the 102 member states.<sup>1</sup> The amendment, sponsored by Italy and 33 other states including the United States, will increase the representation of the developing countries on the Board and will also increase from 5 to 9 the number of “designated” or permanent seats for the member states most advanced in nuclear technology.

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<sup>1</sup> Ireland joined and Nicaragua withdrew during 1970.

## Part III

# *Trusteeship and Dependent Areas*

## Trusteeship Council

The 37th regular session of the Trusteeship Council met May 26–June 19. The Council was comprised of two administering states—Australia and the United States—and four nonadministering states—China, France, the United Kingdom, and the U.S.S.R—all of them automatically members under the UN Charter. At the opening meeting, Sir Laurence McIntyre of Australia and John D. B. Shaw of the United Kingdom were elected President and Vice President, respectively.

The Council examined the conditions in the two territories remaining under the international trusteeship system: the Pacific Islands (administered by the United States) and New Guinea (administered by Australia).

In accordance with the Charter, the Council submitted its report on the strategic Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands to the Security Council and its report on New Guinea to the General Assembly. The Security Council, which in 1949 had requested the Trusteeship Council to perform on its behalf the functions specified in the UN Charter relating to the political, economic, social, and educational advancement of strategic areas, did not discuss the report on the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. The General Assembly adopted a resolution on the subject of New Guinea on December 14 (see below).

## Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands

The Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands is composed of over 2,000 islands and atolls, having a combined land area of approximately 700 square miles, scattered over an ocean area of some 3 million 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 is estimated at 102,250.

Germany's administration of the islands ended in 1914 with their conquest by Japan. From 1920 until World War II Japan administered them under a League of Nations mandate; during the war they passed under U.S. administration. On July 18, 1947, the U.S. Government and the Security Council concluded an agreement making the islands a strategic trust. 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 from June 3 to 11, Ambassador S. Harry Wright was the U.S. Representative and Edward E. Johnston, the High Commissioner of the Trust Territory, was the Special Representative. Ambilos Iehsi and Benjamin T. Manglona, members of the territory's legislature, the Congress of Micronesia, were advisers.

A visiting mission composed of representatives of Australia, the United Kingdom, France, and China had visited the trust territory from February 12 to March 19. In submitting the visiting mission's report, the mission chairman, Kenneth Rogers of Australia, stated that the objectives the Administration had set for itself are the most severe criteria by which to judge its performance and that the Administration's criticism of its own performance was proof of its attitude of mind and resolution. He trusted that the mission's effort at a comprehensive analysis of Micronesia's situation would be of use to all concerned.

#### **U.S. REPORT**

The U.S. Representative thanked the visiting mission for its extensive, searching, and yet sympathetic consideration of the territory's conditions and problems and its constructive criticism and fresh insights which would be of great assistance to the United States in pursuing its goals of advancement in all areas for the trust territory and its people.

The U.S. Representative announced that legislation had been introduced in the U.S. Congress to create a Micronesian Claims Commission which would receive, adjudicate, and authorize payment of Micronesian war claims up to the amount of \$10 million resulting from the agreement with Japan. As soon as the legislation was enacted, the preliminary work of the Commission would begin and actual appropriations would be sought.

On the future political status of the territory, the U.S. Representative informed the Council that since the last session of the Council, the Congress of Micronesia had considered the report of the Micronesian Status Commission which recommended self-government in free association with the United States and had authorized a 10-member delegation to engage in preliminary discussions with representatives of the U.S. Government. These discussions took place for 2½ weeks in Washington in October 1969 and for 1 week in Saipan in May 1970. At the May discussions, the two delegations agreed that, in a matter of such vital importance to the people of Micronesia, the first public report of the results of the discussions should be made by the Micronesian delegation to the Congress of Micronesia in July.

Ambassador Wright said he was sure that the Council would appreciate this decision and would understand his inability to talk about the results of the discussions in any detail. However, he assured the Council that the discussions were useful in increasing the understanding of the various views of both sides and that copies of the Micronesian report would be furnished to members of the Council. He also assured the Council that the United States was still dedicated to providing the people of Micronesia with the opportunity to exercise their right of self-determination without undue delay.

The Special Representative said that he was deeply appreciative of the excellent report submitted by the visiting mission and that his Administration would submit its reactions to various recommendations contained in the report prior to the Council's next session. The Special Representative reviewed the progress made in the various areas of government since the Secretary of the Interior had set forth a blueprint for progress in May 1969. In the field of education, the com-



pletion of over 100 elementary classrooms—double the number originally planned—curriculum development, initiation of instruction at the Micronesian Occupational Center, and the designation of the territory's teacher training institute as the Community College of Micronesia represented considerable progress.

Health services had improved with accelerated dispensary construction, the official opening of a new school of nursing, and various preventive medicine programs.

With expansion of the territory's funding, improvements in and expansion of the basic economic infrastructure had spread economic growth and had improved the general welfare of Micronesians. Efforts to award construction projects to local Micronesian contractors had the two-fold effect of putting additional dollars into the private sector and training Micronesians in all phases of construction.

The Special Representative informed the Council that in the field of communications, there had been progress in improving radio and and telephone communications both within the territory and with the outside world. In addition, the excellent service provided by Air Micronesia—including the construction of first-class hotels—had been a major factor in linking the various districts and in developing the economy. He also informed the Council that, while surface transportation continued to be a problem, commercial shipping had improved and that plans had been made to replace the Administration's antiquated field-trip vessels.

With respect to public finance, considerable strides had been made in the field of long-term budget planning and the Congress of Micronesia was increasingly involved in the process. While economic development continued to be a major source of concern, progress could be reported in the operation of the Economic Development Loan Fund, the creation of

Economic Development Boards in each of the districts, the expansion of tourism, and increases in proposed spending for agriculture and marine resources. He also noted that the land registration program had made rapid progress.

In conclusion, the Special Representative drew particular attention to progress in two areas in implementing the Secretary of the Interior's program for Micronesia: the proposed single pay schedule for the territory and the placement of greater numbers of qualified Micronesians in positions of responsibility.

Senator Iehsi said that the report of the visiting mission was an indication of the Council's deep understanding of the problems of Micronesia and that the report would be carefully studied for guidance and direction. He then outlined the findings and recommendations of the various committees of the Congress of Micronesia concerned with the areas of government, health, budget, and the political status question. It was encouraging, he said, that Micronesians through their Congress were being given increased responsibility for setting priorities in programs and public services that the Administration proposed to undertake and finance. Since self-government and self-determination could not exist as long as the people of Micronesia continued to depend on the United States for financing their basic governmental services, it was desirable that the people themselves should bear a greater responsibility for paying for their government. However, efforts in this direction had not easily led to practical solutions.

Senator Iehsi noted that certain objectives of the Trusteeship Agreement appeared to be incompatible with the "strategic area" character of Micronesia. He cited in particular the application of the "most-favored-nation" clause of the Agreement which seemed to place strategic considerations above economic de-

velopment. Other areas cited as hampering development were travel restrictions on Micronesians coming to the United States for employment and education, tariffs, and inadequate Micronesian input to federal regulatory powers over air and sea communications.

In conclusion, Senator Iehsi said that the changing needs, requirements, and aspirations of the Micronesian people should be reflected in preparation of a concerted Micronesian program for the economic and social development of the territory during the 1970's.

Congressman Manglona said that the Trust Territory Government was moving ahead in planning and constructing essential physical facilities, devoting more attention to developing essential public services—particularly education and health—and inducing expansion of the private sector of the economy. However, if these governmental activities were to be truly meaningful, development should be brought to the people at the lowest levels and public expenditures should have a greater multiplier effect on the economy. In particular, financial institutions and private investment capital should be encouraged and a public land management program should be developed. He cited as chronic problems inadequate health and education services for the 50% of the population that lived outside of the district centers, the shortage of skilled Micronesians, and the underemployment of able-bodied Micronesians. As for the future, Congressman Manglona pointed to the anticipated growth in tourism, fisheries, and commercial agriculture as areas requiring a concerted effort to utilize effectively available local labor and investment capital. Congressman Manglona said that significant progress had been made and would certainly continue to be made and that he was happy that the Micronesian people had the sympathetic ear and close attention of the

United States and the Council in their endeavor to better conditions in the territory.

#### PETITIONS

The Trusteeship Council had 11 petitions concerning the Pacific Islands on its agenda. It considered 5 of these and carried 6 forward to its next session.

One petition from the Saipan Municipal Legislature (Marianas District) claimed that there were cultural and historic differences among the various districts, and the people of the Marianas were ready to join with the United States territory of Guam, whereas the other five districts desired to continue their present status for from 5 to 10 years. In view of these differences, the petition called for a separate plebiscite for the people of the Marianas no later than 1972.

In its observations, the United States drew attention to the fact that the Micronesian Status Delegation, which contained representatives from all districts, made no mention of any desire to maintain the *status quo* for any specific period of time. Regarding the desire of the people of the Marianas to join with Guam, the United States drew attention to its previous observation on similar petitions that, while the United States had always regarded the territory as an administrative entity, it did not rule out any particular choice which might be offered to the people at the time of self-determination. Such decisions would depend heavily on the desires of the Micronesian people.

A petition from Balerio Pedro from Angaur Island, Palau District, addressed to the UN Secretary-General, asked how the people of Angaur Island might receive compensation for alleged forced and uncompensated phosphate mining during the German and Japanese administrations, and how the United Nations might be petitioned for redress.

In its observations, the United States expressed the hope that Mr. Pedro would clarify specific uncertainties with respect to his authority to represent the people of Angaur and stated that it would be prepared to reply as soon as these uncertainties were clarified.

A petition transmitted by a Member of the Congress of Micronesia contested the validity of land agreements entered into by certain landowners in Moen, Truk District, with the Trust Territory Government that allowed certain lands to be used for governmental purposes. The petition claimed that the agreements were unclear, were not adequately explained or translated, and were entered into in haste.

In its observations, the United States pointed out that a careful examination of the facts of the case, in response to the original petition addressed to the Secretary of the Interior, did not indicate that the agreements were prepared carelessly or in haste and that considerable effort had been made over some period of time to educate the people on the land transfers. The United States also pointed out that no effort had been made to seek redress through judicial processes and recommended that the petitioners use the services of public defenders in presenting their case to the courts.

A petition transmitting two letters addressed to the High Commissioner by the former inhabitants of Bikini, now residing on Kili, set forth a number of complaints concerning the use of Bikini Atoll and life on Kili and asked the United Nations to investigate.

In its observations, the United States noted that to ensure the welfare of the people during the restoration phase of their home atoll, the Trust Territory Government was constructing adequate housing and public facilities on Kili. In addition, the 1956 trust fund was being reinvested to provide increased income

for the people. With respect to the question of further compensation for the use of Bikini, the Council was assured that the land transfer agreements were fair and provided substantial compensation, and that full use and occupancy rights to Bikini Atoll had been transferred to the Trust Territory Government. The Council was also assured that the courts were open to the people to press their grievances and that free legal services would be available to them.

A petition from residents of Mili Island, Marshall Islands District, set forth a number of complaints concerning conditions on the island, particularly the existence of unexploded ordnance, and the failure of the United States to take appropriate steps to correct them.

In its observations, the United States pointed out that steps were being taken to correct deficiencies, particularly in providing better and more timely communication services, and that additional educational opportunities were being provided. With regard to unexploded ordnance, the United States noted that an explosive ordnance disposal team had safely removed all dangerous ordnance found and that additional steps would be taken as soon as additional ordnance was found.

In all cases, the Council agreed to take note of the petitions and the explanations offered and drew the petitioners' attention to the proceedings.

#### **COUNCIL REPORT**

In its report to the Security Council, the Trusteeship Council welcomed the information that Bikini Atoll had been officially returned to the Trust Territory Government, that full legal title would later be returned to the people of the atoll, and that rehabilitation programs were underway. The Council hoped that as soon as feasible, similar



measures would be taken for other displaced communities. The Council recalled its previous recommendations on the settlement of war damage claims, and noted the report of the visiting mission that considerable importance had been attached to this question in meetings with district legislatures and the public in all six districts. The Council took note of the statement by the U.S. Representative that legislation had been introduced in the U.S. Congress to implement the war claims agreement and expressed the hope that it would meet with early approval and that the War Claims Commission thus established would complete its work as soon as possible.

The Council, noting that legislation for settlement of "post-secure" claims had also not yet been acted upon by the U.S. Congress, expressed the hope that a definite solution to this problem would be quickly reached.

#### **Political Advancement**

The Council was glad to note the opinion of the visiting mission that the Congress of Micronesia was gaining in confidence, authority, and expertise, and made special mention of the high quality of the reports of the Committee on Government Organization, the Committee on Education, the Budget Committee, and the Future Political Status Commission.

The Council noted the visiting mission's impression that until recently consultations between the Congress and the Administration were neither long enough nor sufficiently detailed to allow the Congress to exercise a real influence in the budget process. In the period under review, however, the Administration had made a greater effort to associate the Congress with the budget process and had extended this involvement to the six districts. The Council agreed with the visiting mission that, even at its best, this process of consultations would not meet the need

for the exercise of more actual authority by elected officials. The Council again expressed the hope that steps would be taken to enlarge the financial responsibility of the Congress by progressively extending its powers to include appropriation of U.S. financial subsidies.

While commending the Administration for the number of Micronesians appointed to senior positions in the Executive, including five district administrators, the Council noted the visiting mission's comment that the head of the Executive and the six district administrators are appointed and not elected. The Council endorsed the visiting mission's suggestion that further attention be given to the possibility of creating a form of cabinet government in Micronesia, and to the inclusion of popularly elected Micronesians in the most senior councils of the Executive as soon as possible. The Council, noting with approval the statement of the Special Representative concerning the progress made in giving greater authority to the district administrators, commended the Administration for the close consultations between district administrators and district legislatures, particularly on the budget process.

With respect to the visiting mission's comments that most municipal councils had an inadequate knowledge of their powers and responsibilities, the Council endorsed the mission's view that the councils should be informed of the resources available to them. It observed that some municipal councils had benefited from Congress of Micronesia and Administration grants and that, with local cooperation, good results had been obtained, particularly in school construction. The Council endorsed the mission's view that this practice should be encouraged. The Council took note of the mission's suggestion that turning over certain parcels of public lands to the municipal council would strengthen them and help propagate the idea that public do-

main lands really belonged to the Micronesian people.

Concerning the statements by the Special Representative and by one of the special advisers on implementation of a unified personnel classification system, the Council hoped that the new pay scale would not have a distorting effect on the economy.

#### **Economic Advancement**

The Council noted the assessment of the visiting mission that, while Micronesia's standard of living compared favorably with other developing countries, the situation might deteriorate unless vigorous steps were taken to remedy economic stagnation. The visiting mission had drawn particular attention to the territory's remoteness, limited resources, and deficient transport and communications systems as obstacles to development. The Council again recommended that greater priority be given to developing the basic physical infrastructure, particularly transport and communication services. The Council recalled the stated intention of the United States to lower tariff barriers on Micronesian products entering the United States and expressed the hope that this would soon be done.

The Council welcomed the recent increase in the annual U.S. appropriations for Micronesia. Noting that increased attention was being devoted to economic development, the Council was of the opinion that Micronesia's social services should have a sound economic foundation. In this regard, increased attention should be given to financing the territory's development from its own public and private resources. The Council hoped that the Economic Development Loan Fund's procedures would be reviewed to achieve greater flexibility and efficiency, and that its operations would be more decentralized. The Council trusted that the Congress of Micronesia would give particular attention to the question of taxation

and other means of raising revenue, not only for its importance as a source of funds for economic development, but also as a means of exercising greater financial and political responsibility. The Council took note of the statement by the Special Representative that, in light of the need for outside capital and Congress of Micronesia action on the issue, the U.S. interpretation of the "most-favored-nation" clause of the Trusteeship Agreement would be given serious study in the near future.

The Council recommended that the Administration make every effort to complete the land title survey and registration project as soon as possible, and that the benefits of the project be explained to the people. The Council continued to hope that public lands no longer required for governmental purposes would be returned to productive use and endorsed the hope of the visiting mission that military retention areas no longer required by the military would be returned to the original inhabitants.

The Council took note of the comment of the visiting mission that agriculture seemed to be in a state of stagnation and of the statement by the Special Representative that the largest increase in proposed spending would be in the fields of agriculture and marine resources. The Council drew particular attention to the visiting mission's recommendation concerning improvements in agricultural extension services, the marketing and export of agricultural products, and the training of workers. The Council noted with pleasure the visiting mission's statement that it was impressed by steps being taken by the Administration to develop the territory's marine resources, and endorsed the mission's suggestions for the strengthening and further development of commercial fishing operations.

The Council was of the opinion that although tourism had undergone spectacular growth and continued to be a major hope for the economic

future of the territory, it should not divert efforts from promotion of a balanced economic and social development of Micronesia.

#### **Social and Educational Advancement**

Taking note of recent developments in expansion of the territory's health services, the Council trusted that all proposed construction would be completed on schedule and that the necessary additional staffs would be found. The Council endorsed the recommendation of the visiting mission that top priority be given to improvement of services provided by dispensaries. It also endorsed the visiting mission's opinion that controls on the importation and possession of firearms should be strictly enforced by the Administration.

The Council noted with interest the attention given by the Congress of Micronesia to the objectives and operations of the educational system. The Council was pleased that the Micronesian Occupational Center was now in operation and welcomed the designation of a new Community College as the first institution of higher learning in the territory. The Council drew attention to the visiting mission's view that in the next few years the Administration should ensure that all children attend elementary school, that teaching standards be improved, that technical and vocational education be expanded, and that curricula be reformed to make it more relevant to the needs of Micronesia.

The Council took note of reductions in the number of Peace Corps volunteers and the increased emphasis on assigning more skilled and professional volunteers. The Council trusted that areas where valuable assistance had been rendered by the Peace Corps would not be ignored and endorsed the hope of the visiting mission that the Peace Corps program of teaching English as a second language would not be phased out prematurely.

#### *Trusteeship Council*

#### **Timetable for Self-Government or Independence**

The Council noted with great interest the report of the Future Political Status Commission of the Congress of Micronesia, which was summarized in the visiting mission's report. The Council also noted that the Congress's Political Status Delegation had held two series of discussions with representatives of the United States on the future political status of Micronesia, and it looked forward to receiving copies of the report that the Political Status Delegation would present on the results of these discussions. The Council commended the Future Political Status Commission's thorough examination of the issues and observed that both the Political Status Delegation and the public had shown an interest in the United Nations role in terminating other trusteeship agreements. The Council, taking into account the responsibility of the United States and the Congress of Micronesia to explain to the people of Micronesia the choices open to them, and the unique difficulties faced by the territory, endorsed the visiting mission's opinion that it would be desirable for the people of Micronesia to determine their future sooner rather than later. The Council urged the United States to pursue vigorously its efforts, in cooperation with the Congress of Micronesia, to prepare the people of the territory to exercise their right of self-determination.

#### **COMMITTEE OF 24**

The Committee of 24 and its subcommittee concerned with Pacific territories considered the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands at eight meetings during the year. As in previous years the U.S. Representative pointed out that the territory had recently and properly, as defined by the Charter, been considered by the Trusteeship Council, and therefore



the United States entered a general reservation regarding the Committee's consideration of the territory.

On October 27, the subcommittee adopted a report in which it (1) took note of the U.S. statement on its responsibility to the Security Council concerning the administration of the territory and the U.S. invitation to consult the report of the Trusteeship Council to the Security Council concerning its 37th session; (2) stated that it had insufficient information at its disposal, especially concerning the views of the Micronesians on the future status of their territory; and therefore (3) wished to reiterate its previous conclusions and recommendations concerning the territory, especially those concerning the future status of the territory and the territory's economic dependence on the United States.

On November 2, the full Committee adopted the report of its subcommittee, with the U.S. Representative reiterating his general reservation on the conclusions and recommendations as a whole.

## 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 West Irian 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, 1969, the indigenous population was estimated at 1,702,279. At the census of June 1966, the nonindigenous population numbered 20,265.

The trust territory, which Australia administers in union with the neighboring Australian non-self-governing territory of Papua, presents formi-

dable problems of administration. More than 700 different dialects are spoken in the territory which includes some of the world's most primitive people.

The Australian Representative pointed out that the objective of his government was to prepare and work with the people of the territory for their exercise of self-determination. In this regard, he outlined the work of the Territorial House of Assembly's Select Committee on Constitutional Development. He pointed out that although the Select Committee was but recently formed and had only issued interim reports, the Administration was already carrying out some of the reforms suggested by it. As for the policy of Australia toward the future of the territory, the Governor General of Australia in his opening remarks before the Australian Parliament had stated that his government would take steps to advance the territory further along the road to self-government and eventual independence; that his government would not set a date for independence against the wishes of the people of the territory; and that consideration of major changes in constitutional arrangements for self-government should await presentation to the Territorial House of Assembly of the report of the Select Committee on Constitutional Development.

### **COUNCIL REPORT**

#### **Political Advancement**

The Council was encouraged that the House of Assembly was continuing to take an active interest in the problem of developing a sense of nationhood and that it had approved creation of a Select Committee on Constitutional Development, one of whose tasks was to study the adoption of a common name, flag, and national anthem for the territory.

The Council was pleased to note that the Select Committee was studying various alternative forms of gov-

ernment and their suitability for the territory, and it looked forward to the Committee's report. The Council was gratified by the increasingly important role played by the Administrator's Executive Council, and it hoped that Australia would continue to expand both the responsibilities and the decision-making role of the Council, and would broaden indigenous participation in all institutions of government. The Council noted the formation, within the Administrator's Executive Council, of an Estimates Committee to examine and make recommendations on the budget and to provide a link with the House of Assembly on budget formulation.

The Council commended Australia for devoting greater resources and effort to political education and hoped that this program would be expanded and have a beneficial effect in developing a sense of national unity.

The Council was pleased that the House of Assembly agreed to the introduction of urban local government councils in the main towns, and that these councils would assume responsibility for providing municipal services in their areas. In the view of the Council, a greater emphasis on meeting local needs with local revenues would enhance the value of local government councils and would develop the self-reliance of the people of the territory.

The Council was also pleased that Australia had made major efforts to carry out previous recommendations of the Council concerning localization of the public service and it believed that the already substantial effort must be increased and accelerated.

#### **Economic Advancement**

The Council continued to believe that no effort should be spared to increase indigenous participation in the territory's economic growth, particu-

larly by increasing loan sources for investment by the indigenous population. The Council welcomed the increase in the budgetary grant from Australia and noted the role played by ministerial members and the House of Assembly in the budget process. The Council recommended that, subject to the report of the Select Committee on Constitutional Development, the Administering Authority should improve the machinery for the progressive transfer of further financial responsibility to the elected representatives of the people. The Council noted with satisfaction the increased production of marketable crops and hoped that the Administration would continue to diversify the economy through encouraging production of new crops. The Council also noted with satisfaction the Administration's study of land tenure reform and hoped that the implementing legislation would take into consideration traditional group ownership, the need to stimulate production, and the need to explain the legislation's benefits to the people. The Council recommended that the Administration continue to deal carefully with any land claims disputes arising from the Bougainville copper project.

The Council noted with satisfaction that the House of Assembly had approved the agreement with the Bougainville mining company and that the project would place the territory among the world's leading copper producers. The Council invited the Administration to take steps to ensure that such a large project not have distorting effects on the economy—particularly the balance of the territory's 5-year plan—and that the people of the territory derive the maximum benefit from it.

#### **Social and Educational Advancement**

Noting with interest the increase in the number of indigenous persons engaged in wage employment and the

parallel increase in union membership, the Council wished to learn whether this increase in wage employment was really helping to improve living standards. Expressing satisfaction that almost all of the population was provided with health protection, the Council recommended that Australia continue its efforts to achieve a quantitative and qualitative improvement in the care provided. The Council also recommended that the Administration instruct the Housing Commission to accelerate the rate of housing-starts and to concentrate on providing assistance to the inhabitants of squatter settlements.

The Council noted the Administration's continued efforts to improve the quantity and quality of education in the territory, particularly the steps taken to coordinate public and private education through a single education system and to prepare high school graduates for higher education. It also noted the rapid increase in the number of students in higher education. At the same time, the Council regretted that over one-half of the school-age population still had not received any schooling.

#### **Timetable for Self-Government or Independence**

The Council noted with satisfaction the successful operation to date of the system of ministerial members and the study by the Select Committee on Constitutional Development of further possible steps toward self-determination. The Council welcomed Australia's recent declaration which, while reiterating the belief that no arbitrary date for independence should be set, expressed anew its commitment to self-government and eventual independence and its belief in constant advancement toward self-government. The Council expressed its gratification that in pursuance of this belief, and after discussions with the Select Committee

on Constitutional Development, the Administration had taken steps to increase the powers of the ministerial members and the Administrator's Executive Council.

#### **VISITING MISSION**

On June 19 the Trusteeship Council decided to send a visiting mission to New Guinea in 1971 and invited France, Iraq, Sierra Leone, and the United Kingdom to submit nominations for membership on the visiting mission. In making its decision, the Council took into account a 24th General Assembly resolution of December 16, 1969, which had requested the Council to include non-members of the Council on its visiting mission and the proposal of the Chairman of the Committee of 24 that Sierra Leone and Iraq be included in the mission.

#### **COMMITTEE OF 24**

The Committee of 24 considered New Guinea together with Papua and on November 3 adopted a report which in its conclusions and recommendations (1) reaffirmed the inalienable right of the people of the territory to self-determination; (2) expressed the view that the inhabitants of the territory were not yet fully participating in the management of their own affairs; (3) urged Australia to establish a specific timetable to guide the territory to self-determination and independence; (4) said it would welcome further information on the economic development plan in operation since 1968, as well as steps which had been taken to ensure the fullest protection of the economic rights of the indigenous population; and (5) while noting that the Trusteeship Council's forthcoming visiting mission would include members of the Committee, stated that it would appreciate the visiting mission's taking into consideration previous recommendations and resolu-



tions adopted by the Committee on the territory.

The U.S. Representative praised Australia's effort to meet the difficult problems posed by New Guinea, particularly its efforts to prepare the territory for self-determination, and entered a general reservation on the Committee's report as a whole.

#### GENERAL ASSEMBLY

The Assembly's Fourth Committee (Trusteeship and Non-Self-Governing Territories), after considering both the Trusteeship Council and the Committee of 24 reports, on December 11 adopted a resolution sponsored by Senegal and eight other states which *inter alia* reaffirmed the inalienable right of the people of the territory to self-determination and independence; took note of the arrangement made by the Trusteeship Council concerning the composition of its forthcoming visiting mission; and called upon Australia to prescribe, in consultation with freely elected representatives of the people, a specific timetable for the people to exercise their right of self-determination

and independence and to report to the Trusteeship Council and the Committee of 24 on the action taken. The draft resolution was adopted by a vote of 86 to 0, with 7 abstentions (Australia, U.S.).

The U.S. Representative, Mr. Mazewski, in explanation of vote, stated that the consideration of the item indicated that Australia took seriously its obligation to prepare the territory for self-determination and that the United States had every confidence that Australia would fulfill its trusteeship obligations with or without a timetable. He recalled that the 1968 resolution contained a similar reference to setting timetables and that the United States had stated that the form and timing of self-determination was a matter that should be left to the people of the territory to decide and should not be imposed from the outside. For this reason, the United States was forced to abstain on the resolution.

The General Assembly adopted the resolution December 14 in plenary without debate by a vote of 98 to 0, with 5 abstentions (Australia, U.S.).

## Committee of 24

The General Assembly in 1961 established a 17-member Special Committee on the Situation with Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. In 1962 the Committee was enlarged to 24 members.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>During 1970 the Committee had the following 23 members: Afghanistan, Bulgaria, Ecuador, Ethiopia, Honduras, India, Iran, Iraq, Italy, Ivory Coast, Malagasy Republic, Mali, Norway, Poland, Sierra Leone, Syria, Tanzania, Tunisia, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, United States, Venezuela, and Yugoslavia. Australia, which withdrew in January 1969, had not been

In 1970 the Committee of 24, chaired by Ambassador Davidson Nicol of Sierra Leone, held 66 plenary meetings between March 6 and December 3. The United States also served on Subcommittee II which considered Pacific Ocean territories.<sup>2</sup>

replaced. During the 25th General Assembly Honduras, Norway, and Italy also announced their withdrawal, and on Dec. 17 Fiji, Sweden, and Trinidad and Tobago were chosen to fill three of the four vacancies.

<sup>2</sup>Members of Subcommittee II: Afghanistan, Ethiopia, Honduras, India, Iraq, Poland, and United States.

# Visiting Missions

On April 13, by approving the report of its Working Group<sup>1</sup> (steering committee), the Committee decided *inter alia* to take up the question of sending visiting missions to territories. The item was subsequently discussed at four meetings of the full Committee and by the various subcommittees. On September 1 the Committee adopted a 10-power resolution which, in its preambular paragraphs, (1) recalled the General Assembly's earlier requests for the cooperation of the administering powers, (2) expressed the Committee's conviction of the effectiveness of visiting missions in securing first-hand information, and (3) recalled the constructive role played by previous UN visiting missions. In the resolution's operative paragraphs the Committee (1) regretted that the uncooperative attitude of the administering powers toward visiting missions had impeded implementation of the Colonialism Declaration, (2) reiterated its appeal to the administering powers to reconsider their attitude on this matter, and (3) requested the chairman to hold consultations with the administering powers and to report to the Committee. The resolution was adopted by a vote of 20 to 0, with 2 abstentions (U.K., U.S.). The United States abstained because U.S. territories are open societies, and because their progress toward self-determination has been steady and without need of assistance from visiting missions.

## Territories Considered in 1970

During 1970 the Committee considered the following territories:

<sup>1</sup>Members of Working Group: Bulgaria, Ecuador, India, Iran, Iraq, Italy, Malagasy Republic, Sierra Leone, Tanzania, and Venezuela.

American Samoa	New Hebrides
Antigua	Niue
Bahamas	Oman
Bermuda	Papua
British Honduras	Pitcairn
British Virgin Islands	Portuguese territories
Brunei	St. Helena
Cayman Islands	St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla
Cocos (Keeling) Islands	St. Lucia
Domonica	St. Vincent
Falkland Islands	Seychelles
Fiji	Solomon Islands
French Territory of the Afars and the Issas	Southern Rhodesia
Gibraltar	Spanish Sahara
Gilbert and Ellice Islands	Tokelau Islands
Grenada	Trust Territory of New Guinea
Guam	Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands
Hong Kong	Turks and Caicos Islands
Montserrat	U.S. Virgin Islands
Namibia	

Committee consideration of the following territories is covered in other sections of this report: Namibia (p. 190), Portuguese territories (p. 192), Southern Rhodesia (p. 198), Trust Territory of New Guinea (also covering Papua) (p. 172), and Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (p. 169). The consideration of these territories and those described below were of particular interest to the United States.

### SPANISH SAHARA

The full Committee considered this territory at two sessions on October 29 and November 20. It noted the Secretary-General's request to the Spanish Representative, pursuant to a 24th General Assembly resolution, to consult on the dispatch of a visiting mission to Spanish Sahara. The Committee also noted the Spanish Representative's reply that (1) his government was prepared to grant self-determination to the people of the territory at a date in accordance with their wishes, (2) a census was being prepared so that the true population of Spanish Sahara could indicate its wishes, and (3) the United Nations would be duly notified so as to be present for this act of self-

determination. The Committee decided to submit the relevant documents to the General Assembly and to continue its discussion of Spanish Sahara at its next session, subject to the guidance of the Assembly.

#### **Assembly Action**

The Assembly's Fourth Committee discussed Spanish Sahara at some length, with particular emphasis on the reply of the Spanish Representative to the Secretary-General on the question of sending a visiting mission. The representatives of Mauritania, Morocco, and Algeria, while noting that the reply of the Spanish Representative could be interpreted as a commitment to self-determination for the people of Spanish Sahara, wondered when the consultations between Spain and all interested parties called for in General Assembly resolutions would be held and how the people of the territory could make known their wishes on self-determination, since they had no contact with neighboring governments.

On December 9 the Representatives of Ghana and Mali, on behalf of 13 other cosponsors, introduced a resolution in the Fourth Committee which added a number of new provisions not included in resolutions adopted in previous years. Among other things the resolution (1) expressed the Assembly's regret that discussions between Spain and the governments concerned on the holding of a referendum had not yet taken place; (2) declared that the continued existence of a colonial situation in Spanish Sahara retarded stability and harmony in northwest Africa; and (3) repeated the invitation to Spain to determine, in conformity with the wishes of the people of Spanish Sahara, and in consultation with the Governments of Mauritania and Morocco and any other interested party, procedures for holding a referendum under UN auspices to enable the people to exercise their right of self-determination.

The resolution also invited all states to refrain from making investments in Spanish Sahara in order to speed the achievement of self-determination and requested the Secretary-General, in consultation with Spain and the Committee of 24, to appoint immediately and expedite the dispatch of the visiting mission called for in the 1969 General Assembly resolution.

The resolution was adopted in committee on December 10 by a vote of 86 to 0, with 12 abstentions (Spain, U.S.). In addition to substantive problems with various provisions of the resolution, the United States could not support a resolution that attempted to impose detailed and specific terms for self-determination without the full agreement of all interested parties.

The General Assembly, in plenary, adopted the resolution on December 14 without debate by a vote of 103 to 0, with 11 abstentions (Spain, U.S.).

#### **WEST INDIES ASSOCIATED STATES**

In accordance with a 24th General Assembly resolution on the subject, the Committee of 24 continued its discussion of the territories of Antigua, Dominica, Grenada, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent (otherwise known as the West Indies Associated States). On December 3 the Committee decided to consider the item at its next session, subject to any guidance that the General Assembly might give. The U.S. Representative, Ernest C. Grigg III, entered a reservation on the Committee's consideration of the territories since in the U.S. view they had already attained a full measure of self-government.

#### **Assembly Action**

The General Assembly, in addition to including the Associated States in an omnibus resolution on small territories (see below), adopted a resolution which was introduced in the



Fourth Committee by Nigeria and Ghana, and also sponsored by Barbados, Mali, and Sierra Leone. The resolution requested the Committee of 24 to give urgent consideration to the question of these states at its next session in accordance with the 1969 General Assembly resolution and to report the results of its consideration to the General Assembly at its 26th session. The draft resolution was approved by the Fourth Committee on December 10 by a vote of 86 to 0, with 4 abstentions (U.S.), and by the General Assembly on December 14 by a vote of 107 to 0, with 6 abstentions (U.S.). The United Kingdom did not participate in either vote.

On December 11 the Fourth Committee adopted a resolution sponsored by 11 Afro-Asian states and Yugoslavia on information from non-self-governing territories transmitted in accordance with article 73e of the UN Charter. In the resolution's fourth paragraph the General Assembly considered that in the absence of a specific decision by the Assembly itself the United Kingdom should continue to transmit information on the Associated States. After pointing out that the Associated States were fully self-governing and that the United Kingdom was therefore precluded from reporting on them under article 73e, the U.K. Representative proposed a separate vote on the paragraph. This proposal was objected to by Zambia, a sponsor of the resolution, and rejected by a vote of 21 (U.K., U.S.) to 54, with 20 abstentions. The resolution as a whole was then adopted by a vote of 79 to 2, with 15 abstentions (U.S.). The U.S. Representative, Mr. Mazewski, said that he had abstained because he had serious reservations about paragraph 4. He wished to make it quite clear that if the paragraph had been voted on separately he would have voted against it.

When the resolution was considered by the General Assembly in plenary on December 14, a separate

paragraph vote was again requested and again denied by a vote of 27 (U.K., U.S.) to 50, with 29 abstentions. The resolution as a whole was adopted by a vote of 86 to 2, with 18 abstentions (U.K., U.S.).

#### SMALL TERRITORIES

A number of small territories considered separately or in groups by the Committee of 24 were later dealt with in an omnibus resolution by the General Assembly.

#### Guam and American Samoa

In considering these U.S. territories, the Committee had available not only the working papers prepared by the Secretariat but also a report presented by the U.S. Representative, Frederick H. Sacksteder, on the latest developments in the territories.

On October 7 the Committee adopted without change the report of its Subcommittee II in which it *inter alia*: (1) considered that the economic development of Guam, while attributable to some extent to the growth of tourism, the establishment of industries, and its development as a communications center, continued to revolve around the existence of military bases in the territory which were impeding the process of decolonization; (2) believed that this dependence should be brought to an end; (3) hoped that recent constitutional developments in the territories would lessen their dependence on the United States, and considered that the United States should stress the political education of the people especially with regard to all choices open to them, including independence; (4) expressed its concern at the tendency of the United States to perpetuate its association with the territories; and (5) expressed its concern at the increased presence and activities of American citizens which could affect the political process and future of the territories.

On September 22, during the Subcommittee's consideration of the report, the U.S. Representative, Mr. Grigg, expressed a general reservation with regard to the report as a whole and specifically pointed out that:

1. The United States could not accept the implication that the presence of U.S. citizens was affecting the political process in the territories, since the people of both territories were in complete control of their political life.

2. Regarding the charge that the United States tended to perpetuate its association with the territories, there was no evidence that the inhabitants wished to terminate that association and that if there was any criticism of the course of their political development, it was that the United States was not acting quickly enough to permit closer integration of the territories with the United States.

#### **Seychelles and St. Helena**

The full Committee considered the Seychelles and St. Helena at three meetings and on August 18 adopted a report prepared by its Subcommittee I<sup>1</sup> which *inter alia* regretted that the United Kingdom continued to violate the territorial integrity of the Seychelles and stated that the setting up of the so-called British Indian Ocean Territory (B.I.O.T.) for the purpose of establishing bases jointly with the United States was incompatible with the Charter and the Colonialism Declaration. It called upon the United Kingdom (1) to respect the territorial integrity of the Seychelles by returning the islands earlier detached from it, (2) to prevent "infiltration by foreign economic interests," (3) to accelerate the transfer of power to representative organs,

<sup>1</sup> Members of Subcommittee I: Ecuador, Mali, Sierra Leone, Syria, Tanzania, Tunisia, U.S.S.R., and Yugoslavia.

and (4) not to impose any future status on the territories not freely accepted by the population.

The U.K. Representative said that his delegation had a number of reservations on the report, feeling that it did not accurately reflect the progress made toward self-government and self-determination in the territories during the year. He particularly noted the fact that recent constitutional changes in the Seychelles came about at the suggestion of and with the approval of elected leaders of the territory. He also pointed out that the establishment of the B.I.O.T. had taken place only after full discussion with and the agreement of the territory's elected leaders.

The United States voted against the report since, as in previous years, it did not accurately reflect recent constitutional developments and the facts regarding the B.I.O.T.

#### **U.S. Virgin Islands**

The full Committee considered the U.S. Virgin Islands (along with the British territories of Bahamas, Bermuda, British Virgin Islands, Cayman Islands, Montserrat, and Turks and Caicos Islands) on October 21 and 29. On the latter date the Committee adopted, with slight modification, a report prepared by its Subcommittee III<sup>2</sup> in which it *inter alia*: (1) reaffirmed both its past conclusions and recommendations concerning the islands and the right of the people to self-determination and independence; (2) noted with regret that there had been no constitutional progress during the year; (3) expressed its concern over the unsatisfactory and even critical conditions of the alien labor population in the U.S. Virgin Islands and urged the United States to take further mea-

<sup>2</sup> Members of Subcommittee III: Bulgaria, Iran, Italy, Ivory Coast, Malagasy Republic, Norway, and Venezuela.

asures to solve the problems of housing, welfare, economics, and education; and (4) reiterated its appeal to the United States to implement, without delay, the objectives of the Colonialism Declaration.

The U.S. Representative expressed reservations about the report and specifically pointed out that the United States was conscious of the problems of the alien population and that measures had been taken to solve them. He also noted that there had been significant constitutional development during the past year, particularly the implementation of the Elective Governor Act.

#### Assembly Action

During the Fourth Committee's general debate on small territories between November 13 and December 11, a draft resolution dealing with 25 small territories<sup>1</sup> was circulated under the sponsorship of India, Iraq, Mali, Tanzania, Uganda, Yugoslavia, and Zambia.

In its operative paragraphs the resolution *inter alia* (1) expressed the conviction that size, isolation, and limited resources should in no way delay implementation of the Colonialism Declaration; (2) reiterated that any attempt to disrupt "the national unity and the territorial integrity of colonial territories and the establishment of military bases and installations in these territories" was incompatible with the UN Charter and the Colonialism Declaration; (3) strongly urged the administering powers to reconsider their attitude toward visiting missions; and (4) decided that the United Nations should

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<sup>1</sup> American Samoa, Antigua, Bahamas, Bermuda, British Virgin Islands, Brunei, Cayman Islands, Cocos (Keeling) Islands, Dominica, Gilbert and Ellice Islands, Grenada, Guam, Montserrat, New Hebrides, Niue, Pitcairn, St. Helena, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Seychelles, Solomon Islands, Tokelau Islands, Turks and Caicos Islands, and the U.S. Virgin Islands.

render all help to the people of these territories in their efforts freely to decide their future status.

On December 10 the U.K. Representative proposed a separate vote on inclusion of the West Indies Associated States in the draft, but the proposal was rejected by a vote of 18 (U.S.) to 52, with 16 abstentions. The Committee then adopted the draft resolution as a whole by a vote of 72 to 1, with 17 abstentions (U.S.). The General Assembly in plenary session on December 14 adopted the resolution without debate by a vote of 94 to 1 (U.K.), with 20 abstentions (U.S.).

The United States found a number of the resolution's provisions unacceptable—including its failure to take into account the special problems of small territories and its sweeping and unsubstantiated allegations about military bases in the territories—and therefore abstained on the resolution.

## Activities of Foreign Economic and Other Interests

At the request of the General Assembly, the Committee of 24 continued its consideration of the topic "Activities of foreign economic and other interests which are impeding the implementation of the . . . [Colonialism Declaration] 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." The item was discussed at seven meetings in subcommittee and plenary between August 26 and October 21, and on October 22 the full Committee adopted a report prepared by its Subcommittee I which contained these conclusions and recommendations, among others:



1. The countries whose "monopolies" are impeding self-determination continue to do nothing to restrain them or to implement, even in a preliminary way, previous General Assembly resolutions. Further penetration, consolidation, and expansion of these interests has taken place in some territories.

2. As they are now operating, foreign economic and other interests continue to constitute a major obstacle to political independence as well as social and economic justice.

3. Foreign investments have been instrumental in prolonging the struggle for liberation by the peoples of the colonial territories in southern Africa and have served to strengthen the regimes of South Africa, Southern Rhodesia, and Portugal in those territories.

The report condemned the activities of these foreign economic and other interests which were designed to perpetuate colonial rule. The Cabora Bassa dam project of the Portuguese Government in Mozambique was singled out as contributing to the furtherance of white supremacy and as leading to international tension and discord. The report cited statements by representatives of liberation movements that Portugal, in return for NATO's political and military support, has allowed its allies to "plunder" its African territories. The report requested all states concerned to take steps with respect to their nationals who own and operate enterprises in colonial territories, particularly in southern Africa, to stop those activities that are detrimental to the interest of the colonial peoples. It also requested all states to stop the supply to colonial regimes of funds and other forms of assistance, including military equipment, which is used to suppress national liberation movements.

The report was adopted by a vote of 14 to 2 (U.K., U.S.), with 2 abstentions.

In explaining his vote the U.S.

Representative noted that the report was substantially the same as those previously adopted on this item. He said that his delegation voted against the report because the authors persisted in making sweeping generalizations based on fallacious premises; and he regretted that the Committee continued to repeat time-worn slogans, without giving adequate consideration to other views that should be taken into account.

#### **ASSEMBLY ACTION**

The Fourth Committee of the General Assembly considered the item at 12 meetings between November 13 and December 11 and on the latter date adopted a draft resolution which had been introduced by Tanzania and the U.A.R. on behalf of 15 co-sponsors. The resolution, based on the report of the Committee of 24 on this item, was more sweeping in its accusations than those in previous years due to the elimination of qualifying phrases which had in effect acknowledged that not all foreign economic interests were exploiting territories and impeding implementation of the Colonialism Declaration. The draft resolution was adopted by a vote of 71 to 10 (U.S.), with 12 abstentions. The General Assembly considered the draft resolution in plenary on December 14 and adopted it without debate by a vote of 85 to 11 (U.S.), with 12 abstentions.

## **Military Activities in Non-Self-Governing Territories**

The Committee of 24 considered military activities in non-self-governing territories as a separate item at five meetings in Subcommittee I and plenary, and on November 20 the full Committee adopted the report of the Subcommittee which included

among its conclusions the following points:

1. The characteristics, objectives, and purposes of military activities in colonial countries remain unchanged and continue to constitute a serious impediment to the implementation of the Colonialism Declaration.

2. The administering powers, instead of complying with provisions of General Assembly resolutions calling for the dismantling of military establishments, are increasing their military activities and arrangements in many territories.

3. The situation in southern Africa, particularly the "military entente" of the Governments of South Africa, Portugal, and Southern Rhodesia, poses a threat to the security of independent African states and to international peace and security. The Governments of South Africa, Portugal, and Southern Rhodesia have strengthened their military holds over African territories and Portugal has intensified its activities against national "liberation movements."

4. The military activities of Portugal in its colonial territories continue to be based on the close cooperation of Portugal and its NATO military allies.

5. In the case of smaller territories, such as Guam, Bermuda, the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, and others, the military arrangements went far beyond the needs of local defense and were contrary to the interests of the people. In the case of the U.S. Virgin Islands, the manner in which the United States was drafting Virgin Islanders into the armed forces had led to demonstrations against conscription in the islands.

The report concluded by condemning the "military entente" of South Africa, Portugal, and Southern Rhodesia and calling upon all states to withhold all military support and assistance. In addition, it requested administering powers (1) to

cease alienating land belonging to the peoples of the territories for use as military bases and to return all such lands already taken; (2) to comply with the provisions of General Assembly resolutions calling on the administering powers to dismantle existing military bases and to refrain from establishing new ones; and (3) to terminate the practice of drafting men from colonial territories for service in their armed forces.

The report was adopted by a vote of 17 to 2 (U.K., U.S.), with 2 abstentions. The U.S. Representative, in an explanation of vote, said that his delegation's views on the unfounded nature of these conclusions were well-known and need not be repeated. However, he reminded the Committee of the U.S. right, as defined by the Charter and the Trusteeship Agreement, to establish military installations in the strategic Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. Any amendment to the terms of the Trusteeship Agreement could be made only by the Security Council.

The General Assembly considered this item in the context of the report of the Committee of 24 and limited its action on the matter to a paragraph each in the general colonialism resolution (see below) and the resolution on small territories.

## Activities of Specialized Agencies

During its consideration of the implementation of the Colonialism Declaration by the UN specialized agencies, at eight meetings between July 20 and August 27, the Committee had before it the Secretary-General's report on his consultations with the agencies regarding their implementation of relevant General Assembly resolutions.

The Committee also considered the report of its chairman on his consulta-

tions with the President of ECOSOC in which the chairman stated *inter alia* that he had (1) expressed appreciation for the efforts to date of the specialized agencies to assist refugees from colonial territories in Africa; (2) emphasized the need for increased assistance from the agencies to these refugees; (3) noted that there appeared to be considerable scope for broader participation by the UNDP and the IBRD in the work being carried out on behalf of refugees from colonial territories in Africa; and (4) urged that, in order to facilitate assistance to national liberation movements, the specialized agencies should take the initiative, in consultation with the OAU, in establishing concrete programs of assistance.

The ECOSOC President, the report stated, had pointed out that states members of the governing bodies and deliberative organs of the specialized agencies should coordinate and ensure consistency in the positions of their delegations to ensure effective implementation of relevant General Assembly resolutions. The Chairman and President agreed that the constitutional difficulties of the specialized agencies in discontinuing all collaboration with the governments of South Africa, Portugal, and Southern Rhodesia could be overcome if member states had the political will and commitment to do so.

On August 27 the Committee adopted a draft resolution which, *inter alia*: (1) expressed deep regret that some specialized agencies had not taken the steps required for full implementation of relevant General Assembly resolutions; (2) affirmed that the General Assembly and the Security Council had recognized the legitimacy of the agencies extending all necessary moral and material assistance to national liberation movements; (3) urged the specialized agencies to give all moral and material assistance to people struggling to liberate themselves from colonial

rule, and in particular, that the agencies work out with the OAU and the liberation movements concrete programs to assist the oppressed peoples of Southern Rhodesia, Namibia, and the Portuguese territories, including in particular the populations in the liberated areas of those territories; (4) urged all agencies, in particular the IBRD and the IMF, to withhold all financial, economic, technical, and other assistance from the Governments of South Africa, Portugal, and Southern Rhodesia until they renounce their policies of racial discrimination and colonial domination; and (5) recommended that the specialized agencies continue to examine any problems that stand in the way of implementing the relevant resolutions.

The resolution was adopted by a vote of 17 to 2 (U.K., U.S.), with 2 abstentions.

In explanation of vote the U.S. Representative stated that the resolution contained provisions that were inconsistent with many agreements between the specialized agencies and the United Nations, as well as being inconsistent with the statutes of several of the institutions themselves, and that his delegation, therefore, had no alternative but to vote against the resolution.

#### **ASSEMBLY ACTION**

The item was discussed in the Fourth Committee at 14 meetings between November 13 and December 11. On December 7 Bulgaria and Nigeria, acting on behalf of 20 co-sponsors, introduced a draft resolution which essentially repeated the points made by the Committee of 24. On December 11 the draft resolution was adopted by a vote of 71 to 4 (U.S.), with 18 abstentions. The General Assembly on December 14 in plenary session adopted the resolution without debate by a vote of 83 to 4 (U.S.), with 21 abstentions.



# General Colonialism Resolution

At the 25th General Assembly, as in previous years, the chapter of the Committee of 24 report reviewing the Committee's work as a whole and containing recommendations for its activities in 1971 was debated in plenary session. This chapter stated, *inter alia*, that the Committee intended, subject to the Program of Action adopted in connection with the 10th anniversary of the Colonialism Declaration (see p. 183) and whatever other directives the General Assembly might give, to continue with much the same program as in 1970, including the making of suggestions to assist the Security Council in considering appropriate steps regarding threats to international peace and security arising in colonial territories. The chapter also recommended that the Committee continue to make recommendations to the General Assembly on the most appropriate methods and steps to enable small territories to exercise fully their right of self-determination and independence. The chapter further stated that the Committee would continue in 1971 its consideration of foreign economic interests, military bases, deadlines for independence, the activities of specialized agencies, visiting missions, and holding meetings away from headquarters.

## ASSEMBLY ACTION

After the Committee's report had been considered in plenary at a number of sessions, a lengthy draft resolution which drew heavily from the Program of Action was introduced on behalf of 30 cosponsors. In its operative paragraphs this draft *inter alia* (1) approved the report of the Committee of 24; (2) urged all states and specialized agencies to provide, in consultation with the OAU, moral

and material assistance to national liberation movements; (3) requested all states and specialized agencies to withhold assistance of any kind from the Governments of South Africa, Portugal, and Southern Rhodesia until they renounce their policy of colonial domination and racial discrimination; (4) requested all administering powers to withdraw immediately and unconditionally their military bases from colonial territories and to refrain from establishing new ones; (5) requested the Committee of 24 to take into account the Program of Action in seeking suitable means for the immediate and full implementation of the Colonial Declaration; (6) requested the Committee of 24 to make concrete suggestions to assist the Security Council in considering appropriate steps regarding threats to international peace and security arising in colonial territories; and (7) called upon the administering powers to accept visiting missions.

The resolution was adopted on December 14 by a vote of 93 to 5 (U.S.), with 22 abstentions.

## U.S. Withdrawal From Committee

Following the Committee's adjournment in early December, the United States concluded that it should withdraw from membership on the Committee. The decision was made public January 11, 1971, in a letter from Ambassador Yost to the Secretary-General in which he stated that the United States would continue to submit information to the United Nations on territories under its administration in accordance with its obligations under the Charter, and that it would be prepared to attend meetings of the Committee, at the Committee's invitation, when such information on U.S. territories was being discussed.

Over the years, the United States, as it has stated in the Committee, has had increasingly serious reservations with regard to the method of operation as well as the decisions and actions of the Committee. The United States has been particularly concerned over the Committee's failure to follow the normal course pursued by other committees of consulting on proposed actions and resolutions with a view to reaching a consensus and achieving effective implementation. Once before, in 1968, the United States had considered withdrawing from the Committee, but at that time consultations with Committee members had led to a deferral of the decision in favor of seeking, through frank statements of U.S. views, acceptable changes in the

Committee's performance. Since that time the United States has not only reiterated these reservations but has, in particular, expressed its concern at the Committee's apparent unwillingness even to take U.S. views into consideration. The problem was highlighted by the adoption in 1970, as part of the celebration of the 10th anniversary of the Colonialism Declaration, of the Program of Action that will serve as the Committee's guideline for the future and is likely to perpetuate its present attitudes. In view of these considerations, the United States reluctantly decided that the goal of practical progress toward decolonization could not be served by continued U.S. presence on the Committee.

## 10th Anniversary of the Colonialism Declaration

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The 24th General Assembly adopted a resolution which *inter alia* decided that the Committee of 24 should be responsible for the preparation of a draft declaration or program of action for consideration at a special commemorative meeting to be held in 1970 to celebrate the 10th anniversary of the Colonialism Declaration. In addition, the Committee was asked to prepare an analytical study of decolonization with a view to mobilizing public opinion toward the full implementation of the Declaration. The Assembly further decided that this 10th anniversary commemoration could most appropriately take place in connection with the commemorative session to be held to mark the 25th anniversary of the United Nations.

### Committee of 24

The Committee of 24 considered this matter at 29 meetings between March 11 and October 2, 1970. The first 11 of these meetings were devoted to a general debate on the subject.

The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Finger, speaking April 1, noted the considerable progress made in the past three decades in granting self-determination and independence to former colonial peoples—before as well as after the adoption of the Declaration in 1960. He noted that the massive surge to independence took place largely without violence and through voluntary action by former administering powers. Moreover

these powers enjoyed and continue to enjoy unprecedented prosperity since granting independence to their former colonies, thus destroying the myth that colonies are an economic necessity for administering powers.

The U.S. Representative also noted that experience had demonstrated the falseness of the allegation that foreign economic investment was a significant prop to colonialism; in fact such investment in Africa and Asia had greatly expanded since independence came to those continents. He further pointed out that the myth that foreign military bases were an impediment to independence did not stand the test of experience either.

Nevertheless, even with the benefit of this experience, the U.S. Representative said there was no room for complacency so long as the hard core of the problem—the absence of self-determination for the people of southern Africa—remained.

Turning to the manner in which the Committee might approach its task of preparing the analytical study on decolonization, the U.S. Representative said, "I think that we must decide first of all whether our approach should be one of confrontation or negotiation." He expressed the belief that the majority of the Committee would opt for cooperation rather than coercion and went on to make specific suggestions on how the study might be organized and with what it might appropriately deal. He concluded by stating:

What we are suggesting, in brief, . . . is that the analysis be objective and factual; that it will not necessarily reject previous actions of this committee or the General Assembly but that it should not consider them as graven in stone but, rather, subject to questioning and analysis; and that future work on the problems of self-determination and independence should be carried out in a clearheaded manner which has the best prospect of achieving those objectives. Above all, the committee must decide whether the administering powers are to be treated as enemies who must be overcome by force either of

weapons or of numbers, or whether there is to be a genuine effort of cooperation.

We trust the committee will choose the latter course.

At the suggestion of the chairman, the Committee decided to entrust to its Working Group the task of preparing the documents called for by the General Assembly resolution, with the understanding that nonmembers of the Group would be free to submit suggestions for its consideration.

The Working Group issued a report on April 15 recommending that an *ad hoc* group of representatives be sent to Africa for the purpose of learning the views of the leaders of national liberation movements regarding the preparations for the 10th anniversary. On April 21 the Committee adopted this recommendation and later decided that the *ad hoc* group would consist of Ecuador, Ethiopia, India, Iraq, Italy, Poland, Sierra Leone, and Tunisia.

The group visited Algiers, Addis Ababa, Dar es Salaam, and Lusaka from May 24 to June 5 and met with a number of representatives of liberation movements, whose views were subsequently incorporated in the report submitted to the full Committee on July 20. The Committee then referred the report to the Working Group for its consideration in preparation of the documents relating to the 10th anniversary.

On September 23 the Working Group submitted its report to the Committee noting that it had considered the matter of a special program of activities to mark the 10th anniversary of the Colonialism Declaration at 19 meetings. In light of the general debate in the Committee, the Working Group had decided that, rather than a new Declaration, what was required was a Program of Action for the total and effective implementation of the existing Declaration. It had considered views submitted by nonmembers of



the Working Group as well as the report of the *ad hoc* group. On September 1, in view of the imminent opening of the General Assembly, the Working Group had decided to give priority to the draft of such a Program of Action, deferring the matter of the analytical study to a later date. The Working Group's proposed Program of Action, which was subject to a general reservation by Italy, was included in its report. The full Committee considered the draft at six meetings between September 25 and October 2.

On September 30 the U.S. Representative pointed out that the United States had difficulties with many sections of the draft—difficulties which in a number of cases had been encountered in previous resolutions. He reminded the Committee of the hope expressed in his April 1 statement that it would choose on this occasion to adopt proposals that had a real likelihood of commanding support and being effectively carried out. With this goal in mind, the U.S. Representative offered 17 separate amendments to the draft program which, he stated, would permit the United States "to be associated with a declaration for the 10th anniversary which can be fully cooperative in nature and whereby administering powers and other members can unite on a program which gives real promise of being carried out."

At two meetings on October 2, the Committee considered all of the amendments that had been proposed. Two of the U.S. amendments were withdrawn, while the other 15 were defeated by substantial margins. Finally the draft Program of Action as a whole was adopted by the Committee by a vote of 18 to 2 (U.K., U.S.), with 2 abstentions (Italy, Norway).

As adopted, the draft Program of Action declared all forms of colonialism a crime in violation of the Charter and reaffirmed the inherent right of

colonial peoples to struggle by all necessary means at their disposal against colonial powers. With reference to steps that might be taken in the future, it *inter alia* called on the Security Council to widen sanctions against Southern Rhodesia to make mandatory all measures laid down in the appropriate article of the Charter (see discussion of Southern Rhodesia, p. 193); to give careful consideration to imposing sanctions on South Africa and Portugal; to give urgent consideration to imposing a full, internationally supervised arms embargo against South Africa; and to consider measures to prevent the sale of all arms to Portugal. The draft went on to say that member states should wage a vigorous campaign against the activities of foreign economic, financial, and other interests in colonial territories and against all military activities in such territories. The draft called on the Committee of 24 to continue its efforts, bearing in mind that territorial size, geographical isolation, and limited resources should in no way delay the implementation of the Declaration. It went on to elaborate on the Committee's responsibilities with regard to visiting missions, trips away from headquarters, and preparations and observation of the final stages of decolonization in territories.

At this same meeting the Committee noted and approved the chairman's earlier transmittal of the views of the Working Group to the chairman of the Committee for the 25th Anniversary of the United Nations concerning the modalities of celebrating the 10th anniversary of the Declaration. Specifically, it suggested that one meeting of the commemorative session from October 14 to 24 be set aside for commemoration of the 10th anniversary with addresses to be made by the chairman of the Committee, the president of the General Assembly, and the Secretary-General.

## General Assembly

The rapporteur of the Committee of 24 introduced the Committee's report on this item, including the draft Program of Action, to a plenary meeting of the 25th General Assembly on October 12, and the Assembly devoted portions of two meetings that day to its consideration.

The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Finger, in an explanation prior to the vote, pointed out that it was with deep regret that the United States would vote against the resolution containing this program. However, his delegation's suggested changes had been rejected and as a result "the Program of Action—while laudable in objective—does not represent a useful or constructive approach to a problem of deep concern." Following this and other statements, the resolution containing the Program of Action was put to a vote and adopted by 86 to 5 (Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, U.K., U.S.), with 15 abstentions.

In a subsequent discussion of arrangements for the 25th anniversary commemorative session, it was decided to set aside a portion of the meeting on October 14 for the special ceremony suggested by the Committee of 24 to commemorate the 10th anniversary of the Colonialism Declaration. The only speakers were Committee of 24 Chairman Nicol, Secretary-General Thant, and General Assembly President Hambro.

Ambassador Nicol outlined the objectives and some key features of the Program of Action and said its aim and that of the United Nations was "the ultimate achievement of societies free of any political system which condones any form or manifestation of colonialism."

The Secretary-General, while noting the progress made in the last 10 years under the Colonialism Declaration, pointed out there was no room for complacency so long as 28 million people were still deprived of self-determination. He pointed out that colonialism is an unbalanced state of affairs and that unbalance is what is at the root of war. Therefore, he concluded, "There can be no doubt that the interests of all member states without exception . . . will be well served by the granting of self-determination to all dependent peoples."

President Hambro noted that the experience of the Second World War had given renewed life to certain fundamental principles of natural law, among them notions of popular sovereignty and national self-determination. These had been reflected in the UN Charter and subsequently in the Colonialism Declaration which had been a source of inspiration to the peoples of dependent territories. As for the future, he concluded, "Let us concentrate on constructive imagination to work for the full implementation of the Declaration and for the realization of that hope for 'Freedom and Progress' which forms the theme for this solemn commemoration."

## Namibia

The question of Namibia was considered in numerous UN bodies, including the Security Council, in

1970. The United Nations is particularly concerned with Namibia because of the special international

status of the territory, and it has urged the South African Government to withdraw its administration from the territory pursuant to a General Assembly resolution of October 28, 1966. In this resolution, which the United States supported, the Assembly (1) declared that South Africa had forfeited the mandate and (2) assumed direct responsibility for Namibia.

## First Security Council Consideration

The Security Council met on January 28 in response to a letter of January 26, signed by 57 states, which called for an urgent meeting in view of South Africa's failure to comply with the Council's resolution of August 12, 1969, on the subject. This resolution called upon South Africa to withdraw its administration from Namibia by October 4, 1969, and provided that the Council should meet urgently should South Africa fail to comply.

The Council considered the item at three meetings from January 28 to 30. At the first of these, Finland introduced a draft resolution, also sponsored by Burundi, Nepal, Sierra Leone, and Zambia, which *inter alia* condemned South Africa for failing to comply with both Security Council and General Assembly resolutions on Namibia; declared South Africa's continued presence in the territory illegal and any acts taken by the Government of South Africa on behalf of or concerning Namibia since the termination of the mandate illegal and invalid; considered that South Africa's continuing presence in Namibia had grave consequences for the rights and interests of the people of Namibia; and called upon all states, particularly those with economic or other interests in Namibia, to refrain from any dealings with the Government of South

Africa that might be inconsistent with the finding that its presence in Namibia was illegal. The draft went on to request the Secretary-General to establish a committee of experts to report on ways and means to carry out the provisions of this and earlier resolutions on Namibia. It called on the specialized agencies, other UN bodies, and the Secretary-General to provide all necessary assistance to the expert committee.

Speaking at the same meeting, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Yost, expressed grave regret that so little progress had been made in persuading South Africa to recognize the international community's responsibility for Namibia. He went on to praise the draft resolution for accurately representing and reaffirming the basic attitude of the United Nations toward the problem. He stated that the United States would support the request for an expert committee and commended the broad consultations which had permitted the introduction of a draft resolution that appeared to command a wide measure of support. Ambassador Yost concluded by stating that members could not limit their responsibilities on problems of this magnitude to support of this resolution. All states must continue bilateral efforts to persuade South Africa to accept the UN responsibility for Namibia. The United States for its part would continue to point out to South Africa that it considered South Africa's presence in Namibia illegal. His delegation hoped the expert study would help the Council to form intelligent judgments on other peaceful and practical steps that would enable the United Nations to discharge its responsibilities in Namibia.

At the next meeting, on January 29, the cosponsors introduced several amendments to the draft resolution, the most significant of which provided that, rather than a committee of experts, a subcommittee of the Council itself be established to study future steps that might be taken and



to submit recommendations by April 30. On January 30 the draft was put to a vote without further amendment and adopted by 13 (U.S.) to 0, with 2 abstentions (France, U.K.).

The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Phillips, pointed out that, while refraining from acts inconsistent with the finding that South Africa's presence in Namibia was illegal, states would nevertheless retain the right to protest to South Africa regarding its actions in the territory and to take necessary actions to protect citizens of UN members or the rights of Namibians themselves.

## Ad Hoc Subcommittee

Subsequent to the adoption of the Council's resolution, it was decided that the *ad hoc* subcommittee called for would consist of all Council members and that its meetings should be closed. The subcommittee was guided in its deliberations by three considerations: (1) both the subcommittee itself and the Council resolution creating it were interim measures aimed at helping the Council make substantive decisions; (2) the subcommittee's mandate was sufficiently broad to allow it to examine all proposals and ideas for effective and appropriate steps that might be taken by the Council in this matter; and (3) while recognizing that the final decision rested with the Council, the subcommittee could best serve the Council by drawing its attention to proposals likely to command sufficiently broad support to ensure effective implementation. To this end it was agreed that the subcommittee report would contain any conclusions on which there was unanimity and at the same time reflect the views of members on matters where such agreement was not reached.

Because the subcommittee found the time allotted for its task insufficient, it requested and received Council approval for an extension of

its reporting date until the end of June. In addition to consulting with specialized agencies and other UN bodies, the subcommittee decided to address a questionnaire to all member states seeking information on existing relationships and ties between these states and Namibia.

The U.S. reply of June 30 pointed out *inter alia* the difficulty in distinguishing U.S. trade with Namibia since figures are tabulated for southern Africa as a whole and noted that U.S. nationals and companies are not routinely required to provide detailed information for general purposes on their operations in foreign countries. The note cited, however, the steps taken on May 20 by the U.S. Government regarding future activities of U.S. nationals and companies in Namibia. Specifically:

1. The United States would officially discourage investment in Namibia.

2. U.S. nationals who nevertheless invested there on the basis of rights acquired since the 1966 UN General Assembly resolution would not receive the assistance of the U.S. Government in protection of such investments against claims of a future lawful government of Namibia.

3. Export-Import Bank credit guarantees and other facilities would not be made available for trade with Namibia.

The U.S. reply also pointed out that there is no U.S. diplomatic, consular, trade, or other official representation in Namibia and that the United States has no military activities there, nor does it cooperate militarily with the authorities there. In addition to this written reply, the U.S. Representative also participated in the subcommittee's discussions.

On July 7 the subcommittee submitted its report to the Council. It contained a series of recommendations (see below) reflecting various proposals presented to it as well as reservations expressed by France, Poland, Syria, the U.S.S.R., and the

United Kingdom. The report concluded by stating that a thorough study and evaluation of all the proposals and suggestions presented to the subcommittee would require an extension of its mandate.

## Second Security Council Consideration

The Security Council, acting at the request of Burundi, Finland, Nepal, Sierra Leone, and Zambia, met on July 29 to consider the report of the subcommittee. The Council also had for consideration two draft resolutions which in effect incorporated all of the recommendations of the subcommittee.

The first draft was submitted by the same five Council members that requested the meeting. In its operative paragraphs it (1) called on states that maintain diplomatic relations with South Africa to issue a formal declaration that they consider South Africa's continued presence in the territory illegal; and (2) called on all states *inter alia* (a) to refrain from relations with South Africa implying recognition of its authority in Namibia; (b) to discourage trade and investment by their nationals and companies in Namibia and, in the case of state-owned enterprises, to prevent such dealings altogether; and (c) to discourage tourism and emigration to Namibia.

Further, the draft requested the Council of Namibia to inform the Security Council of the results of its negotiations dealing with the issuance of passports and visas to Namibians (see p. 190), and it asked the General Assembly to set up a UN fund for Namibia to provide assistance to persecuted Namibians and to finance a comprehensive educational and training program for them with particular regard to their future administrative responsibilities in the territory. Finally, the draft

proposed that the *ad hoc* subcommittee be reestablished and continue its study of ways and means to implement the Council's decisions. The draft resolution was adopted at the same meeting by a vote of 13 (U.S.) to 0, with 2 abstentions (France, U.K.).

The second resolution, introduced by Finland, observed that an advisory opinion from the International Court of Justice would be useful to the Council in its further consideration of the problem. Under the key operative paragraph of the draft resolution, the Council decided to refer the following question to the International Court of Justice for an advisory opinion:

What are the legal consequences for states of the continued presence of South Africa in Namibia, notwithstanding Security Council Resolution 276 (1970)?<sup>1</sup>

This draft was also adopted at the same meeting, in this case by a vote of 12 (U.S.) to 0, with 3 abstentions (Poland, U.S.S.R., U.K.).

Speaking after the vote, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Buffum, pointed out that the substantial support which the resolutions had received was a fitting tribute to the *ad hoc* subcommittee. Citing the policy decisions taken by the United States on May 20 regarding trade with and investment in Namibia, he expressed gratification that the economic provisions of the first resolution were consistent with and in fact reflected these U.S. decisions. At the same time he reiterated his delegation's January position regarding the need to be able to take actions to protect U.S. citizens and the people of Namibia. He also pointed out that U.S. support did not constitute an undertaking to contribute to the special fund proposed.

The U.S. Representative welcomed particularly the second resolution, which was the Council's first request for an advisory opinion from the

<sup>1</sup> The resolution adopted Jan. 30; see p. 187.

International Court of Justice. He termed this a "historic development—which is consistent with Secretary Rogers' statement of last April advocating greater use of this major organ of the United Nations."

The U.S. Representative concluded by saying that, while the two resolutions would not solve the problem of Namibia, they should, embodying as they did peaceful and practical steps, make a useful contribution in furthering the efforts to find a solution.

## Council of Namibia

The Council of Namibia,<sup>1</sup> established in 1967 to administer the territory until independence, continued its efforts to fulfill its responsibilities to the limited extent possible in view of South Africa's refusal to leave the territory.

The Council's most significant achievement during the year was the conclusion of agreements with the Governments of Zambia and Uganda providing for the Council's issuance of travel documents to Namibians residing in these countries and the Governments' recognition of these documents, including a right of return within a specified period of time. The Council also achieved varying degrees of success in concluding similar negotiations with Ethiopia, Tanzania, Kenya, and Botswana. The United States had previously agreed to recognize such travel documents subject to the inclusion of a right of return. Much of the Council's remaining effort was devoted to consultation with various liberation movements, the OAU, and other interested parties.

In its conclusions and recommendations to the General Assembly, the

<sup>1</sup> Members of the Council: Chile, Colombia, Guyana, India, Indonesia, Nigeria, Pakistan, Turkey, U.A.R., Yugoslavia, and Zambia.

Council *inter alia* (1) cited the importance of an expanded training and educational program for Namibians and called for it to be financed from the regular UN budget at a level of \$200,000 per year; (2) called for the imposition by the Security Council of mandatory measures under Chapter VII of the UN Charter and suspension of any cooperation by the specialized agencies with South Africa; and (3) recommended that it be authorized to organize a conference on Namibia to be held early in 1971.

## Committee of 24

The Committee decided to consider the question of Namibia in plenary and to hold a general debate on this item together with the questions of Southern Rhodesia and the Portuguese territories. The Committee also heard several petitioners and considered the report of its *ad hoc* group which traveled to Africa (see p. 184).

On July 30 the chairman, in response to suggestions from a number of members, submitted a draft consensus statement on Namibia for the consideration and eventual adoption of the Committee. In the course of several meetings, however, it developed that a consensus did not exist on the proposed text nor could one be achieved. The Committee, therefore, decided to request the chairman to submit a concluding statement. This statement, made on August 11, was similar in substance to the earlier draft consensus and, *inter alia*, (1) expressed the Committee's "grave concern at the extremely serious situation existing in that territory" as the result of South Africa's continued defiance of the United Nations; (2) noted South Africa's continued application of apartheid and other measures aimed at destroying Namibia's unity and territorial integrity; (3) cited South



Africa's intensified military operations in the territory and its increased threat to the security of neighboring independent states; and (4) condemned the support given to South Africa in pursuit of its oppressive policies in Namibia, particularly by its major trading partners and certain economic interests.

The U.S. Representative made clear that, while his delegation had agreed to the procedure of requesting the chairman to submit a statement, this did not encompass an endorsement of the statement *per se*.

## General Assembly

The question of Namibia was allocated by the General Assembly to its Fourth Committee where it was considered in general debate along with Southern Rhodesia and the Portuguese territories. The debate took place over 12 meetings from October 5 through 21 and was followed by further discussion involving the hearing of petitioners.

On November 9 two draft resolutions were introduced, the first of these by the U.A.R., Yugoslavia, and Ethiopia on behalf of ultimately 33 cosponsors. This was a general resolution which contained a number of provisions not contained in similar resolutions of previous years, including a condemnation of the support provided South Africa by its trading partners; a call for all governments to cease immediately any assistance to and cooperation with South Africa; a placing of special responsibility on the permanent members of the Security Council to support Council decisions; and a call on states to take actions in the specialized agencies with a view to discontinuing any collaboration with South Africa. In addition, the draft specifically called on the Security Council to take mandatory measures under Chapter VII of the Charter. On November 16 the Committee adopted the draft by a vote of

90 to 5 (France, Portugal, South Africa, U.K., U.S.), with 14 abstentions.

The U.S. Representative, Mr. Mazewski, speaking prior to the vote, expressed regret that the resolution appeared to be retrogressing from previous Assembly action. He noted that previous debates had been characterized by a desire to work together and that an effort had been made in the Assembly, and most recently during 1970 in the Security Council, to seek peaceful and practical means to exercise the UN responsibility for the territory. In the present case, however, there had been no effort to reconcile varying views; and the emphasis had been on drastic action rather than on seeking a solution through peaceful means. Because of the draft's extreme language and its failure to recognize the realities of the situation, as well as its apparent refusal to acknowledge and consider the work of the Security Council on this matter, the United States would have to vote against the proposed resolution.

The second draft was introduced by Finland on behalf of seven cosponsors and dealt with the creation of a special fund for Namibia. As first introduced, the draft *inter alia*, (1) in addition to deciding to create such a fund, called on the Secretary-General, with the advice both of other UN bodies and officials and the OAU, to develop a comprehensive program of activities for such a fund; (2) decided that the fund should be financed through the regular UN budget but that the determination of the extent of such financing should await the Secretary-General's study; and (3) authorized, as an interim measure for 1971, the expenditure of an additional \$50,000 from the regular budget to provide greater assistance to Namibians through existing programs.

As the result of approaches by a number of delegations, including that of the United States, the draft was subsequently amended to delete all

reference to the manner in which the fund would be financed, in effect leaving this decision to the next General Assembly in the light of the Secretary-General's report and other factors.

The U.S. Representative had stressed in consultations with the co-sponsors the U.S. understanding, at the time the Security Council had suggested such a fund, that it would be financed through voluntary contributions—a point that the United States had touched on in its explanation of vote in the Council. The draft resolution as amended was adopted on November 18 by a vote of 101 (U.S.) to 2, with 7 abstentions. The

U.S. Representative, in a brief statement, made clear the U.S. view that the provision of an additional \$50,000 financing for existing programs was a transitional measure to be taken "on the present occasion only" pending the submission by the Secretary-General of his detailed study to the 26th General Assembly.

Both draft resolutions were adopted by the General Assembly in plenary on December 9 without further debate. The vote on the general resolution was 95 to 5 (U.S.), with 14 abstentions, while the special fund resolution was approved by 104 (U.S.) to 2, with 8 abstentions.

## Portuguese Territories

### Committee of 24

The Committee considered the question of the African territories under Portuguese administration in a general debate from May 14 to July 28 along with the questions of Namibia and Southern Rhodesia. In addition to the debate statements, the Committee had for consideration the working papers prepared by the Secretariat and the report of the Committee's *ad hoc* group which had been sent to Africa in connection with the preparations for the 10th anniversary (see page 184). The Committee also decided on June 18 to accept an invitation to send a delegation of observers to an international conference held in Rome June 27–29 in support of the "liberation movements" in the Portuguese territories. The delegation was composed of representatives from Bulgaria, Iran, Tanzania, Venezuela, and Yugoslavia. The delegation subsequently reported that the conference was attended by leaders of the

"liberation movements" in all three of the Portuguese African territories—Angola, Guinea, and Mozambique—and its concluding declaration was sharply critical of NATO and "imperialist" economic interests which were allegedly supporting and making possible Portugal's colonial policies.

On August 11 Tanzania introduced a draft resolution that was ultimately sponsored by 12 members. The draft *inter alia* (1) condemned Portugal's refusal to implement earlier General Assembly and Security Council resolutions and called on Portugal to cease repressive activities in its territories and to transfer powers to freely elected representatives; (2) called on all states, in particular NATO members, to cease all military assistance to Portugal, even within the NATO context, and to prevent the sale of arms and military equipment to Portugal; (3) deplored the activities of foreign economic interests which were impeding the progress of the people of the territories to self-

determination; (4) drew the attention of the Security Council to the need to institute mandatory measures against Portugal; and (5) appealed to all specialized agencies to cease all forms of assistance to Portugal.

The resolution was adopted on August 18 by a vote of 14 to 2 (U.K., U.S.), with 2 abstentions (Italy, Norway).

Speaking after the vote, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Finger, pointed out that the United States had repeatedly expressed its profound conviction that the people of the Portuguese territories have the inalienable right to self-determination. Nevertheless, the situation in Portugal's territories differed markedly from that existing in Namibia and Southern Rhodesia and was deserving of a different approach by the Committee. The United States continued to believe the best way to pursue the goal of self-determination was through persistent peaceful efforts to find common ground; the draft resolution did not contribute to this objective, however. Moreover, his delegation did not share a number of its assertions and suppositions. Thus, he said, the United States had been compelled to cast a negative vote.

## General Assembly

The Portuguese territories were considered again by the General Assembly's Fourth Committee. As in the Committee of 24, the southern African issues were combined in one general debate covering 12 meetings

from October 5 through 21. Subsequent meetings were devoted to hearing petitioners and to viewing a documentary film on the insurgent struggle in Mozambique. On November 6 Ceylon and the Sudan introduced a draft resolution that was eventually cosponsored by 32 members. In addition to incorporating the provisions of the Committee of 24's resolution, the draft *inter alia* reaffirmed the right of the people of the territories to self-determination and the legitimacy of their struggle by all means necessary to achieve that right; condemned Portugal for using chemical and bacteriological methods of warfare against the people of the territories and demanded that it desist; and termed the situation in the territories "a threat to international peace and security." Other provisions of the resolution, while not new in substance, were stated in more extreme terms than in previous years.

The draft was considered at eight meetings of the Committee between November 6 and 18 and on the latter date was adopted by a vote of 90 to 7 (U.S.), with 17 abstentions. In 1969 the United States had abstained only with considerable misgivings on a comparable resolution. The clearly more extreme nature of the present draft left no choice but to vote against it, despite the U.S. belief in the right of self-determination for the peoples of the territories.

The draft resolution was considered by the General Assembly in plenary on December 14 and adopted by a vote of 94 to 6 (U.S.), with 16 abstentions.

## Southern Rhodesia

Southern Rhodesia was again considered by the Security Council, the

Committee of 24, and the General Assembly in 1970. The entering into



force of Southern Rhodesia's new constitution and the formal declaration of a republic on March 2 was a major concern of the United Nations.

## First Security Council Consideration

Acting on a written request of the United Kingdom dated March 3, the Security Council met on March 6 to consider the situation in Southern Rhodesia and specifically what the U.K. letter described as the illegal assumption of republican status on March 2. At the first meeting, the U.K. Representative introduced a draft resolution that condemned "the illegal acts of the racist minority regime in Southern Rhodesia, including the purported assumption of republican status" and made it mandatory for all member states to "refrain from recognizing this illegal regime or from rendering any assistance to it."

The British Representative argued that the Rhodesian regime's actions were based on a desire for recognition—something that it had not achieved to date—and the Council should act unanimously to deny such recognition. He acknowledged that there were differences of view on other aspects of this problem, but he believed there could be no argument with the aim of the draft resolution.

The African response, as expressed by the Representative of Zambia, was to request a postponement of the debate to allow time for the arrival in New York of the foreign ministers of Algeria, Senegal, and Zambia who had been chosen by the OAU to present the views of that body to the Council. In addition, the Zambian Representative termed the British draft resolution "extremely inadequate." He urged the Council to seek ways and means of toppling the illegal regime. The Council acceded

to the African members' request for a postponement and agreed to resume the debate on March 10.

On March 6, 39 African countries submitted a letter also requesting an urgent meeting of the Council in which they stated that the activities of the Salisbury regime were made possible by the inactivity of the United Kingdom.

The Council actually resumed its discussion on March 11 with only the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of Zambia, Mr. Nkama, having arrived to represent the OAU. Mr. Nkama expressed "very great disappointment at the extremely limited nature" of the British proposal and sharply criticized the United Kingdom for its limited efforts to quell the rebellion, including its refusal to use force or to permit the extension of sanctions to South Africa or Portuguese Mozambique. In tracing the history of the Council's actions on the Rhodesian question, the Zambian Minister pointed out that in both 1966 and 1968 the Council had refused to impose the full range of mandatory measures authorized under the Charter. In fact, he said, the United Kingdom had worked tirelessly to frustrate efforts by the Council to take firm measures against the rebel regime. The time had, therefore, come for the Council to take effective action to bring about the end of the illegal regime.

These views were supported by other African speakers and at the next meeting on March 12, a draft resolution, cosponsored by Burundi, Nepal, Sierra Leone, Syria, and Zambia, was introduced. The draft began in a similar fashion to the U.K. proposal by condemning the declaration of the so-called republic and making it mandatory that all states refrain from recognizing it. However, it also, *inter alia*, emphasized the U.K. responsibility for the situation in Southern Rhodesia and condemned its refusal to use force to end the rebellion. It also introduced further man-

datory provisions to the effect that all states should sever all ties with the regime, including means of transportation, postal service, and all forms of communications; and it decided that existing mandatory measures, as well as those in this draft, should also be applied against South Africa and Portugal.

#### **U.S. POSITION**

The two resolutions were subject to further debate on March 13 including a statement by the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Yost. He observed that the situation confronting the Council had "a special significance" since a constitution approved by 1% of the Rhodesian population was in effect and a "republic" approved by a similarly small percentage had been established. He reaffirmed the U.S. view, as stated before the Council in 1969, that "illegal acts perpetrated by an illegal regime can in no way be considered to lend an air of legitimacy to that regime." He stated that the United States continued to regard the United Kingdom as the legal sovereign in Rhodesia and as a result, with the Smith regime's severance of the last formal ties with the United Kingdom, the Secretary of State had announced on March 9 the closing of the U.S. consulate general in Salisbury.

As for the courses before the Council, he hoped it would work on the basis of unanimity, for only the Smith regime would find any solace in division. The United States supported the British position that the Council should act promptly to deny recognition to the "republic" and would support the British draft resolution; he hoped others would do likewise.

The U.S. Representative pointed out that his government shared the desire to achieve an equitable solution to this problem, but as it had stated previously, to apply sanctions to Southern Rhodesia's neighbors

would only further complicate an already complicated situation. He declared:

... we all would prefer to take more effective and decisive measures. The question, however, arises whether these more extreme measures which have been suggested would be sufficiently supported by the international community, especially those most directly concerned, to make them in fact effective, or whether in seeking such action against economically powerful states under existing circumstances they would merely demonstrate the limitations of the United Nations and further entrench the Smith regime and its supporters in southern Africa.

Ambassador Yost went on to express doubts about the wisdom and the effectiveness of imposing a communications ban as envisaged by the Afro-Asian draft. He pointed out that the United States has consistently attached great importance to the maintenance of communications even when relations were strained and would view most seriously the prospect of leaving U.S. citizens anywhere in the world without the means to travel and communicate.

In our view, such measures tear the very fabric of international relations and would tend to foreclose the free exchange of information and ideas upon which progress in this unfortunate situation in part depends.

The Finnish Representative, speaking at the same meeting, also stressed the need for unity if the Council was to be effective in bringing international pressure to bear on the illegal regime. In his view, neither of the draft resolutions before the Council was likely to achieve this goal. He suggested a course of action which demanded that all states end diplomatic relations with the regime and cut off transportation links with it. The Council might further call for Rhodesia's exclusion from participation in international bodies and for strengthening the enforcement of sanctions.

At the conclusion of this meeting, the President noted that there ap-

peared to be agreement to allow several days for further consultations aimed at reaching a compromise between the existing positions, as advocated by the Finnish Representative. The next meeting was held on March 17 and after some further debate, the U.K. Representative suggested a further delay, specifically so that the proposals suggested by the Finnish Representative at the previous meeting might be given full consideration along with the two existing drafts and maximum agreement achieved. The U.S. Representative supported this suggestion, noting that there appeared to be a possibility of some change in the Afro-Asian draft which would require further instructions. When Sierra Leone, Burundi, and the U.S.S.R. opposed any postponement, the U.K. Representative made a formal proposal for adjournment which was defeated by a vote of 6 (U.S.) to 7, with 2 abstentions.

Commenting after the vote, the U.S. Representative regretted the decision which he felt was not in the normal spirit of courtesy and mutual accommodation that governs the business of the Council. However, in view of the decision, he asked for suspension of the meeting for 30 minutes so that there would be time to reflect on the new situation. This proposal was also put to a vote and defeated by 6 (U.S.) to 7, with 2 abstentions.

With the decision thus taken to continue the meeting, the Council proceeded to vote on the two draft resolutions before it. The British draft was considered first and failed to win adoption by a vote of 5 (U.S.) to 0, with 10 abstentions. (Nine affirmative votes are required for adoption.) The Representative of Sierra Leone explained that in the view of the Afro-Asians, the British draft did not go far enough and, moreover, that its provisions were incorporated in their draft.

The Council then turned to the draft sponsored by the Afro-Asian members. The Representative of

Spain requested, and was granted by the sponsors, a separate paragraph vote on two paragraphs of the resolution, the more significant being the one deciding to extend the existing mandatory measures to include South Africa and Portugal. In both cases, the paragraphs were rejected by votes of 7 to 0, with 8 abstentions (Spain, U.S.). The resolution as a whole was then put to a vote with the following result: 9 in favor, 2 opposed (U.K., U.S.), with 4 abstentions (Colombia, Finland, France, Nicaragua). The vetoes of the United States and the United Kingdom resulted in the draft resolution's rejection. This was the first veto ever exercised by the United States in the Security Council.

Prior to the vote, the U.S. Representative stated that "only the most serious of considerations would cause us to take the step of casting our negative vote on a resolution of such importance." The United States had staunchly supported the sanctions program and had been prepared to consider the further steps suggested by the Finnish Representative. It could not, however, support a resolution that by implication called upon the United Kingdom to use force. "We have repeatedly stated the view that force is not the answer to this problem," the U.S. Representative stated. Furthermore, he pointed out, the United States had closed its consulate in Salisbury in the belief that it would remain possible for U.S. citizens in Rhodesia to maintain contact with the United States and with its consulates elsewhere in Africa. "We cannot now," he said, "agree not only to cut off all their communications with the rest of the world but even to cut off all means by which they might leave Southern Rhodesia." He concluded by saying:

It is with very great reluctance, therefore, that we take this step. We have felt, and continue to feel, that a little greater effort to find common ground might have obviated this necessity. Let us not now abandon the search for common ground but resolve to try



all the harder to grapple together with the problem of Rhodesia, which so deeply concerns us all and which, sooner or later, must and will be resolved in the interest of the oppressed majority.

#### COMPROMISE DRAFT RESOLUTION

Following the vote, the Finnish Representative, expressing the hope that the Council would not conclude its consideration on this note of indecision, formally introduced a draft resolution which he hoped might provide the basis for an agreed course of action. The draft followed the lines of his earlier suggestions and *inter alia* (1) condemned the illegal proclamation of a republic; (2) made it mandatory that all states shall refrain from recognizing the regime; (3) reaffirmed the United Kingdom's primary responsibility for ensuring the people are able to exercise their right of self-determination; (4) condemned the policies of South Africa and Portugal in contravention of relevant UN resolutions; (5) called for member states to take more stringent measures to enforce sanctions; (6) made it mandatory for all states to terminate any existing diplomatic, trade, military, or other relations and immediately to interrupt existing means of transportation with Rhodesia; (7) requested states to take all other possible actions as described in the Charter; and (8) called for appropriate measures to suspend Rhodesian membership in specialized agencies and other international organizations.

On March 18 the Council met to consider the Finnish draft that, as the result of consultations between the two meetings, had been amended in minor aspects. Speaking prior to the vote, Ambassador Yost paid tribute to the efforts of the Finnish Representative who sought to restore the prospect for unanimous action. The U.S. Representative went on to reiterate that "the United States has not condoned, is not condoning, and will not condone any attempts by

a minority and racist regime, either in Southern Rhodesia or elsewhere in southern Africa, to impose its will on the majority. . . ." He could understand the frustration of the African members of the United Nations at the organization's failure to solve the problem, and it was natural that they should seek further means to make the UN decisions prevail. But one had to keep in mind the limited powers of the United Nations and there was "no alternative but to recognize the fact that the process of making the rule of law and the rights of the majority prevail in Rhodesia will not be a quick one."

As for the Finnish draft resolution, the United States had certain reservations, Ambassador Yost said, most particularly regarding the ban on all transportation. Since it was understood, however, that this would be subject to the humanitarian and medical exceptions provided for in the 1968 sanctions resolution, the United States would not oppose the resolution on these grounds. Rather, particularly in view of "the capital importance of harmony among us for the effect that harmony must have on the minority regime," the United States was prepared to support the resolution. Following a number of other explanations of position, the resolution was adopted by a vote of 14 (U.S.) to 0, with 1 abstention (Spain).

## Committee on Sanctions

The Security Council's Committee on Sanctions continued its work during the year. Three of its former members—Algeria, Pakistan, and Paraguay—having left the Security Council, it was decided to add Nepal, Nicaragua, and Sierra Leone to its membership along with the four permanent members already on the Committee—France, the United Kingdom, the United States, and the U.S.S.R. Suggestions were also made

concerning the possibility of enlarging the Committee beyond the existing level of seven. These were not resolved, and it was decided to review the question of enlargement after the Committee issued its report at the end of May.

The report was not in fact issued until June 15. It was primarily concerned with the investigation of specific cases of suspected sanctions violations and various problems in enforcing sanctions. With reference to its future work, the Committee decided *inter alia* (1) to circulate reports of suspected violations along with the comments of the Governments concerned; (2) to request reports on relevant trade statistics from the UN Secretariat on a regular basis, as well as studies on trade in various specific commodities; (3) to request the Secretariat to supply information which might be gathered from published sources, including press reports; and (4) to make more frequent reports to the Council.

Finally, in its observations and recommendations, the report noted that the Security Council's measures, including sanctions, had not led to the desired results. There had been some effect on Rhodesia's agricultural exports, but its mineral exports had actually increased. Although the number of reports of suspected violations had increased, it was highly desirable that more member states report cases where they had reliable evidence. The Committee noted that many of the replies from governments concerning investigations of suspected violations were incomplete and often seriously delayed. It noted, further, that South Africa and Portugal continued to trade with Rhodesia, thus considerably reducing the effectiveness of sanctions, and went on to call for greater cooperation from major maritime powers.

Following the submission of the report, the Committee's activities were suspended due to the Council's in-

ability to agree on the question of expanded membership. It was finally decided that as of October 1 the Committee should be expanded to include all members of the Security Council, and it reconvened, so constituted, on October 29. The United States had agreed with this decision in order not to delay further the Committee's work, despite its belief that a smaller committee could work more effectively. The U.S. Representative did suggest, however, that it might be advisable to create a smaller subsidiary body to consider detailed routine aspects of the Committee's work. The Committee agreed, however, that such decisions should be taken in the light of further experience.

## Committee of 24

The Committee of 24 considered the question of Southern Rhodesia at its first meeting on March 6 when it decided to ask its chairman urgently to draft a consensus for use in its deliberations. On March 9 the chairman proposed a draft that as amended took note of the existence in southern Africa of a threat to international peace and security and called on the United Kingdom to take all necessary measures to put an end to the regime in Southern Rhodesia. It went on *inter alia* to call on states to comply with existing General Assembly and Security Council resolutions on the subject and to deny recognition to the regime. Finally, in view of the further aggravation of a situation already determined by the Security Council to be a threat to international peace and security, it urged the Council to take further appropriate measures to bring the rebellion to an end.

The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Finger, expressed support for the general thrust and spirit of

the consensus, but noted that only the Security Council was empowered to determine the existence of threats to international peace and security and that it had done so only with regard to Southern Rhodesia, not for southern Africa as a whole. As for the question of compliance with resolutions, he pointed out that those of the General Assembly were only recommendations. States were bound to consider them carefully, but they were not in the same category as decisions of the Security Council. With these and other reservations being reflected in the record, the Committee agreed to adopt the draft consensus.

Subsequently, the Committee considered Southern Rhodesia in plenary along with Namibia and the Portuguese territories. On August 11 Tanzania and Ethiopia introduced a draft resolution, ultimately sponsored by eight members, that *inter alia* (1) condemned the assumption of republican status; (2) condemned those governments, particularly South Africa and Portugal, that continued to have relations with the illegal regime; (3) condemned the failure and refusal of the United Kingdom to take effective measures, including force, to bring down the illegal regime; and (4) stressed the necessity of extending sanctions to South Africa and Portugal.

The resolution was adopted by a vote of 16 to 2 (U.K., U.S.), with 2 abstentions.

Speaking after the vote, the U.S. Representative, Mr. Grigg, reaffirmed the U.S. position that the people of Rhodesia have a right to self-determination. However, while the United States could have supported some elements of the resolution, others did not represent a realistic approach to the goal of self-determination and in a number of cases were reiterations of positions that the United States has continued to oppose.

## Second Security Council Consideration

On November 6 the Representatives of Burundi, Nepal, Sierra Leone, Syria, and Zambia requested an urgent meeting of the Security Council to consider the Rhodesian question. Although the request did not so state, one of the considerations in its timing was the desire to mark the fifth anniversary of the unilateral declaration of independence by the illegal Rhodesian regime on November 11, 1965.

The Council met on November 10 and, in addition to the five-power request, had for its consideration the report of its Committee on Sanctions. The Representative of Nepal introduced a draft resolution on behalf of the five members who had requested the meeting which *inter alia* noted the primary responsibility of the United Kingdom for enabling the people of Southern Rhodesia to exercise their right of self-determination and for ending the rebellion. In its operative paragraphs the draft *inter alia* (1) urged all states to observe the sanctions program adopted by the Council and deplored the policies of those states that continued to give moral, political, and economic assistance to the illegal regime; (2) urged all states not to grant any form of recognition to the regime; and (3) most significantly, in its first operative paragraph called upon the United Kingdom not to grant independence to Southern Rhodesia without the achievement of majority rule.

The U.K. Representative noted his government's stated intention to explore once again the possibility of achieving a settlement of the Rhodesian problem on the basis of the "five principles"<sup>1</sup> which had been subscribed to by both the Conservative

<sup>1</sup> The five principles were set forth in British-Rhodesian talks looking toward independence prior to the Unilateral Declaration of Independence on Nov. 11, 1965. They were (1) unimpeded progress



and Labor Parties as a basis for settlement. His government was not overly optimistic about the chances for success, but felt the effort had to be made.

Speaking on the draft resolution, the U.K. Representative noted that, despite the prime responsibility placed by the text on his government, no effort had been made to consult his delegation regarding the draft. He further noted that "insofar as this new draft resolution repeats previous obligations, it is unnecessary; insofar as it imposes fresh obligations, it is unacceptable." In particular, he objected to the call on his government not to grant independence prior to majority rule. He pointed out that such a provision had been rejected by the Council in 1966 and that his government still would not accept such a condition. The United Kingdom had made the framework of its negotiating position clear, but it was not prepared to have its position dictated from outside. For this reason, he concluded, if pressed to the vote, his delegation would vote against the draft resolution.

The draft was brought to the vote and defeated by a British veto: 12 in favor, 1 against, with 2 abstentions (France, U.S.).

Speaking after the vote, Ambassador Yost noted the longstanding and clear U.S. position in opposition to the illegal minority regime in Southern Rhodesia—a position not only expressed in statements, but in the staunch U.S. support of the Council's sanctions program. He noted, however, his government's serious reservations about the attempt in the first operative paragraph to prescribe how

to majority rule, already enshrined in the 1961 constitution, would have to be maintained and guaranteed; (2) guarantees against retrogressive amendment of the constitution; (3) immediate improvement in the political status of the African population; (4) progress toward ending racial discrimination; and (5) need to satisfy the British Government that any basis proposed for independence was acceptable to the people of Rhodesia as a whole.

and when the British Government was to achieve the goal of majority rule which all members of the Council supported. "Such a binding injunction could only serve further to complicate an already most difficult situation," he said. He went on to regret the lack of consultations in the preparation of the draft, noting that such consultation in the past had enabled the Council to act unanimously on Southern Rhodesia. Such unanimity should, he felt, have been possible in this case as well had the effort been made. Therefore, while the United States agreed with almost all of the draft, in light of these substantive and procedural considerations, it could not support the resolution, and hence had abstained.

After the U.S. explanation of vote, the Council President noted that consultations were underway to achieve agreement on a new draft resolution, and he called for another meeting the following day. It was decided, however, that the exact timing of the meeting should be set only after further consultations.

The Council did, in fact, meet one week later on November 17, at which time the President announced that agreement had been reached on the text of a resolution. The text was very similar to the earlier Afro-Asian draft, except that the first operative paragraph was deleted and two new operative paragraphs were included. The first of these reaffirmed the Council's condemnation of the illegal declaration of independence. The second called on the United Kingdom to take urgent effective measures to end the rebellion and to enable the people of Southern Rhodesia to exercise their right of self-determination in accordance with the UN Charter and the Colonialism Declaration. The revised draft was unanimously adopted, after which several members briefly reiterated their positions. The U.S. Representative did not speak.

## General Assembly

The Fourth Committee considered the question of Southern Rhodesia along with those of Namibia and the Portuguese territories in general debate from October 5 through 21. On November 16 the representatives of Guinea and Mali introduced a draft resolution on behalf of 30 sponsors. This draft, in addition to repeating provisions previously contained in the Committee of 24 resolution, *inter alia* (1) affirmed that any attempt to negotiate the future of the territory with the illegal regime would be contrary to the Colonialism Declaration; (2) called upon the United Kingdom to ensure the immediate expulsion of South African troops now in Rhodesia; (3) called upon all states to extend all material and moral assistance to the liberation movements in the ter-

ritory; and (4) asked the Security Council to broaden the existing sanctions to include a ban on postal and communications ties with Rhodesia.

The draft was put to vote on November 18. France asked for a separate vote on the provision disapproving of any negotiations with the regime, but the Committee rejected this request by a vote of 19 (France, U.K., U.S.) to 59, with 27 abstentions. The draft resolution as a whole was then approved 90 to 10 (France, U.K., U.S.), with 11 abstentions. The resolution was adopted by the General Assembly in plenary session on December 3 after limited debate by a vote of 70 to 10 (France, U.K., U.S.), with 14 abstentions. The U.S. Representative did not feel it necessary in either Committee or plenary to restate the U.S. position on these generally familiar provisions.

## Part IV

# Legal and Constitutional Developments

## International Court of Justice

During 1970 Botswana accepted the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice under article 36 of the Court's Statute, and Canada filed a new declaration to replace its declaration of September 20, 1929. At the end of the year 46 states had accepted the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court. A number of countries, including the United States, continued to maintain significant reservations to their acceptances.

### Cases

During 1970 the Court delivered the judgment in the Barcelona Traction and Light case and began its consideration of a request for an advisory opinion relating to Namibia.

#### CASE CONCERNING THE BARCELONA TRACTION, LIGHT AND POWER COMPANY, LTD. (*Belgium v. Spain*, NEW APPLICATION 1962)

This case arose out of the adjudication of bankruptcy in Spain of a company incorporated in Canada. The Belgian Government sought reparation for damage allegedly sustained by Belgian nationals, shareholders in the company, as a result of acts said to be contrary to international law committed against the company by the Spanish Government.

In its judgment of February 5, 1970, the Court found that the Bel-

gian Government lacked standing to exercise diplomatic protection of Belgian shareholders in a Canadian company with respect to measures taken against that company in Spain. This finding was based on the following considerations:

1. International law had to refer to certain rules generally accepted by municipal legal systems, in which the concept of the company was founded on a firm distinction between the rights of a company and those of its shareholders, so that an act infringing only the company's rights did not involve responsibility towards the shareholders, even if their interests were affected.

2. Consequently, where there was any question of an unlawful act committed against a company representing foreign capital, international law authorized solely the national state of the company to exercise diplomatic protection for the purpose of seeking redress. There might arise exceptions to this general rule of which the national state of the shareholders could avail itself in the event, for example, that the company had ceased to exist or if its protecting state lacked capacity to take action. Such, however, was not the case.

3. Although it had been maintained that a state could effectively make a claim when investments by its nationals abroad were prejudicially affected in violation of the right of the state itself to have its nationals



enjoy certain treatment, such a right could only result from a treaty or special agreement, and no such provision existed in the circumstances.

4. Finally, in the particular circumstances of the case, where the company's national state was able to act, the Court was not of the opinion that standing was conferred on the national state of shareholders by considerations of equity.

Accordingly, the Court rejected the Belgian Government's claim by 15 to 1; 12 votes of the majority were based on the grounds set out above. Judges Gros, Jessup, and Tanaka, who supported the operative provisions of the judgment for different reasons, filed separate opinions.

Judge *ad hoc* Riphagen filed a dissenting opinion in which he stated that he was unable to concur in the judgment as the legal reasoning followed by the Court appeared to him not to take into account the rules of customary public international law applicable in the case.

#### LEGAL CONSEQUENCES FOR STATES OF THE CONTINUED PRESENCE OF SOUTH AFRICA IN NAMIBIA (SOUTH-WEST AFRICA) NOTWITHSTANDING SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 276 (1970)<sup>1</sup>

On July 29, 1970, the UN Security Council decided to request an advisory opinion of the Court on the following question:

What are the legal consequences for states of the continued presence of South Africa in Namibia, notwithstanding Security Council resolution 276 (1970)?

This is the first time that the Security Council has requested an advisory opinion of the Court.

On December 17, 1920, the Council of the League of Nations conferred a mandate with respect to the Territory of South-West Africa on his Britannic Majesty, to be exercised in his behalf by South Africa, subject to

supervision by the League. Since 1946 the status and administration of the Territory have been the subjects of lengthy discussions in the United Nations. At the request of the General Assembly the Court gave advisory opinions concerning the Territory in 1950, 1955, and 1956.<sup>2</sup> The United States has consistently upheld the authority of these opinions which affirmed that the mandate continued to govern South Africa's administration of the Territory and that the United Nations had succeeded to the League's supervisory role.

From 1960 to 1966 the Court had before it a case relating to the Territory which Ethiopia and Liberia had brought against South Africa alleging breach of its obligations under the mandate. Although the Court found that it had jurisdiction in the case, it also found that Ethiopia and Liberia lacked the requisite legal right or interest to maintain their suit.

On October 27, 1966, the General Assembly decided that South Africa's mandate was terminated and that the United Nations had direct responsibility for the Territory.

In the written phase of the present proceedings, statements were submitted by Czechoslovakia, Finland, France, Hungary, India, Netherlands, Nigeria, Pakistan, Poland, South Africa, the United States, Yugoslavia, and the UN Secretary-General. The Court scheduled the oral phase of the case for early in 1971.

## General Assembly Action

On August 14 the United States and 11 others (Argentina, Australia, Canada, Finland, Italy, Ivory Coast,

<sup>2</sup> *International Status of South-West Africa* (1950), *Voting Procedure on Questions relating to Reports and Petitions concerning the Territory of South-West Africa* (1955), and *Admissibility of Hearings of Petitioners by the Committee on South-West Africa* (1956).

<sup>1</sup> See also p. 186.

Japan, Liberia, Mexico, U.K., and Uruguay) requested the inclusion in the agenda of the 25th Assembly of an item entitled "Review of the Role of the International Court of Justice." In proposing the item the 12 cosponsors stressed the urgent need for a study of the obstacles to the satisfactory functioning of the Court and ways and means of removing them, including an exploration of additional possibilities for uses of the Court that have not yet been adequately explored.

The Assembly decided on September 18 to include the item on the agenda and allocated it to the Sixth Committee which considered it at 16 meetings between October 29 and November 18.

The U.S. Representative, Senator Javits, spoke on the first day of the debate stressing not only the importance of the Court as the principal judicial organ of the United Nations, but also the fact that it had been little used in recent years. He expressed U.S. concern about this situation and said that his government was giving increased attention to ways in which more legal business might be brought to the Court. He recalled that Secretary of State Rogers had, *inter alia*, (1) directed the Department of State to "examine every treaty we negotiate with a view to accepting, wherever appropriate, the jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice with respect to disputes arising under the treaty"; and (2) directed that whenever disputes arose with other countries the United States should "give active consideration to the possibility of submitting them to the International Court of Justice."

The U.S. Representative supported the proposed review of the Court but emphasized that the United States had no preconceived ideas on the results of the review. He put forth in some detail, however, a number of suggestions for improving the functioning of the Court and enhancing

its use as a forum for the peaceful settlement of disputes. These included recommendations that the Court (1) decide expeditiously and at the outset of litigations all questions relating to jurisdiction and other preliminary issues; (2) apply more stringent standards in deciding whether to grant requests for extensions of time; (3) speed up both the written and oral phases of proceedings; and (4) make greater use of summary chambers in order to speed litigation. The U.S. Representative also proposed that parties to disputes be allowed and encouraged to request advisory opinions from the Court, and that additional intergovernmental international organizations—particularly regional organizations—be authorized to have access to the Court.

The United States joined with 21 others in cosponsoring a draft resolution that would have (1) established a 25-member *ad hoc* committee on the role of the Court; (2) invited states to submit comments to the Secretary-General by June 1971; (3) invited the Court to state its views; and (4) requested the *ad hoc* committee to submit a preliminary report to the 26th General Assembly.

However, in the course of the debate it became apparent that many members, while not opposing the idea of an *ad hoc* committee, felt it was premature to establish one before governments and the Court had had the opportunity to submit their comments. It was also noted that the Court was currently engaged in reviewing its Rules and that it might be well to await the outcome of that review before proceeding.

After informal consultation a consensus agreement based on the 22-power draft, but extensively modified by amendments proposed by seven African states and France, was developed and adopted by acclamation on November 18. It was subsequently adopted unanimously by

the Assembly in plenary session on December 15.

In its final form the resolution recognized, in a preambular paragraph, the "desirability of finding ways and means of enhancing the effectiveness of the Court," and in its principal operative paragraphs (1) invited states to submit to the Secretary-General by July 1, 1971, their views and suggestions concerning the role of the Court based on a questionnaire to be prepared by the Secretary-General; (2) invited the Court to give its views if it wished; (3) requested the Secretary-General to pre-

pare a comprehensive report in light of the opinions expressed; and (4) decided to include the item in the provisional agenda of the 26th Assembly "with a view to taking such appropriate measures as may seem desirable."

Although the United States would have preferred establishing a study committee during the 25th Assembly, it was glad to join in a unanimous resolution which called for a certain amount of concrete action and looked forward to additional positive action at the next Assembly.

## International Law Commission

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The International Law Commission, established by the General Assembly in 1948 to promote the codification and progressive development of international law, is composed of 25 experts, elected by the Assembly for 5-year terms, who serve in their individual capacities. A U.S. national has been a member of the Commission since its establishment in 1948. The present U.S. national member, Richard D. Kearney, was elected to the Commission by the 21st General Assembly in 1966.

In discharging its functions, the Commission studies topics it believes suitable for codification or which other UN bodies, usually the General Assembly, refer to it. It selects one of its members to prepare a report and, following a preliminary discussion, generally requests the rapporteur to prepare draft articles on the subject. After discussing the draft articles, the Commission adopts tentative texts which are sent to governments for review. Following reconsid-

eration in light of the government comments, the Commission adopts final texts and forwards them to the General Assembly.

When the General 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, may review the articles itself, may note them, or may remand them to the Commission for further study.

At its 22d session held in Geneva May 24–July 10 the Commission continued its work on three topics: relations between states and international organizations, succession of states in respect of treaties, and state responsibility. Work on the first topic is the furthest advanced.

The Commission adopted 66 articles dealing with relations between states and international organizations. The articles adopted in 1970 concern permanent observer missions to international organizations and



delegations of states to sessions of organs and to conferences. They complement articles adopted in 1968 and 1969 concerning functions and responsibilities of a permanent mission to international organizations including such matters as size and composition of the mission, credentials, accreditation, and notifications to the organization and the host country; facilities; and privileges and immunities of permanent missions. A second reading of the articles in the light of the comments of governments is expected to conclude the Commission's work on this topic.

Succession of states in respect of treaties deals with the extent to which treaties previously concluded and applicable with respect to a territory continue to apply after a change in sovereignty over that territory as, for example, when a colonial territory becomes independent. The Commission discussed two reports containing 12 articles on this subject and reached general agreement on the proposals submitted by the special rapporteur. The Commission intends to complete the first reading of the articles on this aspect of succession at its 1971 session.

A second aspect of succession, in respect of matters other than treaties, is also on the Commission's agenda. However, the Commission found it necessary to defer consideration of that topic.

The third principal topic considered by the Commission was state responsibility. The Commission's present approach to the subject represents a shift from the emphasis on the responsibility for injury to aliens which characterized its earlier work on the topic. The Commission has decided that its present study of international responsibility of states will comprise two separate phases: the first will cover the origin of state responsibility; the second, the content

of that responsibility. In the first phase the Commission proposes to determine what facts and circumstances must be established in order to be able to impute to a state the existence of an internationally wrongful act which, as such, gives rise to international responsibility. In the second phase the Commission proposes to determine the consequences attached by international law to an internationally wrongful act in different cases. On the basis of its determination of the consequences in different cases it proposes to arrive at a definition of the content, forms, and degrees of state responsibility.

The Commission also began consideration of the question of treaties concluded between states and international organizations or between two or more international organizations, a topic with which it had been asked to deal by the UN Conference on the Law of Treaties and by the 24th General Assembly. The Commission decided to include the topic on its program of work and appointed a subcommittee to consider the preliminary problems involved in the study of this new topic. The Commission subsequently approved the proposals of the subcommittee and called for the preparation of a number of relevant documents for the use of members of the Commission at its 1971 session.

On November 12 the General Assembly adopted by a vote of 100 (U.S.) to 3, with 10 abstentions, a resolution that, *inter alia*, (1) expressed the Assembly's appreciation for the Commission's work, particularly the preparation of drafts that had served as the basis for the adoption of important codification conventions; (2) approved its work program for 1971; and (3) requested that the records of the Assembly's discussions be forwarded to the Commission.

# 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 third session took place in Geneva April 6-30.

## International Sale of Goods

This topic was divided into three subtopics: uniform rules governing the international sale of goods, time limits and limitations (prescription) in the field of international sale of goods, and general conditions of sale and standard contracts.

A diplomatic conference held at The Hague in 1964 adopted conventions relating to a Uniform Law on the International Sale of Goods and to a Uniform Law on the Formation of Contracts for the International Sale of Goods. Although only five ratifications are required, neither of the conventions had entered into force by the end of 1970. The United States, which participated in the conference, has always believed that the uniform law on sales had a number of major weaknesses when applied to international trade involving overseas shipment. Thus, when the UN Secretary-General circulated two questionnaires asking governments

whether they intended to ratify or accede to the Hague Conventions, the United States was among the countries expressing the view that the conventions should be revised in order to make them widely acceptable. Other countries, however, argued for retaining the 1964 texts. In view of the various opinions expressed, the Commission decided to request the Secretary-General to complete an analysis of the comments of governments to lay before an UNCITRAL working group on sales that would consider revisions to make the conventions more generally acceptable.

The United States is one of the 14 members of the working group which held its first meeting January 5-16 in New York and recommended some changes on such matters as how the Uniform Law on the International Sale of Goods should be applied to transactions involving states not parties to the convention and the circumstances under which a contract could be canceled for nonpayment. However, it was unable to reach agreement on several issues. UNCITRAL subsequently requested the group to continue its work and, instead of considering selected items, to consider the Uniform Law systematically, chapter by chapter.

The purpose of the work on time limits and limitations (prescription) in the field of international sale of goods is to harmonize the rules relating to the period for raising claims in connection with international sales transactions. A principal problem in achieving uniformity in this area is that generally in civil law countries the rules relating to time limits and limitations are considered part of the substantive law, whereas in common law countries they are considered part of procedural law. In 1969

<sup>1</sup> The members of UNCITRAL in 1970 were Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Congo (Kinshasa), Czechoslovakia, France, Ghana, Hungary, India, Iran, Italy, Japan, Kenya, Mexico, Nigeria, Norway, Romania, Spain, Syria, Tanzania, Thailand, Tunisia, U.S.S.R., U.A.R., United Kingdom, and United States.

UNCITRAL referred the topic to a seven-member working group. The draft convention prepared by the working group received preliminary consideration at the 1970 session.

The United States believes that greater use of general conditions of sale by parties to international contracts would, as a practical matter, promote the unification of the law of international trade. There was general agreement in UNCITRAL that the wider use of such conditions would be desirable. Some members of the Commission urged that the regional economic commissions be encouraged to formulate new general conditions which would be appropriate for regional use. The Commission unanimously decided to study the feasibility of developing general conditions embracing a wider scope of commodities than were covered by existing general conditions.

## International Payments

This agenda item was divided into three subtopics: negotiable instruments, bankers' commercial credits, and guarantees and securities.

The Commission had before it a report of the Secretary-General which analyzed 78 replies from governments and banking and trade institutions to a questionnaire on negotiable instruments which he had circulated pursuant to a decision taken at the second session of UNCITRAL. The replies contained a variety of information concerning present methods and practice for making and receiving international payments and the problems encountered in settling international transactions by means of negotiable instruments. With regard to those problems the United States and a number of other respondents suggested that the task of traders and bankers would be simplified if uni-

formity were to be achieved in respect of the rules relating to the formal requisites of negotiable instruments, forgery, protest and notice of dishonor, and the manner of proving nonacceptance or nonpayment.

The Commission reexamined the possible ways of promoting unification of the law of negotiable instruments and unanimously decided to develop a convention setting forth rules that would be applicable to a special negotiable instrument for use in international transactions. Uniform rules embodied in such a convention would apply only to an instrument bearing a heading indicating that it was subject to those rules.

The Commission authorized the Secretary-General to obtain further information regarding the possible content of rules applicable to an optional negotiable instrument for use in international transactions and to continue to consult with interested international organizations which could assist in carrying out the Commission's work.

During its consideration of bankers' commercial credits UNCITRAL welcomed the report from the International Chamber of Commerce that the latter had appointed a working party for the revision of the 1962 version of the Uniform Customs and Practice for Documentary Credits. Several representatives expressed the opinion that certain of the rules were subject to different interpretations and that the report did not adequately deal with conditional payments under the documentary credit system.

The Commission decided to request the Secretary-General to invite governments and interested banking and trade institutions to communicate their observations on the operation of the Uniform Customs, so that the International Chamber of Commerce might take them into consideration in revising that document.



## International Legislation on Shipping

After agreeing that it should play a significant role in the field of international shipping legislation, the Commission discussed the relationship between UNCITRAL and UNCTAD and other organizations concerned. A number of representatives maintained that the primary concern of UNCTAD should be the economic and financial aspects of shipping legislation, while UNCITRAL was principally concerned with preparing uniform laws or other legal texts.

An observer from UNCTAD told UNCITRAL that UNCTAD had prepared questionnaires on bills of lading for governments, insurance associations, carriers, and shippers, and had engaged experts and consultants to assist it in obtaining information on problems in the field. The Commission decided to send a representative to the UNCTAD meeting at which this topic would be discussed. It further decided that the UNCITRAL working group on shipping should take account of any UNCTAD recommendations based on those materials.

## Friendly Relations

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On October 24, the final day of its 25th anniversary commemorative session, the General Assembly approved by acclamation the "Declaration on Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Cooperation Among States in Accordance with the Charter of the United Nations."

The Declaration is an elaboration

## International Commercial Arbitration

UNCITRAL unanimously reaffirmed its 1969 opinion that the largest possible number of states should adhere to the 1958 UN Convention on the Recognition and Enforcement of Foreign Arbitral Awards. The United States completed its process of accession during 1970 and the Convention entered into force for the United States on December 29.

## General Assembly Action

On November 12 the General Assembly unanimously recommended, *inter alia*, that UNCITRAL continue to (1) work on its priority topics, (2) promote training and assistance in international trade law, (3) collaborate with international organizations in the field, (4) ensure full consideration of commercial practices and needs of all regions, and (5) give special consideration to the interests of developing and landlocked countries.

of fundamental Charter principles and includes:

1. The principle that states shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations.

2. The principle that states shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security and justice are not endangered.

3. The principle concerning the duty not to intervene in matters within the domestic jurisdiction of any state, in accordance with the Charter.

4. The duty of states to cooperate with one another in accordance with the Charter.

5. The principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples.

6. The principle of sovereign equality of states.

7. The principle that states shall fulfill in good faith the obligations assumed by them in accordance with the Charter.

The Declaration was drafted by a special committee<sup>1</sup> created by the General Assembly in 1963 and assigned the task of reviewing the basic international law principles contained in the UN Charter to see whether agreement on more detailed statements of those principles could be reached. From the beginning of the negotiations in 1963 the United States had made clear its position that the committee should try to achieve an objective analysis and elaboration of the Charter principles and should not attempt to amend or revise the Charter. The United States was not prepared to circumvent, under the guise of Charter analysis, the amendment provisions contained in article 108 or the ratification requirements of the U.S. Constitution.

<sup>1</sup> The members of the Special Committee on Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Cooperation Among States in Accordance with the United Nations Charter are: Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Burma, Cameroon, Canada, Chile, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, France, Ghana, Guatemala, India, Italy, Japan, Kenya, Lebanon, Malagasy Republic, Mexico, Netherlands, Nigeria, Poland, Romania, Sweden, Syria, U.S.S.R., U.A.R., United Kingdom, United States, Venezuela, and Yugoslavia.

The special committee recognized from the beginning that to produce a meaningful declaration of the law it must proceed by consensus. Progress was, therefore, slow, but the unanimity thus achieved gave a significance and reliability to the Declaration not otherwise possible.

After 7 years of negotiations the 31-member special committee in August 1970 unanimously approved texts on each of the principles. The report of the special committee was considered by the Sixth Committee of the 25th General Assembly and after considerable discussion approved without objection on September 28 and forwarded to the plenary Assembly.

In a general part the Declaration states that in their interpretation and application the principles "are inter-related and each principle should be construed in the context of the other principles." It further states that:

Nothing in this Declaration shall be construed as prejudicing in any manner the provisions of the Charter or the rights and duties of member states under the Charter or the rights of peoples under the Charter taking into account the elaboration of these rights in this Declaration . . . .

The elaborated texts are detailed and lengthy. Some of the more important portions of them are discussed below.

## Threat or Use of Force

The most difficult accomplishment of the Special Committee was its elaboration of the prohibition in article 2(4) of the Charter against the threat or use of force in international relations. The Declaration spells out the consequences of the prohibition by emphasizing not only the illegality of conventional armed attack but also the illegality of sending armed bands across borders and of participating in terrorism or civil strife in another state. The Declaration states that:

Every state has the duty to refrain from organizing, instigating, assisting or participating in acts of civil strife or terrorist acts in another state or acquiescing in organized activities within its territory directed towards the commission of such acts, when the acts referred to in the present paragraph involve a threat or use of force.

It adds further that illegal use of force is no less illegal across an international line of demarcation than it is across an ancient and recognized state frontier.

During the Sixth Committee's consideration of the Declaration the U.S. Representative, Mr. Gimer, reiterated the U.S. position that the prohibition against war propaganda, also included in the text, relates to the conduct, activities, and statements of governments, not individuals or nongovernmental groups or organizations. The text speaks of a duty of states, which is consistent with the fact that in general the Charter asserts the rights and duties of states, not individuals. The U.S. Representative also noted that the elaboration of this principle does not deal with such questions as the furnishing of military assistance to another state.

## Peaceful Settlement of Disputes

Article 2(3) of the Charter requires all UN members to settle their international disputes by peaceful means, which will not endanger the maintenance of international peace and security. Article 33 requires parties to a dispute likely to endanger international peace and security to seek, first of all, a solution by "negotiation, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements, or other peaceful means of their own choice."

### *Friendly Relations*

The elaboration of this principle, virtually identical to that agreed by the special committee in 1966, corresponds to the Charter obligation to refrain "from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations." A most significant contribution of this elaboration is the express assertion that:

Recourse to, or acceptance of, a settlement procedure freely agreed to by states with regard to existing or future disputes to which they are parties shall not be regarded as incompatible with sovereign equality.

This provision was intended to resolve the fear of states that agreement to submit disputes to binding third party adjudication could derogate from their sovereignty.

## Nonintervention

The Declaration spells out the principle that no state or group of states has a right to intervene in matters within the domestic jurisdiction of any other state. The elaboration of this principle is patterned in part on the Charter of the Organization of American States which has been part of U.S. treaty law for nearly two decades. In the elaboration of the principle the legitimacy of action in individual or collective self-defense or in accordance with regional arrangements provisions of the UN Charter is preserved by the following statement:

Nothing in the foregoing paragraphs shall be construed as affecting the relevant provisions of the Charter relating to the maintenance of international peace and security.

This elaboration also states that no state may use economic, political, or any other type of measures to coerce another state in order to obtain from it the subordination of its sovereign



rights and to secure from it advantages of any kind. This statement is patterned on article 19 of the OAS Charter.

The nonintervention elaboration goes beyond the OAS Charter in its treatment of subversion:

Also, no state shall organize, assist, foment, finance, incite or tolerate subversive, terrorist or armed activities directed towards the violent overthrow of the regime of another state, or interfere in civil strife in another state.

## Cooperation Among States

The elaboration of this principle, agreed to by the special committee in 1967, emphasized the duty of states to cooperate in promoting human rights and fundamental freedoms, international cultural and educational progress, and economic growth throughout the world. The Declaration states that regardless of differences in their political, economic, and social systems, states have a duty to cooperate in order to maintain international peace and security and to promote international economic stability and progress, and the general welfare of nations.

In addition the Declaration expressly says that

States shall conduct their international relations in the economic, social, cultural, technical and trade fields in accordance with the principles of sovereign equality and nonintervention.

Finally, the Declaration asserts that

States members of the United Nations have the duty to take joint and separate action in cooperation with the United Nations in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter.

During the Sixth Committee's debate, Mr. Gimer expressed the U.S. view that since the duty to cooperate is premised on the idea of reciprocity, a failure to cooperate cannot legiti-

mately be asserted by a state that has itself failed or been unwilling to engage in cooperation with the state whose conduct it would denounce.

## Equal Rights and Self-Determination

The Declaration states that:

. . . all peoples have the right freely to determine, without external interference, their political status and to pursue their economic, social and cultural development, and every state has the duty to respect this right in accordance with the provisions of the Charter.

The right to self-determination is stated as applying universally and not only within a traditional colonial context. The fulfillment of that right is further defined in a paragraph which reads:

The establishment of a sovereign and independent state, the free association or integration with an independent state or the emergence into any other political status freely determined by a people constitute modes of implementing the right of self-determination by that people.

The elaboration of this principle also says that states have a duty to refrain from using force to deprive people of their right to self-determination, and that peoples seeking to exercise that right are entitled to seek and receive support in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter when such force is used against them. However, these duties and rights arise only in a context where such force is being used to suppress those peoples; the Declaration does not refer to the use of force simply to maintain order. The Declaration also states that nothing in this elaboration shall be construed as authorizing or encouraging

. . . any action which would dismember or impair, totally or in part, the territorial integrity or political unity

of sovereign and independent states conducting themselves in compliance with the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples as described above and thus possessed of a government representing the whole people belonging to the territory without distinction as to race, creed or color.

This statement comes remarkably close to being a commitment to representative government.

## Sovereign Equality

The essence of this principle, agreed by the special committee in 1966, is that all states have sovereign equality including both equal rights and equal duties, "notwithstanding differences of an economic, social, political or other nature."

The elaboration of this principle specifically asserts that

Each state has the right freely to choose and develop its political, social, economic and cultural systems;

and, in addition, that

Each state has the duty to comply fully and in good faith with its international obligations and to live in peace with other states.

## Good Faith Fulfillment

The elaboration of this principle, agreed by the special committee in 1967, states that "Every state has the duty to fulfill in good faith the obligations assumed by it in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations" as well as "its obligations under the generally recognized principles and rules of international law" and "under international agreements valid under the generally recognized principles and rules of international law."

This principle is closely related to the one concerning the equal rights and duties of states. These two principles are of the greatest significance to the conduct of relations between states and are the basis of treaty relations. Without confidence that agreements will be fulfilled in good faith, little reliance could be placed on such agreements and the stability of relations among states would be seriously undermined. On the other hand, adherence to these principles can promote greater cooperation among states and encourage states to work out their differences in an orderly and peaceful manner.

## Definition of Aggression

The Special Committee on the Question of Defining Aggression,<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Members of the Committee are Algeria, Australia, Bulgaria, Canada, Colombia, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Congo (Kinshasa), Ecuador, 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., U.A.R., United Kingdom, United States, Uruguay, and Yugoslavia.

established by the 22d General Assembly in 1967, held its third meeting in Geneva, July 13–August 14. It continued its consideration of the three draft definitions that had been introduced during the 1969 session: (1) one submitted by the U.S.S.R.; (2) one submitted by Colombia, Cyprus, Ecuador, Ghana, Guyana, Haiti, Iran, Malagasy Republic, Mexico,

Spain, Uganda, Uruguay, and Yugoslavia—a revision of a 1968 draft; and (3) one submitted by Australia, Canada, Italy, Japan, the United Kingdom, and the United States—including a new preamble submitted on July 16, 1970.

Following a general discussion of the three drafts the Committee decided on August 7 to establish an eight-member working group (Cyprus, Ecuador, France, Ghana, U.S.S.R., U.A.R., U.K., and U.S.) to formulate an agreed or generally acceptable definition, or, failing that, to report its assessment of the progress made during the session, indicating both the points of agreement and disagreement.

Neither the Special Committee nor the working group succeeded in formulating a definition, although some progress was made in reducing areas of disagreement. The Committee agreed that the general definition should reflect the concept of aggression as contained in the UN Charter, and Committee members made constructive efforts to reach a meaningful, authoritative, and mutually advantageous definition.

On August 14 the Special Committee unanimously adopted a resolution submitted by Bulgaria which noted "the progress made by the Special Committee and the fact that it did not have sufficient time to complete its task" and recommended that the 25th General Assembly invite the Committee "to resume its work as early as possible in 1971."

The General Assembly considered the report of the Special Committee between October 16 and November 3. On October 20 the U.S. Representative, Mr. Gimer, noted the progress that had been made as the result of members becoming more open to other points of view and differing interpretations. He cited two examples: "intent" and "priority." The U.S.-co-

sponsored draft made intent an indispensable element of an act of aggression, while neither of the other two drafts referred to it. However, by the end of the 1970 session, he said, "there began to emerge the very general appraisal that, in determining whether an act of aggression has occurred, the Security Council should consider the apparent and latent intentions and purposes that motivated the state or states involved."

Both the Soviet and the 13-power drafts included a principle of priority whereby the state first using armed force is deemed the aggressor. The United States and its cosponsors had long emphasized that a simple and unvarying priority principle would be wrong in law and harmful in application. However, during the 1970 session, they agreed for the first time that the identity of the state first resorting to armed force is "among the elements the Security Council may properly wish to consider in any particular case."

Nevertheless, the U.S. Representative stressed that much hard work remained, and he emphasized that "in order to have significant legal and political value, a definition of aggression must be capable of attracting overwhelming support among the members of the United Nations. In short, a definition must be a consensus definition."

On November 25 the General Assembly adopted without objection a resolution, recommended by its Sixth Committee, directing the Special Committee to meet again as early as possible in 1971. The United States had opposed a similar resolution in 1969 because it called for the meeting to be in Geneva, thus increasing the cost by more than \$100,000. Since it was agreed that the 1971 session would meet at UN Headquarters in New York, the United States was able to support the resolution.



# Aircraft Hijacking

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Efforts that began within the UN system in 1969 to deal with the problem of aircraft hijacking were carried on in ICAO (see p. 149), the Security Council, and the General Assembly during 1970.

During the Labor Day weekend members of an extremist Palestinian organization hijacked three western airliners to Jordan and made an abortive attempt on an El Al flight. A BOAC flight was hijacked a few days later, and the passengers, crews, and planes were all held under guard by this Palestinian group, which demanded the release of certain Palestinians held under criminal charges in the Federal Republic of Germany, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, and Israel. Some 425 hostages, including a large number of Americans, were involved.

## Security Council

In the face of this serious situation, the United States and United Kingdom on September 9 requested urgent consideration of the hijacking problem by the Security Council. In his letter to the Council President, Ambassador Yost asked that the Council be convened without delay "to consider the situation created by increasing incidents involving the hijacking of commercial aircraft engaged in international commerce and the threat to the lives of innocent travellers."

The Council met the same day and unanimously approved, without a vote, a consensus resolution developed during preliminary consultations among members.

In introducing the resolution, the Council President stressed the humanitarian nature of the proposal, which (1) appealed "to all parties

concerned for the immediate release of all passengers and crews without exception, held as a result of hijackings and other interference in international travel"; and (2) called on states "to take all possible legal steps to prevent further hijackings or any other interference with international civil air travel." In accordance with a decision taken earlier on a motion by Finland, the Council adjourned without debate after adopting the resolution.

In a press statement issued following the meeting, Ambassador Yost welcomed the Council's prompt action and expressed the hope that those to whom the appeal was addressed would heed the Council, which spoke for the whole community of nations. All of the hostages were eventually released, but the four planes were destroyed by their captors.

## General Assembly

The Sixth Committee considered the question of aerial hijacking at 11 meetings between October 13 and November 19. On the latter date it adopted by a vote of 99 (U.S.) to 0, with 10 abstentions (Algeria, Cuba, Guinea, Iraq, Libya, Mali, Saudi Arabia, Southern Yemen, Syria, and Yemen), a resolution that had been introduced by the Philippines and the Netherlands and sponsored by 34 states in all. The General Assembly in plenary session adopted the resolution on November 25 by a vote of 105 (U.S.) to 0, with 8 abstentions.

In its final form the resolution (1) condemned "without exception whatsoever" all acts of hijacking or other interference with civil air travel and all acts of violence directed against passengers, crew, and air-

craft engaged in, and air navigation facilities and communications facilities used by, civil air transport; (2) called upon states to take all appropriate measures to deter, prevent, or suppress such acts within their jurisdiction and to provide for the prosecution and punishment of persons who perpetrate such acts; (3) declared that the exploitation of unlawful seizure of aircraft to take hostages was to be condemned; (4) declared that the unlawful detention of passengers and crew was to be condemned; (5) urged states where aircraft are diverted to provide for the care and safety of passengers and crew, to enable them to continue their journey as soon as practicable, and to return the aircraft and its cargo to the persons lawfully entitled to possession; (6) invited states to ratify or accede to the 1963 Convention on Offenses and Certain Other Acts Committed on Board Aircraft; (7) requested concerted action

by states toward suppression of all acts which jeopardize the safe and orderly development of international civil air transport; (8) called upon states to take joint and separate action to ensure that passengers, crew, and aircraft engaged in civil aviation are not used as a means of extorting advantage of any kind; (9) urged full support for the current efforts of ICAO toward the development and coordination of effective measures with respect to interference with civil air travel; and (10) called upon states to make every possible effort to achieve a successful result at the diplomatic conference convened at The Hague in December for the purpose of adopting a convention on the unlawful seizure of aircraft.

Such a convention was signed by the United States and 49 other states on December 16. It will come into force when it has been ratified by 10 states.

## Assistance in International Law

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The Sixth Committee considered the question, "UN Program of Assistance in the Teaching, Study, Dissemination, and Wider Appreciation of International Law," at five meetings between November 18 and 30.

Ecuador introduced a draft resolution, sponsored by 13 states, which in its final form *inter alia* authorized the Secretary-General to provide 15 fellowships for study of international law at the request of governments of developing countries, to provide current UN legal publications to certain institutions in developing countries, and to provide travel grants for one participant from each developing country invited to the regional symposium in Africa and to the regional training course in Latin America.

The resolution also requested the Secretary-General to continue his efforts to promote training and assistance in international trade law, to report to the Assembly at its 26th session on the implementation of the 1971 program, and to submit recommendations regarding the execution of the program in 1972 and subsequent years.

The United States abstained on the paragraph providing for the travel grants, but supported the resolution as a whole which was adopted on November 30 by a vote of 85 to 0, with 7 abstentions. The Assembly in plenary session approved the resolution on December 11 by a vote of 92 (U.S.) to 0, with 11 abstentions.

## Part V

# *Budgetary and Administrative Matters*

## UN Budget and Administration

The initial UN budget estimates for calendar year 1971 were presented to the 25th General Assembly's Fifth Committee (Administrative and Budgetary) by the Secretary-General on October 5, 1970. The estimates, which took into account reductions proposed by the ACABQ,<sup>1</sup> called for gross expenditures of \$184 million, compared with \$168.4 million appropriated for 1970 and \$156.7 million spent in 1969.

In making his presentation the Secretary-General noted that a number of further proposals involving additional requirements would have to be presented in the course of the Assembly. These additions were expected to raise the total appropriation to \$199.7 million, an increase of 18.5% over 1970. He stated that he had been satisfied that his estimates represented the most careful analysis of the organization's requirements and that under normal circumstances it would not be necessary to depart from them to any marked degree. However, given the unexpectedly high percentage increase he was persuaded that, in the light of three general considerations, a careful and critical reassessment of the immediate financial needs was called for.

<sup>1</sup> Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions, an expert body of 12 members appointed by the General Assembly for 3-year terms. Albert F. Bender of the United States is a member.

The first consideration was the increasing gravity of the UN financial position. A main cause of this was that certain governments continued to withhold contributions apportioned under the regular budget for the cost of servicing UN bonds and for other activities which they claimed were improperly included in the regular budget. In addition, the amounts owed by slow payers continued to rise.

The second consideration was the difficulty that might be experienced by a large number of member states in adjusting to the sharp rise in the level of the budget.

The third consideration was the need to review staff requirements for the Secretariat. The Administrative Management Service continued to make progress in the manpower utilization survey of all offices and departments that had been called for by the 23d General Assembly in 1968; it was scheduled to review the remaining units by the end of 1971. With respect to those units already surveyed, by and large no significant net increase in existing levels would be involved. The Secretary-General was therefore persuaded that no great risk would be involved in maintaining all offices and departments throughout 1971 at the level approved for 1970.

Taking these considerations into account the Secretary-General proposed to reduce the total require-



ments substantially by (1) maintaining the total level of staff resources in 1971 at that approved for 1970, and (2) taking every possible administrative measure to reduce the cash requirements in 1971 for implementing the various construction plans that the Assembly had approved in principle.

With respect to the UN financial situation, the Secretary-General again strongly urged the members to find the means to restore the solvency of the United Nations and to ensure that it has a sound financial basis in the future.

Representatives of 48 member states spoke during the general discussion of the 1971 budget. They generally applauded the Secretary-General's action in effecting a substantial budget cut beyond that recommended by the ACABQ. Some delegations, however, reserved judgment until it was determined just what sectors of the budget would be affected by the Secretary-General's decision.

## U.S. Statement

On October 21 the Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs, Samuel De Palma, addressed the Committee and welcomed the Secretary-General's statement urging progress in the resolution of the financial problem. He congratulated the Secretary-General for his initiative in reexamining the total potential requirement for 1971 and for his courage and realism in proposing a substantial reduction. The United States would support him on this point.

In addition, however, the U.S. Representative proposed that the appropriation for documentation costs—about \$20 million annually—be reduced by up to \$1 million. He also suggested that there be significantly fewer conferences and a stricter

limitation on the number held at locations where costs exceeded those at Headquarters.

With respect to the need for coordinating the budgetary practices and policies of the entire UN family of organizations, Mr. De Palma said:

The United States delegation believes that the time has come when each organization in the United Nations family must begin to see itself more as a member of the United Nations system and less as an independent entity. . . . The budget of the United Nations cannot be considered in isolation from the budgets of the specialized agencies. Nor can any of the specialized agencies look at their budgets and programs without regard to the budgets and programs of the other specialized agencies or the United Nations.

Citing the provisions of the Charter dealing with examination and coordination of the budgets of the specialized agencies by the General Assembly, Mr. De Palma urged the Committee to give greater priority to this annual agenda item. He also suggested expanding the work program of the ACABQ to allow it more time to deal with improving budgetary and administrative practices on the part of all organizations in the UN system.

The U.S. Representative also favored the movement toward program budgeting to the extent that the necessary preconditions and organizational framework existed to make use of this potentially valuable tool. He identified the establishment of priorities as a key issue vitally affecting the future of the organization, and stressed that the Fifth Committee could and should examine priorities and other substantive aspects in much greater detail in the future. He further suggested setting up a central mechanism for the effective, independent evaluation of the activities of the entire UN system.

He proposed reactivating the *Ad Hoc* Committee of Experts to Examine the Finances of the United Nations and the Specialized Agen-

cies<sup>1</sup> and charging it with studying and recommending measures for dealing with the problems he had mentioned.

Turning to personnel policy, the U.S. Representative called for special efforts on the part of the Secretariat to recruit more professional trainees and to establish imaginative training and career development programs. He expressed concern that many young people decline to accept employment because of the lack of prospects for a satisfying career in a system which has failed to move significantly in the direction of proper staff training and career development programs.

He also expressed disappointment with the report of the International Civil Service Advisory Board (ICSAB) that recommended an 8% salary increase for UN professional employees. Commenting that ICSAB appeared to have misgivings about its own report, he noted its admission that UN salaries in New York were already higher than those of the U.S. national civil service. Moreover, ICSAB was recommending a salary increase in Geneva although the real wages of officials of international organizations there were also higher than the U.S. civil service. Using the January 1, 1970, base date employed in the report, one found that net UN salaries in New York exceeded those of the U.S. civil service by 10 to 26% ;

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<sup>1</sup> Fourteen member states appointed by the President of the 20th General Assembly pursuant to a resolution of Dec. 13, 1965. Members of the Committee, which completed its work in 1966, were Argentina, Brazil, Canada, France, Hungary, India, Italy, Japan, Nigeria, Senegal, U.S.S.R., U.A.R., United Kingdom, and United States. On Dec. 9, 1971, the United States and the other members of the *Ad Hoc* Committee (except India and Senegal) introduced a draft resolution to reactivate the committee. Many states believed that there was inadequate time to discuss this proposal, however, and on Dec. 14 the sponsors agreed not to press it to a vote on the understanding that it would be given priority consideration at the 26th session of the General Assembly.

the adjusted figures for Geneva revealed salary levels 12 to 23% above the U.S. service.

Other disturbing features of the ICSAB report were its failure to relate the recommended salary increase in any demonstrable fashion to the problems of recruitment and retention of qualified staff, its continued linking of the UN salary system to that of the U.S. civil service even though doubts concerning the justification for such linkage have been expressed for years, and its assumption that relative changes in real income were the most valid factor for determining whether increases were justified. All things considered, the United States was not persuaded that the ICSAB recommendation was a sound one.

In closing, the U.S. Representative noted that although he had discussed the negative aspects of UN administrative and budgetary problems, the United States did not overlook the organization's achievements:

I believe sincerely that we have a sound base upon which we can build if we dedicate ourselves seriously to the task of solving major problems such as those which I have discussed today.

## Conferences and Documentation

The Fifth Committee considered the question of conferences on December 5 and adopted without objection a draft resolution sponsored by Canada, Czechoslovakia, Japan, and New Zealand that approved the UN calendar of conferences and meetings for 1971 as submitted by the Secretary-General, and called on the Secretary-General to present proposals for the most rational and economic use of administrative premises and staff involved in conference services. The resolution was approved without objection by the General Assembly in plenary session on December 11.

The Committee considered the question of publications and documentation on December 9 and 10. Belgium, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Liberia, New Zealand, the Philippines, and Poland cosponsored a draft resolution requesting the Secretary-General to continue his efforts to reduce documentation, inviting the Joint Inspection Unit to examine and report on the program of recurrent UN publications, and reiterating the Assembly's appeal to all organs, bodies, and committees to consider ways of reducing documentation.

On December 10 the United States introduced an amendment which would have requested the Secretary-General to try to save \$1 million on documentation during 1971 and to submit to the next Assembly an itemized report of the savings achieved. The Fifth Committee adopted the U.S. amendment by a vote of 17 to 12, with 42 abstentions, and the resolution as a whole by 58 to 0, with 16 abstentions.

However, a number of countries felt that the U.S. language was too restrictive and in plenary on December 16, on the initiative of Brazil, Guyana, India, Indonesia, Pakistan, the Philippines, and Tanzania, it was deleted. By a vote of 78 to 17 (U.S.), with 19 abstentions, the seven-power amendment was adopted which merely requested the Secretary-General to continue, without detriment to the UN work programs, his efforts to reduce documentation expenditures in areas within his competence, "keeping in mind the suggestions specifically made in the Fifth Committee for greater economy in this regard." The resolution as amended was adopted by a vote of 118 (U.S.) to 0, with 1 abstention.

## Personnel

The proposed 8% salary increase was the most contentious issue before the Fifth Committee during its con-

sideration of the budget. The ACABQ, after close examination of the ICSAB proposal, recommended that the raise be deferred from January 1 to July 1, 1971, and that no further pay raises be considered until completion of a review of the UN salary system. The Fifth Committee devoted 22 meetings between November 12 and December 2 to this issue.

The United States, supported principally by Canada, Japan, the Eastern European countries, and a few of the developing countries, opposed the 8% increase as excessive for the reasons outlined by Assistant Secretary De Palma on October 21 (see above). On November 20 the United States proposed an interim increase of 5%, to take effect on July 1, while a complete review of the UN salary system was being undertaken as the ACABQ recommended.

After prolonged debate, the Fifth Committee on December 1 decided to give voting priority to the ACABQ proposal, which was then adopted by a vote of 60 to 15 (U.S.), with 23 abstentions. It was adopted by the Assembly in plenary session on December 17 by a vote of 89 to 11 (U.S.), with 15 abstentions.

On November 30 Nigeria introduced a draft resolution, sponsored by 22 states, to establish a Special Committee for the Review of the United Nations Salary System, consisting of government experts from 11 member states to be nominated by the President of the General Assembly. The Special Committee is to review and report to the 26th Assembly on, *inter alia*, the grade structure of the international civil service, the base of the system, the principles that should govern salary scales and other conditions of service, and the level of salaries and allowances. The draft was adopted by the Fifth Committee on December 1 by a vote of 45 (U.S.) to 31, with 21 abstentions, and by the Assembly in plenary session on December 17 by a vote of 104 (U.S.) to 4, with 12 abstentions. On the same



day the Assembly approved the President's nominations of Argentina, France, India, Japan, Niger, Nigeria, Peru, Poland, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, and United States to serve on the Committee.

In a resolution on the composition of the UN Secretariat, introduced by Pakistan and sponsored by 13 states, the General Assembly approved guidelines for the recruitment of staff, the most notable of which was that "special efforts should be made to recruit qualified young men and women for service with the United Nations, through the development of more objective selection methods, such as, wherever appropriate, open competitive examinations . . ." The resolution was approved by the Fifth Committee on December 10 by a vote of 56 (U.S.) to 0, with 14 abstentions, and by the Assembly on December 17 by a vote of 81 (U.S.) to 0, with 13 abstentions.

The Fifth Committee also decided without objection to take note in its report to the Assembly of the underrepresentation of women in the Secretariat. It requested the Secretary-General (1) to encourage governments to make available qualified women to compete for positions of responsibility in the Secretariat, particularly at the senior level, and (2) to continue to ensure that the selection, appointment, and promotion of Secretariat staff at all levels be without distinction as to sex. (See also p. 124.)

## Growth of Budgets

On December 9 India, with seven other cosponsors, introduced a draft resolution on "harmonization and growth of budgets in the UN system." Among other provisions the resolution urged member governments to consider devoting an increasing level of resources to the budgets and voluntary programs of the UN system in

accordance with their relative capacity to pay. The resolution was adopted the same day by a vote of 60 to 10 (U.S.), with 4 abstentions. The U.S. Representative explained that his delegation had voted against the resolution because a decision to increase U.S. contributions could only be made by the U.S. Congress. The resolution was adopted in plenary on December 17 by a vote of 107 to 10 (U.S.), with 3 abstentions.

## Adoption of Budget

After taking into account the additional requirements for funding that were a result of deliberations during its 25th session, the General Assembly on December 17 adopted a gross budget for 1971 of \$192.1 million. The vote was 97 to 10, with 7 abstentions (U.S.). This was the first time that the United States had not voted for a UN budget. It abstained because it believed both the 14% overall increase and the 8% salary increase for professional employees to be excessive.

The final budget for 1971 represented an increase of \$23.7 million over the 1970 appropriations level. More than one-half of the increase—\$12.6 million—was attributable to wages, salaries, and common staff costs needed to maintain the 1970 establishment; \$3.8 million more was appropriated for building and improvements, including funds toward the UN Headquarters expansion project. The remainder of the increase was for higher conference costs, establishment of the International Computer Center in Geneva, rising maintenance and rental costs, and program increases in the economic and social development fields.

After deducting credits due the United States, including UN bond repayments and interest, the U.S. share of total assessments against members for 1971 was \$52,437,700.

# New Effort To Resolve Financial Problems

On December 17, at the close of the 25th General Assembly, the Secretary-General announced that the

President of the General Assembly, Ambassador Edvard Hambro of Norway, had consented to join his good offices with those of the Secretary-General in seeking an acceptable solution to the long-standing problem of the UN deficit.

## Assessments

The U.S. percentage shares of the assessment budgets of the United Nations, the specialized agencies, and the IAEA are listed below:

	1970 Percent	1971 Percent
United Nations . . . . .	31.57	31.52
FAO . . . . .	31.57	31.57
ICAO . . . . .	30.87	30.87
ILO . . . . .	25.00	25.00
IMCO . . . . .	9.06	8.08
ITU . . . . .	11.60	11.58
UNESCO . . . . .	29.73	29.80
UPU . . . . .	4.25	4.22
WHO . . . . .	30.87	30.87
WMO . . . . .	23.89	23.86
IAEA . . . . .	31.50	31.45

floor principle no member state is assessed less than .04%. With respect to the ceiling, the General Assembly decided in 1957, on U.S. initiative, that "in principle, the maximum contribution of any one member state to the ordinary expenses of the United Nations shall not exceed 30% of the total." In accordance with this principle, which is being implemented in stages, the U.S. percentage share was reduced from 33.33% to 31.91% during the period 1957-67, further reduced to 31.57% for 1968-70, and has now been reduced to 31.52% for 1971-73.

## UN Scale

The Committee on Contributions, composed of 12 experts serving in their individual capacities, is responsible for recommending the scale of assessments to the General Assembly on a triennial basis. In 1970 it recommended a scale under which the U.S. assessment was reduced from 31.57% to 31.52%.

The UN scale of assessments, within limits prescribed by floor and ceiling principles and subject to modifications for low per capita national income, is based broadly upon relative capacity to pay, measured by comparison of estimated net national products at market prices. Under the

In presenting the Committee's report on October 26, the Chairman, Ambassador Syed Amjad Ali of Pakistan, noted that the Committee had reported to the previous Assembly on its review of the criteria and guidelines used in fixing the scale of assessments as well as on its terms of reference. The present report reflected both that study and the points raised in last year's Fifth Committee debate on the subject. Since the 24th General Assembly had issued no new directives, the criteria and guidelines used by the Committee and the methods followed for establishing the scale were basically the same as in the past. Throughout its review of the scale the Committee had taken into account the economic and financial problems of the developing countries. As a result, it had ensured that the develop-

ing countries with per capita incomes below \$300 showed no increases in assessment while many showed reductions. With but few exceptions, the same result pertained to developing countries with per capita incomes above \$300 but below \$1,000. In order to facilitate the payment of contributions, the Committee also recommended that the Secretary-General's authority to accept a portion of member states' contributions in currencies other than U.S. dollars should be extended to the years 1971-73.

The Fifth Committee considered the proposed scale of assessments at six meetings between October 26 and November 2, and many delegations complimented the Committee on Contributions on its comprehensive and lucid report.

The U.S. Representative, Senator Claiborne Pell, emphasized the validity of both the floor and ceiling principles in an organization which asserts the concept of the sovereign equality of all its members and of their correlative equal responsibilities. He noted that the reduction of the U.S. share was smaller than in the three preceding scales since 1957, but stated that his government was prepared to accept it.

Several delegations noted with satisfaction the progress toward greater compatibility in the statistical data used as the basis for the Committee's work, and the improvements in the methods for establishing the scale. They looked forward to still further improvements in methods. A number of delegations drew attention to serious floods or other natural catastrophes affecting their national economies, which occurred after the Committee on Contributions had completed its work, and requested a review of their assessment rates in light of these events. The Chairman of the Committee agreed to consider these appeals at the 1971 session of the Committee.

On November 2 the Fifth Committee adopted by a vote of 86 (U.S.) to 0, with 3 abstentions, a resolution approving the new scale of assessments for 1971-73. On December 4 the General Assembly in plenary session adopted the scale without objection.

The General Assembly also, on November 9, reappointed Ambassador Seymour Maxwell Finger of the U.S. Mission to the United Nations as a member of the Committee on Contributions.

## Budgets:

# Specialized Agencies and IAEA

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The adjusted gross budgets of the specialized agencies and IAEA in 1970 totaled \$206.1 million and increased by \$16.5 million in 1971 to \$222.7 million. This 1971 increase of

\$16.5 million compares with an increase of \$19.7 million in 1970 over 1969.

The breakdown of the 1971 budgets is as follows:



<i>Agency</i>	<i>1970 (Adjusted)</i>	<i>1971 (Estimated)</i>	<i>Increase</i>
FAO . . . . .	\$35, 284, 000	<sup>a</sup> \$35, 284, 000	
ICAO . . . . .	8, 447, 573	<sup>b</sup> 9, 809, 359	\$1, 361, 786
ILO . . . . .	30, 750, 000	<sup>a b</sup> 32, 179, 849	1, 429, 849
IMCO . . . . .	1, 258, 888	<sup>a</sup> 1, 448, 106	189, 218
ITU . . . . .	6, 043, 085	6, 397, 099	354, 014
UNESCO . . . . .	39, 456, 750	44, 949, 280	5, 492, 530
UPU . . . . .	1, 592, 814	2, 020, 000	427, 186
WHO <sup>c</sup> . . . . .	67, 650, 000	73, 230, 000	5, 580, 000
WMO . . . . .	3, 418, 216	<sup>d</sup> 3, 605, 577	187, 361
IAEA . . . . .	12, 250, 000	13, 778, 000	1, 528, 000
<b>Total . . . . .</b>	<b>206, 151, 326</b>	<b>222, 701, 270</b>	<b>16, 549, 944</b>

- <sup>a</sup> Second year of biennial budget.
- <sup>b</sup> Includes 1971 supplemental appropriation.
- <sup>c</sup> Effective working budget.
- <sup>d</sup> Fourth year of quadrennial budget.

The increases in the 1971 budgets of the specialized agencies are due in approximately equal measure to program expansion and the rise in wages and prices necessary to maintain the prior year's level of operations. The latter factor accounts for some \$2.9 million of the rise in UNESCO and WHO, \$730,000 in the ILO, and \$500,000 in the IAEA and ICAO.

The WHO program increase, about \$2.6 million, is primarily in the fields of environmental health, public health administration, and education and training. The UNESCO program expansion includes about \$2 million for new projects, largely in the fields of population, ecological research, oceanography, communication, and education, and \$780,000 for new building costs. In ICAO more than half the total increase, or about

\$800,000, provides for general program strengthening. In the ILO a 1971 supplemental budget provided a \$700,000 cash subsidy to ILO's International Center for Advanced Technical Vocational Training at Turin, Italy. IAEA's program expansion includes about \$500,000 each for development of the safeguards program and for strengthening its regular activities.

The United States during 1970 continued to seek economy and efficiency in the operations of the specialized agencies. In two of the larger organizations, FAO and UNESCO, the United States voted against the proposed budgets for 1971 after efforts to obtain agreement on acceptable levels failed; it also voted against the 1971 ILO supplemental budget.

## Voluntary Programs

A number of programs of the United Nations and the specialized agencies are financed by voluntary contributions from participants rather

than by regular assessments on the members. Significant U.S. contributions to programs in this category for calendar year 1970 were as follows:

	<i>Amount (Thousands of dollars)</i>
UN Children's Fund:	
Cash contribution . . . . .	13, 000
Commodities under P.L. 480 . . . . .	4, 306
Nigeria/Biafra:	
Cash contribution . . . . .	4, 000
Commodities under P.L. 480 . . . . .	6, 079
UN Development Program . . . . .	86, 268
UN High Commissioner for Refugees . . . . .	1, 000
UN Institute for Training and Research . . . . .	400
UN Fund for Population Activities . . . . .	7, 500
UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees:	
Cash contribution . . . . .	13, 300
Commodities . . . . .	8, 900
UNRWA—Arab refugee training . . . . .	1, 000
UN Technical and Operational Assistance to the Congo . . . . .	250
Special contributions for Viet-Nam . . . . .	692
UN/FAO—World Food Program:	
Cash contribution . . . . .	1, 300
Commodities and shipping services . . . . .	66, 500
IAEA—Operational Program . . . . .	1, 378
WMO—Voluntary Assistance Program . . . . .	1, 500
UN Force in Cyprus . . . . .	6, 000

The UN Technical and Operational Assistance to the Congo, which started in 1960 shortly after the Congo gained its independence, is designed to provide experts and advisers needed to perform vital services until such time as trained Congolese are available to carry on the tasks. In 1970 experts and advisers were provided in the important fields of agriculture, aviation, economic analysis, education, police training, public finance, public works, and transportation.

The UN program for the Congo continued to operate in 1970 under a funds-in-trust arrangement by which interested governments could make voluntary contributions. In 1970 expenditures totaled \$1,430,000. Assistance was also provided through the UNDP, the specialized agencies, and the Congolese Government.

The costs of UNFICYP are met by governments providing troop contingents and by voluntarily pledged contributions. The Secretary-General estimated that the cash cost to the United Nations of maintaining the Force in 1970 was \$12,495,000, compared with \$14,905,000 for 1969. The lower 1970 cost reflected a reorganization and 12.8% reduction in the Force during 1970.

Total UNFICYP costs to the

United Nations for the 81-month period beginning March 27, 1964, and ending December 15, 1970, were estimated at \$122,605,000. This figure does not include (1) the substantial share of the costs of the troop contingents borne directly by the governments providing such contingents; (2) the costs absorbed as the responsibility of the Government of Cyprus; nor (3) the value of the airlift services at the beginning of the UNFICYP operation which were provided without charge by the Governments of Italy, the United Kingdom, and the United States.

Voluntary pledges for 1970 were \$13,639,915, resulting in total government pledges for the 81-month period of \$115,609,291. These pledges, together with \$992,000 received from other sources, brought total estimated cash resources to \$116,601,000 or \$6,004,000 less than total estimated requirements.

The United States pledged cash contributions of not more than \$6.0 million toward the 1970 expenses of UNFICYP. U.S. pledges for the 81-month period total \$52.1 million. In addition the United States provided through 1965 air transport services valued at \$1,254,107 for the rotation of troops and equipment.

# Principal Organs of the United Nations

The UN Charter established six principal organs of the organization: General Assembly, Security Council, Economic and Social Council, Trusteeship Council, International Court of Justice, and Secretariat.

## General Assembly

The General Assembly is the only principal organ of the United Nations on which all 127 members are represented. These are listed below:

Afghanistan	Greece	Nigeria
Albania	Guatemala	Norway
Algeria	Guinea	Pakistan
Argentina	Guyana	Panama
Australia	Haiti	Paraguay
Austria	Honduras	Peru
Barbados	Hungary	Philippines
Belgium	Iceland	Poland
Bolivia	India	Portugal
Botswana	Indonesia	Romania
Brazil	Iran	Rwanda
Bulgaria	Iraq	Saudi Arabia
Burma	Ireland	Senegal
Burundi	Israel	Sierra Leone
Byelorussian S.S.R.	Italy	Singapore
Cambodia	Ivory Coast	Somalia
Cameroon	Jamaica	South Africa
Canada	Japan	Southern Yemen
Central African Republic	Jordan	Spain
Ceylon	Kenya	Sudan
Chad	Kuwait	Swaziland
Chile	Laos	Sweden
China	Lebanon	Syrian Arab Republic
Colombia	Lesotho	Tanzania
Congo (Brazzaville)	Liberia	Thailand
Congo (Kinshasa)	Libya	Togo
Costa Rica	Luxembourg	Trinidad and Tobago
Cuba	Malagasy Republic	Tunisia
Cyprus	Malawi	Turkey
Czechoslovakia	Malaysia	Uganda
Dahomey	Maldives	Ukrainian S.S.R.
Denmark	Mali	U.S.S.R.
Dominican Republic	Malta	United Arab Republic
Ecuador	Mauritania	United Kingdom
El Salvador	Mauritius	United States
Equatorial Guinea	Mexico	Upper Volta
Ethiopia	Mongolia	Uruguay
Fiji	Morocco	Venezuela
Finland	Nepal	Yemen
France	Netherlands	Yugoslavia
Gabon	New Zealand	Zambia
Gambia	Nicaragua	
Ghana	Niger	



The 25th regular session of the General Assembly convened Sept. 15, 1970, and adjourned Dec. 17. The Assembly elected Edvard Hambro (Norway) President, and the chairmen of the delegations of Brazil, Chad, China, Ecuador, France, Iraq, Jamaica, Kenya, Malta, Mauritius, Nepal, Philippines, Senegal, Ukrainian S.S.R., U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, and United States as the 17 Vice Presidents.

The chairmen of the seven main committees, on which each member may be represented, were:

- First (Political and Security)—Andrés Aguilar Mawdsley (Venezuela)
- Special Political—Abdul Samad Ghaus (Afghanistan)
- Second (Economic and Financial)—Walter Guevara Arze (Bolivia)
- Third (Social, Humanitarian, and Cultural)—Maria Groza (Romania)
- Fourth (Trusteeship and Non-Self-Governing Territories) — Vernon Johnson Mwaanga (Zambia)
- Fifth (Administrative and Budgetary)—Max Hirsch Wershof (Canada)
- Sixth (Legal)—Paul Babela Engo (Cameroon)

## Security Council

Five members designated in the Charter as permanent; 10 elected by the General Assembly for 2-year terms ending Dec. 31 of the year given in the heading.

<i>Permanent members</i>	1970	1971
China	Colombia	Burundi
France	Finland	Nicaragua
U.S.S.R.	Nepal	Poland
United Kingdom	Spain	Sierra Leone
United States	Zambia	Syria

On Oct. 26 the Assembly elected Argentina, Belgium, Italy, Japan, and Somalia for terms beginning Jan. 1, 1971.

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# Economic and Social Council

Twenty-seven members elected by the General Assembly for 3-year terms ending Dec. 31 of the year given in the heading.

<i>1970</i>	<i>1971</i>	<i>1972</i>
Argentina	Indonesia	Brazil
Bulgaria	Jamaica	Ceylon
Chad	Norway	France
Congo (Brazzaville)	Pakistan	Ghana
India	Sudan	Greece
Ireland	U.S.S.R.	Italy
Japan	United Kingdom	Kenya
United States	Uruguay	Peru
Upper Volta	Yugoslavia	Tunisia

On Oct. 27 the General Assembly elected Congo (Kinshasa), Haiti, Hungary, Lebanon, Malagasy Republic, Malaysia, New Zealand, and Niger, and reelected the United States for terms beginning Jan. 1, 1971.

ECOSOC held its 48th session in New York, Jan. 12-14, Feb. 18, Mar. 23-Apr. 3, and May 11-28. It held the first part of its 49th session in Geneva, July 6-31, and the resumed part of its 49th session in New York, Oct. '9 and 19, Nov. 6 and 11-13, and Dec. 1.

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# Trusteeship Council

Two members\* that administer territories and the four nonadministering permanent members of the Security Council.

Australia*	U.S.S.R.
China	United Kingdom
France	United States*

The Trusteeship Council held its 37th session in New York, May 26-June 19, 1970.

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# International Court of Justice

Fifteen 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.

Muhammad Zafrullah Khan (Pakistan) (1973), President  
Fouad Ammoun (Lebanon) (1976), Vice President  
Sir Gerald Fitzmaurice (United Kingdom) (1973)  
Luis Padilla Nervo (Mexico) (1973)  
Isaac Forster (Senegal) (1973)  
André Gros (France) (1973)  
Cesar Bengzon (Philippines) (1976)  
Sture Petré (Sweden) (1976)  
Manfred Lachs (Poland) (1976)  
Charles D. Onyeama (Nigeria) (1976)  
Federico de Castro (Spain) (1979)  
Hardy C. Dillard (United States) (1979)  
Louis Ignacio-Pinto (Dahomey) (1979)  
Eduardo Jiménez de Aréchaga (Uruguay) (1979)  
Platon D. Morozov (U.S.S.R.) (1979)

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## 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.

The Secretary-General is U Thant, of Burma, whose current term of office ends Dec. 31, 1971.



# United States Representation

## United States Missions

### U.S. MISSION AT UN HEADQUARTERS IN 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 Representative of the United States 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 with the delegations of other nations to the United Nations. It is also a base of operations for the U.S. delegations to the General Assembly and to other UN bodies when they meet in New York.

The structure, organization, and functions of the U.S. mission to the United Nations have been determined in the main by the following:

(1) The requirements of the UN Charter and the resolutions of UN organs.

(2) The provisions of the United Nations Participation Act (Public Law 264, 79th Cong.) as amended by Public Law 341 of the 81st Congress and Public Law 206 of the 89th Congress.

(3) Executive Order 10108.

(4) Location of UN Headquarters in the United States and the consequent need for the United States to assume the responsibilities of "host government."

(5) The fact that the United States is represented on all organs and almost all commissions and committees of the United Nations.

The main source of policy guidance and strategic direction for the conduct of U.S. participation in the United Nations is the Department of State.

The chief of mission, who has the rank of ambassador, is the U.S. Representative to the United Nations and also represents the United States in the Security Council. He is assisted by other persons with appropriate titles, rank, and status, appointed by the President to represent the United States in the principal organs of the United Nations. 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, and legal advisers, public affairs specialists, and an administrative section. This staff assists the U.S. Representative in (1) planning the tactical pursuit of U.S. policy objectives in the light of the political, economic, and parliamentary situations in UN organs and bodies; (2) consultation, negotiation, and liaison with other

delegations and the UN Secretariat; (3) preparation of 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 Headquarters Agreement between the United States and the United Nations (Public Law 357, 80th Cong.), the International Organizations Immunities Act (Public Law 291, 79th Cong.), and the UN Convention on Privileges and Immunities (ratified by the United States Apr. 15, 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 concerning U.S. participation in the United Nations; (7) planning and administering conference operations; (8) providing necessary research, reference, reporting, communications, and general services; and (9) carrying out the administrative, personnel management, fiscal, protocol, and security functions of the U.S. mission.

### **U.S. MISSION AT UN EUROPEAN OFFICE IN GENEVA**

The United States is represented at the European Office of the United Nations by a permanent mission at Geneva, Switzerland. Under the di-

rection of the U.S. Representative to the European Office of the United Nations and Other International Organizations, the Geneva mission is responsible for relations with and reporting on the activities of UN bodies and specialized agencies located there. These bodies include ECE, ILO, ITU, UNCTAD, WHO, and WMO. In addition, the mission is responsible for relations with other international organizations located in Geneva and for the necessary liaison with the missions of other countries accredited to these organizations.

The mission reports directly to the Department of State. It works in close coordination with the U.S. Embassies and the U.S. Mission to the European Communities.

### **OTHER U.S. MISSIONS**

During 1970 the United States also maintained several special missions elsewhere. The Office of the U.S. Representative to the Council of ICAO was maintained in Montreal, Canada, and a U.S. mission to the IAEA was maintained in Vienna, Austria. A representative responsible for U.S. relations with UNIDO was also stationed in Vienna.

In addition, the United States maintained a liaison group in Paris for relations with UNESCO and a similar group in Rome for relations with FAO.

# United States Representatives

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## UNITED NATIONS

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*Permanent Representative and Chief of U.S. Mission to the United Nations:*

Charles W. Yost

*Deputy Permanent Representative to the United Nations:*

William B. Buffum, through Sept. 11

Christopher H. Phillips, from Oct. 14

*Deputy Permanent Representative on the Security Council:*

Christopher H. Phillips, through Oct. 13

*Representative on the Economic and Social Council:*

Glenn A. Olds

*Representative on the Trusteeship Council:*

S. Harry Wright

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## General Assembly

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### 25TH REGULAR SESSION, NEW YORK, SEPT. 15-DEC. 17, 1970

*Representatives:*

William P. Rogers<sup>1</sup>

Charles W. Yost

Christopher H. Phillips

Jacob K. Javits

Claiborne Pell

Glenn A. Olds

*Alternate Representatives:*

Seymour Maxwell Finger

Helen G. Edmonds

Richard H. Gimer

Aloysius A. Mazewski

### SPECIAL BODIES OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

#### Advisory Commission of UNRWA

*Representative:* Dwight J. Porter,  
until Sept. 11; William B. Buffum,  
from Oct. 2

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<sup>1</sup> The Secretary served as chairman of the delegation, *ex officio*, during his presence at the session. At other times Ambassador Yost served as Senior Representative.

#### UN Scientific Advisory Committee

*Representative:* Isador I. Rabi

#### UN Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation

*Representative:* Richard H. Chamberlain

#### Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space

*Representative:* Ward P. Allen

*Alternate Representatives:* Arnold W. Frutkin, Herbert K. Reis, Peter S. Thacher

#### Special Committee on the Situation with Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples

*Representative:* Seymour Maxwell Finger

*Alternate Representative:*

Frederick H. Sacksteder, until Aug. 25

Ernest C. Grigg III, from Aug. 25

#### Conference of the Committee on Disarmament

*Representative:* Gerard C. Smith

*Alternate Representative:*

Leonard

#### Special Committee on Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Cooperation Among States

*Representative:* Herbert K. Reis

*Alternate Representative:* Robert B. Rozenstock

#### Trade and Development Board of UNCTAD

9th session (3d part) (Geneva, Feb. 2-16)

*Representative:* Henry Brodie

10th session (1st part) (Geneva, Aug. 26-Sept. 24)

*Representative:* Henry Brodie

*Alternate Representative:* William E. Culbert

4th special session (Geneva, Oct. 12-13)

*Representative:* Henry Brodie

*Alternate Representative:* John Bushnell



**Special Committee on Peacekeeping  
Operations**

*Representative:* Seymour Maxwell  
Finger

**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**

4th session (Vienna, Apr. 20-30)

*Representative:* William J. Stibravy  
*Alternate Representative:* Robert Simp-  
son

**United Nations Commission on International  
Trade Law**

3d session (New York, Apr. 6-30)

*Representative:* E. Allan Farnsworth  
*Alternate Representative:* James F. Sams

**Special Committee on the Question of  
Defining Aggression**

*Representative:* Stephen M. Schwebel  
*Alternate Representative:* Michael  
Newlin

**Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the  
Seabed and the Ocean Floor Beyond the  
Limits of National Jurisdiction**

New York, Feb. 26, Mar. 2-26

*Representative:* Christopher H. Phillips  
*Alternate Representatives:* John R.  
Stevenson, Joseph N. Greene, Jr.,  
Peter S. Thacher

Geneva, Aug. 3-28

*Representative:* Christopher H. Phillips  
*Alternate Representative:* John R.  
Stevenson

**Preparatory Committee for the Second  
UN Development Decade**

5th and 6th sessions (New York, Feb. 24-  
Mar. 13; May 11-28)

*Representative:* Jacques J. Reinstein  
*Alternate Representative:* Clarence I.  
Blau

**Preparatory Committee for the UN  
Conference on the Human Environment**

*Representative:* Christian Herter, Jr.  
*Alternate Representative:* Shirley Tem-  
ple Black

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**Security Council**

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*Representative:*

Charles W. Yost

*Deputy Representatives:*

William B. Buffum, until Sept. 11  
Christopher H. Phillips

**Military Staff Committee**

*Representatives:*

John M. Lee, Vice Adm., USN, through  
Feb. 27

Arnold F. Schade, Vice Adm., USN,  
from Feb. 27

Richard G. Stilwell, Lt. Gen., USA

John W. Carpenter III, Lt. Gen.,  
USAF, through July 31

Austin J. Russell, Lt. Gen., USAF,  
from Aug. 1

*Deputy Representatives:*

Benjamin T. Douglas, Capt., USN

Arthur A. Olson, Col., USA

Gerald M. Adams, Col., USAF

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**Trusteeship Council**

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*Representative:* S. Harry Wright

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**Economic and Social Council**

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*Representative:*

Glenn A. Olds

*Deputy Representative:*

Walter M. Kotschnig

**FUNCTIONAL COMMISSIONS**

*Human Rights:* Rita E. Hauser

*Narcotic Drugs:* John E. Ingersoll

*Population:* William H. Draper, Jr.

*Social Development:* Jean Picker

*Statistical:* Julius Shiskin

*Status of Women:* Elizabeth Duncan  
Koontz

## REGIONAL ECONOMIC COMMISSIONS

### Africa

(Did not meet in 1970)

### Asia and the Far East

26th session (Bangkok, Apr. 14-27)

*Representative:* Glenn A. Olds

*Alternate Representative:*

Leonard Unger

### Europe

25th session (Geneva, Apr. 14-24)

*Representative:* Christopher H. Phillips

*Alternate Representatives:*

Leonard Felsenthal, John W.

McDonald, Jr.

### Latin America

(Did not meet in 1970)

## SPECIAL BODIES OF ECOSOC

### Executive Board of UNICEF

*Representative:* Michael N. Scelsi

*Alternate Representative:* Katherine  
Bain

### Committee on Housing, Building, and Planning

(Did not meet in 1970)

### Committee for Program and Coordination

*Representatives:* Glenn A. Olds, Clarence I. Blau, Paxton T. Dunn

### Intergovernmental Committee of the UN/FAO World Food Program

17th session (New York, Apr. 6-15)

*Representative:* Irwin R. Hedges

*Alternate Representatives:* Andrew J.

Mair, Rulon Gibb

18th session (Rome, Nov. 2-6)

*Representative:* Irwin R. Hedges

*Alternate Representatives:* Rulon Gibb,  
John W. McDonald, Jr.

### Executive Committee of the High Commissioner's Program (UNHCR)

21st session (Geneva, Sept. 28-Oct. 7)

*Representative:* Francis L. Kellogg

*Alternate Representative:* Clement J.  
Sobotka

## Governing Council of the UNDP

9th session (New York, Jan. 19-30)

*Representative:* Glenn A. Olds

*Alternate Representatives:* Walter M.  
Kotschnig, Ernest Stern

Special session (New York, Mar. 16-26)

*Representative:* Glenn A. Olds

*Alternate Representatives:* Walter M.  
Kotschnig, Ernest Stern, Robert W.

Kitchen, Jr.

10th session (Geneva, June 9-30)

*Representative:* Glenn A. Olds

*Alternate Representatives:* Robert W.  
Kitchen, Jr., Patrick F. Morris

Special session (New York, Sept. 8)

*Representative:* Seymour Maxwell  
Finger

*Alternate Representative:* Robert W.  
Kitchen, Jr.

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## Specialized Agencies and IAEA

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### Food and Agriculture Organization

55th session FAO Council (Rome,  
Nov. 17-Dec. 1)

*Delegate:* Andrew J. Mair

*Alternate Delegates:* Paul J. Byrnes,  
Rulon Gibb, Ralph W. Phillips

### Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization

24th session IMCO Council (London,  
May 12-15)

*Representative:* H. Gardner Ainsworth

*Alternate Representative:* Roderick Y.  
Edwards, Rear Adm., USCG

25th session IMCO Council (London,  
Nov. 3-6)

*Representative:* Carroll Perry, Jr.

*Alternate Representative:* Herbert G.  
Lyons, Commander, USCG

### International Bank for Reconstruction and Development

*U.S. Governor, Board of Governors:*

David M. Kennedy

*Alternate U.S. Governor:*

Nathaniel Samuels

*U.S. Executive Director:*

Robert Wiczorowski

*Alternate U.S. Executive Director:*

Emmett J. Rice

**International Civil Aviation Organization**

17th session, ICAO Assembly (Montreal, June 16-30)

*Delegates:* Frank E. Loy (Chairman), Charles F. Butler, John S. Meadows, John H. Shaffer

*Alternate Delegates:* Robert P. Boyle, Edward F. Dodd, Joan S. Gravatt, Virgil L. Krohn, Richard Littell, John T. Stewart, Franklin E. Willis

*U.S. Representative on ICAO Council:* Charles F. Butler

**International Development Association**

The Officers, Executive Directors, and Alternates are the same as those of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

**International Finance Corporation**

The U.S. Officers, Executive Directors, and Alternates are the same as those of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

**International Labor Organization**

54th International Labor Conference (Geneva, June 3-25)

*U.S. Government Representatives:* George H. Hildebrand, George P. Delaney

*U.S. Employer Representative:* Edwin P. Neilan

*U.S. Worker Representative:* Rudolph Faupl

55th (Maritime) International Labor Conference (Geneva, Oct. 14-30)

*U.S. Government Delegates:* Andrew E. Gibson, Joseph P. Goldberg

*U.S. Employer Delegate:* James J. Reynolds

*U.S. Worker Delegate:* Paul Hall

*U.S. Government Representative, Governing Body:* George H. Hildebrand

**International Monetary Fund**

*U.S. Governor, Board of Governors:* David M. Kennedy

*Alternate U.S. Governor:* Nathaniel Samuels

*U.S. Executive Director:* William B. Dale

*Alternate U.S. Executive Director:*

John S. Hooker, until Sept. 13

Charles R. Harley, from Sept. 14

**International Telecommunication Union**

*U.S. Representative, Administrative Council:* Thomas E. Nelson

**United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization**

16th General Conference (Paris, Oct. 12-Nov. 14)

*Representatives:* John Richardson, Jr. (Chairman), Louise Gore, Pierre R. Graham, Harold Taft King, Kimon T. Karabatsos

*Alternate Representatives:* Edward T. Brennan, Edward O. Sullivan, Jr., R. Miller Upton, Tom R. Van Sickle

*U.S. Member, Executive Board:* Louise Gore

**Universal Postal Union**

*Chairman, U.S. Delegation to Executive Council:* James W. Hargrove

**World Health Organization**

23d World Health Assembly (Geneva, May 5-22)

*Delegates:* Jesse L. Steinfeld, M.D.; S. Paul Ehrlich, Jr., M.D.; Idar Rimestad

*Alternate Delegates:* Benjamin Blood, D.V.M.; Charles C. Edwards, M.D.; C. C. Johnson, Jr.

*U.S. Member, Executive Board:* S. Paul Ehrlich, Jr., M.D.

**World Meteorological Organization**

*U.S. Representative, Executive Committee:* Robert M. White

**International Atomic Energy Agency**

14th General Conference (Vienna, Sept. 22-28)

*Representative:* Glenn T. Seaborg

*Alternate Representatives:* T. Keith Glennan, Clarence E. Larson, Verne B. Lewis, Dwight J. Porter

*U.S. Governor, Board of Governors:* Henry D. Smyth, through Aug. 31  
T. Keith Glennan, from Sept. 1



















