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U.S. PARTICIPATION IN THE UN



REPORT BY THE PRESIDENT TO THE
CONGRESS FOR THE YEAR 1964

**U.S.
PARTICIPATION
IN THE UN**

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CONGRESS FOR THE YEAR 1964**

DEPARTMENT OF STATE PUBLICATION 7943

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LETTERS OF TRANSMITTAL

The President to the Congress

To the Congress of the United States:

Pursuant to the provisions of the United Nations Participation Act, I submit herewith the nineteenth annual report covering United States participation in the United Nations during 1964.

This report, like its predecessors, describes the activities of the United Nations agencies and programs that together carry out the aims of the Charter: to maintain peace and security, to adjust and settle international disputes, to cooperate in economic and social development, and to promote the self-determination of peoples and worldwide respect for human rights. It also covers legal, administrative, and financial matters at the United Nations.

The activities covered in this report document the commitment of this Nation to the purposes and programs of the United Nations—a commitment demonstrated by the extent and character of our participation in and financial support for a broad range of United Nations activities over the past twenty years.

During 1964 the constitutional-financial crisis in the General Assembly tended to overshadow in the public mind all other affairs at the United Nations. The Assembly was limited to those minor actions which could be taken by unanimous consent without a vote. It is regrettable that a major organ of the United Nations could not function normally. However, the other elements of the United Nations system carried forward.

The Security Council in 1964 had one of its busiest years; it held over 100 meetings and dealt with some of the most intractable problems of peace and security.

—It successfully organized the difficult peacekeeping operation in Cyprus, averting the threat of a direct military confrontation between two of our NATO allies, Greece and Turkey.

—It aired the Kashmir dispute, the Malaysian charges against Indonesia, and the question of *apartheid* in South Africa.

—It sent a factfinding group to report on the border situation between Cambodia and South Viet-Nam.

—It requested the Secretary-General to help the United Kingdom and Yemen resolve their differences over the Yemen-Aden border.

—It provided a forum for the United States to explain the action it had taken to counter the attacks by Hanoi against United States naval vessels in the international waters of the Gulf of Tonkin. In this connection, regrettably, Hanoi was unwilling to admit that the United Nations had any competence in the conflict in Viet-Nam. Despite the fact that Hanoi and Peking rejected United Nations involvement, given its responsibility for international peace and security, the United Nations should clearly be concerned about the conflict in Viet-Nam. It was with this thought in mind that in San Francisco on June 25, 1965, at the celebration of the twentieth anniversary of the United Nations, I urged United Nations members, individually and collectively, to use their influence to bring to the negotiating table all governments involved in an attempt to halt all aggression and evolve a peaceful solution. I also wrote the Secretary-General the following month saying how much I appreciated his efforts to remove the Viet-Nam dispute from the battlefield to the negotiating table and expressed the hope they would be continued. The Secretary-General replied by expressing his determination to pursue such efforts by all means at his disposal.

Elsewhere in the world during 1964 the United Nations continued to maintain several active peacekeeping operations. United Nations peacekeepers continued to police the Sinai and Gaza lines. The United Nations also supervised the borders between Israel and its Arab neighbors, and the truce line in [Kashmir between India and Pakistan.

During 1964 the United Nations ended its military (but not its civilian) operation in the Congo and its observer mission in Yemen.

On the economic front, the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) during the summer of 1964 was unquestionably the most significant development of the year. It opened a search by the developing nations for trading and financial arrangements designed to accelerate their development. Machinery was established to carry on the dialogue within the United Nations among developed and less developed countries concerning international trade and related questions of development. A hopeful sign was the adoption by UNCTAD of a system of mutual adjustment and conciliation designed to achieve a meeting of minds before arriving at decisions on important matters.

The record of operations of United Nations Specialized Agencies in the economic and social fields was impressive.

—The World Bank and its affiliates—the International Develop-

ment Association and the International Finance Corporation—made loans, credits, and investments totaling over \$1 billion.

—The World Health Organization spurred important advances in the worldwide campaigns to eradicate malaria and smallpox and in the field of epidemiology.

—The World Meteorological Organization moved ahead toward a projected World Weather Watch—a worldwide cooperative venture to improve man's ability to predict the course of the weather.

—The Food and Agriculture Organization dispatched about 1,000 technical experts to member countries to assist in agricultural productivity, pest control, animal health, and rural community development.

As science and technology develop, there will be new opportunities for international cooperation and common undertakings to serve mankind. On October 2, 1964, I proclaimed 1965 International Cooperation Year (ICY) in the United States. To implement our national program for ICY, on November 24, 1964, I named a Cabinet Committee for International Cooperation Year (1965) and called on our national citizens' organizations to help find new areas for common endeavor against the ancient enemies of mankind—ignorance, poverty, and disease. Every such enterprise helps in some small way to strengthen the fabric of peace. As I said at that time—the quest for peace through cooperation is the “assignment of the century.”

In transmitting this report, I should like to add a more general observation about our policy toward the United Nations. Every President since the founding of the United Nations has expressed the deep commitment of this Nation to the purposes of the Organization. This commitment has been expressed in our dedication to the purposes of the Charter and in our participation in the entire range of United Nations operations described in this report.

I reaffirmed our dedication on the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the United Nations at San Francisco on June 25, 1965, when I said:

“. . . I come to this anniversary not to speak of futility or failure nor of doubt and despair. I come to raise a voice of confidence in both the future of these United Nations and the fate of the human race.

“And let all remember—and none forget—that now more than 50 times in these 20 years the United Nations has acted to keep the peace.

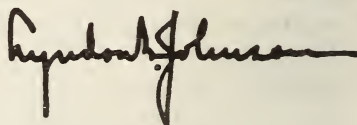
“By persuading nations to justify their own conduct before all countries, it has helped, at many times and in many places, to soften the harshness of man to his fellow man.

“By confronting the rich with the misery of the poor and the privileged with the despair of the oppressed, it has removed the excuse of ignorance, unmasked the evil of indifference, and has placed an insistent, even though still unfulfilled, responsibility upon the more fortunate of the earth.

“By insisting upon the political dignity of man, it has welcomed 63 nations to take their places alongside the 51 original members—a historical development of dramatic import, achieved mainly through peaceful means.

“And by binding countries together in the great declarations of the Charter, it has given those principles a strengthened vitality in the conduct of the affairs of man.”

The record of our participation in the United Nations for 1964—set forth in this report—documents the deeds that support these words.



THE WHITE HOUSE,
March 1, 1966.

The Secretary of State to the President

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
Washington, November 1, 1965

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 1964 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,



THE PRESIDENT,
The White House.

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CHARTS

The United Nations System
 The General Assembly
 The Security Council
 The Economic and Social Council
 The Trusteeship Council
 The United Nations Secretariat

Maintenance of Peace and Security

CONSTITUTIONAL AND FINANCIAL CRISIS IN THE UNITED NATIONS

The 19th session of the General Assembly convened on December 1, nearly a month later than its scheduled November opening date, in an atmosphere of crisis. At issue was the liability of the Soviet Union and six other U.N. members to loss of their voting rights in the General Assembly under the provisions of article 19 of the Charter since their unpaid assessments toward the expenses of the Organization exceeded the amount of financial contributions due from them for the preceding 2 years. The General Assembly chose not to meet the constitutional issue head on.

U.S. Efforts for a Negotiated Solution

Recognizing that the applicability of article 19 would arise at the time of the first vote in the General Assembly in 1964, the United States began in January of that year a major effort to find a solution to the financial situation of the Organization consistent with the preservation of the constitutional integrity of the Organization and its future capacity as an effective institution.

The problem which had arisen from the refusal of certain members to pay their regularly assessed share of the expenses of the Organization for the conduct of the United Nations Operation in the Congo (UNOC—see page 288) and the United Nations Emergency Force in the Middle East (UNEF—see page 287) assumed the proportions of a potential constitutional crisis on January 1, 1964. On that date the arrears of those members became greater than the total of their assessments for the previous 2 years, thus placing them within the purview of article 19 of the Charter. The seriousness of the situation was heightened by the fact that for the first time in the history of

the United Nations a major power and permanent member of the Security Council, the Soviet Union, was subject to loss of its vote in the General Assembly.

The U.S. approach involved an endeavor to induce the defaulting members to remove themselves from vulnerability to article 19, without prejudice to their legal positions regarding past peacekeeping operations, by making contributions to assist in restoring U.N. solvency. Equally important, the approach also involved an effort to reach the widest possible agreement on arrangements for the initiation, conduct, and financing of future peacekeeping operations which would both recognize the primary responsibility of the Security Council and preserve the residual authority of the General Assembly to play a meaningful role when the Security Council proved unable to take action.

Concurrently, in its consultations with other members, the United States sought to promote the fullest understanding of the fundamental challenge posed to the authority of the General Assembly to assess its members under article 17 of the Charter by a refusal to pay their assessments. Maintenance of this authority under article 17 to assess members for the expenses of the Organization, in the view of the United States, rested on impartial application of the article 19 sanction.

On March 6 the United States proposed to the Soviet Union, and later to other U.N. members, certain ideas on the initiation and financing of future peacekeeping operations. These, while fully recognizing the residual authority of the General Assembly, emphasized the *primary* role of the Security Council in peacekeeping and the desirability of according full weight to the views and positions of the permanent members of the Security Council and other major contributors to peacekeeping expenses. The U.S. hope was that agreement on modalities for *future* peacekeeping operations which took into account in some measure the Soviet interpretation of the Charter would induce the U.S.S.R. to settle its arrears for past operations.

The Soviet Union never responded directly to this U.S. overture. Instead, on March 21, the Soviet delegation circulated a Soviet Government statement which asserted flatly that the U.S.S.R. would never pay any part of the expenses of UNOC and UNEF. The statement reiterated the Soviet position that the General Assembly had exceeded its powers in assessing the membership for such peacekeeping expenses, and that only the Security Council had authority under the Charter to take decisions regarding peacekeeping, including methods of financing peacekeeping operations. Thus, the Soviet Union maintained, it did not owe the United Nations anything for UNOC and UNEF and could not be considered to be in arrears within the terms of article 19.

On July 10 the U.S.S.R. circulated another memorandum which merely repeated in greater detail its thesis that only the Security Council had any authority under the Charter with regard to peace-keeping operations, including financing, and that the General Assembly and the Secretary-General had no authority in this field. The memorandum proposed a renewal of efforts to conclude agreements under article 43 for the provision of national peacekeeping contingents to be placed at the exclusive disposal of the Security Council, a matter which had been discussed lengthily and in vain in the early days of the Organization. There was no mention of the arrears problem or of the ideas the United States had suggested for consideration. Further endeavors to discuss the matter with the Soviet Union met with the answer that the July 10 memorandum was the only reply to be expected.

Working Group of 21

The special Working Group of 21 on the Examination of Administrative and Budgetary Procedures of the United Nations was originally established in 1961 and instructed by the 17th General Assembly to study special methods for financing peacekeeping operations involving heavy expenditures and to deal with the problem of arrearages. The Working Group was continued by the 18th General Assembly, with instructions to: (a) recommend a special method for the equitable sharing of the costs of future peacekeeping operations involving heavy expenditures to the extent not covered by agreed arrangements; (b) consider suggestions regarding other sources of financing future peacekeeping operations; and (c) explore ways and means for bringing about the widest possible measure of agreement among all member states on the question of financing future peacekeeping operations.

Extensive informal consultations among members of the Working Group took place during the early months of the year concerning not only the Group's mandate to consider future arrangements, but also means for settling past arrears which would avoid a confrontation when the 19th General Assembly convened.

The Working Group held no formal meetings until September 9. In a statement at this meeting, Secretary-General U Thant informed the Working Group of his wide-ranging consultations with various heads of state and government. Recalling especially his visits to the capitals of four of the permanent members of the Security Council, the Secretary-General said:

The first clear and definite impression I have formed as a result of these wide-ranging conversations is that all the leaders to whom I have freely expressed my concerns in all the countries I have visited, share one objective in common; that

is, to see the United Nations strengthened. It is their common—and I am convinced, sincere—desire to see the Organization become a truly effective instrument for the performance of the functions outlined in the Charter. Unfortunately, this basic unanimity on objectives is accompanied by a very wide divergence of views as to the means of achieving them. I find it difficult to believe, however, that such divergency of views, albeit strongly and sincerely held, will be so inflexibly maintained as to jeopardize, if not nullify, the larger objective.

In the same statement the Secretary-General said:

It seems to me that our concerns fall broadly under two headings: first, how to provide for the future; and, second, how to take care of the past. Perhaps the order should be reversed, since failure to take care of the past may not leave us with much of a future.

On September 14 the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Francis T. P. Plimpton, presented to the Working Group a U.S. working paper which spelled out in detail the suggestions for changes in the arrangements and methods for initiating and financing U.N. peacekeeping operations involving the use of military force, which had been the subject of informal discussion with many delegations earlier. In introducing the U.S. proposals, the U.S. Representative said:

The working paper represents an effort which has extended over the better part of the year to formulate new arrangements which will facilitate the initiation and financing of future peacekeeping operations and which will be both compatible with the responsibilities of the United Nations under the Charter and fair to its members. We have attempted to develop an approach which will help to overcome political disputes as to the past and at the same time make possible the carrying on of future peacekeeping operations with an assurance that the necessary funds will be provided.

. . . We believe that this working paper represents a reasonable approximation of the kind of consensus which this group can hope to arrive at during this session, and it is offered as representing the views of a Government which hopes very much that such a consensus can be agreed to in the interest of the Organization and all its members.

The covering note to the U.S. working paper stated that "These suggestions presuppose settlement in some manner of arrears for past peacekeeping operations. Such payments may take any number of possible forms so long as they conform to the United Nations Charter and Financial Regulations." The substance of the U.S. proposals were as follows:

1. All proposals to initiate such peacekeeping operations would be considered first in the Security Council. The General Assembly would not authorize or assume control of such peacekeeping operations unless the Council had demonstrated that it was unable to take action.

2. The General Assembly would establish a standing special finance committee. The composition of this committee should be similar to that of the present Working Group of Twenty-One: that is, it would include the Permanent Members of the Security Council and a relatively high percentage of those Member States

in each geographical area that are large financial contributors to the United Nations. It would be constituted under and governed by firm rules of procedure of the General Assembly.

3. In apportioning expenses for such peacekeeping operations, the General Assembly would act only on a recommendation from the committee passed by a two-thirds majority of the committee's membership.

4. In making recommendations, the committee would consider various alternative methods of financing, including direct financing by countries involved in a dispute, voluntary contributions, and assessed contributions. In the event that the Assembly did not accept a particular recommendation, the committee would resume consideration of the matter with a view to recommending an acceptable alternative.

5. One of the available methods of assessment for peacekeeping operations involving the use of military forces would be a special scale of assessments in which, over a specified amount, States having greater ability to pay would be allocated higher percentages, and States having less ability to pay would be allocated smaller percentages than in the regular scale of assessments.

6. Pending action by the General Assembly on financial arrangements for such a peacekeeping operation initiated by the Security Council or General Assembly, the Secretary-General would continue to be authorized under the provisions of the annual resolution on unforeseen and extraordinary expenditures, to commit up to \$2 million (and with the concurrence of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions up to \$10 million) to finance the initial stage of an operation. Commitments and expenditures above this initial amount could be made by the Secretary-General only after the General Assembly had adopted a financing resolution on the basis of a recommendation of the special finance committee.

The Soviet Union did not submit any suggestions to the Working Group. It did, however, on September 11 transmit to the President of the Security Council, with a request for circulation as an official Council document, a Memorandum from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R. concerning the "Question of the Financial Situation of the United Nations." This document reviewed the substantive argumentation of the two Soviet memoranda mentioned earlier, reemphasizing that the Soviet legal interpretation of U.N. Charter provisions concerning peacekeeping activities was that all functions involving U.N. action, including the financing of peacekeeping operations, were the exclusive responsibility of the Security Council.

On October 8 the United States submitted to the Secretary-General, for circulation to all members of the General Assembly, a comprehensive Memorandum concerning "The United Nations Financial Crisis." This Memorandum dealt in detail with the serious extent of the financial crisis facing the Organization, the law on the issue as laid down by the International Court of Justice and the General Assembly itself, and the implications which any breach of the Charter would entail. In this Memorandum, the United States emphasized

the nature of the fundamental issue facing all members of the United Nations.

The United Nations financial crisis is not an adversary issue between individual members; it is an issue between those who refuse to pay and the Organization itself, the Organization as a whole. It is an issue which involves the future capacity of the United Nations as an effective institution. If the United Nations cannot collect what is due from its Members, it cannot pay what it owes; if it cannot collect what is due from its Members, it will have no means of effectively carrying on its peacekeeping functions and its economic and social programs will be jeopardized.

The Working Group continued to meet intermittently through the end of October. However, it did not reach agreement on any of the points on which it had been requested to report to the 19th General Assembly and made no report. After it ceased to meet formally, several members continued, through informal consultations, to seek a negotiated solution to the arrears problem which would be acceptable to the major powers and which would avoid a confrontation in the General Assembly on article 19. Particularly active in this respect was the informal "Group of Four", consisting of the Chairman of the Working Group of 21, Chief Adebo of Nigeria; the President of the 18th General Assembly, Ambassador Sosa-Rodriguez of Venezuela; the U.N. Representative of Norway; and the U.N. Representative of Afghanistan, who served as Chairman of the Afro-Asian caucus during the month of November.

In the weeks immediately preceding the opening session of the 19th General Assembly, several proposals were developed which would have provided an opportunity for the defaulting members, without prejudice to their legal and political positions, to make voluntary contributions to the United Nations to help overcome the financial deficit of the Organization. Central to all these formulas was the implied ability of the Secretary-General to reduce the arrears of the defaulting members in amounts corresponding to their voluntary contributions, thus—provided the contributions were adequate in size—eliminating any question of applying article 19.

The U.S. position regarding such efforts was expressed by Ambassador Adlai Stevenson on November 11. In replying to a letter addressed to President Johnson in which Chief Adebo of Nigeria had proposed establishment of a "rescue" fund to redress the financial difficulties of the United Nations, Ambassador Stevenson said:

. . . The United States has been cooperating with others to help achieve a generally acceptable solution and will be pleased to work further to this end.

We have put forward three main ideas, as you are aware:

First, without derogating from the power and authority of the General Assembly, in which all United Nations members are represented, we would be glad to cooperate in strengthening the primary role which the Charter gives to the Security Council in the maintenance of international peace and security.

Second, we will be glad to cooperate in establishing arrangements under which the Assembly, in making assessments for major peacekeeping operations, would take more fully into account the views of those who, such as some of the states now in arrears, would be expected to share the main burden of supporting future peacekeeping activities.

Third, we have consistently said that, as far as the United States is concerned, the current financial difficulties can be settled in any number of possible ways consistent with the Charter.

Following a meeting with the Secretary-General 2 days later, the U.S. Representative again emphasized U.S. flexibility with regard to the settlement of arrears.

Voluntary payments could be made without prejudice to the Soviet's or anyone else's legal views. Any arrangements for such payments consistent with the Charter and satisfactory to the Secretary-General will be satisfactory to the United States.

The 19th General Assembly

Shortly prior to December 1, the date for the opening of the 19th General Assembly, Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko indicated in New York that the U.S.S.R. was prepared to make a contribution of an undisclosed amount to the United Nations to help restore its financial position. Partly in the light of this information, many member states took the position that an immediate confrontation on article 19 should be avoided in the hope that further efforts to achieve a negotiated solution during the early weeks of the session would be successful and urged that the Assembly therefore proceed on a "no-objection" basis.

This position was translated into an understanding that the Assembly would refrain from voting during the period of the general debate while negotiations continued, so that the application of article 19 need not arise. This understanding was reported to the General Assembly on December 1 by Secretary-General U Thant, who recommended that the Assembly so proceed, and that it choose its new President, admit three new members, and approve nominations for its Credentials Committee under a "no-objection" procedure. When no member raised objection to this proposal, the Assembly chose by acclamation the sole candidate, Alex Quaison-Sackey of Ghana, as President of the 19th session of the General Assembly. In addition, Malawi, Malta, and Zambia were admitted to membership (see page 113), and the Credentials Committee was constituted by the "no-objection" procedure. This "no-objection" procedure was utilized again on December 29 and 30 to fill four vacancies on the Security Council occurring at the end of 1964, and to authorize the Secretary-

General to continue to make expenditures at the 1964 rate pending decisions to be taken on the budget at the resumed session.

The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Stevenson, welcomed the decision of the General Assembly to work further for a settlement of the financial crisis of the Organization. In a statement following the December 1 meeting, he said:

Our hope right along has been to get started on talks about how the United Nations can clean up its financial situation and arrange about the management and financing of future peacekeeping operations. It now looks as if all parties are prepared to talk about these important constitutional matters, and we share the general hope that these consultations can proceed very rapidly.

It is, of course, necessary that while the constitutional discussions are going on, the basic issues involved should not be prejudiced by having votes in the General Assembly. The no-voting agreement that was arrived at today therefore seems sensible to us.

Nearly 5 weeks later, on December 30, the General Assembly recessed until mid-January 1965 with its financial problems unresolved and without having taken any action with regard to the application of article 19 to the defaulting members.

It was understood that consultations on the financial crisis would continue through the recess.

DISARMAMENT AND ARMS CONTROL

Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament (ENDC)

The Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament (ENDC) met at Geneva in two sessions during 1964: from January 21 to April 28 and from June 9 to September 17. Its membership continued unchanged: Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Ethiopia, France, India, Italy, Mexico, Nigeria, Poland, Rumania, Sweden, the U.S.S.R., the United Arab Republic, the United Kingdom, and the United States. France, however, remained unwilling to participate.

William C. Foster, Director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA), headed the U.S. delegation. In Mr. Foster's absence, Adrian S. Fisher, Deputy Director of ACDA, served as U.S. Representative from March 1 to April 28, as did Ambassador Clare H. Timberlake, the Deputy U.S. Representative during the second session.

The ENDC divided its attention in 1964 between consideration of (1) collateral measures, which are partial disarmament or arms control

measures designed both to help halt the arms race and to facilitate efforts to achieve general and complete disarmament; and (2) general and complete disarmament.

Collateral Measures

The U.S. delegation returned to the ENDC on January 21 with a message from President Johnson to the Conference which reaffirmed U.S. support for the Conference's goals and presented five major proposals. One of the most important was the offer to explore a verified freeze of the number and characteristics of strategic nuclear offensive and defensive delivery vehicles. Such a freeze would halt the costly race for more and better strategic nuclear delivery vehicles, and would open the path to reductions from present levels in all types of forces.

The United States elaborated on the freeze concept in the ENDC and also outlined a possible verification scheme. The Soviet reaction was negative. The U.S.S.R. characterized the freeze proposal as "control without disarmament," and claimed that it was motivated by a U.S. desire to concentrate on production of short-range missiles and new military aircraft rather than by any wish to further disarmament goals. Non-Communist ENDC delegations, however, welcomed the proposal and hoped that the Soviets would accept it as a basis for exploration.

Another important proposal in President Johnson's message was the call for a verified agreement to halt all production of fissionable materials for weapons use. The President's message suggested that, pending an agreement on such a measure, reductions could begin by the closing down of comparable production facilities by both sides on a plant-by-plant basis, with mutual inspection. At Geneva the United States reviewed its cutoff proposal and presented a suggested system for verification. It also reaffirmed its offer, in association with the cutoff, to transfer an agreed amount of fissionable material to non-weapons uses if the Soviet Union would reciprocate.

Although the cutoff proposal enjoyed the support of Western and other ENDC members, the Soviet bloc reaction was again negative. The Soviets insisted that the measure had little significance in view of accumulated stockpiles and that its verification provisions would facilitate espionage in the Soviet Union.

In view of the Soviet attitude, no progress on the cutoff proposal was possible during the year. Nevertheless, a step in this area was taken on April 20, when President Johnson announced that he had ordered a further substantial reduction in U.S. production of enriched uranium, to be carried out over a 4-year period. Simultaneously, the

Soviet Union declared its intention to cut back planned production of fissionable material for use in weapons, and the following day the British Prime Minister announced that his Government was pursuing a policy along similar lines. These actions were taken unilaterally and not by formal agreement. The ENDC noted the announcements "with great satisfaction" in a communique of April 21.

Another proposal in the President's message to the ENDC concerned the crucial question of the spread of nuclear weapons to nations not now controlling them and consisted of three separate measures. First, the President called for agreement that nuclear weapons not be transferred to the national control of states not now controlling them and that all transfers of nuclear materials for peaceful purposes take place under effective international safeguards. In developing this point during the ENDC discussions, the United States stressed the need for a nonproliferation agreement and announced the U.S. intention to take no action inconsistent with the terms of a 1961 General Assembly resolution, commonly referred to as the Irish resolution, which called for such an agreement.

The second nonproliferation measure contained in the President's proposal was that "the major nuclear powers accept in an increasing number of their peaceful nuclear activities the same inspection they recommend for other states." The United States set an example in this regard when its Representative announced at the ENDC on March 5 that the privately owned Yankee Power Reactor of 600,000 thermal kilowatts at Rowe, Mass., would be placed under the safeguards system of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA—see page 219). The United States urged the Soviet Union and other states to take similar actions.

The third nonproliferation measure proposed by the President was a verified agreement to ban all nuclear weapon tests. By prohibiting testing in all environments, including underground, a comprehensive test ban would further inhibit efforts to acquire the knowledge and ability to make nuclear weapons.

Progress on the nonproliferation problem at the ENDC was unfortunately hampered by sharp attacks by the Soviet Union against the proposed NATO multilateral nuclear force (MLF). The Soviets alleged that this proposed force would ultimately place nuclear weapons in the hands of the Federal Republic of Germany. The United States stressed that containment of nuclear spread was a major objective of the MLF and in this connection outlined some of the safeguards the force would incorporate to prevent national use of the force by any one of its members.

Besides advancing the freeze and cutoff proposals and calling for certain agreements with respect to nonproliferation, the Presi-

dent's January message expressed U.S. willingness to discuss means of prohibiting the threat or use of force, directly or indirectly, to change boundaries or demarcation lines, to interfere with access to territory, or to extend control or administration over territory by displacing established authorities. The message also proposed discussion of a system of observation posts to reduce further the danger of war by accident, miscalculation, or surprise attack.

In addition to the above proposals, the United States suggested at Geneva a "bomber bonfire" measure under which the United States would destroy U.S. B-47's at the rate of 20 a month over a 2-year period if the Soviet Union would undertake to destroy TU-16's at the same rate. The Soviet Union maintained that the U.S. proposal merely reflected the U.S. intention to phase out obsolescent aircraft and refused to discuss it seriously. The United States emphasized that an agreement on this matter would not only represent the first agreed physical destruction of armaments but would also prevent the sale or transfer of these aircraft to third countries.

The Soviet position on collateral measures was set out in a memorandum presented to the ENDC on January 28. With the exception of one proposal which called for the elimination of all bomber aircraft, the Soviet memorandum merely reiterated past Soviet positions on reduction of military budgets, nuclear-free zones, reduction of force levels, withdrawal of foreign troops, a nonaggression pact between the NATO and Warsaw Pact countries, nuclear nondissemination, a comprehensive test ban, and prevention of surprise attack.

In Geneva the Soviet Union laid great stress on its proposal for a reduction of military budgets by 10 to 15 percent. The United States pointed out that lack of information about the Soviet military budget, which in its published version consisted of "sixteen words and one sum," and differences in budgetary practices between states made the policing of such an agreement virtually impossible. It hoped states would find it possible to reduce their defense expenditures if their security needs and U.N. peacekeeping responsibilities allowed, but added that the surest way to reduce such expenditures was to reach verified agreements for arms reductions.

The Soviet Representative later pressed for an ENDC "appeal" to countries to reduce their military budgets. The ENDC did not act on the Soviet request, but the idea of budget reductions did find some support among the group of eight nations (Brazil, Burma, Ethiopia, India, Mexico, Nigeria, Sweden, and the U.A.R.) participating in the ENDC which are not members of either NATO or the Warsaw Pact.

In its discussions of collateral measures the ENDC also considered resolutions which the 18th General Assembly had adopted in 1963

on the questions of nuclear weapon testing and of convening a conference to sign a convention on the prohibition of nuclear weapons. The United States supported a verified ban on underground nuclear weapon testing, noting that extensive research on the problems of detection and identification still established the need for on-site inspection. On the question of a ban-the-bomb conference, the United States reiterated its position that the U.N. Charter makes no distinction between types of weapons, the real threat to peace being the use of force for aggressive purposes, and that until nuclear weapons were eliminated by verified agreement, the West was compelled to continue to depend on them to deter potential aggression.

Other ENDC Discussions

The ENDC continued to consider the question of general and complete disarmament in 1964. One of the most fundamental problems in this area, which it was agreed ENDC delegates should discuss, was the reduction of nuclear delivery vehicles.

The Soviets insisted on the merits of their proposal on this matter as outlined in 1962 and 1963 by Foreign Minister Gromyko at the 17th and 18th General Assemblies. The Soviet proposal calls for the elimination of all nuclear delivery vehicles and their warheads at the outset of disarmament with the exception of a "nuclear umbrella" to be retained on U.S. and Soviet territories until the end of the last stage (Stage III) of disarmament. The Soviets characterized their proposal as a "concession" to Western insistence that nuclear deterrence be maintained throughout the disarmament process. The "umbrella" was vaguely described as a "strictly limited and agreed number" of intercontinental, antimissile and antiaircraft missiles, to be retained by the United States and the U.S.S.R. However, despite persistent prodding by the U.S. and other representatives, the Soviet Union failed to provide sufficient details on its proposal to permit meaningful discussion.

Western representatives pointed out the basic unbalancing effects of the Soviet proposal. Not only were its verification provisions inadequate, but also such sharp cuts in nuclear delivery vehicles early in the disarmament process would undermine U.S. superiority in missiles and bombers without similarly affecting strong points of the Soviet military establishment. The United States noted that the Soviet proposal was inconsistent with the stipulation in the Joint Statement of Agreed Principles for Disarmament Negotiations that all disarmament measures must be balanced so that no state or group of states may gain military advantage. (The Joint Statement was

agreed between the United States and the Soviet Union in September 1961 and subsequently endorsed by the General Assembly.)

The Soviet Representative proposed on June 9 that the ENDC establish a working group to consider the details of the Soviet "nuclear umbrella" proposal but specified that the ENDC should first approve the "nuclear umbrella" principle as the basis for the group's deliberations. The West urged that an effective working group be created to discuss all relevant proposals for nuclear delivery vehicle reductions instead of just the Soviet proposal. Members of the group of Eight also indicated their desire for a working group which could examine all proposals in this area, although several viewed with sympathy the idea of sharp reductions in nuclear delivery vehicles. The Soviet Union, however, continued to insist that the subordinate body must consider only the Soviet plan, with the result that no agreement on the creation of a working group was possible.

As the session moved toward recess, the U.S. Representative, Mr. Foster, discussed the subject of U.N. peacekeeping. On September 8 he drew attention to the relationship of peacekeeping to disarmament and spoke of "the need to begin now . . . to build more effective peace forces." He endorsed the decision of a number of governments to earmark troops for possible use in future U.N. peacekeeping missions and stressed the need for all U.N. members to meet their financial obligations so that the United Nations could continue to carry out its peacekeeping role effectively. Earlier the United Kingdom and Canada had also given support to the U.N. role in the field of peacekeeping.

On September 17 the ENDC adopted its report to the 19th General Assembly. The report stated that "in general the questions before the Committee were discussed in a thorough and concrete manner." It also noted that the Committee had not reached any specific agreement but expressed the hope "that the useful discussions and exchange of views . . . will facilitate agreement in the further work of the Committee." Attached to the report were various documents submitted by the United States, the U.S.S.R., and other members. These documents included a compendium of positions taken by the group of Eight on various proposals discussed during the year and a joint appeal of the Eight to the nuclear powers urging agreement on a comprehensive test ban treaty.

The ENDC adjourned on September 17, 1964. It decided to resume at Geneva as soon as possible after the termination of consideration of disarmament at the 19th General Assembly on a date to be decided by the two cochairmen after consultation with the members of the Committee.

During 1964 the 19th General Assembly did not consider the specific disarmament items on its agenda in view of the stalemate over the article 19 problem (see page 1).

Economic and Social Consequences of Disarmament

During 1964 the Economic and Social Council, the Economic Commission for Europe (ECE—see page 136), several of the Specialized Agencies of the United Nations, and the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD—see page 127) devoted further attention to the question of the economic and social consequences of disarmament. Pursuant to Economic and Social Council and General Assembly resolutions, the Secretary-General again invited governments to supply information on national studies and activities in this field. Twenty-one nations, including the United States and the Soviet Union, submitted reports. The Secretary-General's summarization of these government responses constituted a major portion of his "progress" report to the Economic and Social Council.

The U.S. report of April 7, 1964, noted that the principal new development in the U.S. study program was the establishment by the President in December 1963 of a high-level interdepartmental committee to coordinate the work of Federal agencies on the economic impact of defense and disarmament. Studies were initiated to trace the industrial and geographic patterns of income and employment resulting from defense spending and to develop techniques for estimating more precisely the impact of changes in defense spending by industry and region. Other research activities included study of the economic impact of changes in spending for fissionable materials for military purposes; study of the economic impact on the electronics industry resulting from various assumed reductions in military demand for electronic products and the problems and possibilities concerned with shifting output to nondefense electronic items; and study of the problem of regional economic adjustments to reduced defense spending.

The Secretary-General's report of July 3, 1964, to the 37th session of the Economic and Social Council was the basis of the Council's discussion. The report indicated that most governments replying to the Secretary-General's inquiry agreed that advance planning and research were required if full advantage was to be taken of the opportunities afforded by disarmament to promote economic and social progress throughout the world. It reviewed the work of the U.N. Secretariat, the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA—see page 218), and the Specialized Agencies and emphasized that the

Secretariat and the entire U.N. family can assist governments by facilitating an exchange of information on planning techniques applicable to the conversion period. With respect to the uses to which liberated resources might be put, the report pointed out that all international activities in connection with the United Nations Development Decade (the General Assembly, responding to an initiative of President Kennedy, in 1961 proclaimed the 1960's as the United Nations Development Decade with the aim of achieving a substantial increase in the growth of the economies of less developed countries) could benefit, especially those that foster economic and social progress in the developing countries.

The Secretary-General also indicated in his report that, in response to a request from the Economic and Social Council to undertake a survey of the possibility of coordinating an international study of the problems that might arise in relation to primary commodities for which the demand would be significantly affected by disarmament, he had invited governments to indicate whether certain specified types of data could be provided if requested. The United States replied that the necessary data could be provided with respect to the 76 commodities which have been the object of stockpiling and also with respect to petroleum, steel, and uranium. No other government indicated that it would be in a position to supply information of this kind. As a result the Secretary-General in his report to the Economic and Social Council stated that until most of the governments significantly involved are able to do so, it would appear that a specific and concrete study of the primary commodities question would not be feasible.

The Secretary-General drew particular attention to a decision of the U.N. Administrative Committee on Co-ordination (ACC) concerning cooperation among its members regarding work programs concerned with the economic and social aspects of disarmament. The ACC agreed that:

(a) The Secretary-General of the United Nations would act as the central point of coordination in respect of all studies of the economic and social aspects of disarmament undertaken in the U.N. system;

(b) All of the organizations of the U.N. family proposing to undertake such studies would cooperate with the Secretary-General in the preparation of concerted programs of work within the general framework of which such studies would be undertaken;

(c) The ACC would set up a subcommittee of agency representatives to cooperate with the Secretary-General in developing such a program.

These plans for coordination agreed to by the ACC were welcomed by the United States.

Draft resolutions were submitted by the United States and Colombia on the one hand and by the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia on the other. The major point of contention was whether, as the U.S.S.R. maintained, a special *ad hoc* group to accelerate studies on the conversion of resources released by disarmament should be established or whether, as the United States held, an adequate framework to facilitate and coordinate research activities already existed within the United Nations. Differences were reconciled and the United States introduced the revised text of a joint draft resolution. In the resolution, as adopted, the Economic and Social Council *inter alia*:

1. Deemed it necessary that the activities within the framework of the United Nations, including those of the regional economic commissions, the Specialized Agencies, and the IAEA, relating to the economic and social consequences of disarmament as called for by earlier resolutions, be continued and accelerated as far as possible;

2. Welcomed the agreement by the Secretary-General and the Directors General of the Specialized Agencies and of the IAEA in respect of all studies of the economic and social aspects of disarmament and that the Agencies would cooperate with the Secretary-General in the preparation of concerted programs of work, and for this purpose to establish a committee of agency representatives;

3. Recognized that at a later time establishment of a new *ad hoc* group, which would accelerate activities in this field of study, such as that envisaged in the 18th General Assembly resolution, may be advantageous; and

4. Requested the Secretary-General to submit to the Council at its 39th session a further progress report on the question of the economic and social consequences of disarmament.

The question of the economic and social consequences of disarmament was briefly discussed at the 13th session of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO—see page 194), which adopted two resolutions authorizing the Director General to continue to study aspects of the subject falling within UNESCO's terms of reference and identifying the question as an important part of the social science work of UNESCO.

The subject of disarmament was also discussed at the 17th session of the World Health Assembly (WHO—see page 202). Brazil offered a draft resolution requesting the United Nations to urge the Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Committee on Disarmament (ENDC—see page 8) to consider proposals before it calling for the allocation of savings resulting from military budget reductions to

economic and social development. The United States and several other countries opposed the draft resolution on the ground that it dealt with matters outside the purview of WHO. The draft resolution, however, was adopted by the WHO Assembly on March 19, 1964, by a vote of 52 to 16 (U.S.), with 22 abstentions.

During 1964 the question of the economic and social consequences of disarmament was also discussed by several other U.N. organs, including the ECE and the International Labor Organization (ILO—see page 189). The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD—see page 127) also considered the subject and adopted a recommendation cosponsored by the United States, the Soviet Union, and nine other countries requesting that attention be given to the trade aspects of disarmament in all pertinent activities.

OUTER SPACE

During 1964 the U.N. Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space continued to make progress in both the legal and the scientific areas.

Space Launch Registration

The United States continued to submit semimonthly reports to the U.N. Secretary-General on all objects launched into orbit or beyond by the United States for inclusion in the public registry established by the United Nations in accordance with a General Assembly resolution of 1961. The United States registers all objects launched under the supervision of either the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) or the Department of Defense, including both successes and failures. It lists the international designation of space objects in orbit or beyond as of the end of the reporting period, their launch vehicles, their launch dates, their general purpose, and their orbital characteristics. The reports cover orbiting parts and boosters as well as payloads.

The Soviet Union, which also registers space launchings with the United Nations, registers only payloads, and not parts or boosters. It records successes but not failures. It does not report, as does the United States, on objects which are no longer in orbit.

Scientific and Technical Subcommittee

The Scientific and Technical Subcommittee of the U.N. Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space held its third session in Geneva

from May 22 through June 5. Dr. Hugh L. Dryden, Deputy Administrator of NASA, headed the U.S. delegation.

At the beginning of the session the U.S. Representative reviewed the record of international cooperation in the space field of the past year, which he termed the "most successful and most productive" since the creation of the Subcommittee. As examples he referred to the formation of the European Space Research Organization (ESRO) and the European Launcher Development Organization (ELDO); the third international launching by the United States of an earth satellite, the U.K. Ariel II, and programs for international launchings between the United States and the United Kingdom, Canada, Italy, and France; experimentation by a dozen countries with the medium altitude communication satellites Telstar and Relay; and cooperation of some 40 countries with the United States in space-related meteorology. He then laid before the Subcommittee U.S. suggestions for a full program of useful work for the Committee.

The session was notable in several respects. Important continuing tasks were suggested for the Secretary-General and the U.N. Secretariat. These assignments were in keeping with the original U.S. concept that the Secretariat should be a focus for international cooperation in space on a continuing basis. Moreover, the U.S.S.R., while not noticeably more constructive in supporting the work of the Subcommittee, abandoned to some extent the obstructionist role it had played at the Subcommittee's previous session.

On questions relating to the exchange of information—one of the major topics considered by the Subcommittee—U.S. working papers provided the principal basis for the Subcommittee's recommendations. The Subcommittee commended the Secretary-General and, particularly, the Outer Space Affairs Group of the U.N. Secretariat for their preparation of draft reviews on the space activities and resources of various international organizations, on national and international cooperative space activities, on bibliographies and abstracting services, and on facilities for education and training in basic space subjects. It also recommended the updating and republishing of these reviews every 2 years and called for annual reports by members on their space activities, including programs of international cooperation, which would form the basis for the reviews prepared by the Committee and the Secretariat on national and international cooperative space activities. Our attempt to improve the quality and usefulness of these reviews met with partial success with the adoption by the Subcommittee of suggested guidelines on their content. However, the Soviets resisted efforts to have the Subcommittee make more specific recommendations on the content and form of national reports and, in so doing, opposed the wishes of the majority of the Subcommittee.

In addition, the Subcommittee proposed that the Secretary-General report on what material exists or may be needed to insure popular understanding of space activities and the means by which new material might be made available, if needed; that the Secretariat keep U.N. members informed periodically of useful information on space conferences and symposia open to the scientists from U.N. members; and that the Committee consider the usefulness of organizing in 1967, under U.N. auspices, an international conference on the exploration and peaceful uses of outer space. The United States agreed that the full Committee might properly discuss this latter question though it expressed doubts about the need for such a conference.

On the topic of encouragement of international programs in the field of outer space, the United States again took the lead by submission of a working paper. The Subcommittee noted the progress reports by both the International Telecommunication Union (ITU—see page 211) and the World Meteorological Organization (WMO—see page 214) and requested these organizations to submit further reports to the Committee in 1965. In addition, it commended the ITU for its contribution to the successful results of the Extraordinary Administrative Radio Conference held in 1963. This Conference allocated frequency bands for space communication, telemetry, radio astronomy, meteorology, navigation satellites, aeronautical amateur services, and scientific research.

The Subcommittee rejected a Czech proposal recommending that the Committee formulate legal principles governing the utilization of satellites to create global communications. The United States opposed the proposal, pointing out that the question was outside the competence of the Scientific and Technical Subcommittee.

For the first time during consideration of international cooperation in the field of education and training in space activities, the Subcommittee endorsed the idea that the U.N. Secretariat should function as a clearinghouse in this area. Under the Subcommittee's recommendation, supported by the United States, members would be invited to make their specific training interests known to the Secretary-General and would continue to inform him of their facilities for education and training and of the availability of scholarships and fellowships. The Secretary-General would be requested to disseminate this information on a continuing basis.

The Subcommittee also discussed international sounding rocket launching facilities and recommended that India be granted U.N. sponsorship for the continuing operation of the first such facility, the Thumba International Equatorial Sounding Rocket Launching Facility (TERLS). This facility, which uses rockets to conduct research

concerning the upper atmosphere, is open for use by U.N. members and makes available complete information about all facilities and experiments at the site to scientists and technicians of all participating states. The United States has lent material assistance to the establishment of the facility, and a U.S. scientist was one of a group of six who visited it in January 1964 and recommended U.N. sponsorship. The Subcommittee urged that due attention be paid by the United Nations, the Specialized Agencies, and member countries to requests from India for assistance in increasing the use of the facility as a place for international collaboration.

Discussion in the Subcommittee of the problem of potentially harmful effects of space experiments was constructive and free from political discord. This was in marked contrast to the debate in 1963 in which the U.S. Project West Ford and high altitude atomic testing were scored by the Soviets for political purposes.

The Subcommittee recommended that the Outer Space Committee "take fully into account" the resolution on potentially harmful effects of space experiments adopted by the Committee on Space Research (COSPAR) of the International Council of Scientific Unions at its meeting held in Florence in May 1964. The COSPAR resolution contained paragraphs on preventing contamination of the upper atmosphere and of Mars and other celestial bodies, including a provision concerning tentative quantitative limits for the sterilization of space probes. In addition, the resolution welcomed "the conclusion of the Consultative Group [on Potentially Harmful Effects of Space Experiments] that no interference to optical and/or radio astronomy has resulted from the belt of orbiting dipoles launched in May 1963." This conclusion amounted to a refutation of earlier Soviet charges against Project West Ford.

The concept of voluntary, objective international consultations on potentially harmful effects of space experiments, a concept which the United States has advanced for several years, was endorsed by the Subcommittee.

Legal Subcommittee

The Legal Subcommittee of the U.N. Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space held the first part of its third session in Geneva from March 9 through March 26, and the second part in New York from October 5 through October 23. The U.S. delegation was headed on both occasions by Leonard C. Meeker, Acting Legal Adviser of the Department of State.

At the March meeting the U.S. Representative proposed that the Subcommittee immediately undertake the drafting of two international

agreements, a task assigned to it in 1963 by an 18th General Assembly resolution. The first agreement, on assistance to and return of astronauts and space vehicles, would meet a humanitarian concern and also serve a scientific interest. It would provide for assistance to and return of astronauts who had landed as the result of accident, distress, or mistake in places other than where their landing had been planned. It would also facilitate the return of space vehicles or parts of space vehicles which had returned to earth. The return of such objects would enable scientists to learn more about space science and engineering. The second agreement, on liability for damage caused by objects launched into outer space, would provide rules governing liability and procedures for the presentation of claims that might arise from damage caused by such objects.

The Soviet Union took the position that the Subcommittee should not restrict its work to discussion of these two agreements, but should also consider incorporating into an international agreement legal principles governing the space activities of states. However, its proposal received little support and the Subcommittee devoted itself almost exclusively to drafting international agreements on liability and on assistance and return.

Working groups were established by the Subcommittee at the March session and discussed the two subjects in a business-like way. The United States introduced draft agreements on both assistance and return and on liability. In addition to the U.S. draft on assistance and return, a text submitted by the Soviet Union and a compromise draft prepared by Canada and Australia were considered. With regard to liability, texts by Belgium and Hungary were discussed as well as the U.S. draft. While no agreements were produced, the progress achieved convinced members of the desirability of a resumed session to be held in New York approximately 3 weeks prior to the 1964 session of the Outer Space Committee.

At the beginning of the resumed session of the Subcommittee, the U.S.S.R. introduced a new draft on assistance and return, and Australia and Canada continued their efforts to achieve a text on this subject acceptable to all sides. The United States, Belgium, and Hungary presented revised draft texts of a liability agreement.

After 3 weeks of intensive discussions of assistance and return, existing differences were narrowed and a working party reached preliminary agreement on some articles of a text. While the working group on liability completed a first reading of the drafts submitted, much work remained to be done. The Subcommittee accordingly recommended that work on both agreements should be continued at its next session.

Sixth Meeting of the Outer Space Committee

The resumed session of the Legal Subcommittee was immediately followed by a meeting of the full U.N. Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space in New York from October 26 through November 6. On the first day of the session, the U.S. delegation invited all the members of the Committee to a film and briefing on the U.S. lunar program "Ranger," presented by Dr. Homer Newell, Director of Space Sciences of NASA. Under this program Ranger VII, launched on July 28, 1964, had transmitted 4,316 photographs of the lunar surface. Photographs taken just prior to impact were in such sharp focus that objects of less than 3 feet in length could be distinguished.

During the Committee's general debate, Ambassador Francis T. P. Plimpton, the U.S. Representative, opened his remarks with the observation that from the dawn of the space age, the exploration of outer space has been conceived as a cooperative venture, and that each year the network of bilateral and multilateral arrangements has spread. He went on to give numerous examples of cooperative multilateral and bilateral arrangements, including the U.S. program of cooperative satellite launchings and U.S. worldwide arrangements for the use of U.S. satellites in ionospheric and meteorological research.

The U.S. Representative predicted that by the end of the first decade in space—in 1967—there would be not just two satellite launching nations but a significant number of other such states, and that the sounding rocket programs of a score of countries would be steadily increasing in scientific and technical sophistication. Such facts, he said, gave some idea of the "enormous and growing field" in which the Committee operated. He then proceeded to review the work of the Scientific and Technical and Legal Subcommittees. He concluded that "With good will, we can match progress in both areas and lend credence to those who would claim for our Committee an important role in giving the principles of the Charter relevance to the new environment of outer space."

In its report to the General Assembly, the Committee noted with satisfaction that substantial progress was made by the Legal Subcommittee, although there had been insufficient time to draft the international agreements. The Committee decided that work on the two agreements should be resumed as soon as possible.

The Committee approved the recommendations of its Scientific and Technical Subcommittee (see page 17). At the suggestion of Austria, it also invited the Scientific and Technical Subcommittee to study and submit a report on the possibility of establishing a civil worldwide navigation satellite system on a nondiscriminatory basis.

As recommended by the Scientific and Technical Subcommittee, the Committee considered the usefulness of organizing under U.N. auspices a conference in 1967 on the exploration and peaceful uses of outer space. The Soviet Union and a number of other U.N. members supported such a conference. The U.S. Representative expressed the views of the United States as follows:

The United States shares with others the belief that the passage of the first decade in space exploration is an occasion which properly deserves commemoration. We believe, however, that a scientific and technical conference would largely duplicate, at a very considerable expense in time and resources, the same exchanges of information that are conducted each year on an ever-widening scale by such organizations as COSPAR [Committee on Space Research], the many scientific unions, the WMO [the World Meteorological Organization], the ITU [International Telecommunication Union], the other specialized agencies, the International Astronautical Federation, and many national agencies. . . .

Rather than a full blown United Nations conference we would suggest a commemorative meeting of the Outer Space Committee itself in 1967. . . . Such a meeting would be a culmination of the work of this Committee since its inception, and would be a fitting task to engage its energy and resources.

Later Arnold W. Frutkin, speaking for the United States, reviewed the great number of scientific and technical conferences in the outer space field already scheduled, and pointed out other objections to a large U.N. conference of this kind.

In the end, the Committee decided to set up a working group of the whole to examine the desirability, organization, and objectives of an international conference or meeting to be held in 1967 on the exploration and peaceful uses of outer space.

During the session the United States, in association with other signatories, submitted a progress report to the Committee concerning the Interim Arrangements Establishing a Global Commercial Communications Satellite System. The Arrangements went into effect on August 20, 1964. By the end of the year, 19 countries had become members and a number of other countries had indicated an interest in joining. Although invited to participate in the Arrangements, the Soviet Union and other Communist countries failed to do so and criticized the Arrangements as discriminatory and contrary to U.N. resolutions on outer space. The United States and other countries observed that the Arrangements were in fact fully consistent with these resolutions. They noted that the Arrangements remained open to adherence by all members of the ITU and that access to the proposed system would become available on a nondiscriminatory basis to all.

On November 6 the United States and the Soviet Union transmitted to the Secretary-General a second memorandum of understanding

and protocol to implement the bilateral space agreement of June 8, 1962, and requested that these documents be circulated to all U.N. members as an official U.N. document. These documents contain the definitive details for a communications link between Washington and Moscow for the transmission of conventional and satellite meteorological data. The Memorandum also further defines an agreement to exchange data concerning the magnetic field surrounding the earth.

PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT

Arabian Peninsula

Oman

The Oman question, under consideration by the United Nations since 1957, stems from contradictory claims as to the status of Oman. The Arab states, in support of the Imam of Oman, charge that the problem is one of colonialism involving armed aggression against the independent state of Oman by the United Kingdom acting in behalf of the Sultan of Muscat, an alleged "colonial puppet" of the United Kingdom. The Sultan of Muscat and Oman, supported by the United Kingdom, has maintained that there is no separate state of Oman, that a 1957 rebellion in Oman was fomented from abroad but had now ended, and that the British forces, which he had requested, had been withdrawn. The Sultan and the United Kingdom have stressed the independent and sovereign character of the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman.

On February 27, 1964, in accordance with the 18th General Assembly's resolution of December 11, 1963, the Secretary-General announced that the President of the General Assembly had appointed an *Ad Hoc* Committee on Oman. The Committee was composed of Representatives of Afghanistan, Costa Rica, Nepal, Nigeria, and Senegal. Ambassador Pazhwak, Afghanistan's Representative, was elected chairman, and subsequently the Committee announced its intention "to make an exhaustive study of any problem it deems to be germane to the issue, and that in keeping with the General Assembly resolution it will study and evaluate the historical, territorial and political issues involved in the problem. . . ."

To this end the Committee in the spring and summer of 1964 held a series of closed meetings in New York to receive testimony from individuals and governments interested in the Oman question. In September 1964 it visited the United Kingdom, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait,

and the United Arab Republic for the same purpose. Although the Committee chairman did speak with the Sultan of Muscat and Oman in London, and the Committee later interviewed the Imam of Oman at Dammam, Saudi Arabia, none of the Committee members was able to visit the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman.

At the end of the year the Committee was engaged in preparing its report for submission to the 19th General Assembly.

Yemen

The United Nations presence in Yemen during 1964 stemmed from a Security Council resolution of June 11, 1963, requesting the Secretary-General to establish a mission to observe the Saudi Arabian and U.A.R. disengagement from the Yemen civil war. Pursuant to this request, the United Nations Observation Mission in Yemen (UNYOM) was established on July 4, 1963, and its mandate was renewed each 2 months thereafter during 1963 with the mutual consent and financial support of the two parties concerned.

Earlier, facing the imminent danger of a full-scale military confrontation in Yemen, the Saudi Arabian and U.A.R. Governments in April 1963 had accepted terms of disengagement proposed by American Special Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker. According to these terms Saudi Arabia would discontinue its support of the royalists, the United Arab Republic would withdraw its troops from Yemen, a demilitarized zone would be established along the Saudi Arabian/Yemen frontier, and impartial observers would be stationed in Yemen for the purpose of observing compliance with the terms of disengagement. Both parties subsequently also agreed to share financial support for the observation operation.

EXTENSIONS OF UNYOM

On January 2, 1964, the Secretary-General reported to the Security Council that although developments in Yemen remained far short of fulfillment of the disengagement agreement, he believed:

... on the basis of the experience of the Mission, especially during the last two months, that it exercises a pacifying influence on the situation in the frontier region and is an important factor in such improvements in the situation in the Yemen itself as have occurred. Its continued functioning after 4 January seems to me, therefore, to be highly desirable if the situation is not to deteriorate and if a climate is to be created in which political approaches towards a solution to the problem may be attempted.

The Secretary-General, therefore, sought and obtained agreement by Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Republic to continue financial support of UNYOM for a further 2 months through March 4, 1964.

At that time UNYOM consisted of the Secretary-General's Special Representative and his small civilian staff; a small military headquarters staff; about 25 military observers drawn from Denmark, Ghana, India, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Pakistan, Sweden, and Yugoslavia; a liaison officer at Jidda, Saudi Arabia; and a small air transport unit contributed by Canada. Throughout the remaining months of its mandate, UNYOM remained in roughly that form while the function of its military observers remained to observe, certify, and report on the implementation of the terms of disengagement.

In a report to the Security Council dated March 3, 1964, the Secretary-General commented that although progress toward disengagement continued to be disappointing, the resumption of diplomatic relations between Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Republic, together with an increasing unity of feeling and purpose within the Arab world stemming from the Arab summit conference held in Cairo in early 1963, held out hope for progress toward a solution of the Yemen problem.

In Yemen itself, however, he said, the U.A.R. forces appeared to have been strengthened during the first 2 months of the year while there also appeared to have been an increase in the fighting stimulated by increased arms deliveries to the royalists. The Secretary-General noted that UNYOM observers had found no evidence of arms shipments having entered Yemen from Saudi Arabia. U.A.R. sources asserted, however, that these supplies were being introduced from the Beihan area of the Federation of South Arabia. The Secretary-General also noted that there had been no U.A.R. overflights of or air attacks on Saudi Arabian territory since November 1963. Finally the Secretary-General reported that Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Republic had agreed to finance a further extension of UNYOM through May 4, 1964.

During March and April the Secretary-General was unable to report any further progress toward compliance with the disengagement agreement. The fighting in Yemen, although somewhat lessened, had reached a stalemate. Nevertheless, the Secretary-General obtained agreement from Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Republic for a further 2-month extension of UNYOM to July 4, 1964, and expressed the hope that recent and anticipated Saudi Arabian/U.A.R. discussions on the Yemen problem would result in some progress toward a solution of their differences.

For the period May-June 1964, the Secretary-General on July 2 reported little change with regard to implementation of the disengagement agreement "in particular as regards the withdrawal of U.A.R.

troops." Referring to a further 2-month extension of UNYOM's mandate—until September 4, 1964—he said:

. . . if this new period of two months were to register no substantial progress toward fulfillment or the firm prospect of imminent fulfillment [of the terms of disengagement], I would find it difficult to envisage a further extension of the Mission in its present form, and with its present terms of reference and purpose.

On September 2 the Secretary-General reported that UNYOM's observations during the period July–August 1964:

. . . have been somewhat more encouraging in that there has been a substantial reduction in the strength of the UAR armed forces in Yemen. However, it seems that this withdrawal is a reflection of the improved military situation in Yemen from the point of view of the UAR and of the increased participation by Yemeni republicans, many of them trained in the UAR, in the fight against the royalists, rather than the beginning of a phased withdrawal in the sense of the disengagement agreement. There are indications, moreover, that the Yemeni royalists have continued to receive military supplies from external sources.

The Secretary-General also noted that Saudi Arabia during August had on several occasions complained of U.A.R. overflights of Saudi Arabian territory and that one of these reports had been confirmed by UNYOM. The United Arab Republic, on its part, claimed that various weapons and ammunition, captured from the royalists, had been provided to the royalists by Saudi Arabia—a claim that Saudi Arabia denied. UNYOM reported that although it had observed increasing traffic across the Saudi Arabian/Yemen frontier, no military supplies had been discovered by UNYOM observers.

TERMINATION OF UNYOM

The Secretary-General in his same September 2 report noted that hoped-for high-level discussions between Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Republic had not taken place and that, under these circumstances, he had asked the two governments to make known to him their views with regard to the extension or termination of UNYOM. Saudi Arabia replied on August 26, 1964, that, while it had carried out its responsibilities under the disengagement agreement, the United Arab Republic had not done so. Accordingly Saudi Arabia found itself unable either to continue the sharing of UNYOM's expenses or to abide by the terms of the disengagement agreement after September 4, 1964. The United Arab Republic replied that it had no objection to the termination of UNYOM on that date. In view of these responses, the Secretary-General reported his intention to terminate UNYOM's activities on September 4, 1964, and remarked:

It is a matter of regret to me that the Mission has been able to observe only

limited progress towards the implementation of the disengagement agreement. In this regard, I must reiterate that the terms of reference of the Mission were restricted to observation and report only, and that the responsibility for implementation lay with the two parties which had concluded the agreement and which had requested the establishment of the Mission. My regret, however, is tempered by reason of the fact that the potential threat to international peace and security represented by the Yemen question has greatly diminished during the existence of the Mission and, I believe, to a considerable extent because of its activities. The true measure of the Mission, of course, is to be found in how it has discharged the limited responsibility and authority entrusted to it. In this respect, I think it can be said without question that the Mission actually accomplished much more than could have been expected of it, in the circumstances; it certainly could have been much more useful, had the definition of its functions been broader and stronger. It is clear, however, that during the fourteen months of its presence in Yemen, the UN Mission exercised an important restraining influence on hostile activities in that area.

In a final report on UNYOM to the Security Council the Secretary-General on September 11, 1964, stated that UNYOM's activities had been terminated on September 4, that the Mission's personnel were being withdrawn from Yemen, and that it was then estimated the total expenses for UNYOM's 14 months of operation would be about \$2 million. As of September 11 the Saudi Arabian and U.A.R. Governments had each contributed \$800,000 toward defrayment of these costs.

Following the termination of UNYOM's activities, President Nasser of the United Arab Republic and Crown Prince Faisal of Saudi Arabia met at Alexandria, Egypt, during the course of an Arab summit meeting. Among other topics they discussed the Yemen problem and on September 14 announced the intention of their respective governments "to cooperate fully in solving the existing differences between the various parties in Yemen and their determination to prevent armed clashes." They also agreed to "carry out the necessary contacts and mediate with the interested parties to create an atmosphere of understanding and reach a solution to existing differences by peaceful means." Shortly thereafter a cease-fire was arranged between the contending forces in Yemen and, at the end of 1964, a political settlement of the Yemen conflict which would be acceptable to all the parties was being sought.

Harib Incident

SECURITY COUNCIL CONSIDERATION: APRIL 2-8, 1964

The Security Council was convened on April 2, 1964, to consider complaints by the Yemen Arab Republic of alleged acts of aggression by the United Kingdom and U.K. countercomplaints of air and ground

attacks from Yemen against the territory of the Federation of South Arabia. At the outset of the debate the Security Council granted the requests of Yemen, Iraq, Syria, and the United Arab Republic to participate in the proceedings without right of vote.

Yemen by a letter dated April 1, 1964, to the President of the Security Council charged that the United Kingdom had committed more than 40 acts of aggression against Yemen since September 1962, culminating in an air attack on March 28, 1964, against the town of Harib during which 25 Yemenis had been killed. This had been accompanied, Yemen alleged, by the massing of British troops along Yemen's frontier. The United Kingdom, in letters to the President of the Security Council dated March 20, 28, and 31, 1964, charged that a series of air and ground attacks had been undertaken from Yemen against the Federation of South Arabia's territory during the month of March. The letter of March 28, 1964, informed the President of the Security Council that, after having protested to the Yemen Republican authorities (the British Government continues to recognize the former Royalist Government as the legitimate government of Yemen) and warning them with regard to the continuation of such attacks against the Federation of South Arabia, British aircraft had been ordered to deliver a counterattack on March 28 against a military fort in Yemen, about 1 mile from the township of Harib. The letter stated that to minimize the risk of loss of life a warning message was dropped 15 minutes prior to the attack and, during the course of the attack, no sign of life was seen at the fort, which was attacked only by rocket and cannon fire.

During the course of the debate the Yemen Representative said an air attack had been directed against the town of Harib rather than the fort and described the incident as an "unprovoked British act of savagery," constituting "a flagrant act of aggression which may lead to wide hostility." The Yemen Representative also summarized a series of alleged British "aggressions" against Yemen in 1963 and early 1964 during which British forces occupied Yemen territory 19 times in the course of some 40 air and ground actions. The March 28 air attack was, however, the most serious attack and was accompanied by British massing of troops on Yemen's frontier in preparation for an all-out attack. He said the reason for this British policy was that the United Kingdom considered that a progressive republic in the Arabian Peninsula endangered its own presence and interests in that region. The Yemen Representative also maintained that the Federation was in fact Yemen territory which had been occupied by the British for 125 years.

The Yemen Representative asked that the Security Council condemn the British aggression against the Yemen Arab Republic, call

for British evacuation from Yemen and Aden, and call for British compensation of Yemen's losses in life and property.

The U.K. Representative said that he was surprised at Yemen's call for a Security Council meeting since, if there had been any aggression, it had been against the Federation of South Arabia. He noted that Beihan, one of the states of the Federation, had for some time been the object of "deliberate acts of aggression and provocation on the part of the Yemeni authorities" and that his Government, being responsible for the defense of the Federation, had an obligation to assist it in protecting its territory from external aggression. He further noted that his Government could not accept Yemen's claim to sovereignty over territory of the Federation. The U.K. Representative then described a series of raids into the Federation from Yemeni territory and characterized the March 28 air attack as being a "defensive response" designed to preserve the territorial integrity of the Federation. He emphasized that all possible had been done to minimize loss of life and damage to civilian property while, contrary to the Yemen Representative's assertion, the attack had been carried out against an isolated fort 1 mile from the town of Harib—not on the town itself. He also questioned casualty figures offered by the Yemen Representative and denied that there had been any massing of British forces on the frontier between the Federation and Yemen.

The U.K. Representative called to the attention of the Security Council proposals his Government had made to Yemen the previous year for a demilitarized zone along the border in the Beihan area from which both sides would withdraw their forces. However, Yemen's counterproposals had been unsatisfactory and the talks had been halted. The British Government was now prepared to look again into this question on the basis of an equal withdrawal on both sides of the frontier as a means of contributing to the reduction of tensions in that area. In a subsequent statement, the U.K. Representative emphasized his Government's policy of noninvolvement in Yemen affairs and suggested that the Council invite the Secretary-General to assist in making arrangements for the stationing of observers along the frontier, and for its demarcation.

The Soviet, Czechoslovak, U.A.R., Syrian, Moroccan, and Iraqi Representatives, in a series of statements, spoke in support of Yemen's position, describing the air attack as "colonial aggression" which must be condemned by the Council. The Yemen Representative, supported by other Arab Representatives, in further statements, said that the U.K. suggestions to demilitarize or demarcate the border were really aimed at perpetuating British occupation of the "southern part of Yemen." He maintained that the Security Council must consider the root of the problem, namely, the British presence in the area, and in-

sisted that the issue was not one of border trouble but rather that of British aggression.

The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Adlai E. Stevenson, recalling the complaints of both Yemen and the United Kingdom, said that clearly there had been incursions and attacks across the frontier in both directions, and that "we can all join in expressing our disapproval of the use of force by either side as a means of solving disputes, a principle that is enshrined in the Charter." He suggested that, rather than dwell on the past, it would be more helpful if the Council tried to isolate from the situation those elements which might lead to an improvement along the frontier in question. He noted that much of the trouble on the frontier seemed to stem from the fact that it had never been defined and, if an agreement had been reached during the earlier Yemen/U.K. talks referred to by the U.K. Representative, the incidents then under consideration by the Council might never have taken place. In that connection he recalled that despite the breakdown in negotiations, owing to a general deterioration in the situation, both sides had indicated willingness to agree to a pull-back to prevent clashes, and neither side had rejected this important principle. He suggested that this possibility be taken up again and proposed that the Security Council "consider the appointment of a good officer to assume the task of bringing together the parties to the dispute. Perhaps one could assist the authorities of the Yemen Arab Republic and of the South Arabian Federation in considering a plan which holds forth some hope for peace in a troubled and threatening situation."

The French Representative called on the Security Council to create conditions which would make it possible to prevent the repetition of incidents such as those which brought about the meeting of the Council. He emphasized that unless a satisfactory settlement were achieved, there would be no guarantee that fresh difficulties would not arise.

SECURITY COUNCIL ACTION: APRIL 9-18, 1964

On April 8 the Moroccan Representative, on behalf of his Government and that of the Ivory Coast, submitted a joint draft resolution which: (1) condemned reprisals as being incompatible with the purposes and principles of the United Nations; (2) deplored the British air attack on Harib; (3) deplored all attacks and incidents which had occurred in that area; (4) called upon Yemen and the United Kingdom to exercise maximum restraint in order to avoid further incidents and restore peace to the area; and (5) requested the Secretary-

General to try to settle the outstanding issues in agreement with the two parties.

The U.S. Representative said that the United States particularly favored the latter two points of the draft resolution in that they provided suggestions for reducing tensions and for improving the situation in the area. In that connection, he urged that the parties offer to the Secretary-General their fullest cooperation. He then stated:

As the Council is aware, the incident at Harib was the culmination of a series of incidents in which there were previous violations of the Southern Arabian Federation from Yemen, and vice versa. We, therefore, feel that any action the Council takes should be in the context of the facts. . . . If there were not attacks, there would not be reprisals.

The U.S. Representative said that he had suggested to the cosponsors of the draft resolution two amendments which would have taken this point into consideration. However, he continued, the cosponsors could not accept the suggested amendments.

Consequently, I am obliged to say that we do not consider the resolution equitable, that it is not responsive to the realities and the facts that have been reviewed here in the Council's debate, and, accordingly, we cannot vote for the resolution as we would have liked to have done had it been possible to make the amendments that I have suggested.

Following brief statements in support of the draft resolution by the Representatives of China and Bolivia, the resolution was adopted April 9 by a vote of 9 to 0, with 2 (U.S., U.K.) abstentions.

In an explanation of his abstention, the U.K. Representative summarized his Government's position on the issue at hand and emphasized again that the March 28 air attack was an act of self-defense. For this reason he did not object to the paragraph in the resolution which condemned reprisals. With regard to the last two paragraphs of the resolution, he stated that his Government would be "unprovocative" and hoped that Yemen, and those that support Yemen, would scrupulously observe the Council's call for restraint. His Government, he added, welcomed the request for the Secretary-General's good offices and was prepared to consider with him ways of settling outstanding issues between the United Kingdom and Yemen.

Nevertheless, he continued, he had abstained on the resolution because his Government considered it to be unbalanced and not fully reflective of the facts as they occurred, or of the situation in the area. In his Government's view, the weight of criticism should have been directed against Yemen for its long series of "unprovoked acts of aggression" against the Federation.

The Yemen Representative declared his Government content with the Council's action.

The Soviet Representative, immediately prior to conclusion of the Council's consideration of the issue, observed that despite defects in the resolution, it clearly condemned the "British aggression" against Yemen.

SUBSEQUENT DEVELOPMENTS

Following the Security Council's adoption of the resolution, the U.K. and Yemen Representatives held separate talks with the Secretary-General on the question of the Yemen/Federation border. Although during 1964 the parties concerned and the Secretary-General reached no agreement on demilitarization or demarcation of the frontier, nor on the stationing of observers in the area, such incidents as continued to occur did not reach the proportions of that of March 28. Both governments, however, continued to charge each other with cross-border smuggling of arms and subversion.

*Congo***Termination of U.N. Military Operation in the Congo**

The expenditure of funds to maintain a reduced United Nations Operation in the Congo (UNOC) through June 1964 was authorized by a General Assembly resolution on October 18, 1963. At the beginning of 1964 the U.N. military force consisted of about 5,000 men deployed at five different stations. The most significant combat contingents were a Nigerian battalion in Léopoldville, a Swedish battalion in Luluabourg, two Ethiopian battalions—one located in Elisabethville and the other in Jadotville—and an Irish infantry group in Kolwezi. A number of other countries, including Canada, Denmark, India, Norway, and Pakistan, contributed important signal and administrative groups.

In June 1964 the United Nations withdrew the last of its military forces. Twenty-eight nations had provided a total of 93,000 troops during 4 years of operation. The total cost of the military operation was \$381,505,000. The United States contributed to this peace-keeping effort the biggest continuous airlift in the history of military aviation.

The U.N. Secretary-General in his "Report on the Withdrawal of the United Nations Force in the Congo," of June 29, 1964, reviewed the extent to which the mandates contained in Security Council and General Assembly resolutions had been fulfilled by UNOC and concluded that "The elimination of foreign military and paramilitary personnel and mercenaries had been, to all intents and purposes, effected by January 1963. With the proclaimed end of the attempted secession of Katanga at that time, the territorial integrity and political independence of the Congo could be regarded as fully restored, and the objective of preventing civil war as envisaged by the resolution of 21 February 1961 could be considered to have been, for the moment at least, fulfilled."

Turning to the mandate to maintain law and order, the Secretary-General noted the Congo's deteriorating security situation and observed that "The maintenance of law and order, which is one of the main attributes of sovereignty, is primarily the responsibility of the Congolese Government, and the role of UNOC has been limited to assisting the Government to the extent of its means, when it is requested to do so."

Summarizing the current status of the U.N. undertaking in the Congo, the Secretary-General pointed out: "The withdrawal of the United Nations Force from the Congo, now completed, marks the end of only the military phase of the massive assistance operation

which the United Nations has been conducting in the Congo during the past four years. It is important to stress this point, since the Civilian Operations, Technical Assistance and Special Fund activities will continue in the Congo to the extent that financial and other resources are available. . . . Indeed, it may even be hoped that it will prove possible to expand them somewhat after 30 June 1964." He noted that he will continue to have a Special Representative in the Congo and that "the resolutions of the Security Council concerning the Congo continue to be applicable, since they have no terminal date."

Statement by Secretary Rusk

During his press conference on July 1, Secretary of State Rusk characterized the United Nations 4-year effort in the Congo as "a remarkable achievement . . . on the part of the United Nations in preserving the peace"

Outbreak of Rebellion

In January 1964 a new threat to security in the Congo developed in Kwilu Province. Dissident bands began a series of attacks on government installations and personnel, blocking roads, wrecking bridges, and causing increasingly widespread disruption and bloodshed.

Responding to requests by the Congo, the United Nations, whose military force in the Congo was by then substantially reduced and concentrated principally in Katanga Province, provided transport and communications for the Congolese Army (ANC) in its efforts to cope with the rebellion. The U.N. forces also conducted numerous missions to evacuate threatened missionaries, including American nationals, and U.N. civilian personnel in the area. President Johnson on March 17, 1964, sent a letter to the U.N. Secretary-General expressing his sorrow at the death of six persons at rebel hands, his concern for the safety of American nationals, and his satisfaction that so many of the foreign residents had been brought to safety. The President wrote, "This well executed operation merits the world's attention and praise."

In April 1964 dissident activities also flared up in Kivu Province. This rebellion was comparable in nature but at least initially unrelated to that in Kwilu Province.

As in Kwilu, the United Nations utilized facilities it had available in Kivu Province to assist the ANC. At the request of the then Prime Minister of the Congo, Adoula, the United Nations agreed to sell to the Congo surplus armaments, including Ferret armored cars. Considerable additional equipment was also sold or transferred without cost by the United Nations to the Congolese Army.

Developing Crisis

During the summer of 1964 the military situation in the Congo continued to deteriorate. By early August a number of key towns, including Stanleyville, had fallen to the rebels. Prime Minister Moise Tshombe, who had been asked by President Joseph Kasavubu in July to form a government, called upon ex-Katangese gendarmes and white mercenaries to reinforce the Congolese Army.

The Organization of African Unity (OAU) convened on September 5 in Addis Ababa to consider the Congo question. On September 10 it adopted a resolution which called upon the Democratic Republic of the Congo (as the former Republic of the Congo was renamed under its new constitution promulgated on August 1, 1964) to stop recruiting mercenaries and to expel "as soon as possible" those already hired. It also appealed for a cessation of hostilities "so as to seek, with the help of the Organization of African Unity, a solution that would make possible national reconciliation . . .;" and appealed to all powers "at present intervening in the internal affairs of the Democratic Republic of the Congo to cease their interference." The resolution established an *Ad Hoc* Commission under the chairmanship of Jomo Kenyatta, Prime Minister of Kenya, to assist, *inter alia*, in national reconciliation.

Problem of Hostages

By September the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo (GDRC) had apparently weathered the worst of the threat posed by the rebellion. The Congolese Army, supported by several hundred mercenaries, recaptured many urban centers from the rebels. The primary objective of the Government's campaign was to capture Stanleyville, the capital of the rebel forces' "Government of the Popular Republic of the Congo." At the same time there was growing evidence that certain African and non-African powers were beginning to assist the rebels with arms, training, and safe-haven.

In early November the Government's drive on Stanleyville began. Of immediate concern to the United States, Belgium, and other governments was the danger to the lives of their nationals who were being held as hostages by the rebels to obtain military and political concessions from the GDRC. Among the hostages were five employees of the American Consulate, who were trapped in the area when the rebels took over Stanleyville and who were held virtually incommunicado. The arrest and threatened execution of an American medical missionary, Dr. Paul Carlson, on the patently false charge that he was a U.S. Army Major and a spy was illustrative of the rebel threats against civilians.

Early in August, when the difficult position of these hostages in Stanleyville first became evident, various international efforts were made—all to no avail—to alleviate their condition. On August 11 the rebels granted and then denied clearance to the United Nations to carry medical supplies to Stanleyville. Secretary-General U Thant on August 31 appealed to the rebels to treat the noncombatants in their territory humanely. On September 3 rebel authorities informed the United Nations that because of "lack of faith" in the United Nations, no U.N. aircraft could land at, or overfly, Stanleyville. A later statement on September 15 ominously warned that the rebel army would no longer guarantee the security of U.N. personnel.

The International Red Cross made persistent but largely unavailing efforts to bring relief and medical supplies into the city. On November 21, 13 signatories of the Geneva Conventions for the Protection of War Victims issued an appeal to the rebels to facilitate an immediate and safe arrival at Stanleyville of International Red Cross personnel.

The seriousness of the situation led the United States to conclude, in a letter dated November 22 to the President of the Security Council, that "Inasmuch as at least one execution threat has only been held in abeyance until Monday, we believe that the Security Council needs to be informed of the situation in case it proves necessary for the Council to take steps to help protect the lives of the innocent people involved." In another letter, Belgium urged "each Member of the United Nations to issue a pressing appeal that, in accordance with the Geneva Conventions, the hostages be immediately released" and reserved the right "to request an urgent meeting of the Security Council should it become necessary to consider the matter with a view to saving the lives of the innocent civilians in the region of Stanleyville."

Rescue Mission

On November 24, when the threats to the lives of the civilian hostages in the Stanleyville area became increasingly grave, the United States and Belgium, with the GDRC's authorization, began a rescue operation and immediately informed the United Nations of their action. In a letter to the Security Council, the United States reviewed the events which necessitated the rescue. "In these circumstances," the letter explained, "the United States supplied the transport aircraft to help accomplish the rescue mission. The sole purpose of this humanitarian mission was to liberate hostages whose lives were in danger. It will be withdrawn upon completion of its task." The letter enclosed the text of the Congo Government's letter, dated November 21, to the U.S. Ambassador in Léopoldville which author-

ized the Belgian Government "to send an adequate rescue force to carry out the humanitarian task of evacuating the civilians held as hostages by the rebels . . ." and the United States "to furnish necessary transport for this humanitarian mission."

In subsequent letters, dated November 26 and December 1, the United States informed the Security Council of the progress of the rescue mission and its departure from the Congo on November 29. The December 1 letter noted that

While this mission was able to effect the release of the majority of the hostages, many persons, who could not be reached, are still being held by the rebels in violation of international law and standards of civilized behavior. My Government deeply appreciates the efforts undertaken in the past by the Secretary-General in seeking to obtain humanitarian treatment for all civilians in the hands of the rebels and trusts that the Secretary-General's influence, as well as that of members of the United Nations, will continue to be employed to secure strict adherence to the Geneva Conventions for the Protection of War Victims.

Many African states were highly critical of the rescue operation. This attitude was embodied in a letter addressed to the President of the Security Council on December 1 requesting an urgent meeting of the Security Council to consider the situation in the Congo. Algeria, Burundi, the Central African Republic, the Republic of the Congo (Brazzaville), Dahomey, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Kenya, Malawi, Mali, Mauritania, Somalia, Sudan, Tanzania, Uganda, the United Arab Republic, and Zambia were joined by four non-African states (Afghanistan, Cambodia, Indonesia, and Yugoslavia) in complaining that the situation in the Congo "is likely to endanger the maintenance of peace and security in Africa." An accompanying explanatory memorandum argued that the Organization of African Unity (OAU) could have achieved the objectives contained in the OAU resolution of September 10 if it had not been for foreign intervention. The memorandum noted that the *Ad Hoc* Commission established under the OAU resolution of September 5 had held a number of talks with the GDRC and with the authorities in Stanleyville, and had kept the United States and Belgium informed of all developments. It asserted that the actions of the Governments of Belgium and the United States constituted "an intervention in African affairs, a flagrant violation of the Charter [article 52] of the United Nations and a threat to the peace and security of the African continent."

On December 9 the Congo requested an urgent meeting of the Security Council to consider its complaint that "certain States have assisted rebel groups in the eastern part of the Congo . . ." in violation of the Charter and the Security Council's resolution of July 22, 1960. The complaint cited evidence that Algeria, Sudan, the United Arab Republic, Ghana, Communist China, and the

U.S.S.R. were directly or indirectly assisting the rebels. The complaint asserted that these violations of Congolese sovereignty flouted every principle of international law as well as the U.N. Charter, constituted an intolerable intervention in the domestic affairs of the Congo, and, if allowed to continue, would constitute a grave threat to peace in Africa.

Security Council Consideration: December 9-24, 1964

The Security Council began discussion of the two complaints on December 9. The Representatives of Algeria, Belgium, Burundi, the Central African Republic, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Léopoldville), Ghana, Guinea, Kenya, Mali, Nigeria, Sudan, Tanzania, Uganda, and the United Arab Republic were invited to participate without vote in the debate. The Representative of the Congo (Brazzaville), Foreign Minister Ganao, opened the discussion by stating that the Congo issue was of direct interest to his Government ". . . because it affects the race to which I have the misfortune of belonging—I refer to the black race. . . ." His speech set the tone for subsequent statements by representatives of 12 of the African states which sponsored the complaint against the rescue mission. The verbal attacks were directed primarily against the United States and Belgium.

Reviewing the history of the Security Council's action on the Congo, the Ghanaian Representative charged that Belgium violated the resolution of July 14, 1960, which called upon that country to withdraw its troops from the Congo, and that the Council's resolution of September 16, 1960, calling on states to refrain from undermining the unity, territorial integrity, and political independence of the Congo, had been defied by "these foreign powers." Reviewing the action of the OAU on September 10, the Ghanaian Representative contended that "The two-Power military intervention is the more regrettable" in light of the efforts of the *Ad Hoc* Commission "to seek national reconciliation in a problem regarded by the African States as essentially political." He picked up the racial theme introduced by Foreign Minister Ganao and implied that the rescue mission's humanitarianism involved "the saving of the lives of a few persons of the white race, while at the same time thousands of African lives are destroyed." He questioned the propriety of an intervention for the purpose of rescuing civilians, and doubted the validity of the GDRC's authorization for the rescue mission. He requested the Security Council to take steps to "obviate the recurrence" of such intervention and to support the efforts of the OAU to bring peace and stability to that strife-torn country.

The Sudanese Representative, Foreign Minister Mahgoub, after dismissing the charge that his country had been guilty of intervention through its aid to the rebels, asked the Security Council to indicate “. . . that the practice of using foreign mercenaries against one's own people is an ugly vestige of an ugly past” and to “encourage and endorse efforts by the Organization of African Unity to persuade both sides in the Congo to enter into direct talks”

Foreign Minister Paul Henri Spaak on December 11 spoke for Belgium and expressed his dismay at the tone and content of the speeches of the African representatives. Declaring that he had not come to stand in the dock as the accused, Foreign Minister Spaak reviewed the events, and particularly the threats to the lives of the civilian population, which led his Government to embark on the rescue mission. He found the practice of holding hostages contrary to all international law and, in his belief, contrary to all human laws. He explained the limited objectives of the rescue mission, pointing out that it had departed immediately after these objectives had been achieved, and noting that those liberated in Stanleyville believed that “if the operation had not been undertaken, they would have been massacred.” Categorically rejecting charges that Belgian troops participated in massacres of Congolese and that the rescue mission was racist in character, the Foreign Minister called attention to the diverse nationalities evacuated from Stanleyville. He declared that Belgium was ready to cooperate with the United Nations, the OAU, and the legal government of the Congo so as to assist it in overcoming its immense difficulties.

Ambassador Theodore Idzumbuir, the Congo (Léopoldville) Representative, described his Government's appeals to the rebels to permit the evacuation of foreigners from Stanleyville. He was certain that had Congolese troops, which at that time were meeting with virtually no resistance, gone too far toward Stanleyville, the foreign civilians which the rebels had taken as hostages would have suffered. It was in the face of this situation that his Government authorized the U.S.-Belgian rescue mission. He denied that the paratroopers had tried to repress the rebellion, pointing out that the battle in Stanleyville took place between the Congolese National Army and the rebels after the paratroopers had departed. Turning to his Government's complaint, the Congo Representative recounted the atrocities committed by the rebel forces. He cited evidence indicating that Algeria, Sudan, and the United Arab Republic were intervening in the Congo on behalf of the rebels. He concluded by asserting that “there is a real, imminent and serious threat to our sovereignty in the fact that certain countries have decided to give, or are already giving,

armed support to the rebels . . ." and invited the Council to examine that threat and to make the necessary recommendations.

The bitterness of the debate and the unwarranted charges made against the United States brought a vigorous response on December 14 by Ambassador Stevenson, the U.S. Representative. Referring to the accusations leveled by some of the previous speakers, he expressed his shock at the "irrational, irresponsible, insulting and repugnant language in these chambers—and language used, if you please, contemptuously to impugn and slander a gallant and successful effort to save human lives of many nationalities and colors." Responding to the charges which had been leveled by previous speakers against the United States, he stated:

The United States emphatically denies the charges made in this memorandum and in the debate. We have no apologies to make to any State appearing before this Council. We are proud of our part in saving human lives imperiled by the civil war in the Congo. The United States took part in no operation with military purposes in the Congo. We violated no provision of the United Nations Charter. Our action was no threat to peace and security; it was not an affront—deliberate or otherwise—to the OAU; and it constituted no intervention in Congolese or African affairs. This mission was exactly what we said it was when we notified this Council at the beginning—nothing more and nothing less than a mission to save the lives of innocent people of diverse nationalities

The U.S. Representative pointed out that U.S. policy in the Congo had always supported the principles of unity, territorial integrity, and political reconciliation and opposed foreign intervention.

In discussing the concept of intervention in international affairs, he asked if any African country at the Council table would deny that under similar circumstances it would have urgently appealed for and gratefully accepted military aid from outside Africa. He suggested that if these countries sincerely wished the Government of the Congo not to seek such aid then they should scrupulously refrain from stirring up rebellion and aiding insurgents; if they demanded that the Government cease to defend itself with the only means at its disposal, while at the same time they themselves refused to aid that Government and were giving aid to the rebels, "what confidence in their good faith," he said, "can anyone have?" Asking on what grounds and for what purpose they appealed to a Council, the duty of which is maintaining international peace and security, the U.S. Representative also asked what security will any African government have if the practice of supporting rebellion against a government which is disliked by other governments becomes prevalent in Africa?

Advising against hypocrisy, he pointed out that either governments recognize the right of other governments to exist and refrain from attempting to overthrow them, or else we will revert to a primitive

state of anarchy in which each conspires against its neighbor. The basic question, therefore, was "Under what rules will the outsiders operate on the inside." He suggested that over the years through the practice of nations a general principle had been developed to guide the widespread practice of mutual involvement, namely: "Where the government, recognized diplomatically by other states as the responsible government, exercises its sovereign right to ask for outside help, be it economic, military or what not, then it would seem that the response and involvement of outsiders is all right."

The U.S. Representative contrasted the legitimate aid being given the GDRC with covert support being rendered the rebels by the Soviet Union, Communist China, Burundi, Congo (Brazzaville), Algeria, and the United Arab Republic. He asserted that the proper and urgent business of the Security Council was this intervention "in gross violation of the United Nations Charter and of repeated resolutions of this Council concerning the Congo." He urged the Council to reaffirm its support of the unity and territorial integrity of the Congo and to call on all states to refrain from any action which would impede the restoration of law and order and the exercise by the Government of the Congo of its authority, and to consider, as an urgent matter, the establishment of an inspection and investigative group to proceed to the Congo and to report to the Council. The U.S. Representative further urged support for the OAU and stressed the continuing heavy responsibility of the United Nations to help. He pledged "the whole-hearted support of my Government to cooperate with any and all responsible efforts by this organization, by the Organization of African Unity and by other appropriate international organizations" to the solution of the Congo crisis by peaceful means and to the ending of the rebellion "in a manner which will assure that all of the Congo's responsible political, economic and social resources are effectively and peacefully mobilized in tackling the great tasks of national rehabilitation and nation building."

Other members of the Security Council speaking in support of the rescue mission were the United Kingdom, France, China, Brazil, Bolivia, and Norway.

Nigeria's Representative, Foreign Minister Jaja Wachuku, contested many of the statements and conclusions of the African complainants who had appeared before the Council. He criticized them for having brought the matter before the Security Council instead of the OAU. With regard to the complaint concerning the rescue mission, Foreign Minister Wachuku noted the GDRC's statement and concluded that "any man in his right sense, and with a sense of justice and fair play, and knowing what it means to be a sovereign state, could not

interpret the act of those three countries [Belgium, U.K., and U.S.], upon the invitation of the Congo, to be intervention”

Addressing himself to the proposition that the GDRC should lay down its arms together with the rebels, the Foreign Minister protested that he had “. . . never heard anywhere in the world that a Government should be called upon, in order to settle a dispute with rebels, to lay down its arms as a condition of settlement.” Foreign Minister Wachuku called upon the GDRC and its neighbors to compose their differences. He suggested that serious consideration be given to the U.S. suggestion that observers be sent to the Congo and that “The Security Council could bring its influence to bear on the neighboring sister African countries, seeking from them undertakings that they will not allow their territories to be used for interference in the affairs of the Congo. Then the Government itself, having regard to what the OAU has already said, could be prevailed upon to declare an amnesty for those Congolese who, though they may be rebels today, think of their country as their home and are prepared to abandon their present activities.”

Speaking as a member of the Security Council, the Ivory Coast Representative, Ambassador Arsene Usher, stressed the wisdom and necessity of action by the OAU. He condemned military assistance to rebels as “not only illegitimate but illegal.” Regretting the taking of hostages, Ambassador Usher at the same time deplored the racial considerations that had been involved and the employment of mercenaries. He called for the Council to “obtain from all States a promise of abstention from intervention in the domestic affairs of the Congo” and to recognize that a solution of the problem depends upon restoration of public order and reconciliation.

The Moroccan Representative, Ambassador Day Ould Sidi Baba, spoke on December 17. He expressed his sorrow at developments in the Congo and criticized the deleterious effects of employment of mercenaries. Concerning the rescue mission, he counseled that “the motives invoked to justify the carrying out of that operation should not be overlooked.” The Moroccan Representative affirmed that his Government “considers that no State, whether or not it is African, has the right to interfere in the domestic affairs of the Congo. That country should solve its own problems alone”

The Soviet Representative, Ambassador Nikolai Fedorenko, described the rescue mission as “open military interference in the internal affairs of the Congo” by NATO Powers. He condemned the action in the strongest terms and considered it an attempt to resort anew to the “colonialist methods” of the past century “which have been condemned by the peoples of the world.” “It is the duty of the

Security Council," the Soviet Representative concluded, "to put an end to the actions of the interventionists in the Congo and to support the African States in their efforts to eliminate a dangerous focus of tension that has been created by the colonialists in the heart of Africa."

A second round of vituperative speeches by a number of the African complainants prompted the U.S. Representative on December 24 again to address the Council. He expressed his "disbelief at the incessant parrot-like repetition of absurd charges and sorrow that several African nations are disdainful, even resentful, of my country's long and consistent efforts to help achieve the unity, the integrity and the peaceful development of the Congo" In summarizing recent events in the Congo, he said:

I think history will record the long efforts of the Congolese Government to obtain help in the training, the disciplining and the equipping of an army in order to preserve law and order within its boundaries against the day when the United Nations forces would have to leave. I think it will record that the United States and Belgium were among those who answered that call. It will record the fact that the rebellion was against the Government of Prime Minister Adoula in the beginning—a fact which the complaining nations seem to overlook. It will record Mr. Adoula's appeals to African nations to help him fill the void created by the final departure of the United Nations forces. It will recall their failure to respond, and it will also now record their denunciation of those who did. And now it will also record the unashamed—indeed exulting—admissions by the Chiefs of State of Algeria and the United Arab Republic, President Ben Bella and President Nasser, that they are sending arms to the rebels to help overthrow the Government of the Congo and that they will continue to do so.

During the debate, a consensus began to emerge for urging the OAU to continue its efforts for condemning intervention and the employment of mercenaries, and for finding a political solution.

OAU Foreign Ministers Meeting

The OAU expressed its views on December 18 at a meeting of its Foreign Ministers in New York. By a vote of 20 to 0, with 10 abstentions, the Foreign Ministers adopted a resolution which, *inter alia*, appealed to the Security Council:

"(a) to condemn the recent foreign military interventions which have compromised the efforts being made by the Organization of African Unity to secure national reconciliation in the Congo;

(b) to recommend an African solution to the problem; [and]

(c) to recommend to all the Powers concerned that they cooperate with the Organization of African Unity in order to facilitate the solution of the Congolese problem."

Security Council Action: December 28-30, 1964

After intensive consultations and negotiations, the Ivory Coast and Morocco on December 28 introduced a draft resolution in the Security Council.

The Representative of the Ivory Coast noted that the draft was a compromise and affirmed that its objective was "to put an end to the killing in the Congo." The basis of the draft, he stressed, was that "the solution of the Congolese problem cannot be a military one, but rather a political one, and that, as a consequence, the solution depends not only upon a national reconciliation but also on the restoration of public order"

By a vote of 10 to 0, with France abstaining, the Security Council adopted on December 30 a resolution based on the Ivory Coast-Moroccan draft. The resolution in its operative sections requested states not to intervene in the domestic affairs of the Congo; appealed for a cease-fire in accordance with the OAU resolution of September 10; opined that mercenaries should be withdrawn in accordance with the OAU resolution; encouraged the OAU in its efforts to help the GDRC achieve national reconciliation; requested all states to assist the OAU; asked the OAU to keep the Security Council informed; and requested the Secretary-General to follow the situation and keep the Council informed.

The adoption of the resolution, which had the express approval of the 18 African complainants, did not bridge the differences between various parties to the long and difficult debate. Instead, the divergent views exposed by the debate were carried over to the interpretation of the resolution.

The Representative of Guinea, speaking for the 18 African complainants, said that they supported the resolution out of a spirit of compromise. They were thus willing to accept the idea that the "Belgian-American intervention" would not be explicitly condemned "it being understood that, implicitly, in some paragraphs of the preamble, this intervention was referred to" The Soviet Representative, too, asserted that the operative paragraph concerning intervention in the Congo was an outgrowth of the 18-African nation complaint and that it referred to the rescue mission.

The Congo (Léopoldville) Representative, while saying he was not entirely satisfied with the resolution, expressed the hope that the injunction to states to desist from intervening in Congolese internal affairs would be respected. With regard to the provision on mercenaries, he said that when armed opposition had ended and foreign assistance to the rebels ceased, the Government would be able to

dispense with the services of the volunteers. He took note of the appeal for a cease-fire to the extent that it was an invitation to the rebels to stop their violence and to the Government to show understanding toward persons who were not really aware of what they were doing.

The U.S. Representative welcomed the resolution and noted its consistency with past Council resolutions in affirming the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Congo. He pointed particularly to the importance of the provision on nonintervention.

Referring to the cease-fire provision, the U.S. Representative noted that, while all shared the hope that bloodshed would end, "I think we all recognize that it is not the intention of the resolution we have just adopted to restrict the freedom of the Government of the Congo to govern or to exercise its responsibilities for maintaining the sovereignty and the unity of the Congo." The U.S. Representative said that the resolution provides the OAU with a firm basis for effective conciliatory action and that the Council acted wisely in asking the Secretary-General to keep it informed. In this regard, he pointed out that a meaningful cease-fire and enforcement of a nonintervention provision could be achieved only by proper observation by a neutral and impartial body. He trusted that, as part of his mandate, the Secretary-General would do whatever was possible and feasible to help insure compliance with this provision. Alluding to the contention that the second preambular paragraph referred to the rescue mission, the U.S. Representative pointed out that the legislative record was clear "the overwhelming majority of the members of this Council do not so interpret that paragraph of the resolution."

Cyprus

When, on March 27, 1964, Lt. Gen. P. S. Gyani of the Indian Army assumed command of the United Nations Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP), the United Nations once again demonstrated its ability to mobilize and deploy peacekeeping forces in a dispute which threatens world peace. The smoldering antagonisms between the Greek and Turkish communities in Cyprus which erupted into fighting on December 21, 1963, have their roots deep in history. The Greek Cypriot population of the island is about 80 percent of the total and the Turkish Cypriot about 18 percent. Differences in history, culture, and religion have inhibited the integration of the two communities, although they have lived side by side on the island for nearly 400 years. The majority of Greek Cypriots have striven for *enosis*, union with Greece, while the Turkish Cypriots have looked to Turkey

for moral and political support and, at times, have favored partition of the island.

When the independence of Cyprus was negotiated in 1959-60, the Constitution and related agreements took the form of international treaties (the London-Zurich Agreements) concluded between the Republic of Cyprus, the United Kingdom, Greece, and Turkey. Articles written into the Constitution stipulated certain rights and prerogatives for the two major communities. They provided for the election of the President from among the Greek Cypriot community and of the Vice President by the minority Turkish Cypriot community. The President and the Vice President were given veto power over certain aspects of foreign policy, defense, and security. The basic articles of the Constitution also required concurrent majorities of both Turkish and Greek members of Parliament for revenue measures and bills relating to the electoral laws and municipal government.

Another key part of the London-Zurich Agreements was the Treaty of Guarantee. Under its terms the Republic of Cyprus undertook to maintain its independence, territorial integrity, and security, as well as respect for its Constitution; and agreed not to participate in any economic or political union with any other state. Partition of the island was also debarred. The other three contracting parties expressly recognized and guaranteed the independence, territorial integrity and security of Cyprus and "the state of affairs established by the basic articles" of the Constitution. In addition, the London-Zurich Agreements provided for two bases under British sovereignty on the island. Under the Treaty of Alliance, Turkey, Greece, and the Republic of Cyprus agreed to defend Cyprus and provision was made for the stationing of 950 Greek and 650 Turkish troops on the island.

On November 30, 1963, the President of Cyprus, Archbishop Makarios, addressed a memorandum to the Turkish Cypriot Vice President proposing certain changes in the Constitution designed to eliminate those provisions "conflicting with internationally accepted democratic principles" and those provisions which "impede the smooth functioning and development of the State." Archbishop Makarios' proposals were rejected by Turkey on the ground that they would vitiate the basic rights of the Turkish Cypriot community as guaranteed in the Constitution. Following this rejection, fighting on a serious scale broke out between the island's two communities. Cyprus requested a meeting of the Security Council which was convened late in the evening of December 27, 1963. After hearing statements by the Representatives of Cyprus, Turkey, and Greece, the Council adjourned without formal action to be reconvened "on consultation by the President, when and if it is considered appropriate by the members."

In a letter dated January 8, 1964, from the United Kingdom, the Council was informed that the United Kingdom, Greece, and Turkey had offered on December 25, 1963, to assist Cyprus in restoring peace and order by means of a joint force under British command. The acceptance of this offer by Cyprus had been announced on December 26 and the joint force had been established under a British Commander. On January 17, 1964, in response to a request by Cyprus, concurred in by Greece, Turkey, and the United Kingdom, the Secretary-General designated Lt. Gen. P. S. Gyani, former Commander of the U.N. force in the Gaza strip, as his Personal Representative to observe the peacekeeping operation.

A conference of the interested countries held in London (beginning on January 15) failed to agree on a political solution.

On February 15 both the United Kingdom and Cyprus requested an early meeting of the Security Council. In its letter to the President of the Security Council, the United Kingdom stated, "security in the island of Cyprus has seriously deteriorated and tension between the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities has risen gravely." The letter informed the Council that it had become clear that an augmented peacekeeping force would be required "if conditions of internal security were to be restored." It went on to state: "The Government of the United Kingdom have been in constant consultation with the Government of Cyprus and the Governments of Greece and Turkey and with a number of other governments about the need to associate the forces of other nations in an international peace-keeping arrangement on the island. While agreement on these arrangements has been reached among the guarantor powers and certain other governments, I regret to have to inform you that owing to the inability so far of the Government of Cyprus to agree, it has not yet proved possible to bring the arrangements contemplated into effect." The United States was one of the countries consulted and had agreed to participate in the augmented force, subject to acceptance of the proposal by the Government of Cyprus.

Security Council Consideration: February 18-March 13, 1964

When the Security Council met on February 18, the U.K. Representative, Ambassador Sir Patrick Dean, reviewed the provisions of the London-Zurich Agreements and the efforts that his Government and the other interested parties had made to restore order in Cyprus. He stated that the burden of peacekeeping had fallen exclusively to his Government but that this was a burden it did not wish to bear a day longer than necessary. He stated further that his Government's actions on Cyprus had always been within the framework of the

Treaty of Guarantee, and the presence of British forces in the Republic of Cyprus was in response to an invitation by the Government of Cyprus.

In conclusion, the U.K. Representative outlined what he thought a Security Council resolution should contain. He urged the establishment of a peacekeeping force "as soon as possible" and the designation of an impartial mediator to "assist the parties in achieving an agreed settlement." He also thought the Council would want to "call on all States and authorities concerned to respect the independence, territorial integrity and security of the Republic of Cyprus, in accordance with the Treaty of Guarantee and as established and regulated by the basic articles of the Constitution."

The Representative of Cyprus, Foreign Minister Kyprianou, in his principal statement referred to the London-Zurich Agreements and said "if in any of the treaties, in the view of any of the parties, there is a limitation to the independence and the sovereignty of the State, then in our view such treaty or such clause of the treaty does not exist. Furthermore, it has not been mentioned that Cyprus, after the signing of the treaties in Zurich and London, has become a member of the United Nations." He also stated, "in our view . . . no country has the right of military action in Cyprus."

The Representative of Cyprus then recalled the "actions" and "threats" which had prompted his Government's appeal to the Security Council on December 27, 1963. He maintained that during the London Conference, "On more than one occasion we were given to understand that if we did not give way on a particular point the talks might break down, with a Turkish invasion of Cyprus as the result." Referring to the proposal to establish an international peacekeeping force to replace the U.K.-Greek-Turkish force, the Cyprus Representative stated that his Government had insisted that such an international force should be under the control of the Security Council. At the conclusion of his statement, he stated, "the territorial integrity, the unity, the sovereignty and the complete independence of our country are not negotiable."

The Turkish Representative, Ambassador Turgut Menemencioglu, denied charges of hostile military activity by Cyprus. He then reviewed the history of the London-Zurich Agreements and stated that their purpose had been "to ensure equilibrium and harmony between the two communities living on the island, to safeguard the interests of Turkey, of Greece and of the United Kingdom, and to bring fresh peace and stability to the area." He recalled that, in addition to the Constitution, three treaties were concluded to guarantee the status of the island under its Constitution, and to provide for the mutual defense requirements of Cyprus and the region. In the event of a violation of

the Treaty of Guarantee, the parties undertook to consult together with respect to the measures necessary to insure the observance of the commitments and that if common action should prove impossible, each of the guarantor powers had the right to take individual action with the aim of reestablishing the state of affairs created by the Treaty. The Turkish Representative maintained that: "Without these safeguards and without the basic articles of the Constitution the independence of Cyprus would have been unthinkable." The treaties, together with the Constitution, could have formed the basis of a lasting peace in Cyprus if they had been implemented in good faith. It soon became apparent, he said, that Archbishop Makarios, who had raised no objection at the time of the signing of the London-Zurich Agreements, was determined to bring about changes in the status of the island, ". . . and especially to do away with the guarantees accorded to the Turkish community."

According to the Turkish Representative, the Greek Cypriot leaders wanted "some kind of United Nations resolution, which they think they could pretend to interpret as though international treaties had been abrogated, as though commitments no longer exist—some formula which would eliminate their obligations not only to the guarantor Powers but also to all the civilized world, so that they could proceed without interference to the final extermination of the Turkish Cypriots."

Ambassador Dimitri Bitsios, the Representative of Greece, stated that from the outset of the crisis his Government had taken a firm position in favor of moderation and peaceful action. His Government had also accepted the principle of the creation of an international force under the auspices of the United Nations. With respect to the alleged right of intervention under article IV, paragraph 2 of the Treaty of Guarantee, "Only a body such as the International Court of Justice could pass judgment with authority." But he feared that such an intervention under the circumstances would involve the risk of generalizing the conflict. The Greek Representative recalled the Cyprus debates during the 12th and 13th sessions of the General Assembly and "the threatening warnings directed at Members of our Organization by the representatives of certain parties concerned on the danger of a conflict going beyond the frontiers of Cyprus should the United Nations pronounce itself in favor of self-determination." As a result, "the Cypriots had not been able to exercise that right of self-determination, which is nevertheless one of the fundamental principles of our Charter." He went on to state that there are "few examples of sacrifice which surpass in abnegation this sacrifice of the Greeks of Cyprus."

The Greek Representative stated that the three guarantor powers and the Republic of Cyprus must pursue a single common goal "to reestablish order in Cyprus in order to make possible the quest for a basic solution of the problems. . . ." His Government supported the request of the Representative of Cyprus that all members respect the independence and integrity of Cyprus. He concluded: "We hope that the Council will aid us in our efforts to establish an international force which will assist in the pacification of the island and in the parallel setting up of negotiations for solving the problem by placing this entire operation under its aegis."

Ambassador Nikolai Fedorenko, the Soviet Representative, charged that the real cause of the situation on the island was that the communal discord, ". . . fomented from the outside is being used as an excuse for unmasked interference by certain specific Powers in the internal affairs of the Republic of Cyprus. They are trying to force upon the people and Government of Cyprus a solution of the problem that is suitable to them and the countries of NATO. . . ." The Soviet Representative also stated that the London-Zurich Agreements were "forced" on Cyprus. The Cypriots, he contended, had not even been allowed to participate in the Zurich and London talks in 1959. He maintained that all threats to Cyprus must be stopped. Under the Charter every member was obliged to respect the independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus and refrain from the use or threat of force against it. This was an absolute obligation which could not be annulled by any treaty. The Soviet Government, he said, had urged all states, especially the United States, the United Kingdom, and France, to exert all their influence and authority to prevent further aggravation of the Cyprus situation.

The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Adlai Stevenson, speaking on February 19, recalled the circumstances leading to the establishment of the Republic of Cyprus, the recent renewed outbreak of fighting, the efforts by the United Kingdom to keep the peace, and the proposal for an international peacekeeping force agreed to by the guarantor powers but not acceptable to Cyprus. With respect to the Treaty of Guarantee Ambassador Stevenson stated:

Mr. President, I think we all know that the Treaty of Guarantee forms an integral part of the organic arrangements that created the Republic of Cyprus. In fact, it is a so-called basic article of the Constitution of Cyprus. That treaty assures the independence, territorial integrity and security of the Republic, as well as respect for its Constitution. It assigns to the guarantor powers certain responsibilities regarding the maintenance of the Constitution and of the treaty itself, including the carefully negotiated balance and protection of the two Cypriot communities. It was signed after literally years of soul-searching negotiation and approved by all of the parties.

This treaty, or any international treaty, cannot be abrogated, cannot be nullified, cannot be modified either in fact or in effect by the Security Council of the United Nations. The treaty can be abrogated or altered only by agreement of all of the signatories themselves, or in accordance with its terms.

No one, Mr. President, is threatening to take the territory of Cyprus; no one is threatening its independence—Turkey or Greece or anyone else. What is possible—and I quote the language of the treaty—is “action expressly authorized by Article 4 of the treaty with the sole aim of reestablishing the state of affairs created by the treaty.”

The U.S. Representative went on to state that “the urgent business before the Council and the responsibility of the Government of Cyprus is to restore communal peace and order and to stop the bloodshed.” The United States, he said, had no position on the form or the shape of a final settlement. “To serve any helpful purpose in this inflammable case, the Security Council must make an effective contribution to the reestablishment of conditions in which a long-term political solution can be sought with due regard to the interests, the rights and the responsibilities of all parties concerned.” The U.S. Representative then made the following concrete suggestions for action by the Security Council:

. . . I suggest that we must bring about a prompt agreement on an international peacekeeping force for Cyprus, the need for which has been recognized by all, including President Makarios. This may require that we introduce into these consultations an expert in the peacekeeping field of recognized impartiality and stature. No one better fills such a requirement than the Secretary-General of the United Nations. We, therefore, recommend that the Council appeal to the parties concerned, in consultation with the Secretary-General, to move ahead quickly in working out such arrangements. Other states can make a contribution toward the establishment of a peacekeeping force. Those that can do so should cooperate freely and generously in this endeavor.

Strenuous efforts will also be required to bring about an agreement between the two parties on a political settlement which will permit them to live in peace with each other. Therefore, we would also strongly urge that the Government of Cyprus and the guarantor powers, in consultation with the Secretary-General, be asked to designate an impartial mediator to assist in achieving a settlement. Let us address ourselves to these two priorities and let us, I beg leave to say, do so quickly.

On March 4 the Security Council adopted unanimously a resolution sponsored by Bolivia, Brazil, the Ivory Coast, Morocco, and Norway, which recommended the creation, with the consent of Cyprus, of a U.N. peacekeeping force in Cyprus and the appointment of a mediator by the Secretary-General, in agreement with the parties. The resolution recommended that in the interest of preserving international peace and security, the Force was to “use its best efforts to prevent a recurrence of fighting and, as necessary, to contribute to the maintenance and restoration of law and order and a return to normal conditions.” It also called on all member states to refrain from any action or threat of action likely to worsen the situation in Cyprus

and specifically requested Cyprus to take all additional measures necessary to bring an end to violence and bloodshed on the island. The costs of the Force were to be met by the governments providing the contingents, the Government of Cyprus, and by voluntary contributions from U.N. members.

In abstaining on the paragraph establishing the Force, the Soviet Representative stated that, "Although the creation of United Nations Forces in Cyprus is to take place with the agreement of the Government of Cyprus, and their composition and size are to be established in consultation with the Government of Cyprus as well as with the Governments of the so-called guarantor countries—Greece, Turkey, and the United Kingdom—one cannot fail to see that, in fact, procedures of this kind would circumvent the Security Council. As regards the provision to the effect that the commander of the Force would be accountable to the Secretary-General, who would have to report periodically to the Security Council, this provision is of course not adequate."

Czechoslovakia and France also abstained on the paragraph establishing the Force.

The Security Council was again called into emergency session on March 13 at the request of Cyprus. The Cyprus Representative charged that his Government had received "... one of the most serious threats of invasion of Cyprus that we have been faced with up to this time, in the form of an official note delivered to the Government of Cyprus which peremptorily demands that a number of things be done immediately by the Government of Cyprus, failing which the Turkish Government says that it will exercise its alleged right of intervention in the internal affairs of Cyprus by force."

In reply the Turkish Representative denied that the note sent by his Government was an ultimatum.

The Secretary-General informed the Council that UNFICYP would be established without delay and that an advance party of Canadians was departing for Cyprus that night.

Before adjourning the Council unanimously adopted a resolution which reaffirmed that paragraph in its March 4 resolution calling on all U.N. members "to refrain from any action or threat of action likely to worsen the situation in the sovereign Republic of Cyprus, or to endanger international peace."

Organization of the United Nations Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP)

Acting under authority of the March 4 resolution, the Secretary-General in early March consulted with the governments named in the resolution, the governments of potential contributors of troops, and

with his own military staff in order to determine the composition, organization, command, and strength of the Force to be established in Cyprus.

By March 12, 1964, he was able to report to the Security Council the following developments relating to the establishment of UNFICYP: (1) on March 6 he had appointed Lt. Gen. P. S. Gyani, theretofore his Personal Representative in Cyprus, as UNFICYP Commander; (2) he had requested several governments to provide contingents; and, (3) he had determined that the Force would be established with an initial strength of 7,000.

The United Kingdom on March 9 informed the Secretary-General that it was prepared to match contributions of contingents of all other countries up to a total force strength of 7,000—in other words a British contingent of up to 3,500 troops. Subsequently the Secretary-General was able to report that Austria, Canada, Finland, Ireland, and Sweden had agreed to provide contingents.

UNFICYP was officially established on March 27, 1964. As of this date it had at its disposal approximately 7,000 troops of which 6,000 were British and 950 Canadian. The balance consisted of small advance parties of Irish, Finnish, and Swedish contingents. It was planned that the British contingent would be reduced as the other contingents arrived and became operational.

By early May major elements of all contingents, except that of Denmark (which had not been requested to provide a contingent until April), had arrived in Cyprus, as had some 150 civilian police from Austria, Australia, Denmark, and Sweden. These were later joined by 20 civilian police from New Zealand. As of May 1, UNFICYP's strength was approximately 6,500 troops and civilian police and remained between 6,000 and 6,500 for the remainder of the year. At the end of the year its strength was 6,238, composed as follows:

Military contingents

Austria (hospital unit)	48
Canada	1, 139
Denmark	993
Finland	957
Ireland	1, 059
Sweden	849
United Kingdom	<u>1, 021</u>
Total	6. 066

Civilian police units

Australia.	39
Austria	34
Denmark	40
New Zealand.	19
Sweden	<u>40</u>
Total	172

Because of the relatively short periods of service for which many of the troops had been recruited (other than the British and Canadians), it was necessary during the course of the year to replace the larger part of the national contingents with newly recruited volunteers.

The Force is organized on the basis of national battalions, each of which is assigned responsibility for a sector of the island. The UNFICYP Commander, responsible to the Secretary-General, exercises command through the national contingent commanders with the assistance of a headquarters staff on which each contingent is represented.

Like the national military contingents, the civilian police are also assigned sectors of responsibility and are maintained as national units for ease of command and control.

The United Kingdom and Canadian contingents are virtually self-sufficient and supply all of their unit requirements, including transportation to and from Cyprus, at no cost to the United Nations. Additionally, the United Kingdom, which has sovereign military bases on the island, provides many goods and services to the other contingents on a reimbursable basis. The Irish contingent, including its equipment, is provided to the Force at no cost but requires transportation to and from Cyprus and some support services. The Danish, Finnish, and Swedish contingents have been provided to UNFICYP with the understanding that their respective governments will be reimbursed for most of the costs incurred by their contingents, including salaries and allowances. These contingents also require transportation to and from Cyprus as well as some support services. The civilian police are, by and large, provided at no cost, although in certain instances extraordinary costs are to be reimbursed to the contributing governments by the United Nations.

The United States has provided, at no cost to the United Nations, airlift to and from Cyprus for most elements of the Danish, Finnish, Irish, and Swedish contingents. During 1964 this represented the airlift of approximately 8,400 troops to and from Cyprus. The United Kingdom, in addition to providing the transport for its own troops, also airlifted several hundred Danish troops. The Italian Air Force airlifted a total of over 1,000 Swedish troops to and from Cyprus. The Government of Cyprus, as a part of its contribution to the operation of UNFICYP, has provided at no cost certain services and the use of certain facilities and properties.

Financial Support for UNFICYP

Virtually all of the governments contributing contingents or logistical support to UNFICYP have also made voluntary financial contributions for its support.

Acting under authority of the March 4 and subsequent Security Council resolutions, the Secretary-General established budget estimates for each of the 3-month mandates and made appeals to all member states, as well as to certain nonmembers, for the voluntary financial contributions necessary to fulfill the estimated budget requirements for the support of UNFICYP's operations. The first budget estimate and appeal for voluntary contributions was made shortly after the Security Council adopted its March 4 resolution. Subsequent budget estimates for each 3-month extension of UNFICYP were made available to the Security Council for review in connection with the Council's consideration of extension of the Force. Appeals for further voluntary financial contributions to meet these estimates followed the Security Council's extension of the Force's mandate (see page 288).

Periodic Reports by the Secretary-General

Following the first month of the Force's operation, the Secretary-General issued a statement of the "objectives and interim aims of a comprehensive program of action for UNFICYP." He described it as a program of reasonable objectives which he thought all parties could readily support. Among the objectives were the achievement of freedom of movement on the roads and in the cities, removal of fortified positions, the progressive reintegration of the Cypriot police, the disarming of civilians, the control of extremists on both sides, and the arrangement of security measures and other necessary conditions to facilitate return to normal conditions.

In reporting that the relations between the two communities on Cyprus continued to be a cause for "gravest anxiety," the Secretary-General stated that "Ultimate responsibility for a return to normal conditions must, obviously, rest primarily with the authorities and people of Cyprus themselves, since normality can come about only as a result of a determination by the two communities, so many of whose members on both sides are now armed and active as a sort of loosely organized militia, to lay down their arms and seek to live again in peace."

The Secretary-General's report covering the period April 26 to June 15 stated that "No military clashes of any significance have occurred in this period. Hence, one of the major objectives of the United Nations operation, namely, 'to prevent a recurrence of fighting,' is being accomplished." He continued on this cautionary note, however, ". . . tensions have not substantially lessened, and both sides have taken advantage of the lull in fighting to strengthen their military positions and to improve their ability to undertake military operations

in the future. It is also evident that the inventory of arms within the country has grown substantially through smuggling, by both communities, and from importation by the Government." In discussing freedom of movement along the roads of the island, he pointed out that the freedom of movement of Turkish Cypriots was "limited by reason of the checks, excessive searches, and the feeling of insecurity and fear of arbitrary arrest or abduction. . . ." He noted too, however, that lack of movement by the Turkish Cypriots outside of their areas ". . . is believed also to be dictated by a political purpose, namely, to reinforce the claim that the two main communities of Cyprus cannot live peacefully together in the island without some sort of geographical separation."

In this same report the Secretary-General termed "most reprehensible" the practice of taking and holding or killing hostages. He noted that both communities engaged in this practice, but "because of the circumstances" it was done to a greater extent by Greek Cypriots. He stated that "The taking of hostages is prohibited by international law, and the killing of hostages is a universally recognized war crime."

The Secretary-General also questioned whether the decision by Cyprus to institute conscription in connection with the organization of the National Guard was "consistent with the resolution of the Security Council of March 4, 1964." He characterized the "recurrent threats of landing in Cyprus by Turkish military forces" as "most unhelpful."

When the Security Council met on June 18-19 to consider extension of the U.N. Force for a further 3 months, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Stevenson, called the increased importation of arms "most serious." With respect to the charges and countercharges made by Representatives of Cyprus and Turkey, the U.S. Representative said:

We have heard, Mr. President, the charges by the distinguished Foreign Minister of Cyprus that the threat of military intervention by Turkey is the basic cause of tension and violence in the island. We have heard, on the other hand, the charges by the distinguished representative of Turkey that continued armed attacks by Greek Cypriots on Turkish Cypriots and unconstitutional action by President Makarios and his Government in conscripting new forces and seeking heavy armaments abroad are what threaten peace and provoke possible intervention.

It is not our purpose, nor is it feasible for the Security Council at this time to sift all of these charges and to discover the truth. There is doubtless truth on both sides. It is inescapably clear, however, that the actions of each party cited by the other are in fact creating mistrust and fear, undermining rather than building confidence between the two communities, and making infinitely more difficult a just and final solution and, indeed, threatening not only to raise to appalling proportions the conflict in Cyprus but even to destroy peace in the Eastern Mediterranean.

In this statement the U.S. Representative reiterated that it was not for his Government to say what the solution should be, but that his Government believed the parties should take steps without delay to set the stage for a negotiated solution acceptable to all concerned.

Events of August

In early August there was an outbreak of fighting in the Tylliria area of the Turkish Cypriot Kokkina and Mansoura enclave in north-western Cyprus, which led to the intervention of Turkish aircraft. In his report of September 10 the Secretary-General stated that "The Turkish Cypriot bridgehead around Kokkina and Mansoura was considered dangerous by the Cypriot Government. The Government claimed, with some justification, that the Turkish Cypriots had been smuggling arms and men." "High Government authorities on more than one occasion had warned UNFICYP to stop this activity in this area or to stand aside and let the Government do it." Following a Government build up of troops and equipment in the area and in response to an expression of concern about it, the UNFICYP Commander received from the President of Cyprus "assurance that the Government had no intention of attacking any Turkish Cypriot positions and that should the Government find it necessary to do so it would give due warning to the Force Commander." On August 6, however, the Secretary-General's report noted, "Government forces mounted an attack supported by mortars from the Greek Cypriot village of Ayios Yeoryios against Turkish Cypriot positions to the north. On 7 August they resumed the attack. . . ." On the evening of August 7, "four Turkish F100 aircraft flew over Polis in a demonstration of force and fired their weapons out to sea." On August 8 Turkish aircraft made armed attacks on several villages. In his report the Secretary-General recorded that "Throughout the entire battle, UNFICYP made strenuous attempts to secure a cease-fire, but was continually hindered by the Government forces."

The Security Council met August 8-9 at the request of both Cyprus and Turkey. At the meeting of August 9 the U.S. Representative stated:

The responsibility of the Council is to stop hostilities—and until *all* are stopped, *none* will stop. Archbishop Makarios says that unless Turkey stops its air attacks by 12 noon, he will launch a full-scale attack on the Turkish community and forces.

The Government of Turkey says that until the Greeks in Cyprus stop attacking the Turks, the air attacks will continue.

I repeat that in these circumstances until *all* hostilities stop, *none* will stop and, perhaps in a matter of hours, we will be over the brink and in the abyss. And none can see the bottom.

On August 9 the Council adopted a resolution (S/5868) which

called for an immediate cease-fire. It also called for all concerned to cooperate fully with the U.N. Commander in the restoration of peace and security and on all states to refrain from action that might exacerbate the situation or contribute to the broadening of hostilities.

On August 11 the Council met again at the request of Cyprus whose U.N. Representative charged that a Turkish aircraft had attacked the village of Polis, 11 hours after the call for a cease-fire; two additional overflights of Cyprus had been made by Turkish aircraft; and Cyprus territorial waters had been violated by Turkish naval craft. In his rebuttal the Turkish Representative stated that the necessity for "constant vigilance" had prompted the reconnaissance flights of Turkish aircraft over Cyprus. He was also "quite prepared to believe" that the Turkish naval craft were offshore in the Kokkina area "observing that the Greek Cypriot attack would not start." The Representative of Turkey stated that the present cease-fire would be meaningless unless the Greek Cypriots withdrew to the positions they occupied before their attack of August 5.

Ambassador Nielsen of Norway, the President of the Security Council for the month of August, stated the consensus of the Council as follows:

After hearing the report of the Secretary-General and the statements of the representatives of Cyprus, Greece and Turkey and of the members of the Security Council,

The Security Council notes with satisfaction that the cease-fire is being observed throughout Cyprus;

Requests the parties to comply with resolution S/5868 of 9 August 1964 in its entirety;

Asks all Governments to stop all flights over the territory of Cyprus in violation of its sovereignty;

Requests the Commander of the United Nations Force to supervise the cease-fire and to reinforce its units in the zones which were the sphere of the recent military operations so as to ensure the safety of the inhabitants;

Requests all concerned to co-operate with and to assist the Commander of the Force in achieving this purpose.

In his report, dated September 10, the Secretary-General stated "the plain fact" that UNFICYP "is in the most delicate position that any United Nations mission has ever experienced, for it is not only in the midst of a bitter civil war but it is dangerously interposed between the two sides of that war." He again drew attention to the arms buildup and the continuation of the importation of arms by Cyprus which, he had said in his report of June 15, raised a question whether it was "within the letter and/or spirit of the Security Council resolution of March 4." He also stated that the policy of economic pressure being pursued by the Government against the Turkish Cypriots "has definitely caused much hardship . . . it has nourished bitterness . . . it has hardened the Turkish position; it has

greatly increased tension and would no doubt lead to a new eruption of fighting if continued."

With regard to the Turkish air raids, he said:

I feel compelled also to express the view that the aerial attacks on Cyprus communities by Turkish aircraft in early August, whatever their supposed tactical significance, were most unfortunate and have made the solution of the Cyprus problem far more difficult. These raids on defenseless people killed and maimed many innocent civilians, destroyed much property and inevitably led to a stiffening of the positions of the Cypriot Government, as might have been anticipated. I trust they will not be repeated, for whatever reason.

A more optimistic note was sounded in the Secretary-General's report of December 12 covering developments from September 10 to December 12. He described the situation during that period as "much improved" and stated that significant progress had undoubtedly been made. "Fighting has largely ceased and, in general, the cease-fire is being observed in good faith." Nevertheless, he pointed out that the basic factors in the Cyprus situation remain virtually unchanged and "Acute political conflict and distrust between the leaders of the two communities . . . combine to create a state of potential civil war, despite the present suspension of active fighting."

Efforts To Reduce Tensions and Promote a Return to Normalcy

In his report of December 12, 1964, the Secretary-General stated that: "The fact that relative calm has prevailed in Cyprus during the period of this report has placed UNFICYP in a better position in its efforts to implement the Security Council's mandate concerning the return to normal conditions." He went on to point out that ". . . while UNFICYP is able to render much assistance in the amelioration of day-to-day administrative, economic, social or judicial difficulties arising from the division of the two communities, it must be recognized that this assistance is reaching its limits and that little further advance on some of the unresolved issues can be expected pending a final over-all settlement."

One of the many tasks to which UNFICYP devoted considerable effort during the year concerned the working out of suitable arrangements for the harvesting of agricultural crops. While Cyprus made its own arrangements for harvesting and assured the personal safety of both Greek and Turkish Cypriot farmers and the safety of their crops, the Turkish Communal Chamber requested that protection be given only by UNFICYP and that proper compensation be given in cases of unlawful harvesting. During the carob harvest, for example, the Secretary-General reported that "UNFICYP negotiated local agreements, provided escorts and guards as required and generally used its good offices to iron out any difficulties that had arisen."

A major feature of the situation in Cyprus since the early days of the disturbances has been the restrictions on freedom of movement of civilians. The Secretary-General viewed the reopening on October 26, 1964, of the Nicosia-Kyrenia road under exclusive UNFICYP control as "the main impetus in the direction of liberalization." He pointed out, however, that with this exception "access by Greek Cypriots to Turkish Cypriot-controlled areas has continued to be barred almost completely, both in practice and as a matter of policy, by the Turkish Cypriot community." He admitted that it was true that in moving about in Government-controlled areas "in practice Turkish Cypriots still encounter many difficulties, but this was much more the case at the beginning than at the end of the period under review."

The reopening of the Nicosia-Kyrenia road was negotiated by the Secretary-General as part of an agreement for the rotation of Turkish troops. When an impasse developed between Cyprus and Turkey over the projected rotation of part of the Turkish contingent on the island, the Secretary-General appealed to both sides to employ moderation and restraint, and he urged Turkey to postpone for a few weeks the scheduled rotation. After protracted negotiations it was agreed that the Nicosia-Kyrenia road which was under the control of Turkish and Turkish Cypriot armed personnel would be placed under the exclusive control of UNFICYP and be open to all civilian traffic, and that no armed personnel other than those of the U.N. Force would be allowed on it. In agreeing to the Secretary-General's proposal Cyprus "reserved its position of principle" with respect to "the validity of the Treaty of Alliance, the status of the Turkish Cypriot leadership and police. . . ." The Secretary-General also reported that UNFICYP was informed by Cyprus that "bearing in mind the resolutions of the Security Council and wishing to avoid any action likely to increase tension in the area . . . [it] did not propose to take military measures to prevent the rotation from taking place." On October 26 the Secretary-General's Special Representative, Ambassador Carlos Bernardes, and the UNFICYP Commander reported that the Nicosia-Kyrenia road had been opened and that the rotation had taken place.

In several of his reports the Secretary-General alluded to the "economic and other restrictions which at different times were imposed" on the Turkish Cypriot community. "These were, in addition to the economic isolation of the Turkish Cypriot community, its lack of communications, the disruption of its normal economic activities and the loss of sources of income in agriculture, industry, commerce, public and private employment." The Secretary-General also stated that "Economic restrictions became particularly severe between 1961 and

July and the end of August, when for Some time all movement of supplies into the areas controlled by Turkish Cypriots in Nicosia, Lefka, Limmitis and Kokkina was cut and a list of materials prohibited to the Turkish Cypriots was drawn up by the Government." In a letter dated November 12, 1964, to the Secretary-General the President of Cyprus stated that it was not the policy of Cyprus to impose economic restrictions. He said that the prohibition of certain articles was based on security requirements, the need to discourage evasion of the law, and the need to avoid undermining the economy. The Secretary-General's report of December 10 noted that, since the severe restriction of mid-July-August, "progress has been made toward the abolition or relaxation of some of these measures."

UNFICYP also exerted efforts to assist in the "alleviation of the most immediate hardships" of the refugees. The Secretary-General stated in his December report that following the events of December 1963, approximately 25,000 of the island's 103,809 Turkish Cypriots (1960 census) moved to other places of residence. Approximately 21,000 were given homes in larger Turkish Cypriot communities, while approximately 4,000 persons found temporary shelter in refugee camps. During the year Cyprus waived import duty on a number of shipments of relief supplies from the Red Crescent Society of Turkey. UNFICYP was called upon to supervise the storage and distribution of these supplies.

The Mediation Report

The resolution of March 4, which established UNFICYP, also provided for the appointment of a mediator to promote a peaceful solution and an agreed settlement. On March 25 the Secretary-General named Ambassador Sakari Tuomioja of Finland as U.N. Mediator. Before his death on September 9, following a stroke, the Mediator had been in consultation with the two Cypriot communities and with the Governments of Cyprus, Greece, Turkey, and the United Kingdom.

On September 16, 1964, the Secretary-General designated Galo Plaza-Lasso of Ecuador as U.N. Mediator in the Cyprus dispute. Prior to his designation, Galo Plaza-Lasso had been serving as the Secretary-General's Special Representative in Cyprus. (Senor Plaza succeeded Lt. Gen. Gyani in this capacity on May 11, 1964, and was in turn succeeded by Ambassador Carlos Bernardes of Brazil.) In his report of December 10, 1964, the Secretary-General reported that the Mediator had indicated that the improvement in the day-to-day situation on the island had not yet had the effect of eliminating the differences of view among the parties concerned on a political solution. At the end of the year, the Mediator was continuing his efforts.

Kashmir

The status of the princely state of Jammu and Kashmir has been in dispute between India and Pakistan since the Indian Independence Act of 1947. U.N. involvement in this issue began on January 1, 1948, following the outbreak of hostilities between the two countries over Kashmir. The U.N. Security Council established the U.N. Commission for India and Pakistan (UNCIP) which, a year later, achieved a cease-fire and set up a group of U.N. military observers which continue their activities today. UNCIP also negotiated an agreement between India and Pakistan on a general program to achieve a settlement, including demilitarization of the Kashmir area and the conduct of a plebiscite. This was embodied in resolutions adopted by UNCIP and subsequently reaffirmed by the Security Council in 1951 and 1957.

India and Pakistan, however, have never been able to agree on the steps to give effect to these resolutions, and the Kashmir question has repeatedly come before the Security Council. Over the course of the years, the state of Jammu and Kashmir has evolved in the direction of greater uniformity of practices and procedures with those of the Indian Union, and it is this continued "integration" of Kashmir into India that has been the focal point of recent Pakistani complaints to the Security Council.

On October 4, 1963, Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed, then the Prime Minister of Kashmir, announced certain "policy directives" to the local ruling party which, if given legislative effect, would have further integrated Kashmir into the Indian Union. Indian Home Minister Nanda told the Indian Parliament on November 27, 1963, that Kashmir was "fully integrated into India," and Prime Minister Nehru also told Parliament there had been a "gradual erosion" of Kashmir's special status and that this erosion process should be allowed to continue.

During this period, Indo-Pakistani relations were troubled by the problem of the large-scale movement of Pakistani or Indian nationals across the respective borders, particularly between East Pakistan and the Indian State of Assam and the Province of Tripura. This situation led to a heightening of tensions between the Muslim and Hindu communities and ultimately to a cycle of large-scale riots in both East Pakistan and eastern India.

The theft on December 27, 1963, of a sacred relic of the Prophet Mohammed from the Hazratbal Mosque near Srinagar in Kashmir provoked a mass reaction among the predominantly Muslim population of Kashmir and stimulated communal violence in East Pakistan and eastern India.

It was against this setting that Pakistan in a letter of January 16, 1964, requested an "immediate meeting" of the Council to consider the "grave situation" that had arisen in the state of Jammu and Kashmir as a "direct consequence of the unlawful steps that the Government of India continued to take in order to destroy the special status" of that state. The Pakistani letter further stated it was clear from Indian Government statements of late November 1963 that India was "deliberately set on defying the Security Council and on 'integrating' the Indian-occupied part of Jammu and Kashmir with the Indian Union."

India replied in a letter dated January 24 stating that it had frequently rebutted the Pakistani allegation of further "integration" of Kashmir and that nothing had happened in the meantime, "so far as the constitutional arrangements between the constituent state of Jammu and Kashmir and the Indian Union are concerned, to even remotely support the Pakistan allegations about the existence of a tense situation and an atmosphere of crisis." India recalled that it had proposed a joint appeal by the Presidents of both countries "for communal peace and harmony" and that the Home Ministers of both countries should "meet immediately" to devise ways and means of ending the recurring cycle of incidents and disturbances in both countries, only to have both suggestions "ignored by the Pakistan Government."

Security Council Consideration: February 3-17, 1964

The Security Council convened to consider the Pakistani complaint on February 3, 1964. Pakistani Foreign Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in presenting Pakistan's case, said that Pakistan had requested the meeting "to draw attention to the serious deterioration in the relations between India and Pakistan and the far-reaching and incalculable consequences of this situation if it is not improved." Indian policies toward Kashmir, he stated, particularly its efforts to "integrate" Kashmir were in "open violation of its own pledges to the Security Council in disregard of the rights of the people of the State." The Pakistani Representative pointed out that his Government had made it clear to India that in view of the previous U.N. resolutions on Kashmir:

. . . whatever measures the Government of India had taken or might take, whether legislative or administrative, could have no legal effect whatsoever since such measures contravened the pre-existing international legal obligations that India had accepted in respect of the State of Jammu and Kashmir. . . . This protest note also made it clear . . . that the future of the State of Jammu and Kashmir can be determined only by the people of Kashmir themselves through a free and impartial plebiscite conducted under United Nations auspices.

The Pakistani Representative quoted at length from past Indian statements to show that "India's intervention in Jammu and Kashmir, according to its own declarations, was not intended to make the accession final and that a plebiscite had to be held in Kashmir to decide its future." The Pakistani Representative also referred to measures adopted by the Government of India "usurping increasing power and authority over the State of Jammu and Kashmir." "The latest measures," he continued, "show that India is determined to continue to flout the Security Council by reducing the State to the level of a mere administrative unit of India."

The Pakistani Representative urged the Security Council to "take appropriate action to ensure that the Kashmir dispute moves rapidly towards an honorable and just solution in the interest of the well-being of the people of the India-Pakistan subcontinent and in the interest of peace in Asia."

The Pakistani Representative also mentioned the problems of communal tensions on the subcontinent, stating that "India's iniquitous policies in Jammu and Kashmir have led to upheavals in that State," and that, "The present rebellion . . . has led to communal riots in the two countries." He stated that the President of Pakistan in an appeal on January 13 had asked the people of Pakistan to "maintain calm" and preserve communal peace despite the anxiety and provocation of the communal riots in West Bengal.

On February 5 the Council heard the Indian Representative, Minister of Education Mahomedali Currim Chagla, defend Indian policies with respect to Kashmir and rebut Pakistan's charges.

The Indian Representative first stated that much of his Government's differences with Pakistan arose from the fact that India was a secular state, with no established religion, while Pakistan was a theocratic state. "We refuse to subscribe to the theory that religion can be the sole basis of nationality," he said.

With regard to the Pakistani charge that Kashmir was being further "integrated" into the Indian Union, the Indian Representative pointed out that the princely states in the subcontinent were free, under the Independence of India Act of 1947, to accede either to India or Pakistan. Once the accession was accepted either by the Governor-General of India or of Pakistan, the particular princely state became an "integral part of one or the other of the two Dominions." According to the Indian Representative:

. . . Jammu and Kashmir became an integral part of India when the Instrument of Accession was signed and accepted, and from that day till today it continues to occupy the same position vis-a-vis the Indian Union and no question can possibly arise of annexing Kashmir or further integrating it into the Indian Union. You cannot make more complete what is already complete.

He stated that a plebiscite had originally been envisaged in Kashmir because no elections had been held. Since then, however, "Kashmir has had three general elections with universal adult franchise, and at all these three elections a party has been returned to power which firmly and emphatically supports Kashmir's integration with India." The Indian Representative noted that the two U.N. resolutions dealing with the plebiscite "were conditional and contingent on Pakistan vacating its aggression and the condition has not been complied with. . . . The condition not having been complied with and the basis having disappeared, these resolutions are no longer binding on us."

The Indian Representative suggested that the first step toward a resolution of the difficulties between India and Pakistan was to "restore normal conditions in the disturbed area of India and Pakistan and to bring about inter-communal unity and harmony in both countries." He noted that the Indian Government is prepared to "take any and every step in co-operation with Pakistan." And it would, he said, "welcome a meeting of Ministers from both countries to discuss ways and means." The Indian Representative also pointed out that the "threats of violence which have emanated from Pakistan from time to time . . . must cease." He concluded that "Once a better atmosphere prevails, it will be possible—and we are prepared—to discuss with Pakistan all our outstanding differences."

The U.S. position was set forth by the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Adlai Stevenson, at the Council's session on February 14, 1964. He noted that it was a matter of "greatest regret" to the United States "that India and Pakistan have been unable to reach a settlement either through the mechanism set up by the Security Council or in bilateral talks" He pointed out that in 1948 the UNCIP resolutions had been agreed by India and Pakistan as a "political compromise," the essence of which was "that the people of Jammu and Kashmir should have the right to determine their future without coercion or intimidation by the military forces of either country." U.S. support for the resolutions "is based on this principle of self-determination," he said. The U.S. Representative continued:

. . . we have started from the point of agreement between them, because . . . [the UNCIP resolutions were] an equitable compromise based upon the sound principle that the people whose political affiliation and national status were subject to dispute have the right to express their will. We continue to support this principle as providing a sound basis upon which a political compromise of the dispute between India and Pakistan can be achieved through peaceful means.

The U.S. Representative called for a "fresh attempt . . . in light of today's realities, to see how the basic principles can be applied to achieve such a political settlement." He noted that "India, and

indeed part of the very area in dispute, is under threat of Chinese Communist military attack. For this reason, as well as because of our long-standing concern that the Kashmir question be peacefully resolved, we urged bilateral talks between the parties last year. . . . An agreement cannot be imposed from outside."

The U.S. Representative suggested that in view of the history of the efforts to resolve the issues that India and Pakistan "should consider the possibility of recourse to the good offices of a country or of a person of their choice to assist them in bringing about the resumption of negotiations and in mediating their differences." In this connection he also suggested that the U.N. Secretary-General "might be of assistance to the two countries in exploring the possibility of such third-party mediation." The U.S. Representative warned that these problems "are not susceptible of quick solution But a fresh start must be made, and Pakistan and India have, we believe, a responsibility to their own peoples, to the people of Kashmir and to the world community to set these issues on the road to final solution for the sake of humanity and of peace."

Earlier, the U.K. Representative on February 10 had reiterated his Government's firm support of the principles embodied in the Security Council's resolutions on Kashmir, namely, that the final disposition of Kashmir be made in accordance with the will of the people, expressed through the democratic method of a free and impartial plebiscite conducted under the auspices of the United Nations.

The United Kingdom was "still convinced that a solution can emerge only from constructive and sincere negotiations between the Governments of India and Pakistan." It, therefore, welcomed "the efforts which we understand are being made behind the scenes to find common ground between India and Pakistan." The U.K. Representative urged that both parties "consider all possibilities in this regard, including that of engaging the assistance of the Secretary-General"

The Representative of the Soviet Union said on February 14 that "the religious and communal animosity which still exists in India and Pakistan is a heritage of the past when strife was stirred up purposely by the colonialists . . . in order to subjugate the peoples and to preserve their domination . . ." The Soviet Representative expressed the hope that the Security Council's consideration of the India-Pakistan question would contribute to a situation "in which both interested parties, India and Pakistan, would themselves arrive at a peaceful settlement of the dispute"

At the request of Pakistan Foreign Minister Bhutto, the Council adjourned its discussion of the Kashmir question on February 17.

Security Council Consideration: March 17-20, 1964

Following the Pakistani Foreign Minister's consultations with his Government in Karachi, the Council resumed consideration of the Kashmir question on March 17. The Pakistani Representative noted that, in the interval since the Council's previous meetings, three facts had emerged: the protest movement in Kashmir had continued, India showed no signs of relenting its "policy of repression," and the Indian Government showed itself bent on adopting those very measures toward the "annexation" of Kashmir against which Pakistan had protested to the Security Council.

Ambassador B. N. Chakravarty, the Indian Representative, charged "it was Pakistan which tried again to create tension on the cease-fire line" and had failed to assure the safety of the U.N. Observers in that area. He said there was "no urgency" for a Security Council meeting and since it would be necessary for India to be represented by the Minister specially designated by his Government, suggested that the Council adjourn its consideration until the first week of May.

Most members expressed agreement with the view of Brazil's Representative that new developments of a political or military nature which might alter or worsen the situation should be reason enough to call for an urgent meeting of the Council prior to May 5. The Brazilian Representative also appealed to the parties to ". . . refrain from any action or threat of action capable of endangering international peace and security or likely to make this already complex and delicate problem still more intractable." The Council was adjourned until May 5.

Conclusion of Security Council Consideration: May 5-18, 1964

At the Council's meeting on May 5 the Pakistani Representative reiterated his Government's views on Kashmir, noting that in the interim the Kashmir leader Sheikh Abdullah, who had been imprisoned by the Kashmir Government almost continuously since 1953, had been released, but that the "situation in Kashmir remained highly disquieting and disturbed." On May 7 the Indian Representative replied that the Sheikh's release "is a tribute to democracy and freedom in India" and proved that the situation in Kashmir was "normal."

On May 13 the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Francis T. P. Plimpton, told the Council that:

The United States Government believes that the Security Council has a real obligation to contribute to the creation of as favorable an atmosphere as possible for the prompt and peaceful resolution of the Kashmir problem. We can do

so by demonstrating our willingness to assist the parties to compose their differences, in any way they may find helpful.

The U.S. Representative said that his Government shared the views expressed by other Council members that the Council should call upon the U.N. Secretary-General "to assist the parties in ways which they may deem appropriate." The United States, he said, also wished to "encourage the continuation of talks between India and Pakistan" on the "urgent problem" of relations between the Muslim and Hindu communities.

At the conclusion of the debate the Brazilian Representative noted that all Security Council members and both the parties had presented their views on the Kashmir question and "that all the speakers have supported a certain number of common points." The Brazilian Representative, therefore, suggested that the President of the Security Council for May, French Ambassador Roger Seydoux, consult informally with the members of the Council in order to arrive at a consensus of views, and that these conclusions could then be submitted by the President to the Council in a manner which would terminate discussion of the item.

As a result of these consultations, the Council President on May 18 set forth the points on which he had found "no difference of opinion" among members of the Council:

1. The differences between India and Pakistan "should be settled amicably in the interests of world peace;"
2. Developments on the subcontinent during the course of the Council meetings on Kashmir might lead to better mutual understanding and, therefore, might improve the possibilities of a settlement;
3. ". . . everything possible should be done to consolidate these favorable elements . . . which will require on the part of the parties concerned an attitude of conciliation and moderation and, on the part of the United Nations, an attitude of prudence, as well as of careful and vigilant attention;"
4. The hope that the two parties would not aggravate the situation and that they would take measures to reestablish an atmosphere of moderation between their countries and harmony among their communities; [and]
5. The hope that the two countries would resume their efforts to resolve their differences by negotiation.

The Council President concluded by noting that a number of members of the Security Council believed the U.N. Secretary-General "might eventually give useful assistance to the parties to facilitate the resumption of negotiations on the question of Jammu and Kashmir

or to assist them in carrying out these negotiations if they should meet with any difficulties.”

The Security Council adjourned its debate on the Kashmir question on May 18.

Korea

In 1964 the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea (UNCURK) continued to seek means of bringing about the establishment of a unified, independent, and democratic government of all Korea.

The Commission, which was established pursuant to a General Assembly resolution of October 7, 1950, consists of Representatives of Australia, Chile, the Netherlands, Pakistan, the Philippines, Thailand, and Turkey. Since 1956 a part of its activities has been carried out through a Committee composed of Representatives of Australia, the Philippines, Thailand, and Turkey, with headquarters in Seoul.

The Commission submitted its 14th report on August 26, 1964, covering the period August 23, 1963, to August 26, 1964. During this period, the full Commission met six times while the Committee held 42 meetings.

According to its report, the Commission (and the Committee acting on its behalf) continued its efforts in 1964 to promote U.N. objectives in Korea. It remained available for observation and consultation in the development of representative government in Korea and closely followed general political and economic developments in the Republic of Korea.

The report noted, however, that its endeavors had “again been subject to the limitations caused by the continued non-acceptance of the United Nations principles and resolutions on the unification of Korea by the North Korean authorities.” On the other hand, the Commission stated it had conferred with leaders of the Government and political parties in the Republic of Korea “who have both maintained close and cordial cooperation with UNCURK and reaffirmed their determination to continue such cooperation in the future.”

During 1964 the Korean Armistice Agreement, concluded in 1953, remained in effect, and the Military Armistice Commission (MAC) met 16 times, bringing the total number of such meetings to 197. As in previous years the Communist side sought to utilize the MAC meetings to raise political and propaganda issues outside the scope of the Commission's responsibilities and presented numerous fabricated charges of violations by the U.N. Command (UNC). Representatives

of the UNC denied such Communist allegations and protested a number of Communist actions. These included the shooting down by the North Koreans of a Republic of Korea F-86 that inadvertently strayed across the Military Demarcation Line on January 14, and the North Koreans' delay of over a month in returning some 200 Republic of Korea fishermen whose boats were driven into North Korean waters by a storm on July 29.

The two American helicopter pilots who had been detained in North Korea since May 17, 1963, were finally returned on May 16, 1964, at the Panmunjom Joint Security Area.

Palestine Question

United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine (PCC)

The United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine (PCC) in its twenty-second Progress Report dated May 11, 1964, reported completion of its work on the identification and evaluation of Arab-owned immovable properties in Israel as of May 15, 1948. The General Assembly, in its resolution of December 14, 1950, had called upon the PCC (composed of France, Turkey, and the United States) to "make such arrangements as it may consider necessary for the assessment and payment of compensation in pursuance of paragraph 11 of General Assembly Resolution 194 (III)." In accordance with these instructions the PCC asked its land expert to identify Arab landholdings in Israel and to establish a record which could be used as a basis for verifying individual claims to ownership. The holdings were to be valued at their market value as of the adoption of the Palestine Partition Plan by the General Assembly on November 29, 1947.

At the time of the PCC's twenty-second Progress Report, the PCC's land expert released a working paper describing in considerable detail the techniques developed for the purpose of identifying property holdings and determining the values of individual properties. The PCC's technical representative was retained so that the PCC might answer inquiries from U.N. members concerning the program. Additionally, the PCC announced in its report that it "will also accept inquiries from individuals and will be prepared to answer these questions within limitations imposed by staff and budget."

During 1964 the PCC also quietly continued to search for a solution to the refugee question pursuant to its mandate contained in pertinent General Assembly resolutions but had made no significant progress in this direction by the end of the year.

United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA)

During 1964 the General Assembly neither considered nor took action with respect to UNRWA's activities. However, in November 1964 the Agency's Commissioner General, Laurence V. Michelmore, transmitted to the General Assembly his annual report for the year ending June 30, 1964.

The report, while proposing a budget of \$37 million for 1965 (compared to \$36.9 million in 1964), emphasized UNRWA's continuing difficulties in obtaining contributions sufficient to provide minimum relief, health, and education services to those of the 1,246,585 Palestine Arab refugees in Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, and Gaza eligible for and requiring such services. The report stressed the necessity of instituting stringent economies in the Agency's operations and the importance of assuring that only those refugees eligible for and in need of rations be carried on the Agency's ration rolls. It also emphasized the importance of assuring a future to refugee youth through adequate education services. For a further discussion of financing UNRWA, see page 289.

United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF)

During 1964 the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) continued to play an important role in maintaining the peace and stability which generally prevailed along the Israel-United Arab Republic Armistice Demarcation Line (ADL) and the International Frontier (IF). The Secretary-General, in his September 29, 1964, report on UNEF to the 19th General Assembly stated:

. . . this area has continued to remain free of any serious incidents. There appears to be a growing sense of security among the population as evidenced by increased cultivation and commercial and building activity.

The total number of violations of the ADL and of the IF and of cases of infiltration is approximately the same as in the year 1962-1963. These violations, except for the very few cases which involved planned attempts on the part of individuals to enter the territory of the other side, were of a quite minor nature, such as incursions of ten to fifty meters until the parties were warned off by UNEF patrols. Air violations, however, continue to cause concern. There was one incident of air combat in July 1964 between United Arab Republic (UAR) and Israeli aircraft near the IF. But as, in previous years, the greater number of air space violations occurred in the northeast area of the Gaza Strip.

The Secretary-General further reported that during the year there had been no significant changes in the general operational functions of UNEF which continued to be deployed along the western side of the ADL and along the IF for a distance of some 273 kilometers. Brazil, Canada, Denmark, India, Norway, Sweden, and Yugoslavia continued

as participating countries, although reductions in several of the units during 1964 reduced overall force strength to about 4,700 as of the end of the year. Force strength at the end of 1963 was about 5,150. No action on UNEF was taken by the General Assembly during 1964. For a discussion of the financing of UNEF, see page 287.

Tel El-Qadi Incident

Increasing tension between Israel and Syria during 1964 led to a series of firing incidents along the ADL and in the Demilitarized Zones (DMZ) separating the two countries (see page 80). The most serious of these incidents occurred on November 13, 1964, in a disputed area along the northern ADL in the Tel El-Qadi area. Following complaints by both parties, the Security Council considered the incident in eight sessions from November 16 through December 21, 1964. On November 14 and 15 Syria and Israel, respectively, addressed letters to the President of the Security Council in which each accused the other of responsibility for the incident and requested an urgent meeting of the Council to consider their complaints.

SECURITY COUNCIL CONSIDERATION: NOVEMBER 16, 1964

In an opening statement before the Security Council on November 16 and in several subsequent interventions, the Syrian Representative charged that Israel had provoked the incident, that the Israeli air attack was a premeditated act of aggression, and that the incident was but the latest in a series of aggressive acts against Syria and Israel's other Arab neighbors. He admitted that the Syrian forces had fired first but only to prevent an Israeli military patrol from "advancing inside Syrian territory." He listed a long series of other Israeli actions which he claimed were in violation of the U.N. Charter and of the Israel-Syria General Armistice Agreement. He called particular attention to Israeli actions in the DMZ in contravention of the General Armistice Agreement. In conclusion the Syrian Representative asked the Council to condemn Israel for this latest act of "aggression."

The Israeli Representative replied that the incident was but the most recent of many Syrian provocations and attacks directed against Israel. He justified the Israeli use of aircraft as a last resort measure necessary to silence Syrian positions dominating and firing upon Israeli positions and villages. Pointing out that the Syrian Representative had admitted that Syrian forces had begun the firing, the Israeli Representative claimed that Israeli forces had returned the fire in order to extricate the patrol which was in Israeli territory. He concluded his statement with a call upon Syria to agree to negotiate

a peace settlement and asked the Council to insist that Syria refrain from further attacks on and threats against Israel.

UNITED NATIONS TRUCE SUPERVISION ORGANIZATION (UNTSO) REPORT

On November 24 the Secretary-General passed to the Security Council a report by the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO) Chief of Staff on the origins and development of the November 13 incident. According to UNTSO officers who observed, investigated, and reported on the incident, it began when a Syrian position fired warning shots against an Israeli military patrol on a section of a road near the ADL in an area claimed by both Israel and Syria. Following the warning shots, both sides quickly began firing on each other with machineguns, artillery, recoilless rifles, and tanks. In the last stages of the incident Israel utilized jet aircraft against certain Syrian positions. Both sides suffered extensive casualties and property damage.

Although the UNTSO officers on the scene almost immediately began efforts to arrange a cease-fire, communications problems and difficulties encountered in reaching responsible troop commanders delayed final acceptance and implementation of an effective cease-fire for almost 2 hours.

The UNTSO report noted that the recent tension in the area of Tel El-Qadi, which culminated in the November 13 incident, had begun with Israeli efforts to reconstruct a road running parallel and close to the ADL and which in part was in territory claimed by Syria. The road had originally been constructed by Israel in 1961-62. There had been a number of incidents in the area at that time because of differences of opinion between Syria and Israel about the location of the ADL in the area of the roadwork. Because of this dispute UNTSO had requested postponement of work on the road but efforts to resolve the dispute were unsuccessful. In 1963 a UNTSO team had surveyed part of the road and concluded that the surveyed section did not encroach upon Syrian territory. However, owing to withdrawal of Israeli cooperation, the survey was halted short of the Tel El-Qadi area, the area primarily disputed by Syria.

On October 23, 1964, Israel informed UNTSO that reconstruction of the road in the Tel El-Qadi area would shortly begin. On October 28, 1964, Israel requested UNTSO's cooperation in a survey of the Tel El-Qadi area commencing where the 1963 survey had been halted. UNTSO made an officer available for this purpose and was preparing for the survey when an incident occurred on November 3, 1964.

While awaiting continuation of the survey with UNTSO assistance, Israel had on November 1 commenced reconstruction of the road in

the Tel El-Qadi area. On November 3, during the course of work on the road, Syrian positions fired warning shots upon Israeli construction equipment which Syria claimed had encroached upon Syrian territory. Following the warning shots, an exchange of fire developed which included machineguns, recoilless weapons, and artillery. The UNTSO observers who investigated this incident, taking into account the map annexed to the Israel-Syria General Armistice Agreement, determined:

“ . . . that an encroachment by the Israeli bulldozer into Syrian territory would appear to be confirmed. However, the 1:50,000 map was not of a scale to permit definitive judgements in a matter of metres. A survey of the area by a United Nations team appeared desirable. Pending the results of such a survey or the submission of other convincing data, the Chairman [of the Israel-Syria Mixed Armistice Commission], taking into consideration both the fact that there appeared to have been an encroachment into Syrian territory, and the existing tension in this area of the Armistice Demarcation Line, requested the Senior Israeli Delegate [of the Mixed Armistice Commission] to take all necessary measures to ensure that no encroachments would take place in the area”

While noting that, as inferred above, the degree of encroachment of the road on Syrian territory might be only a matter of meters, the report points out that in the area concerned even such a short distance is significant owing to the presence of several springs, one of which is considered to be the traditional source of the Jordan River.

The UNTSO report offered the following suggestions for reducing tensions in the area concerned:

1. Both parties should agree to and accept the findings of an independent survey of the ADL in the area under dispute.
2. Pending a solution following a report of an independent team of surveyors, UNTSO should continue to assess allegations of illegal crossings of the ADL. The success of this effort would depend on the self-restraint exercised by both parties with regard to no firing even of warning shots, and suspension of activities of which one of the parties complained if the Mixed Armistice Commission (MAC) Chairman deems such suspension to be necessary.

The UNTSO Chief of Staff also noted that these suggestions would not be necessary if the Israel-Syria Mixed Armistice Commission were able to meet. (For some years the Commission had been unable to hold either regular or emergency meetings owing to Israel's continuing boycott of the Commission's meetings.)

In conclusion the Chief of Staff noted that the continuing suspicion, bitterness, and tension between Israel and Syria stemmed in large measure from Israel's refusal to recognize any *locus standi* to Syria in

the Demilitarized Zones, and from Syria's steadfast refusal to seek an end to the conflict with Israel.

RESUMED SECURITY COUNCIL CONSIDERATION: NOVEMBER 27-DECEMBER 17, 1964

On November 27 the Security Council resumed its consideration of the Israeli and Syrian complaints, together with the UNTSO report. The Syrian Representative in an opening statement and in subsequent interventions again described his Government's view of the incident and stated that the UNTSO report corroborated his earlier statement that the incident which Israel had deliberately provoked constituted premeditated aggression. In this connection he described in some detail the long history of alleged Israeli aggressions against the Arab states. Referring to the UNTSO report, he expressed his Government's support for the suggestions made by the UNTSO Chief of Staff for the reduction of tensions, with the reservation that any demarcation of the ADL in the Tel El-Qadi area must be accompanied by a survey of the rest of the ADL and of the three sectors of the Demilitarized Zone.

Also on November 27, and in subsequent statements, the Israeli Representative again set forth his Government's assessment of the incident as another instance of planned Syrian provocation. Referring to the UNTSO report, he took issue with the Chief of Staff's claim that the Tel El-Qadi area had not been surveyed owing to withdrawal of Israeli cooperation and maintained that the road in question was in fact within Israeli territory. Nevertheless, he said, Israel would agree to a survey of the ADL in that area although the Syrian Representative's insistence on a survey of the entire ADL and of the Demilitarized Zones had the effect of nullifying this recommendation of the UNTSO Chief of Staff. With regard to the other suggestions contained in the UNTSO report, he noted that Israel would always carefully consider any request by UNTSO to suspend disputed activities, and that, although Israel did not participate in the meetings of the Mixed Armistice Commission, it did cooperate with the Commission in many of its other activities.

In this, and in subsequent sessions of the Security Council, the Representatives of Morocco, Czechoslovakia, and the Soviet Union supported Syria and urged the Council to condemn Israel for its provocative actions and air attacks against Syria.

Following the Israeli statement on November 27, the U.K. Representative, while noting that "we are gathered not to condemn but to conciliate," urged that the suggestions offered in the UNTSO report be implemented in order to reduce tensions. He stressed in

particular the necessity for a survey of the disputed area and the full reactivation of the Mixed Armistice Commission through participation in all of its activities by both parties. Subsequently the Representatives of France, China, Norway, Brazil, and the Ivory Coast supported the UNTSO report and the recommendations contained therein.

On December 3, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Adlai Stevenson, said:

I confess my profound disappointment that on November 13 Syria and Israel once again saw fit to resort to arms. We are disappointed that they were instantly prepared to do so with armaments that have no place in defensive areas, but the first shot fired from a rifle quickly escalated into fire on the spot and elsewhere by tanks, by artillery and finally by jet aircraft. We are saddened as previous speakers have said here by the loss of life on both sides. We find it difficult to excuse the readiness with which the whole military action was undertaken. . . . Within the context of what has been done in the past, the Council should, we believe, now recommend ways to make such incidents less likely to occur in the future. The United Nations Truce Supervision Organization Chief of Staff offers us some specific steps.

Turning to the UNTSO report's suggestions, the U.S. Representative specifically urged the parties to accept a survey of the disputed area of the ADL, to submit complaints to the Mixed Armistice Commission rather than to commence shooting, and to suspend activities about which a party has complained if the Commission Chairman deems it necessary. Referring to that paragraph in the UNTSO report which dealt with Israel's boycott of the Mixed Armistice Commission meetings, he stated:

. . . the Chief of Staff points out the crippling effect which a semi-operated Mixed Armistice Commission has upon UNTSO's effort to effect an orderly truce. Full participation in the activities of the Mixed Armistice Commission more than any other single act would increase the chances for a more effective observance of the truce by both sides. Full participation by both parties would add greatly to the authority of the Commission and reduce the suspicion and uncertainties which give birth to these repeated acts of violence.

DRAFT RESOLUTIONS

Throughout the course of the debate the members of the Council, together with the Representatives of Israel and Syria, attempted to negotiate a consensus acceptable to all members and to both parties concerned. These efforts were unsuccessful mainly because of differing views on responsibility for the incident.

On December 5 the Moroccan Representative presented to the Council a draft resolution which, in its principal paragraphs, would have the Security Council condemn Israel's use of aircraft during the November 13 incident, call on Israel to prevent the repetition of such actions, and call on Israel and Syria both to abide by the General

Armistice Agreement and to participate fully in the meetings of the Mixed Armistice Commission.

Subsequently, on December 17, Ambassador Charles W. Yost, U.S. Representative, submitted a joint draft resolution on behalf of the United States and the United Kingdom. Commenting on the draft resolution he said:

The United Kingdom and United States Delegations have thought it advisable that the Council should express itself specifically on the problems relating to the future and to an endorsement of the efforts of the Chief of Staff. It is not primarily to the incident of November 13 but to the prevention of repetitions of such an incident that our text applies. We believe that, for this reason, this text reflects the views of a majority of the members of the Council and meets the responsibilities of the Council in this situation.

Speaking of the Council's efforts to reach a consensus, he noted:

It is on the basis of these consultations and that measure of agreement that the present draft resolution was developed.

The draft, as you will note, does not review or analyze the events of November 13, nor does it attempt to assess culpability, for it was just on these points that the consultations revealed an irreconcilable divergence of views.

The U.S. Representative concluded his presentation by noting that the recommendations contained in the draft resolution were not all that was needed to maintain an orderly truce, but they were the basic minimum steps necessary to prevent repetitions of the November 13 incident.

In its principal paragraphs the U.S.-U.K. joint draft resolution would have had the Security Council:

1. deplore the renewal of military action on the ADL and deeply regret the loss of life on both sides;

2. take special note of the recommendations in the UNTSO report, and recommend specifically:

- a. that Israel and Syria cooperate fully with the MAC Chairman in his efforts to maintain peace in the area,

- b. that both parties cooperate in the continuation of the 1963 survey and demarcation of the ADL, commencing in the area of Tel El-Qadi (the currently disputed area), and of the old international frontier between Palestine and Syria where it differs from the ADL, and

- c. that both parties participate fully in the meetings of the Mixed Armistice Commission.

SECURITY COUNCIL ACTION: DECEMBER 17, 1964

The same day, December 17, subsequent to the submission of the U.S.-U.K. joint draft resolution, the Council rejected the Moroccan draft resolution by a vote of 3 (Czechoslovakia, Morocco, U.S.S.R.) to 0, with 8 (Bolivia, Brazil, China, France, Ivory Coast, Norway, U.K., U.S.) abstentions.

Following the vote on the Moroccan draft resolution, the Moroccan Representative submitted five draft amendments to the U.S.-U.K. joint draft resolution. Two of the draft amendments represented minor, essentially nonsubstantive changes in wording. The remaining three would, if adopted, have altered the balance of the draft resolution in favor of the Syrian position by having the Security Council (1) deplore "the violation by an Israeli military patrol of the ADL . . . contrary to the instructions" of the Mixed Armistice Commission Chairman; (2) deplore "the subsequent unjustified resort by Israel to aerial action"; and (3) recommend a simultaneous survey of the entire ADL including the three Demilitarized Zones. The last draft amendment differed from the original draft resolution in that the latter provided for the survey to commence in the area in which the November 13 incident occurred and made no specific mention of the Demilitarized Zones.

On December 21 the U.S. Representative noted that the amendments involved elements on which the Council members had been unable to reach agreement. Therefore, he said, the United States could not in good faith support them and would abstain when they were put to a vote. When put to a vote the same day, the two non-substantive draft amendments were adopted by the Council while the three draft amendments which would have altered the meaning and balance of the U.S.-U.K. draft joint resolution were rejected since none of the three received the required minimum of seven favorable votes. The United States and the United Kingdom abstained on all five draft amendments while Czechoslovakia, Morocco, and the U.S.S.R. voted in favor.

Following the vote on the draft amendments, the Council voted on the joint draft resolution as amended. The vote was 8 (Bolivia, Brazil, China, France, Ivory Coast, Norway, U.K., U.S.) to 3 (Czechoslovakia, Morocco, U.S.S.R.), with no abstentions. Because of the negative vote (veto) cast by the U.S.S.R., a permanent member of the Security Council, the resolution was rejected.

Following the vote the French Representative stated that his delegation had favored the vetoed draft resolution because it was essential that there be a followup of the recommendations in the UNTSO report. He had been unable to support three of the proposed amendments since they would have altered the balance of the draft resolution.

The Israeli Representative, again citing his Government's view that Syria had been responsible for the November 13 incident, expressed the hope that Syria would enter into peace negotiations with Israel. The Syrian Representative expressed his Government's regret that the Moroccan draft resolution, which would have condemned Israel, had

been rejected by the Council, and thanked those members who had voted against the U.S.-U.K. joint draft resolution. Referring to the proposed survey of the ADL, he stated that:

We rightly feel that the delimitation of one sector only will not prevent border incidents from recurring, and will not ensure the kind of stability which the Council should be seeking. We are therefore of the firm opinion that the delimitation should be carried out simultaneously on the whole length of the Armistice Line.

He also stressed the necessity for Israel to abide by the letter and spirit of the General Armistice Agreement and urged Israel to cease its boycott of the Mixed Armistice Commission. Turning to the U.S.-U.K. joint draft resolution, he stated that it was biased in favor of Israel and "concealed a far-reaching and ominous desire to make Israel feel that it could embark with impunity on military aggression of this nature."

The U.S. Representative expressed regret that the Soviet veto had prevented the Council from endorsing the constructive recommendations of the UNTSO Chief of Staff. Nevertheless, he continued, most members of the Council had commented favorably on and generally supported these recommendations, and this represented a strong consensus on the part of the Council. He stressed that "lack of unanimity on the part of the permanent members of the Council in this matter derogates in no way from the responsibility of the parties to carry out in cooperation with General Bull [the UNTSO Chief of Staff] the terms of the General Armistice Agreement"—a view that was also expressed by the United Kingdom and Norway.

Other Incidents

In addition to the November 13 incident, growing tensions between Syria and Israel in 1964 had led to a number of other exchanges of fire along the Armistice Demarcation Line and in the three sectors of the Demilitarized Zones separating the two countries. Most of these incidents were in the latter half of the year and largely stemmed from Israeli activity in the Demilitarized Zone that Syria believed to be in violation of tacitly accepted *status quo* arrangements or of the status of the Demilitarized Zone itself. Most of these incidents resulted in few, if any, casualties or property damage, and in most instances UNTSO was able quickly to arrange effective cease-fires. Generally speaking most of these incidents, after a cease-fire had been arranged, ended with routine complaints by both parties to the Israel-Syria Mixed Armistice Commission.

Jordan and Israel

As with Syria and Israel, 1964 also saw increasing tensions between Jordan and Israel along the Armistice Demarcation Line separating these two countries which in turn led to exchanges of fire. One incident in December resulted from faulty arrangements for Israeli police surveillance of Arab harvesters who were to be permitted to pick olives in a disputed area on Mount Scopus in the Jerusalem area. Owing to a misunderstanding over the authorized location of the Israeli police observers, they were fired upon by Jordanian forces. In the ensuing exchange of fire both sides suffered casualties before UNTSO could arrange a cease-fire. Other incidents during the course of the year, including a brief air engagement between Jordanian and Israeli aircraft, apparently stemmed in the main from alleged encroachments across the ADL by one party or the other.

Although few of these incidents between Jordan and Israel were serious of themselves in the context of the continuing Arab-Israel conflict, and in most instances UNTSO quickly arranged effective cease-fires, many of them did result in casualties.

The growing frequency of such incidents between Syria and Israel, and between Jordan and Israel, associated with heightened tensions, has become a matter of serious concern for all three governments as well as for the United Nations and UNTSO which is charged with the supervision and implementation of the Israel-Jordan and Israel-Syria General Armistice Agreements.

Panama

Rioting at the Canal Zone

A series of events within and adjacent to the Panama Canal Zone led on January 9, 1964, to rioting, gunfire, and bloodshed. The immediate issue involved the flying of the Panamanian flag within the Canal Zone. In a communique of January 1963 the United States and Panama announced that the Panamanian flag would be flown together with the U.S. flag on land in the Canal Zone where the U.S. flag is flown by civilian authorities. The Canal Zone authorities, in implementing this agreement, reviewed all land sites where the U.S. flag had been flown and decided to eliminate some; among them were outdoor flags at schools.

On January 7, 1964, American students at Balboa High School raised a U.S. flag in defiance of the Canal Zone Governor's orders. On January 9 a group of Panamanian high school students entered the Canal Zone to raise Panama's flag at Balboa High School. U.S.

Zone authorities gave permission for five of them to proceed to the flagpole and display the flag. During a melee at the flagpole, the flag carried by the Panamanian students was torn. On the way out of the Zone, some of the Panamanian students became unruly and damaged property. Zone police continued to escort them to the Zone's boundary, and most of the students withdrew peacefully. However, almost immediately disorderly crowds formed and entered the Zone, destroying property and threatening the safety of American citizens. At the same time rioters outside the Zone attacked American citizens and property in Panama. Zone police used tear gas in seeking to stop further penetration into the Zone and eventually had to use small-caliber arms in order to protect human life.

When it became obvious that the police were unable to control the rioters, the Acting Governor of the Zone requested the Commander of U.S. military forces to assume responsibility for the protection of the Zone. The rioting became more intense and was accompanied by sniper fire and the throwing of Molotov cocktails into the Zone. During 3 days of bloody rioting, 21 persons were reported killed, most of them in violence occurring outside of the Canal Zone and in circumstances not involving conflict with Zone or U.S. military personnel. Four U.S. soldiers were also killed during the rioting—three died as the result of sniper fire.

Organization of American States (OAS) Action

On January 10 the Inter-American Peace Committee of the Organization of American States (OAS) met at the request of the United States and Panama. After the meeting, the Committee issued a communique in which it announced that it had “. . . agreed to take up the problem immediately and, with the consent of the interested parties, it decided to study the case and to go to Panama the same evening in order to investigate the situation and recommend measures for the settlement of the dispute.” The OAS, in accordance with article 54 of the U.N. Charter, immediately informed the Secretary-General of the United Nations of the Inter-American Peace Committee's decision.

Security Council Consideration: January 10, 1964

Panama, in a letter of January 10, requested, on the basis of articles 34 (1) and 35 of the U.N. Charter, the President of the Security Council to convene the Security Council as soon as possible to consider “urgent matters connected with the grave situation that exists between Panama and the United States of America because of the Canal enclave in our territory.” In its letter Panama accused the United

States of bringing about a "tragic situation . . . by the repeated threats and acts of aggression . . . which infringe our territorial sovereignty, violate our territorial integrity and constitute in practice a serious danger to peace and international security." It alleged that "If the situation continues to deteriorate, the state of alarm . . . is bound to continue, and we accordingly request that the United Nations . . . should intervene, so that these acts of aggression may be considered by the Security Council. . . ."

The Security Council convened at 9:30 p.m. on January 10 to consider Panama's complaint. Panama requested and was permitted to take part in the debate without vote. The Panamanian Representative, Ambassador Aquilino Boyd, in opening the debate, stated that "Panama is the victim of an unprovoked armed attack against its territory and its civilian population . . . committed by the armed forces of the United States of America . . . thus creating a situation which endangers peace in the Western Hemisphere." He denied any hostile acts by his Government and reviewed his Government's account of the events which began on January 9. The Panamanian Representative described the behavior of U.S. forces as "acts of mass murder." After outlining Panama's grievances and complaints against the United States in connection with U.S. rights and activities in the Canal Zone, the Panamanian Representative stated: "The Panama Canal Zone must not continue under its present status which is and will continue to be a cause for permanent discord. Panama cannot continue to be subjected to iniquitous treaties imposed on it against its interests. . . . It is imperative that the status of the Panama Canal should change, either by being nationalized . . . or by its being internationalized . . . with special privileges [for Panama] as regards the Canal." Panama's Representative concluded by asking "for the intervention of the Security Council."

In response, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Adlai Stevenson, emphasized the "extreme concern" with which the United States viewed the Canal Zone incidents and the distress of the Government and people of the United States at "the tragic and the needless loss of human life—both Panamanian and American." He observed that "The riots and the violence are of special regret since they blot the record of the long and friendly and improving relationship between our Government and that of Panama." Emphasizing that the United States is "doing everything humanly possible to restore the situation," the U.S. Representative reported that President Johnson had telephoned the Panamanian President and that the two Presidents had agreed that there had to be a stop to violence in the Canal Zone. He further stated that President Johnson had given "most emphatic" instructions to U.S. authorities to do everything within their power to

restore and maintain peace and order in the Canal Zone. He noted that the President had dispatched "several of our most expert and competent officials to the area." He stated that at the request of Panama and the United States, the Inter-American Peace Committee of the OAS had met to consider the crisis and had agreed to go immediately to Panama to ascertain the facts. "But, from what I already do know," the U.S. Representative added, "I can categorically deny . . . allegations of aggression by the United States." The U.S. Representative described the events that had taken place and reviewed the activities of the Zone police and U.S. military forces, stating that:

While I do not purport to know all of the facts—any more, I believe, than does Ambassador Boyd—I do know that there is no evidence that either the police of the zone or the United States Army ever went outside the zone, that their only use of firearms was inside of the zone to protect the lives and property of American citizens residing there against an onrushing crowd of several thousand and against snipers. And, yet my distinguished friend, the Ambassador of Panama, calls this act of self-defense within the boundaries of the Canal Zone an act of aggression.

I mention these facts, as they are reported to me, not as a complete account of these unhappy events but only to show that, instead of aggression by the United States against Panama, the fact is that only the minimum measures have been taken to insure the safety of the zone and its inhabitants.

The U.S. Representative affirmed that the way to resolve differences was by peaceful measures and that the United States was "ready through direct discussions with the Panamanian Government to try to resolve such differences as may exist."

With regard to what the Security Council might do, the U.S. Representative said:

I believe there will be general agreement around this table that, in view of the fact that the Inter-American Peace Committee is about to leave for Panama, the problem should continue to be pursued in the regional forum which was established precisely to deal with situations arising among states in the Western Hemisphere.

The United Nations Charter, both in article 33 and in article 52, provides for pacific settlement of local disputes through regional agencies as does the Charter of the Organization of American States in article 20. Without derogating from the responsibilities of the Council, we believe that such local disputes can most effectively be dealt with through regional procedures. The decisive and rapid action of the Organization of American States this afternoon indeed shows that this is the case.

The Representative of Brazil said that "With the scanty information at our disposal" he would "refrain at this stage of the discussion from going into the substance of the Panamanian complaint." He added that "We cannot but deplore and regret that the situation should have gotten so out of hand as to result in a serious threat to the peace and security of the region." Turning to the action taken by the OAS in dispatching the Inter-American Peace Committee to

Panama, the Brazilian Representative said, "We are gratified that such speedy action should have been taken by the regional organization We believe, nevertheless, that the Security Council should also become seized of the matter and adopt certain measures of an emergency character In so doing, the Council will not be in any way impinging upon the provisions of the Charter of the Organization of American States."

The Brazilian Representative suggested "without making a formal proposal, that the President of the Security Council be authorized to address an appeal to the Governments of the United States of America and of Panama to bring to an immediate end the exchange of fire and the bloodshed now occurring and to request that they impose the utmost restraint over the military forces under their command and the civilian population under their control." If his suggestion represented the general consensus of the Security Council, the Brazilian Representative did not think a formal resolution would be needed.

The Representative of the Soviet Union, Ambassador Nikolai Fedorenko, said that he considered that "The fact of the violation of peace and security is . . . unquestionable." He stated that ". . . it is a question that definitely goes well beyond the competence of a regional organization such as the Organization of American States." The Soviet Representative called for the Security Council to "take steps towards immediately putting an end to the military action by the armed forces of the United States"

Noting the prompt action of the OAS, the U.K. Representative stressed that members of the Security Council should "do all in our power to bring about . . . the peaceful settlement of disputes . . .," opined that "It is certainly in accordance with the provisions of [the Charter] that every effort should be made by the parties to reach a solution to their differences through the Organization of American States," and gave his support to Brazil's "most constructive suggestion."

Similarly, the Moroccan Representative, Ambassador Ahmed Benhima, "warmly welcomed" the OAS contribution, noted "with considerable satisfaction the diligence with which the Organization of American States dealt with the situation" and supported Brazil's suggestion as one which "reflects the importance which the Security Council . . . attaches to the peaceful solution of this problem, at the same time leaving the way open to the regional organization to take action"

The United States, Panama, China, and the Ivory Coast supported the Brazilian suggestion. The U.S. Representative welcomed Brazil's proposal as helpful and assured the Council that "the United States will comply in letter and spirit with any such representation."

The President of the Security Council, Ambassador Castrillo Justiniano of Bolivia, noted that a number of Council members had spoken in support of the Brazilian suggestion that "the President of the Security Council would be authorized to address an appeal to the Governments of the United States and of Panama that they should immediately take the most appropriate measures to bring about a cease-fire and that bloodshed should stop." In the absence of objections, the President said he considered the proposal adopted and noted that the item remained on the Security Council's agenda.

Subsequent Developments

Acting in his capacity as President of the Security Council, the Bolivian Representative, on January 11, addressed identical telegrams to the United States and to Panama, informing both countries of the Security Council's action. He said it was generally agreed that he should appeal to them "to bring to an immediate end the exchange of fire and the bloodshed now occurring, and to request that the respective governments impose the utmost restraint over the military forces under their command and to protect the civilian population."

Secretary Rusk in replying to this telegram welcomed the appeal and assured the President of the Security Council that the United States "has complied with that appeal in letter and spirit." After noting the Inter-American Peace Committee's decision to visit Panama, Secretary Rusk in his reply stated that "the United States continues to seek a peaceful solution to present difficulties. We reiterate that we are ready and willing to discuss all problems affecting the relations of the United States and Panama."

Foreign Minister Galileo Solis of Panama responded to the message of the President of the Security Council stating that Panama "has successfully taken all necessary steps to prevent further disturbances and to protect [the] civilian population. [The] situation in the country has been restored to normal pending definition of the aggression committed against Panama and the determination of the damage done and the compensation to be paid for it."

On April 3, 1964, the Chairman of the General Committee of the Council of the Organization of American States acting provisionally as Organ of Consultation announced a Joint Declaration which stated that the representatives of both Governments had agreed:

"1. To re-establish diplomatic relations.

"2. To designate without delay Special Ambassadors with sufficient powers to seek the prompt elimination of the causes of conflict between the two countries, without limitations or preconditions of any kind.

“3. That therefore, the Ambassadors designated will begin immediately the necessary procedures with the objective of reaching a just and fair agreement which would be subject to the constitutional processes of each country.”

South Africa—Apartheid

Security Council Meeting: June 8-18, 1964

The Security Council met from June 8 to 18, 1964, to consider “The Question of Race Conflict in South Africa Resulting From the Policies of *Apartheid* of the Government of the Republic of South Africa.” The meeting was requested by 58 member states in a letter to the President of the Security Council dated April 27, 1964, which charged that the situation in South Africa had continued to deteriorate since the Council’s last consideration of *apartheid* in December 1963. The letter cited in this connection the report submitted by the Secretary-General on April 20 in accordance with the Security Council resolution of December 4, 1963, which had requested the Secretary-General to appoint a Committee of Experts to examine methods by which the situation in South Africa might be peacefully resolved. The letter also referred to the interim report of the General Assembly’s Special Committee on the Policies of *Apartheid* of the Government of the Republic of South Africa submitted to the Security Council and to the General Assembly on March 23. Both reports requested additional action on the South African problem.

At their request, India, Indonesia, Liberia, Malagasy Republic, Pakistan, Sierra Leone, and Tunisia were invited to participate, without right of vote, in the Council discussions. In a letter dated May 22 the Representative of South Africa to the United Nations protested that the U.N. Charter prohibited the United Nations from considering the *apartheid* question since it was an internal matter.

Political Prisoners

At the opening meeting on June 8 a number of speakers urgently requested the Security Council to take action to save the lives of African political leaders who were on trial in South Africa for offenses carrying a possible death penalty. The Moroccan Representative introduced the same day a draft resolution cosponsored by the Ivory Coast on the question of political prisoners.

The draft resolution noted that a trial (the so-called “Rivonia trial”) of leaders of the *anti-apartheid* movement in South Africa had been resumed and that “the verdict to be delivered under arbitrary

laws prescribing long terms of imprisonment and the death sentence" might have very serious consequences. It urged South Africa "(a) to renounce the execution of persons sentenced to death for acts resulting from their opposition to the policy of *apartheid*; (b) to end forthwith the trial in progress, instituted within the framework of the arbitrary laws of *apartheid*; and (c) to grant an amnesty to all persons already imprisoned, interned or subjected to other restrictions for having opposed the policy of *apartheid*, and particularly to the defendants in the Rivonia trial." The draft resolution invited all states and international organizations to exert their influence in order to induce the South African Government to comply. The resolution was adopted on June 9 by a vote of 7 (Bolivia, China, Czechoslovakia, Ivory Coast, Morocco, Norway, U.S.S.R.) to 0, with 4 (Brazil, France, U.K., U.S.) abstentions.

In explaining the U.S. abstention, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Francis T. P. Plimpton, said that, since the trial was still in progress, "the United States does not believe that the Security Council should at this time take action which could be construed as interference in the judicial process of a Member State." He went on to note that the United States was concerned about the circumstances giving rise to the trial, about the laws under which opponents of *apartheid* were detained and tried, and about the consequences that could ensue from such trials and from persistence by the South African Government in the policies of which the trials were an aspect.

Pursuant to the resolution, the Secretary-General wrote to the South African Representative on June 9 requesting to be informed of the action the South African Government was taking in accordance with the resolution. In his reply, dated July 13, the Representative of South Africa termed the resolution unwarranted intervention in South Africa's judicial processes, and "particularly blatant" since it had been adopted after the evidence of the trial had been presented but before the judges had given their verdict. He transmitted with his letter to the Security Council the full text of the judgment and the remarks of the judge in passing sentence and emphasized that no person who was not guilty of participating in, organizing, or complicity in the killing of another person was under sentence of death in South Africa.

The Secretary-General sent letters to all U.N. members on June 12 transmitting the text of the resolution and requesting information on action taken by member governments. The United States, in its reply of August 3, reiterated its explanation for abstaining on the resolution. It noted that, subsequent to the resolution's adoption, life sentences rather than death sentences had been given the accused, who had decided not to appeal the sentences in the belief that no

purpose could be served by an appeal in view of existing South African legislation. The reply stated that every nation had the right under proper legal and judicial safeguards to defend against criminal violence. At the same time it made clear that the United States opposed laws which permitted extended detention without hearing or trial and which placed on defendants the burden of proving themselves innocent.

Economic Sanctions

In the course of the Security Council debate on the general *apartheid* question, many speakers called on the Council to impose economic sanctions against South Africa. The Representative of India, speaking on June 8, asked:

. . . Will or will not the trading partners of South Africa put their words into practice and apply economic sanctions? This is the crux of the problem. Half-hearted measures will not do. Partial or limited sanctions will not do. Total economic boycott is the only answer. If the trading partners of South Africa are willing to accept the challenge, then they shall earn the gratitude of millions of people all over the world. If not, then history is unlikely to forgive them for permitting yet another Nazi-like monster to destroy civilization and civilized behaviour.

The Indonesian Representative, speaking on June 10, noted that the Council could impose sanctions under the U.N. Charter only if it determined that a threat to the peace as defined in chapter VII existed in South Africa, and he asked the Security Council to make such a determination.

On June 16 Norway and Bolivia cosponsored a draft resolution which proposed three new lines of action. The first endorsed the principal conclusion of the Committee of Experts (appointed by the Secretary-General in accordance with the December 1963 Security Council resolution) that it was for all the people of South Africa at the national level to determine their country's future. The draft resolution requested the South African Government to accept this conclusion and to cooperate with the Secretary-General, submitting to him views by November 30, 1964, on the holding of consultations among representatives of all elements of the population.

The second part of the draft resolution established another Expert Committee "composed of representatives of each present member of the Security Council to undertake a technical and practical study, and report to the Security Council as to the feasibility, effectiveness, and implications of measures which could, as appropriate, be taken by the Security Council under the United Nations Charter." Member states and the Secretary-General were asked to cooperate with the Committee, which was to submit its report no later than February 28, 1965.

The third part of the draft resolution invited the Secretary-General "in consultation with appropriate U.N. specialized agencies to establish an educational and training program for the purpose of arranging for education and training abroad for South Africans."

The resolution, which also repeated past Security Council appeals for restrictions on the provision of arms to South Africa and for the release of political prisoners, was adopted on June 18, 1964, by a vote of 8 (Bolivia, Brazil, China, Ivory Coast, Morocco, Norway, U.K., U.S.) to 0, with 3 (Czechoslovakia, France, U.S.S.R.) abstentions.

In a statement before the vote, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Adlai Stevenson, said he hoped that the South African Government would respond favorably to the concept of a national convention, for the United States had consistently held the view that the ultimate solution in South Africa must be worked out by the peoples of South Africa themselves. He also said that the United States was prepared to examine the opportunities to contribute to a special training and education program for South Africans under U.N. auspices.

Commenting on the Committee to be established to examine measures which might be taken against South Africa within the framework of the U.N. Charter, the U.S. Representative said in part:

Much has been said here in the Council and elsewhere on the question of sanctions. My Government continues to believe that the situation in South Africa, though charged with somber and dangerous implications, does not today provide a basis under the Charter for the application by the Security Council of coercive measures. Nor can we support the concept of an ultimatum to the South African Government which could be interpreted as threatening the application of coercive measures in the situation now prevailing, since in our view the Charter clearly does not empower the Security Council to apply coercive measures in such a situation.

However, the group of experts [appointed by the Secretary-General in accordance with the December 1963 Security Council resolution] has suggested that a study of sanctions be undertaken. My Government has given this proposal serious and prolonged consideration, and would be prepared to support the initiation of a properly designed study and to participate in it. But, and let me be explicit, our willingness to see such a study go forward under certain circumstances or our willingness to participate in such a study represents in no way an advance commitment on the part of my Government to support at any specific time the application under the Charter of coercive measures with regard to the South African situation or any other situation, nor should this position be interpreted as relating to our view of the situation in South Africa today or what it may become tomorrow. We do feel that such a study, if agreed to by the Security Council, could make a contribution to a fuller understanding on the part of the Council. While our support for such a study, and agreement to participate in it, is without any commitments or implications as to our future actions, we think that if and when a situation arose in which sanctions might be appropriately considered under the Charter—a situation which does not today exist—the availability of a detailed, practical and expert study would have considerable utility.

Concluding, the U.S. Representative stated that the United States would continue to search for ways of impressing upon South Africa

its conviction that only through a policy of justice and equality for all its peoples could South Africa look forward to a peaceful future.

The United Kingdom in voting for the resolution took a position similar to that of the United States on the establishment of a committee to study measures. France abstained on the resolution on the ground that it constituted an intervention, contrary to the provisions of the U.N. Charter, in South Africa's domestic affairs. Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union abstained because they believed the committee was unnecessary and would only delay further the question of imposing economic sanctions against South Africa.

The Secretary-General by a letter of June 19 transmitted the text of the resolution to the Representative of South Africa. In his response, dated November 16, the South African Representative said it was difficult to conceive of a more far-reaching example of attempted intervention in matters falling within the jurisdiction of a member state. He concluded, "What is in effect sought is that a Member State should abdicate its sovereignty in favour of the United Nations."

The Expert Committee, on which the United States was represented by Seymour J. Rubin, began its work on July 21. France did not participate in any way in the Committee's activities. On August 20 the chairman sent a letter to the representatives of all U.N. members asking them to cooperate with the Committee. On October 30 the chairman forwarded a questionnaire to all U.N. members requesting detailed information on their economic and financial relations with South Africa and on the effects that curtailment of these activities might have on their economies. The Committee recessed for 1964 on November 13.

Apartheid Committee

On March 23, 1964, the Special Committee on the Policies of *Apartheid* of the Government of the Republic of South Africa (usually referred to as the Special Committee on *Apartheid* and which had been established on November 6, 1962, by a General Assembly resolution) authorized its officers to appeal to organizations and eminent personalities in connection with "the trials and the passing of death sentences on persons opposed to the policies of *apartheid* in the Republic of South Africa." On April 9 the officers addressed an appeal to Chiefs of State or Heads of Government of member states to exert their influence on South Africa "(1) to refrain from executing the condemned political leaders and to spare the lives of the persons threatened with the death penalty in South Africa; (2) to put an end to the tortures and the various humiliations inflicted on the opponents of *apartheid* in South Africa; (3) to liberate the political prisoners whose only crime is their opposition to the South African Govern-

ment's policy of *apartheid*; [and] (4) to abandon its policy of *apartheid*. . . ."

The U.S. reply of May 11 to the Committee's appeal stated that the U.S. Government shared the concern of the Committee over the circumstances giving rise to the security trials in South Africa, the laws under which opponents of *apartheid* were detained and tried, and the consequences that could ensue both from the trials and from persistence in the policies of which the trials were an aspect. The letter, however, restated the U.S. view that every country has the right to conduct the defense of its citizens against violence, with proper safeguards for the accused.

During the year the Committee—whose membership includes Algeria, Costa Rica, Ghana, Guinea (chairman), Haiti, Hungary, Malaysia, Nepal, Nigeria, Philippines, and Somalia—submitted to the Security Council and the General Assembly several reports on developments in South Africa.

An interim report of March 23 dealt primarily with "repressive measures against the opponents of the policies of *apartheid* in the Republic of South Africa" and requested the Security Council to take up the *apartheid* question (see page 87). A second interim report of May 25, issued shortly before the Security Council's consideration of the *apartheid* question (June 8–18), transmitted the report of the Committee's delegation to the International Conference on Economic Sanctions against South Africa (a privately organized meeting held in London in April).

The Special Committee's annual report of November 30 repeated its earlier calls for a wide range of sanctions against South Africa, such as an embargo on petroleum and the denial of facilities to all ships and planes destined for or returning from South Africa, and added a number of new recommendations including not only total economic sanctions until South Africa complied with previous U.N. resolutions but also individual embargoes on rubber, chemicals, gold, diamonds, and iron ore.

Southeast Asia

Gulf of Tonkin

On August 4, 1964, the United States requested an urgent meeting of the Security Council to consider the serious situation created by the deliberate attacks of the Hanoi regime on U.S. naval vessels in international waters. When the Council convened on August 5, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Adlai Stevenson, described the facts of these attacks:

At 8:08 a.m. Greenwich meridian time on 2 August, of this year, the United States destroyer *Maddox* was on routine patrol in international waters in the Gulf of Tonkin, proceeding in a southeasterly direction away from the coast about 30 miles at sea from the mainland of North Viet-Nam. The *Maddox* was approached by three high-speed North Vietnamese torpedo boats in attack formation. When it was evident that these torpedo boats intended to take offensive action, the *Maddox*, in accordance with naval practice, fired three warning shots across the bows of the approaching vessels. At approximately the same time, the aircraft carrier *Ticonderoga*, which was also in international waters and had been alerted to the impending attack, sent out four aircraft to provide cover for the *Maddox*. The pilots were under orders not to fire unless they or the *Maddox* were fired upon first.

Two of the attacking craft fired torpedoes, which the *Maddox* evaded by changing course. All three attacking vessels directed machinegun fire at the *Maddox*. One of the attacking vessels approached for close attack and was struck by fire from the *Maddox*. After the attack was broken off, the *Maddox* continued on a southerly course in international waters.

The U.S. Representative explained that on August 3 the United States had taken steps to inform the Hanoi regime that "United States ships would continue to operate freely on the high seas in accordance with . . . international law" and warned of " 'the grave consequences which would inevitably result from any further unprovoked offensive military action against United States forces.' "

U.S. hopes that this was an isolated incident proved in vain. The U.S. Representative stated that:

. . . At 2:35 p.m. Greenwich meridian time on August 4, when it was night-time in the Gulf of Tonkin, the destroyers *Maddox* and *C. Turner Joy* were again subjected to an armed attack by an undetermined number of motor torpedo boats of the North Vietnamese navy. This time the American vessels were 65 miles from shore, twice as far out on the high seas as on the occasion of the previous attack. This time numerous torpedoes were fired. That attack lasted for over 2 hours.

The U.S. Representative then outlined the U.S. response to this:

. . . deliberate military aggression . . . in international waters. One could only conclude that this was the work of authorities dedicated to the use of force to achieve their objectives, regardless of the consequences.

My Government therefore determined to take positive but limited and relevant measures to secure its naval units against further aggression. Last night aerial strikes were thus carried out against North Vietnamese torpedo boats and their support facilities. This action was limited in scale, its only targets being the weapons and facilities against which we had been forced to defend ourselves. Our fervent hope is that the point has now been made that acts of armed aggression are not to be tolerated in the Gulf of Tonkin any more than they are to be tolerated anywhere else.

I want to emphasize that the action we have taken is a limited and measured response, fitted precisely to the attack that produced it, and that the deployments of additional U.S. forces to Southeast Asia are designed solely to deter further aggression. . . .

. . . let me repeat that the United States vessels were in international waters when they were attacked.

Let me repeat that freedom of the seas is guaranteed under long-accepted international law applying to all nations alike.

Let me repeat that these vessels took no belligerent actions of any kind until they were subjected to armed attack.

And let me say once more that the action they took in self-defense is the right of all nations and is fully within the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations.

The acts of aggression by the North Vietnamese in the Gulf of Tonkin make no sense whatsoever standing alone. They defy rational explanation except as part of a larger pattern with a larger purpose. . . .

All these wanton acts of violence and destruction fit into the larger pattern of what has been going on in Southeast Asia for the past decade and a half.

We hoped that the peace settlement in 1954 would lead to peace in Viet-Nam. We hoped that the settlement, and the supplementary Geneva accords of 1962, would lead to peace in Laos. Communist governments have tried aggression before—and have failed. Each time the lesson has had to be learned anew.

Simultaneously with the announcement of the incident by the United States, the North Vietnamese regime released a statement alleging two U.S. attacks on its territory. It held that the United States and South Viet-Nam had on July 30 sent warships to shell the Hon Me and Non Ngu Islands in the territorial waters of North Viet-Nam, and that U.S. fighter planes had raided the Laotian village of Noong De, 12 miles inside the Laotian border on August 1. These allegations were denied by U.S. officials.

Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara had elaborated on the nature of the U.S. actions during a press conference on August 5 as follows:

. . . our forces have struck the bases used by the North Vietnamese patrol craft. During the night, 64 attack sorties were launched from the United States carriers *Ticonderoga* and *Constellation* against four North Vietnamese patrol bases and certain support facilities associated with those bases.

. . . The first base is at Hon Gay in North Viet-Nam; the second at Loc Chao; the third at Phuoloi; the fourth at Quang Khe; and the fifth strike was against the Vinh oil storage depot, which is associated with the Swatow torpedo base.

The oil storage depot . . . was 90 percent destroyed. . . . In addition to the damage to the torpedo boat bases and their support facilities, approximately 25 of the boats were damaged or destroyed.

Two of our aircraft were lost, two of our aircraft were damaged, all others have been recovered safely on the carriers.

Other U.S. officials made clear the limited, measured nature of the American airstrike. President Johnson, while insisting in his address to the Nation on August 4 that “firmness in the right is indispensable today for peace,” reaffirmed that, “That firmness will always be measured. . . .”

In his midnight address to Congress August 5 the President out-

lined further action he would take to assure complete support within the country for his move and complete understanding of his actions outside the country. He stated:

After consultation with the leaders of both parties in the Congress, I further announced a decision to ask the Congress for a resolution expressing the unity and determination of the United States in supporting freedom and in protecting peace in southeast Asia.

The Soviet Representative, Ambassador Platon Morozov, speaking to the Security Council on August 5, referred to the American strike against the North Vietnamese PT boat bases as "acts of aggression." He urged that North Viet-Nam be permitted to participate in the debate in accordance with article 32 of the U.N. Charter. To this end, the Soviet Representative proposed that the Security Council adopt a resolution which "1. Requests the President of the Security Council to ask the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam to supply the Council urgently with the necessary information relating to the United States complaint; 2. Invites representatives of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam to take part without delay in the meetings of the Security Council."

Regarding the Soviet draft resolution, the U.S. Representative replied that "The United States . . . has no objection to authorities of Viet-Nam being heard by the Council—indeed, to answer for their grave use of military force. . . . We also believe, however, that, if the North Vietnamese are invited, the Republic of Viet-Nam should also be invited to appear." The meeting concluded without a vote on the draft resolution.

The Security Council met again on August 7. The President, Ambassador Nielsen of Norway, reported that "informal consultation" among the members had resulted in agreement on the participation of North and South Viet-Nam in the Council proceedings. The President noted the "understanding" of the Council members that ". . . the Security Council, would welcome such information relating to this complaint as the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam would desire to make available to the Council, either through taking part in the discussions of the complaint in the Council, or in the form which it might prefer. Furthermore, the Security Council would receive in the same manner such information relating to the complaint as the Republic of Viet-Nam would desire to make available to the Council."

At this meeting, the Czechoslovak Representative, Ambassador Jiri Hajek, alleged that American forces had on July 30 and August 1 carried out aggressive and provocative actions against the territorial integrity of North Viet-Nam. He stated that the North Vietnamese in

fact had said the U.S. account of North Vietnamese PT boat attacks was "sheer fabrication." The Czech Representative continued that even under the American version of the incident, the American action in bombing the territory of North Viet-Nam constituted a "reprisal" which the Council had previously condemned as "incompatible with the purposes and principles of the United Nations."

In reply the U.S. Representative said, "No United States ships intruded into the territorial waters as alleged, nor did United States ships shell the islands referred to or any other North Vietnamese islands on 30-31 July or any time before or since." With regard to the PT boat attacks, he held that: "These attacks were very real indeed. The facts concerning them have been publicly described by President Johnson, by the Secretary of Defense, and by me in my remarks to this Council last Wednesday afternoon. . . ."

"Searchlights and gun flashes from the attacking boats were . . . seen at close quarters by personnel on the vessels under attack and by supporting aircraft, and torpedo boats themselves were seen in illumination provided by flares dropped by aircraft."

Having considered the report of the United States concerning the incidents in the Tonkin Gulf, submitted in accordance with article 51 of the U.N. Charter, the Council adjourned on August 7 without further action. However, both South Viet-Nam and the Hanoi authorities replied to the Council's request for any information they might wish to submit concerning these incidents.

In a letter dated August 15, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Viet-Nam noted that the incidents in the Gulf of Tonkin "are indeed not the concern of the United States and the Viet Cong alone. . . ." Through these attacks on the U.S. vessels, he stated, "the Viet Cong were aiming their attacks at South Viet-Nam" He then referred the Council to two findings listed in the 1962 Special Report of the International Control Commission (ICC). This report said, *inter alia*, that "(a) ' . . . armed and unarmed personnel, arms, munitions and other supplies have been sent from the Zone in the North to the Zone in the South with the object of supporting, organizing and carrying out hostile activities, including armed attacks, directed against the Armed Forces and Administration of the Zone in the South. . . .'" and "(b) ' . . . the Peoples' Army of Viet-Nam has allowed the Zone in the North to be used for inciting, encouraging and supporting hostile activities in the Zone in the South.'" The Vietnamese letter also stated that the Permanent Observer of the Republic of Viet-Nam to the United Nations remained at the disposal of the Security Council to cooperate with it in any way desired.

In a telegram dated August 19, addressed to the President of the Security Council, the North Vietnamese regime stated that both

incidents were "provoked" by the United States and that "the 'complaint' by the United States Government to the United Nations Security Council is a slander, that it is contrary to the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Viet-Nam and that it should be rejected." According to the North Vietnamese telegram:

. . . On the afternoon of 2 August, the United States destroyer Maddox, which had been pursuing its mission of provocation along the North Vietnamese coast since the night of 31 July, opened fire inside Vietnamese territorial waters on patrol boats belonging to the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, which were thus obliged to defend themselves immediately. . . . Subsequently, Washington concocted the myth of a "second deliberate attack. . . ." President Johnson took this as a pretext to order aircraft of the Seventh Fleet to bomb and strafe several areas in the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam during the day of 5 August. . . .

The North Vietnamese communication also demanded from the United States:

. . . the immediate cessation of acts of war against the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, the immediate cessation of the war of aggression in South Viet-Nam, the complete withdrawal from South Viet-Nam of United States troops, military personnel, arms and war equipment, and respect for the right of the people of South Viet-Nam to settle their own affairs themselves in the spirit of the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Viet-Nam.

In concluding, the North Vietnamese telegram stated:

. . . the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam solemnly declares that:

The consideration of the problem of the acts of war by the United States Government against the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and of the problem of the United States war of aggression in South Viet-Nam lies within the competence of the 1954 Geneva Conference on Indo-China, and not of the Security Council;

Should the Council take an illegal decision on the basis of the United States "complaint", the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam would regretfully find itself obliged to consider that decision null and void."

Cambodia-Republic of Viet-Nam Border Dispute

Difficulties over the border area between the Kingdom of Cambodia and the Republic of Viet-Nam (also referred to as South Viet-Nam) have affected the relations between these two Southeast Asian peoples for some years. Ever since an incident in the Cambodian Province of Stung Treng in June 1958, allegations of armed incursions by both sides and suspicions of hostile intent have increased. Following incidents in February and March 1964 at the Cambodian villages of Mong and Chantrea, Cambodia, on April 16, 1964, sent as a letter to the Security Council President a "White Paper," ". . . recording the acts of aggression committed by the armed forces of the United

States and South Viet-Nam against the territory and population of Cambodia. . . .”

On May 13 the Cambodian Representative, Ambassador Sonn Voeunsai, requested a “meeting of the Security Council as soon as possible to consider these acts of aggression.” The letter containing this request included further allegations that U.S. and Vietnamese armed forces had participated in “terrorist raids” on May 7 and 8 in the Cambodian Province of Svay Rieng.

On May 18 the Vietnamese Minister of Foreign Affairs, Phan Huy Quat, addressed a formal request on behalf of the Republic of Viet-Nam (which has observer status at the United Nations) to the President of the Security Council for an “opportunity to defend its case” by participating in the debate.

SECURITY COUNCIL CONSIDERATION: MAY 19-JUNE 4, 1964

The Security Council was convened on May 19 to consider the the Cambodian complaint. The Soviet Representative, Ambassador Nikolai Fedorenko, contended that because “the creation of [the Republic of Viet-Nam] was completely illegal” it should not be allowed to participate. However a U.S. proposal to invite the Republic of Viet-Nam to take part, without the right to vote, was adopted by a vote of 9 to 2 (Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union), with no abstentions. Pham Khac Rau, Chargé d’Affaires for the Republic of Viet-Nam in Washington, and Ambassador Vu Van Mau, Special Representative of the Republic of Viet-Nam, were subsequently invited to represent their Government in the Security Council proceedings.

The Foreign Minister of Cambodia, Huot Sambath, and the Cambodian Representative presented Cambodia’s case to the Security Council. Ambassador Sonn drew the attention of the Council to the “deplorable situation which was prevalent on the Cambodian/South Vietnamese frontier as a result of the aggression carried out by the armed forces of the Republic of Viet-Nam from which my country has been suffering continually since its accession to independence.” The Cambodian Representative referred to article 1 of the U.N. Charter which states that the aim of the United Nations is “To maintain international peace and security . . . and to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace” He also noted that article 2(6) of the Charter requires the United Nations to insure that states not members of the United Nations also act in accordance with these principles.

The Cambodian Representative charged that South Viet-Nam, “In order to try to shirk its responsibilities . . . has put forward various arguments which in no way stand up to serious examination”

In addition, he maintained that the United States was responsible for the South Vietnamese incursions into Cambodian territory. He said: “. . . this responsibility is obvious when one bears in mind the role played by the United States in the war in South Viet-Nam, particularly in conducting military operations and in over-arming the forces of South Viet-Nam. . . . We have several times affirmed and reaffirmed that there is no infiltration or passage by the Viet Cong from our territory” The Cambodian Representative said “Cambodia has . . . even agreed that international control should be placed over its territory, particularly near the frontier with South Viet-Nam. . . . Once more today, we think that the sending to Cambodia of a commission of inquiry of the United Nations would make it possible to investigate the accusations made against us.” The Cambodian Representative pointed out, however, that such a commission would have a limited role and could not replace the control of the frontiers exercised by the International Control Commission.

Throughout the Security Council debate, the Cambodian Representative insisted that any U.N. action not prejudice what he held to be the “indispensable” solution to the problem, namely, reconvoation of the 1954 Geneva Conference in order “to consecrate by means of an international treaty the guarantee of the neutrality and territorial integrity of Cambodia and, on the other hand, to give the International Control Commission the means of assuring the general control of the frontier of Cambodia with South Viet-Nam.”

In a statement to the Council on May 21 the Representative of the Republic of Viet-Nam stated that his Government had “. . . never denied that there were incidents bringing into play Vietnamese forces in the course of engagements with the Viet-Cong Communist forces, following which victims were claimed and damage caused in Cambodia. But there has never been aggression directed against Cambodia or its population.”

On May 25 the Representative of the Republic of Viet-Nam, Ambassador Vu Van Mau, in presenting his Government's view of the causes underlying the incidents along the border, said:

In most cases . . . the fundamental causes of the frontier incidents between Viet-Nam and Cambodia arise, on the one hand, from the absence of a well-marked frontier along its whole length and, on the other, from the violation of Cambodian territory by the Viet Cong in the course of their aggressive activities against the Republic of Viet-Nam.

With respect to the three incidents under consideration, the Representative of the Republic of Viet-Nam said his Government had “presented its regrets . . . and offered to indemnify the victims” for the incidents at Chantrea and Thlork Kum and, concerning the incident at Mong, had proposed the establishment of a “joint commission

to . . . determine the exact share of responsibility which the Government of Viet-Nam must bear and the amount of compensation [it] must eventually offer.”

The Representative of the Republic of Viet-Nam referred the Council to the Vietnamese Government's "White Paper" published in May which described numerous cases of the withdrawal of Viet Cong forces into Cambodia for refuge and supplies, and infiltration of Viet Cong agents across the border into the Republic of Viet-Nam "for the purpose of training and indoctrinating the young people which have been forcibly enrolled in their ranks." He also described a number of incidents to show that the Mekong River is used as a major thoroughfare for bringing strategic materials into Viet-Nam from Cambodia and for supplying Viet Cong troops.

The Representative of Viet-Nam expressed the support of his Government for ". . . a Commission of Experts to be established under the aegis of the United Nations to define clearly and mark the border . . . and the setting up of an effective system for the control of the border area. . . ." The Vietnamese Representative said that his Government had frequently indicated its willingness to establish "joint patrols, composed of military units of both countries" to patrol the border, a suggestion which, he said, had been "rejected" by the Government of Cambodia.

In concluding, the Representative of the Republic of Viet-Nam expressed his Government's desire to renew political relations which had been suspended by the Cambodian Government in August 1963 and to engage in "bilateral conferences on every question in dispute." The Government of the Republic of Viet-Nam, he stated, "has, as a matter of fact, no other goal than the re-establishment of friendly relations with Cambodia."

Supporting the Cambodian position, the Soviet Representative had stated earlier on May 19 that he shared "the serious concern and the justifiable anger of the Government of Cambodia." Throughout the proceedings, the Soviet Representative attempted to relate the "acts of aggression" against Cambodia to the "organization by the United States of direct military actions against the peoples of the Indo-Chinese peninsula . . . and particularly in South Viet-Nam"

In a statement to the Council on May 21 the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Adlai Stevenson, noted that the facts about the incidents at issue are "relatively simple and clear," stating:

The Government of the Republic of Viet-Nam already has confirmed that, in the heat of battle, forces of the Republic of Viet-Nam did, in fact, mistakenly cross an ill-marked frontier between their country and Cambodia in pursuit of armed terrorists on May 7 and 8, and on earlier occasions. . . .

The Government of Viet-Nam has expressed its regrets that these incidents occurred with some tragic consequences. It has endeavored to initiate bilateral discussions with the Cambodian Government to remove the causes of these incidents.

But these incidents can only be assessed intelligently in the light of the surrounding facts: namely, the armed conspiracy which seeks to destroy not only the Government of Viet-Nam but the very society of Viet-Nam itself.

The U.S. Representative went on to describe the "aggression" and violence against the Republic of Viet-Nam, directed from outside its borders, and noted that the prime targets of this aggression have been local officials, schoolteachers, and "others whose position, profession, or other talents qualified them for service to the people of Viet-Nam. . . ." Recalling the major elements of U.S. policy in Southeast Asia, he said:

First, the United States has no, repeat *no*, national military objective anywhere in Southeast Asia. United States policy . . . is the restoration of peace so that the peoples of that area may go about their own independent business in whatever associations they may freely choose for themselves without interference from the outside.

Second, the United States Government is currently involved in the affairs of the Republic of Viet-Nam . . . only because the Republic of Viet-Nam requested the help of the United States and of other governments to defend itself against armed attack fomented, equipped, and directed from the outside.

After referring to other situations where the United States had helped to resist Communist aggression, the U.S. Representative continued:

. . . The Indochinese Communist Party, the parent of the present Communist Party in North Viet-Nam, made it abundantly clear as early as 1951 that the aim of the Vietnamese Communist leadership is to take control of all of Indochina. This goal has not changed—it is still clearly the objective of the Vietnamese Communist leadership in Hanoi.

Hanoi seeks to accomplish this purpose in South Viet-Nam through subversive guerrilla warfare directed, controlled, and supplied by North Viet-Nam. . . .

Infiltration of military personnel and supplies from North Viet-Nam to South Viet-Nam has been carried out steadily over the past several years. . . .

Introduction of Communist weapons into South Viet-Nam has also grown steadily. . . .

We all know that Southeast Asia has been the victim of almost incessant violence for more than a decade and a half. Yet despite this fact, it has been suggested that we should give up helping the people of Viet-Nam to defend themselves and seek only a political solution. But a political solution is just what we have already had, and it is in defense—in support—of that political solution that Viet-Nam is fighting today. The United States has never been against political solutions. Indeed, we have faithfully supported the political solutions that were agreed upon at Geneva in 1954 and again in 1962. The threat to peace in the area stems from the fact that others have not done likewise.

. . . the ink was hardly dry on the Geneva Accords in 1954 before North Viet-Nam began to violate them systematically with comradely assistance from the regime in Peking. . . .

. . . There is a very easy way to restore order in Southeast Asia. There is a very simple, safe way to bring about the end of United States military aid to the Republic of Viet-Nam.

Let all foreign troops withdraw from Laos. Let all states in that area make and abide by the simple decision to leave their neighbors alone. Stop the secret subversion of other people's independence. Stop the clandestine and illegal transit of national frontiers. Stop the export of revolution and the doctrine of violence. Stop the violations of the political agreements reached at Geneva for the future of Southeast Asia.

Regarding the specific issue before the Security Council—the security of the Cambodia-Republic of Viet-Nam border—the U.S. Representative noted that the United States was “in complete sympathy with the concern of the Government of Cambodia for the sanctity of its borders and the security of its people.” The United States, he said, had expressed regret to the Government of Cambodia for the tragic results of the border incidents in which an American adviser was present, but he noted that careful investigations had failed to produce any evidence that Americans were present in the inadvertent crossing of the Cambodian frontier on May 7 and 8, and that “there is, of course, no question whatever of either aggression or aggressive intent against Cambodia on the part of my country.”

“. . . We want for them precisely what they want for themselves. We have no quarrel whatsoever with the desire of Cambodia to go its own way.”

The U.S. Representative explained that the real trouble lay in the fact that:

. . . Others in the area have not been prepared to leave the people of Cambodia free to pursue their own ends independently and peacefully. The recent difficulties along the frontier which we have been discussing here in the Council are only superficially and accidentally related to the Republic of Viet-Nam. They are deeply and directly related to the fact that leaders and armed forces of North Viet-Nam, supported by Communist China, have abused the right of Cambodia to live in peace by using Cambodian territory as a passageway, a source of supply, and a sanctuary from counterattack by the forces of South Viet-Nam, which is trying to maintain its right to live in peace and go its own way, too. . . .”

Addressing himself to the possible solution to the problem, the U.S. Representative then stated:

One cannot blame the Vietnamese for concluding that the International Control Commission cannot do an effective job of maintaining frontier security. . . .

The fact that the situation in South Viet-Nam has reached the crisis stage is itself dramatic testimony of the frustration to which the International Control Commission has been reduced. . . .

Several practical steps for restoring stability to the frontier have been suggested and . . . I should like to reiterate . . . that we have never rejected any proposal for inspection of Cambodian territory.

One suggestion is that the Council request the two parties directly concerned to establish a substantial military force on a bilateral basis to observe and patrol the frontier and to report to the Secretary-General.

Another suggestion is that such a bilateral force be augmented by the addition of United Nations observers and possibly be placed under United Nations command to provide an impartial third-party element representing the world community. We also could see much merit in this idea.

A third suggestion is to make it an all-United Nations force. . . . If this method should prove desirable to the members of the Council, the United States will be prepared to contribute.

The U.S. Representative concluded with the thought that whether or not these or some other practical solutions might be agreed upon, "it would be useful to ask the Secretary-General of the United Nations to offer assistance to Cambodia and the Republic of Viet-Nam in clearly marking the frontiers between the two countries."

On June 4 the Security Council by a vote of 11 to 0 adopted a resolution which had been submitted by the Ivory Coast and Morocco. In its preambular paragraphs, the Security Council noted "with regret" the incidents which had occurred on the border between Cambodia and the Republic of Viet-Nam, the "apologies and regrets" regarding these incidents which had been tendered to Cambodia, and the desire of the two Governments concerned to restore relations to a "peaceful and normal state."

The Security Council also "deplored" the incidents caused by the penetration of Republic of Viet-Nam military units into Cambodian territory and requested that "just and fair compensation" be offered to that country. The Council requested all states and "particularly the members of the Geneva Conference" to "recognize and respect Cambodia's neutrality and territorial integrity." Looking toward a constructive resolution of the Cambodian complaint, the Council decided to send three of its members to the two countries "in order to consider such measures as may prevent any recurrence of such incidents." The Mission was instructed to report to the Security Council within 45 days.

The Soviet Representative requested a separate vote on operative paragraph five of the resolution which established the Mission. He said his Government considered that because ". . . there already exists the international machinery set up by the Geneva Agreements, . . . the dispatch to this part of the world of several members of the Security Council is not justified by events." Czechoslovakia joined the Soviet Union in abstaining on the separate vote on this paragraph.

SUBSEQUENT DEVELOPMENTS

On June 5 Ambassador Arsene Assouan Usher, the U.N. Representative of the Ivory Coast and President of the Security Council in June, announced that, after consultations with members of the Security Council, he had appointed Brazil, the Ivory Coast, and Morocco to carry out this Mission.

The Security Council Mission was formally constituted on June 17 with Dey Ould Sidi Baba, Deputy U.N. Representative of Morocco, as its head. Ambassador Manuel Pio Correia of Brazil and Moise Aka of the Ivory Coast were the other members. The Mission left New York on June 21 and returned on July 17 after visiting both Cambodia and the Republic of Viet-Nam.

It presented its report to the Security Council President on July 27. Pursuant to its terms of reference outlined in the June 4 resolution, the Mission submitted, in section VI of its report, the following five recommendations on "measures as might prevent any recurrence of the incidents which have occurred on the Cambodian-Vietnamese frontier. . . ."

1. The Security Council should decide to establish and send to Cambodia a group of U.N. observers, and should entrust the Secretary-General with the implementation of the decision in consultation with the members of the Security Council.

2. The Security Council should recommend that the Governments of the Kingdom of Cambodia and the Republic of Viet-Nam adopt whatever measures are necessary to bring about the resumption of political relations broken off in August 1963.

3. The Security Council should appoint a person of high standing, approved by the two parties, to arrange for a preliminary meeting between the two Governments for the purpose of re-establishing relations between the two countries and the resumption of talks on matters in dispute, particularly the delimitation and marking of the common frontier.

4. The Security Council should "take note" of assurances given to the Mission by the Government of the Republic of Viet-Nam that the Vietnamese armed forces have been issued definite instructions that every precaution is to be taken to avoid any risk of frontier violations.

5. The Security Council should take note of the statement by the Government of the Republic of Viet-Nam that it recognizes and undertakes to respect the neutrality and territorial integrity of the Kingdom of Cambodia.

Reaction to the Mission's report was varied. In a letter to the President of the Security Council dated August 27, the U.N. Observer of the Republic of Viet-Nam stated:

The Vietnamese Government pays tribute to the high sense of dedication to world peace and international understanding displayed by the Mission members in the accomplishment of the task entrusted to them

It was the hope of the Republic of Viet-Nam, however, to find in the Report a more comprehensive account of the Vietnamese concrete proposals submitted to the Mission for the control of the border, and the improvement of relations between Viet-Nam and Cambodia.

Experience has shown that any system of border control, to be effective, requires the cooperation of the two interested countries. Therefore the proposals of both sides deserve equal consideration, and *should serve together as a basis for agreement between the two parties.*

The Republic of Viet-Nam . . . is prepared to consider the materialization of the Cambodian proposals [The Cambodian Government had indicated to the Mission that with certain conditions, it would agree to the placement of U.N. observers on Cambodian territory.] for the creation of the Observers Corps a useful preliminary step toward the establishment of a more effective system of border control: an International Police Force with freedom of movement on both sides of the border, and sufficient means for an effective surveillance of the frontier.

On September 9 the Cambodian Representative to the United Nations submitted to the President of the Security Council a Declaration by his Government regarding the Cambodia-Republic of Viet-Nam question. The Declaration stated that it seemed clear the Security Council had proven "powerless to give Cambodia the guarantees to which it was entitled to hope" and therefore the Cambodian Government thought it was "wiser and more logical" to request that its complaint "should be placed on file." According to the Declaration, the Cambodian Government had noted "with profound surprise" that the Mission "confined itself to enumerating in its report what it called 'frontier incidents,' without naming those responsible for these acts of aggression." The Cambodian Declaration continued:

A study of the report of the Security Council Mission shows that the investigators in fact devoted themselves almost exclusively to a consideration of the Cambodian-South Vietnamese dispute, which was quite outside their terms of reference. . . . the mission . . . practically espoused the case presented by the Saigon Government on this question. . . .

Consequently, the Prince Head of State, the Royal Government and the two Assemblies formally protest against the report submitted by the Security Council Mission in so far as concerns the Cambodian-South Vietnamese dispute. They also consider that the recommendations included in the report are strictly unacceptable to Cambodia.

In a letter to the Council President on September 9 the United States Representative commended the Security Council Mission and noted that after studying its report with "great care and interest":

. . . my Government has come to the conclusion that the recommendations made in Part VI—particularly those looking toward the establishment of a group

of United Nations Observers and the resumption of political relations between Cambodia and Viet-Nam—offer genuine promise of reducing the incidents which have occurred along the common border between Cambodia and Viet-Nam and, at the same time, other sources of recent tension between these two countries. . . .

. . . It has been . . . a source of both surprise and regret to my Government to note the attitude of the Royal Cambodian Government toward the report of the Security Council Mission . . . which argues, on the one hand, that the Mission's recommendations are not responsive to the Cambodian complaint and, on the other hand, that the United Nations is not competent to judge what steps can be taken to ameliorate a situation brought to the Security Council by the Cambodian Government itself. . . .

. . . I wish to reiterate my Government's belief that the recommendations in the report of the Security Council Mission—assuming arrangements can be agreed on for their implementation—represent practical, although limited, steps by which the United Nations can exercise its peace-keeping responsibilities and contribute to a reduction of tension in South-East Asia. My Government can only regret that the Royal Cambodian Government does not look upon these recommendations—which stemmed from its own urgent appeal to the Security Council—in a similar light.

Following the conclusion of the Security Council session in June Cambodia addressed a number of letters to the Security Council President alleging new “jet overflights,” “armed incursions,” and “air bombings” by Vietnamese and American armed forces. The Government of the Republic of Viet-Nam conducted inquiries in connection with these Cambodian charges and replied in its own letters to the Security Council that the Cambodian charges were without foundation.

The United States also investigated certain of the Cambodian charges which alleged United States as well as Vietnamese participation in border incursions. In response to a Cambodian contention that American soldiers had crossed into Cambodia on June 15, the United States in a letter of August 10 to the Security Council President reported that it “. . . has completed a thorough investigation of this charge, which was presented completely without substantiation, and it has been confirmed that neither United States personnel nor landing craft (LCMs) were operating in the area in question on or about 15 June.”

In another letter dated July 28 to the Security Council the Cambodian Government alleged that South Vietnamese aircraft had “dumped toxic powder . . . in the . . . Province of Rattanakiri” and that “seventy-six persons died as a result of this operation, which is part of the chemical warfare which the United States-South Vietnamese forces had hitherto waged only in South Viet-Nam.” South Viet-Nam categorically denied Cambodia's accusations in a letter to the Security Council President dated August 2, 1964. The letter stated that no air mission of the Vietnamese armed forces took place anywhere in the three Vietnamese provinces adjacent to the Cambodian Province of Rattanakiri on the dates mentioned in the Cam-

bodian charges. It acknowledged the use of chemical products for defoliation purposes since 1960 but stated these chemicals were not the ones described by the Cambodians as "yellow toxic powders."

Also replying to Cambodia's accusations, the United States stated in a letter to the Security Council President on August 3 that:

A careful investigation has been conducted, and it has been determined that no Republic of Viet-Nam nor American aircraft have conducted chemical operations of any character whatever either adjacent to the Cambodian territory indicated, much less over Cambodian territory, on any of the dates or at any time in the period cited by the Royal Government of Cambodia.

Furthermore, the sole chemical operations conducted within South Viet-Nam by the Government of South Viet-Nam employ weed-killing chemicals of types used throughout the world, and extensively within the United States itself. These are spread in liquid form, leave no powder residue, and are harmless to human beings.

When the Cambodian Government persisted in its charges of chemical warfare, the U.S. Representative in a second letter to the Security Council President on August 14 stated that:

. . . the U.S. Government would welcome an impartial international investigation of the Cambodian charges. We believe the Royal Government of Cambodia is also obliged in the interests of fairness and justice to permit an impartial inquiry by a qualified international body. An international organization such as the World Health Organization or the International Committee for the Red Cross would seem well qualified to carry out this kind of an investigation and to report the facts to the Security Council.

In an official Ministry of Information communique released on August 16, the Cambodian Government spoke of Ambassador Stevenson's "cynical request . . . for an impartial inquiry," and stated that "Rattanakiri officials, like other Cambodian authorities concerned, were qualified to count the number of unfortunate victims of United States-South Viet-Nam chemical aggression."

The U.S. letter of September 9 to the Security Council President noted that the United States had not proposed that the victims be counted, but had suggested that a "qualified international body be permitted to conduct an impartial inquiry into completely unsubstantiated charges." The letter also pointed out that two of the occasions on which Cambodia had alleged that poisonous chemicals had been dispersed over Cambodian territory took place well before the Security Council Mission had arrived in Cambodia. "It is difficult to understand why the Royal Cambodian Government did not bring these alleged incidents to the attention of the Security Council Mission while it was in the area."

Cambodia-Thailand

A U.N. mission to Cambodia and Thailand, which was first established in 1962 at the request of those two countries, remained in the

area during 1964. Nils G. Gussing of Sweden continued as the Secretary-General's Special Representative to inquire into the difficulties involving alleged border violations that had arisen between Cambodia and Thailand.

Under his terms of reference, the Special Representative was to place himself at the disposal of the two parties to assist them in solving all problems that had arisen or might arise between them. Thus, during 1964, he consulted with officials of both countries and conducted inquiries on both sides of the border. In 1964 the mission maintained permanent offices in both Phnom Penh and Bangkok, and, as in 1963, the costs of the mission were shared on an equal basis by the two Governments.

The Secretary-General informed members of the Security Council by a letter dated November 9, 1964, that he had inquired of Cambodia and Thailand whether they desired that the mission be continued in 1965. He reported that he had been informed by Thailand that the mission "should not be continued beyond its appointed term at the end of December 1964," but that "consideration be given to the devising of some other means by which the UN Secretariat might still be able to render its services in the normalizing of relations between Thailand and Cambodia." According to the Secretary-General, the Thai Government suggested that a high-ranking member of the Secretariat might consult with officials of the two countries on an *ad hoc* basis to discuss the situation and suggest such measures as might seem appropriate.

The Secretary-General also reported that he had communicated this suggestion to Cambodia and had received its concurrence, although that Government had expressed some doubts regarding the results that might be expected from such mediation attempts.

The Secretary-General informed the Security Council that he would address himself to this matter at a suitable time during 1965. He then announced that the mission of the Special Representative to Cambodia and Thailand would be withdrawn effective December 31, 1964.

Malaysia

A letter submitted to the Security Council President by Malaysia on September 3, 1964, stated that:

"During the midnight hours of Wednesday 2 September an Indonesian aircraft flew over South Malaya dropping a large group of heavily armed paratroopers estimated to be in the neighborhood of thirty.

"Some of them have been captured and a very large quantity of arms and ammunition recovered, still tied to the parachutes."

In this letter, Malaysia requested an urgent meeting of the Security Council to consider this problem.

SECURITY COUNCIL CONSIDERATION: SEPTEMBER 9-17, 1964

The Security Council convened September 9. The special Malaysian Representative, Dato Dr. Ismail bin Dato Abdul Rahman, Malaysian Minister of Home Affairs and of Justice, traced the history of the formation of Malaysia and noted that good relations had traditionally existed between the Malaysian and Indonesian peoples. He noted that his Government had taken the unusual step for a sovereign government of joining with the Governments of Indonesia and the Philippines in requesting the U.N. Secretary-General to reascertain the wishes of the people of Sabah and Sarawak. Although this was done, the Malaysian Representative continued, neither the Philippines nor Indonesia was willing to accept the decision of the Secretary-General, and they both refused to recognize the establishment of Malaysia. In addition, he said, "Indonesia announced a military and economic 'confrontation' policy against Malaysia, and Indonesian army infiltrators, both regulars and irregulars, started flooding into the Borneo States from across a thousand miles of jungle-infested border and . . . are continuing to do so to this day."

The Malaysian Representative declared that his country had shown great forbearance in the face of continuing Indonesian provocations. Malaysia, he said, had often attended conferences with Indonesian representatives in an effort to find a peaceful solution to these problems. He recalled that on August 17, 1964, a large party of seaborne Indonesian infiltrators, heavily armed, landed on the beaches of the southern districts of the Malay Peninsula. He also gave the Council a detailed description of the air drops of September 2, which were the basis of Malaysia's complaint to the Council. (The Malaysian Representative sought to display some of these military weapons and equipment in the Security Council, but the Security Council President for September, Soviet Ambassador Platon Morozov, requested the Malaysian Representative to withdraw the display until the Council could be consulted on the matter.)

The Malaysian Representative then asked the Security Council to:

. . . adjudge Indonesia guilty of the gravest act of aggression. . . demand assurance from Indonesia that it will not repeat such or similar acts in the future and that it will vacate such aggression as it has already committed.

Following the Malaysian presentation, Dr. Sudjarwo Tjondrogoro, Deputy Foreign Minister of Indonesia, explained his country's policy. He said he wished to make it clear at the outset that Indo-

nesia did not recognize "Malaysia" as a sovereign and independent country.

The Indonesian Representative said that the Malaysian statement contained "allegations and accusations which, unfortunately, are made out of context and without reference to the deeper and broader conflict which regrettably exists between our two Governments. . . ." He asserted that Malaysia was being used by British colonialism to subvert Indonesia.

Nevertheless the Indonesian Representative said Indonesia had been prepared to cooperate with the Government of "Malaya" in further decolonizing other British colonies in the area, such as Sabah and Sarawak. "And if a kind of federation should be formed between Malaya, Singapore, and the Borneo colonial territories to be decolonized, let it then become a genuinely free and independent Malaysia, in harmony with the collective will for freedom and independence . . . in our region, linked so closely culturally and historically."

The Indonesian Representative then submitted a detailed account of alleged British actions to undermine the independence and freedom of Indonesia and to force the establishment of Malaysia as a *fait accompli*. He went on to say:

I would not deny that our volunteers, our guerrillas, together with the militant youth of Sarawak and Sabah, some of whom had been trained in our territory, have entered so-called "Malaysian" territory in Sarawak and Sabah. They have been fighting there for some time. This is no secret. . . . And now this fighting has spread to other areas in "Malaysia" such as Malaya. . . .

The Indonesian Representative denied, however, that "aggression" had been committed by Indonesia, noting that "hostilities" had been going on for some time between Indonesia and Malaysia, involving incursions into each other's territory. "Indonesia's acts," he said, "pursued by volunteers for the cause of freedom against neo-colonialism, can certainly not be termed 'aggression.'"

He stated that Indonesia had accepted Philippine President Macapagal's proposal for an Afro-Asian conciliation commission of four members, only to find Malaysia taking the position that, before it could accept this proposal, "Indonesia must stop its policy of confrontation and withdraw all the guerrillas from Sarawak and Sabah." The Indonesian Representative asserted ". . . the policy of confrontation and the guerrilla activity will cease as soon as the political dispute is resolved and friendship is restored between the parties."

The U.K. Representative asked the Security Council to disapprove of ". . . the admitted actions of the Indonesian Government against the Government and people of Malaysia. . . ." He also asked the Council to make it clear that it ". . . expects Indonesia scrupulously to respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Malaysia." He

stated that the first task was to bring an end to the undeclared war on Malaysia, so that the way would be clear for the resumption of talks to enable Malaysia and Indonesia "to live together in peace as good neighbors."

The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Adlai Stevenson, in a statement to the Council on September 10, said that his Government took "a very serious view of the complaint before the Security Council in this case." Indonesia had "sanctioned the use of force in the pursuit of its quarrel" and had indicated it would continue to use force until there had been a settlement of its quarrel with Malaysia. The U.S. Representative pointed out that the United States had tried to maintain friendly relations with both countries, "relations based on mutual respect and seeking no more than mutual benefit. . . . The test of our intentions . . . is certified by a long record of useful and cooperative deeds." "My Government," he continued, "has believed from the very beginning that if there is any legitimate dispute between these two States, which share common problems and enjoy a close ethnic and cultural affinity, it should be settled by negotiation between themselves, with the assistance of whatever good offices they may find mutually helpful."

"This Council," the U.S. Representative said, "cannot condone the use of force in international relations outside the framework of the Charter. This Council must try to recreate the conditions of peace and security in the area of conflict to enable the processes of peaceful settlement to move these two nations away from the precipice of war." The U.S. Representative recalled that the Indonesian Representative had argued that in "dealing with neighbors whose policies Indonesia does not like, the use of force on the territory of such neighbors was justified. . . ." This the U.S. Representative termed "a new and dangerous doctrine of international law outside the Charter of the United Nations and foreign to everything that man has learned about the danger of escalation from little wars to big wars and the crucial importance of maintaining the peace."

The U.S. Representative held that the "larger duty" of the Council was to "devise measures to keep these flames from spreading. . . . First, the Council should call for the cessation of armed attack on Malaysia. Second, the Council should help the parties to this dispute establish the conditions and the climate in which negotiation on the merits of the issues on which they differ can be pursued with any prospect of success. This Council and the Secretary-General may well have a role to play in the establishment of such conditions. . . ."

The Representative of the Soviet Union, Ambassador Platon Morozov, speaking the same day, asserted that the "essence of the

matter certainly cannot be reduced to the episode" which formed the basis of the Malaysian complaint. Only by taking into account the general situation in Southeast Asia, he said, including the "hostile acts committed against Indonesia" is it possible to understand correctly and evaluate the events occurring in that area.

The Soviet Representative alleged that the Federation of Malaysia was to be "used by British imperialism as a weapon in the fight against one of the important forces of the national liberation movement . . . the Republic of Indonesia," and charged the United Kingdom and the United States with joint responsibility for the tense situation in Southeast Asia.

At the Council meeting of September 15 the Norwegian Representative, Ambassador Sievert K. Nielsen, submitted a draft resolution after the Representatives of the Ivory Coast and Morocco had announced an inability to bring about a consensus which could be embodied in a draft resolution.

The Norwegian draft in its preambular paragraphs expressed concern over the armed incidents in the region which were likely to endanger peace and security, and noted "with satisfaction the desire of the parties to seek a peaceful solution" of their differences. In its operative portions, the draft resolution regretted "all the incidents . . . in the whole region," and specifically deplored the incident of September 2 which formed the basis of the Malaysian complaint to the Security Council. The draft text requested the parties to avoid any recurrence of such incidents and called upon them to refrain from all threat or use of force and to respect each other's territorial integrity and political independence, in order "to create a conducive atmosphere for the continuation of their talks." The draft recommended finally that the Governments concerned ". . . thereupon . . . resume their talks on the basis of the joint communique" issued in Tokyo in July 1964 by the Heads of Government of Malaysia, Indonesia, and the Philippines.

The Council met to consider the Norwegian draft resolution on September 17. The Indonesian Representative opposed the draft resolution's call for respect of each party's "territorial integrity and political independence," pointing out that "Acceptance of this paragraph . . . would be tantamount to an imposition of recognition by Indonesia of the present, non-recognized Malaysia. This . . . is an impossible proposition." He concluded that "the draft resolution . . . is in its entirety unacceptable to my delegation."

The draft resolution when put to a vote was supported by nine members of the Council and opposed by two (Czechoslovakia and the U.S.S.R.), but failed of adoption since the negative Soviet vote constituted a veto.

After the vote the U.S. Representative expressed "regret and surprise" at the negative vote of the Soviet Union. He referred to Chairman Khrushchev's letter of December 31, 1963, addressed to other Heads of State regarding the peaceful settlement of territorial disputes and pointed out that the resolution which the Soviet Union had vetoed "did no more and could not have done less than ask that the parties to the situation before the Council conduct themselves in conformity with principles so clearly stated by Chairman Khrushchev. . . ." The U.S. Representative concluded by noting that the Security Council nevertheless remained seized of the problem brought before it by Malaysia, and that the Council would continue to follow "with the closest attention the manner in which the parties concerned . . . carry out their obligations under the Charter, as those obligations have just been unequivocally defined by nine members of the Council."

During the remainder of 1964, the Government of Malaysia sent several letters to the President of the Security Council informing him of the "continuing and deliberate acts of aggression" by Indonesian military and other personnel against the territory of Malaysia

GENERAL POLITICAL PROBLEMS

Admission of New Members

U.N. membership rose to 115 in 1964 with the admission of three new states—Malawi, Malta, and Zambia. All three were unanimously recommended for admission by the Security Council—Malawi on October 9, and Malta and Zambia on October 30. The General Assembly, at its opening session on December 1, accepted without objection the proposal of its President that they be admitted.

Malawi and Zambia were the former British protectorates of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia, respectively, while Malta had been a British dependency since 1802. In agreement with the United Kingdom, Malawi had become independent on July 6, Malta on September 21, and Zambia on October 24, 1964. Security Council draft resolutions recommending the admission of Malawi and Zambia were cosponsored by the United Kingdom, the Ivory Coast, and Morocco. The draft resolution recommending the admission of Malta was cosponsored by the United Kingdom, Morocco, and Norway.

Welcoming the three new members on behalf of the United States, Ambassador Stevenson said on December 2:

The orderly way in which they have reached their goal excites our admiration and reflects we believe great credit on them and also on the former administering authority, the United Kingdom, which has welcomed, encouraged and assisted the process of self-determination and of independence. We are sure that the role of these new members in the United Nations will be constructive. In a time of crisis such as the United Nations now faces, small and large nations alike must strive to strengthen our organization. We welcome Malta, Malawi, and Zambia, therefore, with the conviction that their future in the United Nations will always serve the best interests of the world community and the purposes for which this organization was established.

Chinese Representation

Communist countries and other states that recognize the Chinese Communist regime renewed their efforts in 1964 to replace the representatives of the Government of the Republic of China with Chinese Communists in various organs of the U.N. system. As in the past, these efforts were successfully opposed by the United States and other friendly states. The United States has always regarded the Government of the Republic of China as the only rightful government representing China and has always fully supported its status and rights in the United Nations.

For the first time since the issue arose in 1950 no debate over Chinese representation took place in the General Assembly—the major forum for past debates on this subject. Due to the impasse over finances (see page 1), the 19th General Assembly took no action on requests from a number of states that recognize the Chinese Communist regime for the inclusion of a supplementary item in its agenda entitled “Restoration of the Lawful Rights of the People’s Republic of China in the United Nations.” This title was identical with that of items requested by the Soviet Union in 1961 and 1962 and by Albania in 1963. On October 20, 1964, prior to the convening of the 19th General Assembly, this supplementary item was requested by Cambodia, which in 1963 had joined Albania in cosponsoring a draft resolution seeking the replacement of the representatives of the Government of the Republic of China by Chinese Communists “in the United Nations and all its organs.” Algeria, Burundi, Congo (Brazzaville), Cuba, Ghana, Guinea, Indonesia, Mali, and Rumania subsequently informed the U.N. Secretary-General that they wished to be considered cosponsors of the Cambodian request.

On November 19, 1964, Albania submitted a separate request that a supplementary item of the same title be included in the agenda of the 19th session.

On November 19 Cambodia sent to the Secretary-General an explanatory memorandum to support its request. This memorandum

was devoted to praise of the Chinese Communist regime, but, unlike the Albanian explanatory memorandum of 1963, it made no reference to the fate it foresaw for the representatives of the Government of the Republic of China. It did, however, refer insultingly to the "pseudo-Government of Taipeh" and to the "non-existence" of the Republic of China on Taiwan.

In addition to the efforts to replace the representatives of the Government of the Republic of China with Chinese Communists in the General Assembly, Communist countries along with certain other states that recognize the Chinese Communist regime also unsuccessfully challenged those representatives in other U.N. organs and in various Specialized Agencies.

International Cooperation Year

On October 2, 1964—in response to a General Assembly resolution, unanimously adopted on November 21, 1963, proclaiming 1965 as International Cooperation Year (ICY)—President Johnson signed a proclamation designating 1965 as International Cooperation Year in the United States. In his remarks at the White House ceremony, the President referred to the quest for peace through cooperation among nations as "the assignment of the century." He noted that international cooperation is "a fact of life" and "a clear necessity to our survival." In this connection the President proposed "a White House conference to search and explore and canvass and thoroughly discuss every conceivable approach and avenue of cooperation that could lead to peace."

The Presidential proclamation rededicated the United States to the principle of international cooperation and directed "the agencies of the Executive Branch to examine thoroughly what additional steps can be taken in this direction in the immediate future." It also called upon "our national citizen organizations to undertake intensive educational programs to inform their memberships of recent progress in international cooperation and urge them to consider what further steps can be taken."

On November 24 President Johnson formally announced the formation and membership of the ICY Cabinet Committee, representing 19 executive departments and agencies. In accordance with the President's instruction that this Committee be under the chairmanship of the Department of State, Secretary of State Rusk designated Harlan Cleveland, Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs, as chairman.

The Committee began immediately to organize a concentrated study of U.S. participation in international cooperative activities. The

areas tentatively chosen for inventory and study included 23 topics ranging from arms control to youth activities. The Committee also sought ways to increase public understanding of the scope and effectiveness of these activities. It was decided that recommendations for new areas of cooperation and for strengthening or expanding existing international machinery would be put before the proposed White House conference on international cooperation late in 1965.

The United Nations Association of the United States of America was requested to form a National Citizens Commission to coordinate ICY programs of nongovernmental organizations formally affiliated with the United Nations as well as those of other national organizations wishing to take part in the observance of the ICY. The Commission was to be comprised of distinguished Americans representing all aspects of American society. Plans called for the formation of parallel committees to work with the Cabinet Committee members on the 23 areas of interest. Chairman of the National Citizens Commission is Robert S. Benjamin, Chairman of the Board of the United Nations Association.

It was intended that each area of interest would be considered by both a government and a citizens committee, each working separately but with periodic joint meetings at which the ideas of each could be discussed. In this way, it was believed that maximum consideration would be given to all relevant ideas and that the results would be well worth reporting to the White House conference.

Cooperation in the Economic Social, Scientific, and Human Rights Fields

REVIEW OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL

In opening the debate of the 37th session of the Economic and Social Council held in July–August 1964, the United Nations Secretary-General called for a review and reappraisal of the functions and machinery of the United Nations in the economic and social fields, particularly in light of the establishment of a U.N. Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD—see page 127) and its continuing machinery. He referred to the doubts that had been expressed through the UNCTAD over the role the Council had played so far in tackling the important problems of development. He urged an effort at self-examination and self-criticism in order to strengthen the Council in the discharge of its functions as a governing body, with regard to the economic and social activities of the United Nations itself, and as the central coordinator of the activities of the organizations in the U.N. system.

Speaking on behalf of the United States, Assistant Secretary for International Organization Affairs Harlan Cleveland referred to the Secretary-General's proposal and underlined the need for the Council to take a hard look at the way it had discharged its functions and to take a critical review of its coordination machinery. He pledged that the United States "will cheerfully help all we can as the Coordination Committee embarks upon this difficult but crucial task."

The reception of the Secretary-General's proposal by the developing countries was more reserved and in some cases hostile. Many of them were clearly afraid that the proposal for a review was but a maneuver to enhance the Council at the expense of UNCTAD, and was designed

to undermine the proposals for new trade machinery. Although the United States and the United Kingdom wanted to move ahead with this important review and reappraisal, they bowed to the wishes of the majority and postponed the item until the 38th session of the Council to be held in the spring of 1965. This gave the General Assembly time to take the necessary action for the establishment of the Trade and Development Board and the election of the Secretary General of the UNCTAD.

The United States is most interested in seeing that the Council is restored as a body capable of fulfilling its obligations under the Charter, "to create conditions of stability and well-being which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations." To this end it will actively pursue in 1965, both internally and in the appropriate forums in the United Nations, a thorough review and reappraisal of the functions, the role, and the machinery of the Council, in the light of developments that have occurred over recent years, including the establishment of the UNCTAD and the Trade Board.

TECHNICAL COOPERATION

The term "technical cooperation" is used in this section to describe only part of the activities of the U.N. system to assist the economic and social development of the world community. These activities include the entire work of the Specialized Agencies, the voluntary programs, and the Department of Economic and Social Affairs of the U.N. Secretariat.

Part of this U.N. technical cooperation takes the form of technical assistance and preinvestment projects in the developing countries similar to the U.S. technical cooperation programs. Although most of the Specialized Agencies use part of their assessed budgets for such purposes and the work of the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF—see page 157) and the World Food Program have large elements of development assistance, this section describes only those programs funded from the regular budget of the United Nations (regular program) and the programs of the Expanded Program of Technical Assistance (EPTA) and the United Nations Special Fund.

The U.N. regular program, EPTA, and the Special Fund received a total of \$154.6 million in payments, contributions, and pledges in 1964. The United States, which pays 32.02 percent of the U.N. budget and contributes 40 percent of the resources of EPTA and the

Special Fund, both of which rely on voluntary contributions, provided \$61 million of the total.

For the past several years, the U.N. regular program has received \$6.4 million in the U.N. budget for assistance in the general fields of economic development, social welfare services, public administration, operating and executive personnel (OPEX) in the governments of the developing countries, human rights advisory services, and narcotics control. A significant development in 1964 was a change in the method of dividing resources among some of the general fields by setting priorities on the basis of recipient country requests. This made possible a 50-percent increase in assistance for industrial development projects (from \$550,000 to approximately \$800,000). The increase will be used in part to assist the U.N. Center for Industrial Development to implement a "dynamic program" proposed by the United States (see page 124).

Progress was made in another area which has concerned the United States for many years. Many countries contribute national currencies to the voluntary programs on a nonconvertible basis—that is, currency can be spent only for equipment and services purchasable by such currency. In the case of net donors, where the contribution cannot be absorbed by projects within the contributing country, the practice results in some countries being able to a large extent to determine the use of their contributions. At the 12th session of the Special Fund Governing Council in June 1964, the United States obtained a change in the financial regulations of the Special Fund to provide for an annual report on such currencies. This report should give the facts on which to base any necessary remedial action.

At the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD—see page 127), the United States opposed a resolution recommending the expansion of Special Fund activities into the field of capital assistance while increasing the Fund's preinvestment work. The United States maintains the view that capital assistance within the U.N. system is properly the concern of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD—see page 178) and its affiliates. The General Assembly did not discuss the recommendation during 1964.

In recognition of the fact that some countries are reaching the point of self-sustaining growth, the United States has asked the Special Fund's Governing Council to begin to consider the problem of eligibility for assistance. Ambassador Jonathan B. Bingham, U.S. Representative to the 11th session of the Governing Council, stated:

It may be well for this Council at a future session . . . to consider and recommend more precise guidelines as to what constitutes an eligible country or territory

for Special Fund grants. We cannot lose sight of the fact that the Special Fund was created for the benefit of the less developed areas of the world. Most donors to the Fund contribute on that basis; each departure from that principle can only subtract from what should be available to the developing countries and jeopardize the continued and increased support of many donors.

We believe, of course, that any member of the UN, or its specialized agencies, should be able to benefit from the administrative and technical experience of the Special Fund and its executing agencies in carrying out technical assistance projects on a reimbursable basis. . . .

One of the reasons we have approved a number of projects for relatively advanced countries seems to be that the countries which appear to need assistance most have not submitted enough requests for eligible projects. . . .

Yet some of the countries most in need are those countries which find it most difficult to prepare requests. We must find a way out of this impasse. One method might be through a more liberal use of preparatory allocations to assist countries develop project requests, particularly in the fields of housing, industrial development, and export promotion. I mention these fields since industrialization and trade expansion represent two of the most difficult as well as the most pressing economic problems now facing the developing countries.

During 1964 the Special Fund Governing Council approved 98 projects worth a total of approximately \$250 million—the Special Fund to provide \$92.4 million and the recipient countries to give the rest in counterpart contributions of buildings, equipment, and services. The Technical Assistance Committee approved a 2-year (1965 and 1966) EPTA program of \$128 million, all of this from EPTA resources.

At the end of the year, 371 U.S. citizens were working as U.N. experts on the regular, EPTA, and Special Fund programs. A total of 4,427 U.N. experts were working in 114 countries and territories.

At a conference held in November 1964 the United States postponed its pledge to EPTA and the Special Fund because of the problem before the General Assembly of maintaining the United Nations constitutional and fiscal integrity (see page 1).

At its 37th session in July–August 1964, important steps were taken by the Economic and Social Council toward the achievement of two important policy goals in the economic and social field which the United States has been urging since 1961: (1) the merger of the Special Fund and the Expanded Program of Technical Assistance (EPTA) and (2) the evaluation of the impact of U.N. programs on the economic and social development of the developing countries. However, action was not taken by the General Assembly on the more important of these two—the merger of the Special Fund and the EPTA into a United Nations Development Program (UNDP)—in view of the constitutional and financial crisis in that body.

Coordination of Technical Assistance Activities—Merger of the Special Fund and the EPTA

Since 1961, in U.N. forums and directly with U.N. member governments and the Specialized Agencies, the United States has carefully laid the groundwork and sought to create the climate for the eventual merger of these two important programs.

In 1964, on the basis of a report prepared by the Secretary-General, the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Coordination of Technical Assistance Activities (established in 1961 at the 32d session of the Economic and Social Council and usually referred to as the *Ad Hoc* Committee of 10), by a vote of 6 to 3, with 1 abstention, adopted a resolution proposed by the United States. This resolution recommended that EPTA and the Special Fund be combined into a program to be known as the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), it being understood that the special characteristics and operations of the two programs as well as two separate funds would be maintained, and that contributions might be pledged to the programs separately. In the debates it became apparent that the smaller countries wished to maintain the special characteristics of the EPTA, particularly since in many cases their economies could not support projects of the size of the Special Fund.

The recommendation further included a proposal to establish a single intergovernmental committee to perform the functions, including the approval of projects and programs and the allocation of funds, previously exercised by both the Governing Council of the Special Fund and the Technical Assistance Committee (TAC). The proposal deliberately omitted any reference to the size of the committee, but did include a provision for equal representation of the economically more developed countries on the one hand and the developing countries on the other.

Although the United States would have preferred a proposal that would have unified the two managements, this met with some opposition within the Committee. The United States, therefore, had to agree to a rather formal procedure which provided that, pending further review within 2 years, the Managing Director of the Special Fund and the Executive Chairman of the Technical Assistance Board (TAB) would act as joint heads of the proposed UNDP, and requested them to make common administrative arrangements to insure overall planning and coordination and maximum efficiency. When the proposal was considered by the Economic and Social Council, it had been amended as a result of action by the Administrative Committee on Coordination (ACC) to include unified management.

Finally, the resolution proposed the establishment of an advisory committee to be known as the Inter-Agency Consultative Board to replace the TAB and the Consultative Board of the Special Fund. The Board would be composed of the Secretary-General and the executive heads of the Specialized Agencies and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA—see page 218). The executive directors of the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF—see page 157) and the World Food Program would be invited to participate.

In putting forward the proposals in the *Ad Hoc* Committee of 10, the U.S. Representative, Walter Kotschnig, paid tribute to the measure of agreement which had been reached between the Specialized Agencies and the United Nations, which he pointed out was done on a voluntary basis with the overriding interests of the developing countries as the principal criteria. He pointed out:

. . . the main objective was not simply improved coordination or even economy of operation, but the need to meet increasing demands for technical assistance in the pre-investment field and the growing pressure for expansion of operational activities into new fields, such as industrialization, the application of science and technology for the benefit of the less developed countries and the promotion of trade. The Expanded Program and the Special Fund each had its own contribution to make in those fields, but under the present arrangements neither could begin to fill the needs.

If definite progress were to be made in meeting the demand for assistance, there must be concerted planning at all levels to enhance the volume and effectiveness of United Nations services. While the specialized agencies had done magnificent work in the field of technical assistance, their efforts must be thought of as interdependent in the whole process of development. Only in that way could the United Nations system hasten the time when the developing countries could reach the stage of self-sustaining economic growth.

All through the debates in the *Ad Hoc* Committee of 10 and in the Governing Council of the Special Fund, TAC, and the Coordination Committee of the Council, the Soviet Union, the United Arab Republic, and Brazil strenuously opposed any and all of these proposals. The Secretary-General was asked by the *Ad Hoc* Committee of 10 to prepare a draft resolution based on its recommendations for the consideration of the Council at its 37th session.

The report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee of 10 was discussed in the Governing Council of the Special Fund and TAC, and their comments were transmitted to the 37th session of the Economic and Social Council. In each body the proposal picked up support from the developing countries. By the time the matter was discussed in the Council the only continuing opposition was from Czechoslovakia, the United Arab Republic, and the U.S.S.R.

The issue was discussed in the Coordination Committee of the Council, which had been enlarged from 18 to 27 members pending the

ratification of the amendments to the U.N. Charter adopted by the General Assembly in December 1963 to bring the Council itself to this size. The amendments proposed and the discussions centered on:

- (a) Assurances desired by the less developed countries (LDC's) that the merger would be without prejudice to the extension of the scope of the Special Fund to include investment activities.
- (b) A formula designed to emphasize the purely consultative role of the participating agencies in the Inter-Agency Consultative Board.
- (c) Voting procedures in the Governing Council.
- (d) The composition of the Governing Council, and
- (e) The unification of management.

While accepting the addition of a statement that the merger would not prejudice the inclusion in the Fund's mandate of investment activities, the United States and other developed countries made it clear that such acceptance in no way constituted agreement that the Special Fund should be transformed into a capital investment fund.

The developing countries were particularly strong in wanting to emphasize the purely advisory function of the Inter-Agency Board. The United States among others was successful in maintaining an important role for the Specialized Agencies.

The questions of voting procedures and the composition of the Governing Council precipitated a sharp exchange and created difficulties which were not resolved. A proposal that decisions of the Governing Council should be taken by a two-thirds vote was defeated by a vote of 15 to 0, with 5 (Australia, Austria, France, Italy, Luxembourg) abstentions. Alternative language was included in the text of the resolution, presenting a choice between equal representation by the *Ad Hoc* Committee of 10 and that of straight equitable geographic representation.

On the question of the unification of management, it was recommended that as a transitional measure, pending further review, the Managing Director of the Special Fund would become the Administrator of the UNDP, and the Executive Chairman of the TAB would become the Coadministrator, each to serve until December 31, 1966.

All of these proposals were approved in the Coordination Committee by a vote of 21 (U.S.) to 3, with 1 abstention. In the Council itself the vote was 15 to 2, with 1 abstention.

Evaluation of Technical Cooperation Programs

On August 15, 1964, the Economic and Social Council approved, with only Senegal abstaining, a proposal concerning the establishment

of a procedure for evaluating the impact of the programs of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies on the economic and social development of the recipient countries.

The United States has for the last 3 years been urging the establishment of an effective evaluation system. There has been much discussion of the need for such an evaluation, but there has been very little experience to draw on. However, in its resolution, the Council accepted the suggestion of the Administrative Committee on Coordination (ACC) that a limited number of pilot evaluation projects be undertaken in four developing countries in different regions of the world and at different stages of development.

The United States would have preferred to move without delay toward the establishment of permanent evaluation machinery. However, the reluctance of the members of the ACC and of some members of the Council, coupled with the state of flux of the Special Fund and EPTA, prevented such action. The most that could be achieved was a resolution directing that the proposed pilot projects be started, and requesting that the compilation of data on a country-by-country basis on what is actually being done by the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies be started immediately.

By the end of 1964 three countries had been chosen and steps were underway for the selection of one team to undertake one of the proposed pilot projects.

Industrial Development

The difference of opinion between the developing countries and the industrialized countries of the free world on the future organizational structure of the United Nations in the field of industrial development came to a head in 1964. At the fourth session of the U.N. Committee for Industrial Development (CID), the U.N. Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD—see page 127) and the U.N. Economic and Social Council, resolutions were adopted calling for the establishment of a specialized agency for industrial development. The United States and all other non-Communist industrialized countries voted against each of these resolutions.

There was no dispute, however, that the United Nations should do more to help the developing countries establish and service industries. In an address to the CID on March 4, 1964, widely characterized as the "keynote" speech of the session, the U.S. spokesman, Seymour M. Finger, proposed a dynamic program to be undertaken by the U.N. Center for Industrial Development. He concluded by stating:

We have outlined a series of concrete action proposals designed to increase the effectiveness of United Nations action on behalf of industrialization. Briefly, they are as follows:

1. Assistance in the development and strengthening of national regional institutions.
2. The building of links between those in developing countries directly concerned with industrialization and those who can help them.
3. Concentrated assistance in key impact areas, such as industrial programming and the formulation of industrialization policy.
4. Continued, and increased, emphasis on the training of managers and technical specialists.
5. Establishment of a better system of information-sharing.
6. Increased help in project formulation.
7. To help in the foregoing, more mobility for personnel of the Center [UN Center for Industrial Development].
8. Improved coordination of the key elements of the UN system and with other governmental and nongovernmental sources of information and assistance.
9. Measures to facilitate the export of manufactured goods by developing countries.

We hope the Committee will take concrete steps along most or all of these lines. We are convinced that such action will be of great practical benefit to the developing countries. We look forward with interest to constructive proposals from our colleagues which can help to make of this fourth session the kind of productive meeting from which we can all draw some satisfaction—perhaps even pride.

This proposed program was embodied in a resolution which the Committee unanimously recommended to the Economic and Social Council for adoption. However, the developing countries insisted that the strengthening of present U.N. machinery for industry was only an interim step to the establishment of a specialized agency. By a vote of 19 to 9 (Australia, Austria, France, Germany, Japan, Luxembourg, Sweden, U.S., and U.K.), the Committee recommended that the Economic and Social Council adopt a resolution declaring the urgent need for a specialized agency for industrial development and requesting that a study be made of the steps needed to bring it into existence.

The UNCTAD adopted a resolution in committee on May 12, 1964, endorsing the concept of a specialized agency by a vote of 58 to 21 (U.S.), with 6 abstentions.

On August 13, 1964, the Economic and Social Council unanimously adopted the CID-recommended resolution for a dynamic program for the U.N. Center for Industrial Development and on the same day, by a vote of 11 to 7 (U.S.), adopted a resolution calling for a specialized agency.

The U.N. Secretariat prepared a report for the 19th session of the General Assembly outlining the various ways in which an agreement

establishing a specialized agency could be formulated and included draft statutes for such an agency. This report will not be considered by the General Assembly until the fall of 1965 at the earliest.

The U.N. Commissioner for Industrial Development, Abdel Rahman, and members of his staff met several times with U.S. officials in Washington and New York to discuss ways in which the United States could help the Center in its efforts to serve the developing countries. At the end of the year it was clear that the efforts to strengthen and expand the work of the United Nations in the field of industrial development were bearing fruit. In a U.N. report of December 1964, resources for 1965 from the assessed U.N. budget for the Center and the regional economic commissions' work in support of industry were estimated at \$3.8 million, up from \$2.2 million for 1964. Preparatory work for a series of regional symposia on the problems of industrialization to take place in 1965 and 1966 was progressing satisfactorily.

One of the heartening developments of the year was the lessening of charges in various U.N. forums that the United States and other industrialized countries were not interested in helping the developing countries industrialize. The U.S. initiative at the fourth session of the CID in proposing a dynamic U.N. program for industrial development helped to bring this about.

United Nations Capital Development Fund

Various efforts made in previous years within the United Nations to promote establishment of a U.N. capital development fund focused in 1964 on proposals for expanding the functions of the existing Special Fund to include capital development financing. However, efforts to establish a separate capital development fund continued.

The United States has long maintained that it would be wasteful and undesirable to establish such a fund either as a new institution or through a transformation of the Special Fund. It has repeatedly pointed out in U.N. forums that capital financing on soft terms is now being undertaken by the International Development Association (IDA—see page 181) with resources far beyond those which the Special Fund could hope to obtain for such purposes. The IDA stands ready to accept and effectively utilize special contributions from its members. The Special Fund, the United States has emphasized, can render its greatest service by concentrating on preinvestment where it has a unique and valuable role to play.

In accordance with the 18th General Assembly resolution of December 1963, the Secretary-General submitted to the UNCTAD a report on practical steps to transform the Special Fund into a capital

development fund in such a way as to include both preinvestment and investment activities. The report recognized that the resources available to the Special Fund are inadequate to meet expanding needs for preinvestment activities but envisaged the possibility that the Special Fund could be gradually transformed into a capital development fund as additional resources become available. The report indicated the broad modifications that would be required in the authority presently assigned to the Special Fund by the General Assembly to enable it to enter the field of investment financing. The report also discussed the arrangements that might be instituted for allocating the Fund's resources between investment and preinvestment activities.

The UNCTAD recommended that the Special Fund be authorized to accept contributions for capital financing, provided the Fund's Governing Council was satisfied that expenditure for this purpose would not unfavorably affect Special Fund financing of preinvestment needs. The United States opposed this recommendation on the grounds that it did not overcome U.S. objections to the establishment of a U.N. capital development fund, via the Special Fund. The recommendation, however, was adopted by a vote of 89 to 5 (U.S.), with 22 abstentions.

At the same time UNCTAD recommended the early establishment of a U.N. capital development fund but did not consider the relationship between this recommendation and the one above. The United States opposed this second recommendation. The vote was 90 (including Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Rumania, and the U.S.S.R.) to 9 (U.S.), with 24 abstentions. Unlike UNCTAD, the 37th session of the Economic and Social Council took no action on the Secretary-General's report.

The Committee on a U.N. Capital Development Fund met in October 1964, but, notwithstanding the instruction given it by the General Assembly resolution of December 1963, merely recommended that further consideration of the proposed transformation of the Special Fund be undertaken by the General Assembly.

ECONOMIC COOPERATION

United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD)

Concern of the developing countries over their economic prospects, particularly in the field of trade and their need to increase export

earnings in order to achieve and maintain a satisfactory rate of economic growth, led, after more than a year of preparation by a committee of 32 nations (including the United States), to the convening in Geneva from March 23 to June 16 of the largest economic conference in history. It was attended by 1,707 delegates from 118 members of the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies, and by observers from 62 intergovernmental and nongovernmental international organizations. In terms of their own interests, the developing countries viewed the Conference as the most important U.N. event since the founding of the Organization itself.

Under Secretary of State George Ball was the U.S. Representative. The chairman of the U.S. delegation was Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs G. Griffith Johnson, and later Ambassador John M. Leddy, U.S. Representative to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). The delegation included representatives of the Congress, business, labor, the academic community, five U.S. Government departments, and the White House.

Under Secretary Ball described the U.S. attitude toward the Conference when he addressed it on March 25:

. . . It is altogether proper that the major focus for this Conference should be on the means for making trade a more effective instrument for development. But these possibilities cannot be considered in isolation. We must also explore the means of increasing and making more effective use of the flow of foreign capital and technical assistance—both public and private; the economic merits of forming or expanding regional economic groupings; and generally the full range of internal policies that are critical to the mobilization and use of capital and that will necessarily shape the contribution that the external environment can make to development.

Given the magnitude of the development problem, there is ample room for imagination and fresh ideas. At the same time, we must be wary of approaches that do not closely reflect the economic or political realities—approaches that begin and end in discussion and thus obscure the actions really needed for progress.

The representatives of my country are here to participate in the full and responsible discussion of all the relevant problems—problem-by-problem and policy-by-policy.

The lengthy and complex Conference agenda, which had been drawn up by the Preparatory Committee and reviewed by the U.N. Economic and Social Council, reflected the concern of the developing countries over five matters affecting their economic development: (1) the present state of world trade and the adjustments necessary to expand their share in it; (2) their need to obtain adequate and stable earnings from commodity trade; (3) means for increasing their exports of manufactured and processed goods; (4) prospects for increasing their sales to countries in the Soviet bloc which now buy from them in only small amounts; and (5) methods for accelerating

the flow of foreign capital to be used in their development efforts. The agenda also reflected the developing countries' conviction that the present structure of international organizations dealing with trade should be altered, with more responsibility placed in the United Nations.

The Conference set up a General Committee of representatives from 29 countries (including the United States) to serve as a steering group in organizing its work under the agenda and established the following five major committees: (1) International Commodity Problems; (2) Trade in Manufactures and Semi-manufactures; (3) Improvement of Invisible Trade of Developing Countries and Financing for an Expansion of International Trade; (4) Institutional Arrangements, Methods and Machinery to Implement Measures Relating to the Expansion of International Trade; and (5) Expansion of International Trade and Its Significance for Economic Development, and Implications of Regional Economic Groupings. To consider special problems the main committees set up sub-bodies on synthetics and substitutes, shipping, transit trade of landlocked countries, and trade principles and policies. For purposes of coordination, delegations formed into four unofficial but formally constituted groups: (a) Eastern European countries not including Yugoslavia; (b) Western European countries, Australia, Canada, Japan, New Zealand, the United Kingdom and the United States; (c) African and Asian countries and Yugoslavia; and (d) the Latin American and Caribbean countries. The last two groups formed themselves into a "group of 75" developing countries (now totaling 77) with an organizational structure paralleling that of the Conference itself. The developing countries asserted that this was the most significant political result of the Conference.

The Conference considered, debated, and negotiated on over 300 proposals and counterproposals by delegations and groups of countries, distilling them into 59 recommendations which appeared in the Conference's Final Act. Of these, the most significant was a recommendation to the General Assembly for the establishment within the United Nations of machinery to continue the work of the Conference. The Final Act stated that this was ". . . to provide, by means of international cooperation, appropriate solutions to the problems of world trade in the interest of all peoples and particularly to the urgent trade and development problems of the developing countries."

Over half of the recommendations of the Conference were adopted unanimously. These included many proposals of major significance including: a recommendation for U.N. trade machinery; a recom-

mentation on international commodity machinery and removal of obstacles of trade; criteria for development of export industries in developing countries; guidelines for tariff and other trade policies in regard to manufactured goods from developing countries; promotion of private investment; and guidelines for international financial cooperation. At the same time certain recommendations passed by majority vote of the Conference were not acceptable to the major trading nations that would have responsibility for carrying them out: the United States delegation cast negative votes on 20 proposals appearing in the Final Act. The industrialized countries were reluctant to accept recommendations which were addressed to them and which had been passed by majority vote over their objections. Therefore, the recommendation on U.N. machinery left open the question of voting procedures. The Conference instead proposed further study and negotiations to work out conciliation procedures. These procedures could be used for proposals of a specific nature for action substantially affecting the economic or financial interests of particular countries in particular situations.

The Final Act of the Conference was reviewed by the Economic and Social Council immediately following the Conference and was passed to the U.N. Secretary-General for the attention of the General Assembly at its 19th session. As recommended by the Conference, the U.N. Secretary-General convened a committee of 12 governmental experts, including a representative of the United States, Richard N. Gardner, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs, to make proposals on conciliation procedures. The committee met in New York from September 28 to October 23 and drew up conciliation procedures which were passed to the Secretary-General for the consideration of the General Assembly. On December 30, the Assembly approved by acclamation the Conference proposal for the establishment of continuing machinery, including the conciliation procedures proposed by the committee of experts.

The new trade machinery provides for the establishment of a Trade and Development Board to function as the permanent organ of the Conference and to serve as a preparatory committee for future sessions of the Conference. The Board consists of 55 members—22 developing countries of Asia and Africa, 9 developing countries of Latin America, 18 developed countries, and 6 Eastern European countries—who are elected at each regular session of the Conference. The Board, of which the United States is a member, is empowered to establish such subsidiary organs as may be necessary to carry on its functions and is directed to set up, in particular, the following committees: committee on commodities; committee on manufactures; and committee on invisibles and financing related to trade.

The United States is participating in the new U.N. trade machinery in a sincere attempt to devise feasible international solutions for some of the severe economic problems faced by the developing countries. Measures to increase trade and speed the development of those countries reflect our own desires to improve their prosperity and welfare.

General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)

The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), a multi-lateral trade agreement which has been in operation since 1948, is the basic instrument for implementing U.S. commercial policy and for carrying out international trade negotiations. The GATT is not a U.N. body, but the work in the trade field undertaken within the U.N. system supplements that of the GATT.

One of the most important aspects of U.S. activity in the GATT during 1964 concerned the "Kennedy Round" trade negotiations under the authority of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962. Following an extensive series of preparatory discussions, the formal negotiations opened in May 1964 with a meeting at the Ministerial level. It gained impetus on November 16, 1964, when the United States, the European Economic Community (EEC), and other key industrialized countries in the GATT tabled lists of industrial items which they propose to except from linear tariff reduction. A procedure for examining the exceptions is to begin in January 1965. Discussions concerning the treatment of agricultural products will continue during this period.

President Johnson, speaking to the Public Advisory Committee on Trade Negotiations on April 21, 1964, stated in part:

I look forward with a certain amount of prudent optimism to the round of negotiations which the 1962 [Trade Expansion] Act, by our Congress, has made possible. Of course, we will need to be patient and persistent. We will need at all times, of course, to be firm. We are willing to offer our free world friends access to American markets, but we expect and we must have access to their markets also. That applies to our agricultural as well as our industrial exports.

The United States will enter into no ultimate agreement unless progress is registered toward trade liberalization on the products of our farms as well as our factories. These negotiations are not the kind in which some nations need lose because others gain. Their success will be to the advantage of all. The opportunity, therefore, is here to build a partnership for progress among the free world industrial nations, and then between them and the developing nations. We mean to fully explore that opportunity, and we mean to fully pursue it.

At home we are moving to eliminate the causes of poverty among all Americans. In the world, we believe that a long step can be taken toward a victory over that poverty everywhere if free nations will only work together for a victory over the obstacles to free trade.

Another important phase of the work of the GATT during 1964 was the drafting of a new protocol to the General Agreement adding three articles directly related to the trade problems of the developing countries. The protocol, when it enters into force, will give legal status to these amendments to the General Agreement.

These new articles, which are to be added as part IV of the General Agreement, are the result of a decision taken at the May 1963 GATT Ministerial Meeting, in recognition of the need for an adequate legal and institutional framework for the efforts made in the GATT to facilitate the expansion of trade of developing countries. Part IV, therefore, is designed to provide a legal basis for such commitments made by members of the GATT. These commitments are aimed at insuring that developing countries can increasingly find the means to raise standards of living and promote more rapid economic development as a result of their participation in international trade and of sustained growth in their export earnings.

The General Agreement as a whole provides that contracting parties are not permitted to maintain or impose quantitative import restrictions, unless these are justified under circumstances set forth in the Agreement. At the present time there are relatively few quantitative restrictions remaining on manufactured goods in Western Europe. No manufactured article of significant export interest to the United States remains subject to quantitative restrictions in the EEC. A number of agricultural commodities, however, have not yet been liberalized, and U.S. coal still faces a number of Western European nontariff trade barriers.

In 1964 the United States continued to utilize the GATT to obtain removal of restrictions on U.S. exports. Articles XXII and XXIII of the General Agreement provide for general consultative and complaint procedures to be used by any contracting party of the GATT if another contracting party maintains import restrictions without justification. As an outcome of consultations held by the United States during the year under this procedure, Austria liberalized 87 subtariff items ranging from perfume to clutch linings; Germany eased restrictions on processed fruits; France eased restrictions on processed fruits and vegetables; and the United Kingdom liberalized frozen citrus juices.

In addition to actions following the relatively formal procedure of consultations or complaints under articles XXII and XXIII, Denmark, Spain, and Japan—in accord with their general GATT obligations—removed import restrictions in 1964 on a broad range of items, including a number of commodities of significant export interest to the United States.

Commodity Trade

The United Nations occupies an important position in international commodity activities in several respects. On the one hand, it provides a forum for general consideration of the problems of commodity trade and ways to deal with them. Its Commission on International Commodity Trade (CICT), which has been the focal point of this work in recent years, did not meet in 1964 since arrangements were underway for its work to be taken over by the U.N. Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD—see page 127).

In addition, the United Nations plays a part in facilitating examination of individual commodity problems on a case-by-case basis. The U.N. Secretary-General, advised by a small advisory group of experts known as the Interim Coordinating Committee on International Commodity Arrangements (ICCICA), convenes commodity (negotiating) conferences upon request. The ICCICA sponsors other intergovernmental meetings on individual commodity problems, including those leading to the formation of permanent commodity study groups, and maintains close contact with all organizations active on commodity problems. It submits an annual report to the Economic and Social Council concerning the full range of international commodity activities.

The Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO—see page 184), a U.N. Specialized Agency, deals with both general and specific problems of production and trade in agricultural products through its Committee on Commodity Problems and various commodity study groups which it has sponsored.

The United States regularly participates in all these various U.N. activities both in the light of its direct interests as a major exporter and importer of primary commodities and of the foreign policy implications of this work.

Activities on Individual Commodities

The International Lead and Zinc Study Group, originally sponsored by the United Nations, has become a valuable instrument for developing statistics and forward estimates of supply and demand of the two metals. It also sponsored a continuing exchange of views among producing and consuming countries regarding measures which may improve conditions of trade. The 1964 meeting of the Group took place at a time when there was a general shortage of these metals, as evidenced by rising prices and declining stocks. The Group noted, however, on the basis of planned changes in mine and smelter facilities, that a substantial increase in production of both metals was in prospect

in the next few years. It initiated steps at the suggestion of the United States to develop forecasts of supply and demand through 1970; it also asked a special working group to continue studies of possible inter-governmental measures to bring about a better balance between supply and demand and to eliminate excessive price fluctuations.

The U.N. Committee on Tungsten continued its activities, with U.S. support, aimed at improved statistics and consideration of possible forms of international cooperation to stabilize the market.

In the agricultural field, the FAO Committee on Commodity Problems and subsidiary groups dealt with a widening range of individual commodity problems. The United States actively participated in most of this work. The following activities were of particular interest in 1964: (1) the group on Coconut and Coconut Products gave preliminary consideration to broadening its terms of reference to cover the whole field of fats and oils; (2) an *ad hoc* meeting on bananas agreed to recommend establishment of a study group; (3) the first meeting of a Study Group on Jute, Kenaf and Allied Fibers was held; and (4) the joint session of FAO groups on grains and rice considered the interrelationship between the two products and initiated a study of ways to expand trade in rice.

Commodity Trade and UNCTAD

The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD—see page 127) met March 23–June 16, 1964, and provided the occasion for the first comprehensive effort to define the elements of an up-to-date international commodity policy, giving due weight to the importance of commodity trade to the developing countries.

Price instability and the more or less static demand that characterized commodity trade have been major factors in contributing to the relatively slow growth in the export earnings of the less developed countries.

The developing countries sought recommendations by the Conference that would stimulate action on three main fronts: (a) better access to markets in the developed countries through reduction of barriers to trade and consumption, (b) intensified efforts to stabilize and improve the conditions in particular commodity markets through international commodity arrangements (i.e., commodity agreements, study groups, or other consultative arrangements), and (c) enlarged facilities for compensatory financing to offset losses in export earnings of developing countries which cannot be prevented by other measures. They also laid great stress on diversification of their trade in the field of manufactures and semi-manufactures as the long-term answer to their trade problems.

The United States was able to agree broadly that action on these various fronts was desirable, although it did not support in detail all of the demands of the developing countries. The U.S. approach to these problems placed major emphasis on market access, with particular reference to the potential of the "Kennedy Round" of trade negotiations for broadening the market opportunities of the developing countries. The United States also confirmed a willingness to consider the need for commodity arrangements on a case-by-case basis, its desire that the International Monetary Fund's (IMF—see page 183) new compensatory financing facility for short-term fluctuations in developing countries' export earnings be used in a liberal and practical manner, and its readiness to join in considering what supplementary measures may be needed to offset long-term declines in export earnings which cannot be dealt with by the IMF facility. The UNCTAD adopted recommendations which represent modest but significant advances in each of these areas.

Those recommendations on market access addressed to the Western industrialized countries were patterned after certain recommendations previously developed in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT—see page 131) to promote the gradual reduction of tariff and nontariff barriers on products of particular importance in the exports of developing countries, but were somewhat broader in scope. Other recommendations were addressed to the centrally planned economies regarding measures they can take to provide larger and more profitable markets for the commodity exports of developing countries.

In addition to promoting stability, UNCTAD recommendations on commodity arrangements encouraged greater attention in commodity agreements, study groups, and other arrangements to the need for stimulating growth in the commodity export earnings of the developing countries and outlined certain objectives and principles to this end. They also recommended functions for a new U.N. commodity body within the continuing machinery of UNCTAD. This body was designed to take over the work of the CICT and to stimulate case-by-case action on particular primary products with the hope of promoting a more effective overall attack on commodity problems.

The UNCTAD recommendations on compensatory financing and supplementary financing aimed at (a) possibly strengthening the existing IMF facility for offsetting short-term losses in export earnings of developing countries and (b) possibly supplementing this facility with new procedures to deal with long-term losses in export earnings arising from factors beyond a country's control, where these threaten to disrupt development programs.

Other UNCTAD recommendations on commodity problems dealt with synthetics, production and marketing methods, developing countries, and the World Food Program.

Economic Commission for Europe (ECE)

The United States continued in 1964 to participate actively in the work of the Economic Commission for Europe (ECE). In addition to having an eight-man delegation at the ECE's 19th plenary session (Geneva, April 13-May 1), the United States was represented at the meetings of the Committees on Agricultural Problems, Coal, Electric Power, Gas, Housing, Inland Transport, Steel, Timber, and Trade. American delegates and experts also attended the meeting of Senior Economic Advisers, the meeting of the *Ad Hoc* Group to Study Problems of East-West Trade, and the sessions of numerous subcommittees and working groups.

In the course of 1964 the United States cooperated with the ECE in its work on numerous studies and other projects. Various U.S. Government agencies answered ECE questionnaires and supplied other types of data. Progress was made on such matters as standardizing export documents, on developing origin to destination (through) bills of lading, on resolving shipping container problems, and on adopting uniform standards for various food products.

Issues growing out of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD—see page 127) tended to overshadow other ECE activities. In regard to these other ECE activities, U.S. support for the work of the *Ad Hoc* Group of Experts on East-West Trade seemed to be welcomed by both the Eastern bloc and the West.

Spanning the Iron Curtain as it does, the ECE is a unique organization in Europe. This special status carries with it both advantages and disadvantages. While it may serve for future "bridge-building" between East and West, it also is prey to, and mirrors, most of the differences between the East and West. The plenary session held in 1964, however, was probably the least political and polemic since the ECE's establishment in 1947. While still occurring, Communist bloc attacks on such traditional themes as the European Common Market, barriers to East-West trade, and the nonrepresentation of the Eastern Zone of Germany were lacking in the vigor and vehemence of previous years.

The Communist countries continued earlier efforts to secure an expansion of the Commission's scientific and technical work so as to enlarge the flow of Western technology to the bloc. As in earlier years, they urged that the Industry and Materials Committee be reactivated so that important work in the field of chemical and

engineering industries, long neglected by the ECE, could be taken up. The Communist countries claimed that these were the subjects that should be emphasized in the work of the committees. They maintained that the committees spent too much time on economic and statistical studies which they believed were of lesser importance. The bloc's proposals in this field, as embodied in various resolutions, were either rejected outright in the plenary session or sufficiently amended as to be acceptable to the United States and, generally, to the West.

The dominant Western theme in the ECE, fully supported by the United States, remained the streamlining of the Commission's subordinate bodies, the concentration of work on projects carrying the highest priority, the elimination of unnecessary meetings, and the postponement of less important meetings. The United States in cooperation with other Western countries advocated a continuing concentration on economic and statistical projects in which there could be a fruitful East-West exchange.

The 25th session of the ECE Housing, Building, and Planning Committee was held in Washington, D.C., June 2-5, 1964. This was the first ECE meeting for which the United States served as host. The session was followed by a study tour of American cities. This study tour was valuable in presenting the American housing picture to other members of the ECE, fostering a useful exchange of information in an important area, and also serving to demonstrate the continuing interest of the United States in supporting the ECE.

The reason for this support was expressed by Walter Kotschnig, the U.S. Representative to the 19th plenary session, as follows:

As he [the Soviet Representative] said yesterday, the lessening of tension between East and West will make it possible for the ECE to make the real contributions which it has to offer. The ECE has an important place in the consideration of East-West economic problems. The Commission should emphasize research and studies designed to enlarge and deepen the knowledge and understanding of the two systems represented in this group.

Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE)

The United States has been a full member of the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE) since its establishment in 1947. A seven-man U.S. delegation, headed by former Ambassador Kenneth T. Young, attended the 20th plenary session at Tehran, Iran, from March 2-17, 1964. At this session the United States demonstrated its concern with the problems of the developing countries of the region by proposing ECAFE consideration of a concept of economic development planned around rural market towns.

In the course of his major address at the session, Mr. Young stated:

I wonder if we might not look for a break through to quicker rural progress in a concept of town-centered planning of all phases of development. This concept could be described as a technologically progressive, politically integrated but geographically decentralized society organized along town-centered lines. This would mean a new emphasis to meet the needs of rapidly expanding rural populations which are experiencing low standards of living, under-employment, under-consumption and migration of increasing numbers of people unprepared to live in and find work in already sprawling cities.

Between the extremes of urban bigness and village smallness, a town-building program could interject a combination of public services, a market environment and the dispersal of industry. Better than the small village, the town could provide centralized training institutions, public works, agricultural extension services, medical care, specialized trade production, and credit facilities and adequate markets. Better than the huge metropolis, the new town would be able to provide an acceptable way of life for under-employed farm families. It could do this by fostering new opportunities for training and employment, particularly in light industries, and by affording its residents with adequate social services.

This U.S. initiative was well received, despite the fact that major attention at the ECAFE session was focused upon the then upcoming United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD—see page 127).

Besides the plenary session the United States participated in all of the more important ECAFE meetings to which it was invited. These included the annual meetings of the three standing committees of the Commission, Trade, Industry and Natural Resources, and Inland Transport and Communications. Other meetings attended by U.S. delegations dealt with water resources, natural gas, metals and engineering, statistics and planning.

In accordance with a major recommendation of the Ministerial Conference on Asian Economic Cooperation (which was held at Manila in December 1963, and to which only regional members of the ECAFE were invited) and with the subsequent concurrence of all member countries at the 20th plenary session which met in Tehran in March 1964, an Experts Group was formed in 1964 to study the possibility of creating an Asian Development Bank. Toward the end of the year the Group submitted its report for further consideration by member countries of the Commission.

The Committee for Coordination of Investigations of the Lower Mekong Basin (Mekong Committee), although legally an autonomous entity comprising the four riparian states (Cambodia, Laos, Thailand, and Viet-Nam), is strongly supported by ECAFE. During 1964 the Mekong program continued to receive assistance from the United States as well as from 20 other members of the United Nations, 11 U.N. agencies, 3 private foundations, and 3 private companies. The study phase of the program was so far advanced by the end of 1964 that serious consideration was being given to project implementation.

Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA)

The United States as a full member of the Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA) participated in four meetings of Commission bodies during 1964. Plenary sessions of the full Commission are convened biennially and since the last such conference was held in 1963, there was none during the year under review. In accordance with customary practice during intervening years, there was a brief meeting of the Committee of the Whole at ECLA headquarters in Santiago from February 12-14, 1964, in which the United States participated. This Committee normally consists of representatives of Diplomatic Missions whose countries are members of ECLA and which are accredited to the Government of Chile.

During 1964 the United States also participated in a Latin American Seminar on Rural Electrification in Buenos Aires, Argentina, and the Inter-American Seminar on Civil Registration in Lima, Peru.

While the United States was not invited to participate in the ECLA-sponsored United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD—see page 127) preparatory meeting at Brasilia from January 20-25, 1964, it later participated in the post-UNCTAD meeting of the ECLA Trade Committee, which was convened at Santiago, Chile, from November 9-13, 1964.

The ECLA concentrated primarily during 1964 on UNCTAD and on the problem of economic integration in Latin America. In tackling the latter question, the ECLA has had a notable success in sponsoring the creation of the Latin American Free Trade Area and the Central American Common Market. In the past year the ECLA continued its efforts to find a formula which would permit an increasing number of nations to participate in economic integration. At the same time it carried out various studies and surveys which would increase the extent in depth of this integration—studies on such items as a system of multilateral payments, tariff structures, the structure of export prices, labor costs, the export of manufactures, tax systems, distribution of income, and the relationship between population growth and economic development. Also, the ECLA resumed publishing one of the best sources of economic and statistical information on Latin America, the *Economic Survey of Latin America*.

Cooperation between the ECLA Secretariat and that of the Latin American Institute for Economic and Social Planning, which the ECLA founded, was concentrated mainly in the following three fields: (1) advisory assistance to member governments in regard to the programing of their economic development plans, (2) research designed to improve knowledge of economic conditions in Latin America, and (3) the training of economists.

Economic Commission for Africa (ECA)

In consonance with our desire to help further African unity and development, the United States continued during 1964 to give active support and encouragement to the various programs for economic and social development carried on by the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA). This support entailed not only participation in the more important ECA meetings, and the maintenance of a full-time U.S. liaison officer to the ECA Secretariat in Addis Ababa, but also certain technical and financial assistance.

In addition to its bilateral aid programs in Africa, its scholarship program, its participation in the Food-for-Peace Programs, and such activities as are represented by the presence of more than 3,500 Peace Corps personnel in Africa—all of which contribute to the ECA's overall objectives—the United States continued its support to the African Institute for Economic Development and Training in Dakar and renewed its pledge to consider loans to projects sponsored by the African Development Bank. Also under consideration at the end of the year were assistance to an ECA-sponsored telecommunication project and a transport survey.

A Special Fund (see page 118) project provided for a grant over a period of 5 years of \$3.5 million to the African Institute for Economic Development and Training. Before the Institute opened, the United States contributed \$25,000 for a summer course. Several hundred technical books were also given to the Institute. In addition, the United States dispersed \$50,000 in 1964 to cover half of the cost of special summer courses for outstanding pre-final year students of economics and for teachers of economics in African institutions. The United States made a commitment to continue the same amount of support for this purpose during 1965. Finally, the United States undertook to find American instructors for the Institute and to provide the services of short-term U.S. consultant-lecturers.

The Institute's first annual 9-month course began on December 2, 1963, with 9 French-speaking and 14 English-speaking students.

The Special Fund grant of \$3.5 million was contingent upon the African countries making available an additional minimum amount of \$300,000. This sum having been met, the Plan of Operations for U.N. Special Fund Support was signed on November 23, 1964.

One of ECA's most notable achievements has been its sponsorship of the creation of the African Development Bank. On September 10, 1964, the Agreement Establishing the African Development Bank (signed August 4, 1963) entered into force automatically when the requisite number of signatory nations completed the ratification

procedures. Although the ECA was instrumental in promoting the idea of the Bank, and will probably receive annual reports from the institution, the Bank, when it becomes operative, will be an autonomous body. Its purpose is to strengthen economic cooperation among members, stimulate intraregional trade, promote the investment of public and private capital, and provide technical assistance in the preparation of development projects.

U.S. offers of assistance to the African Development Bank date back to the fifth plenary session of the ECA in 1963. The most recent expression of U.S. support was made to the first meeting of the newly elected Board of Governors in November 1964. Ambassador Elbert Mathews, the U.S. Representative, said:

The United States has offered technical assistance for the vital early phase of establishing the Bank. . . . the United States is prepared to furnish experienced advisers to work at the headquarters of the Bank In this connection we are willing to provide special training at the Bank's headquarters In addition the United States is ready to help train African officials of the Bank in the United States Once the Bank is ready to make loans we will be ready to consider on a case by case basis the Bank's requests for loans to help finance individual projects in which it is interested.

Robert K. A. Gardiner, Executive Secretary for the ECA, came to Washington in January 1964 to discuss the varied aspects of U.S. support for the Commission's programs. He met with high-ranking officials of the Department of State, including Assistant Secretary for International Organization Affairs Harlan Cleveland and Assistant Secretary for African Affairs G. Mennen Williams. Discussions centered on U.S. support for the African Institute and on technical assistance for the African Development Bank. These were considered highly useful, both as an exchange of ideas and as a practical discussion of problems and methods.

As an intergovernmental body, the ECA operated during 1964 through standing committees and *ad hoc* meetings. The United States participated through observer delegates in the following: the Industrial Coordination Conference for West Africa, held at Bamako, Mali, in September; the Conference of Asian Planners, at Dakar, Senegal, in November; the Inaugural Meeting of the Board of Governors of the African Development Bank, at Lagos, Nigeria, in November; and the Standing Committee on Housing and Physical Planning, at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, November 23 to December 4.

Besides participating in the sixth plenary session at Addis Ababa in February, the United States also attended the African Air Transport Conference at Addis Ababa in November, a meeting jointly sponsored by the ECA and the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO—see page 206).

SOCIAL COOPERATION

Social Development

The term "social development" covers a broad spectrum of activities in health and nutrition, labor standards, education, vocational training, housing and urban development, and social welfare. The division of work within the United Nations places responsibility for the initiation and development of the overall social development policy and programs in the hands of the U.N. Social Commission, whose work is reviewed by the Economic and Social Council and by the Social, Humanitarian and Cultural (Third) Committee of the General Assembly. Programs in this area are also carried out by a number of other U.N. organs: such Specialized Agencies as the World Health Organization (WHO—see page 202); the International Labor Organization (ILO—see page 189); the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO—see page 194); and such special bodies as the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF—see page 157) and the Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR—see page 153). Specific aspects of social policy are the concern of the Population Commission, the Human Rights Commission, the Commission on the Status of Women, and the Narcotic Drugs Commission.

The United States is directly represented in all of these bodies and continued during 1964 to maintain its goal of speeding up the process of development through initiation and support of U.N. social programs which contribute to the total development process.

Social Planning

The Social Commission did not meet in 1964, owing to the alterations being made to the U.N. buildings in New York City. The 16th session of the Commission meeting in 1965 will therefore resume consideration of items related to social planning resulting from the deliberation of the Commission at its 15th session in 1963.

During 1964 the regular annual sessions of the regional economic commissions discussed a number of items relevant to social planning. The 20th session of the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE—see page 137), which met from March 2-17, 1964, considered the social aspects of economic development in the ECAFE region, including the report of a group of experts on social development planning which met in 1963. In the discussion on this item, the U.S. Representative, Kenneth Young, stated that "because the ultimate goal of economic development is the welfare of people, it is

imperative that any program of national development include concomitant plans for social development." He supported recommendations made by the group of experts concerning social planning. The experts recommended that the training of skilled personnel be emphasized and proposed that the Asia Institute for Economic Development and Planning and ECAFE expand the programs of training and research in the field of social development planning. During 1964 the ECAFE continued to cooperate with the UNESCO in areas related to social planning—i.e., in the organization of a Seminar on Investment in Education and Economic Development (April 1964) and in the work of the UNESCO Research Center for Social and Economic Development in Southern Asia at New Delhi, India.

The 10th session of the Committee of the Whole of the Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA—see page 139), which met in February 1964, considered a report on the growth and activities of the Latin American Institute for Economic and Social Planning, established by the ECLA in 1962. The ECLA Secretariat worked closely with the Institute in investigating the different factors of social planning and prepared a guide to key issues in this field.

The 6th session of the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA—see page 140), which also met in February 1964, considered the report of a meeting of experts on the problems involved in integrating social planning with overall planning and also discussed the need to give as much attention to social development as to economic development. The ECA session adopted a resolution endorsing the findings of the expert group. The resolution urged the Commission's Executive Secretary to intensify work on the methods and techniques of social development planning and to expand technical assistance and advisory services to member governments on the following methods and techniques: the integration of social programs with economic programs, the criteria for resource allocation, and the formulation of social development objectives and policies in relation to the need for accelerated economic development.

All of these regional activities are in accord with the position the United States has consistently taken in the Social Commission and in the Economic and Social Council, namely, that social planning must be an integral part of the development process.

Since the Social Commission did not meet in 1964, the 37th session of the Economic and Social Council, which met from July–August 1964, held only a limited debate on the item of social development and planning. At that time, however, the United States emphasized the importance it attached to such studies as the Report on Methods of Determining Social Allocations. This report and the work program of the U.N. Secretariat were referred to the 16th session of the Social

Commission, to be held in May 1965, for consideration before being taken up by the Economic and Social Council.

Advisory Social Welfare Services

The Advisory Social Welfare Services represent the operational arm of the U.N. social welfare program. Established on an emergency basis in 1946, the program proved highly popular with developing countries and has been on a continuing basis since 1950. The United States has been identified as a strong supporter of these services and it benefits from, as well as contributes to, the technical exchange. Social welfare experts, fellowships and scholarships, seminars, technical literature, and pilot demonstration activities are authorized as part of this activity. In response to requests from countries for these services, U.N. funds have been increased from approximately \$700,000 in 1946 to \$2,105,000 in 1964. The technical fields established in the work program of the U.N. Secretariat, namely, social welfare, including family and child welfare; community organization; administration and research; social work education; community development; rehabilitation; social defense; and social aspects of housing are all included in this program.

Over a third of the U.N. fellows studying social welfare come to the United States to observe our social welfare services or enroll in our schools of social work. During 1964 there were 75 U.N. social welfare fellows in the United States from 41 different countries. Most of the U.N. fellows come from key posts in their home countries. For example, in 1964 there were welfare officials from the Ministry of Labor and Social Insurance, Cyprus; the Provincial Social Services, the Republic of China and Indonesia; Municipal Services for Social Welfare, the Netherlands; Social Welfare Administration, the Philippines; and the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare, Turkey. Other countries, such as Pakistan, Switzerland, and the United Arab Republic also sent officials for study of social welfare planning.

Training was another area of great interest as countries sought to develop personnel for expanding social welfare services. In 1964 faculty members came from schools of social work in Ceylon, Chile, Ethiopia, Iran, Mexico, the Netherlands, Pakistan, Switzerland, and Turkey. Other fellows were concerned with specialized services such as child welfare and prevention of juvenile delinquency, and still others, with new methods in research and statistics. A marked trend during 1964 was the expanded use of social agencies in the United States to train U.N. fellows in community development methods and community action programs. Neighborhood centers,

settlement houses, and municipal planning commissions increasingly appear as the field work centers for student training.

The United States gains a great deal from this exchange. More than three-fourths of the graduate schools of social work in the United States have international students enrolled. The visitors from other countries share their knowledge with colleagues in the universities and with staffs of public and voluntary agencies where field instruction is provided.

One of the most significant contributions made by the United States to the United Nations is the provision of skilled and knowledgeable personnel to serve as technical advisers to countries desperately trying to provide a better life for all of their population. In 1964 the United Nations had approximately 50 social welfare advisers in countries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America working with governments to develop services. About a third of these were Americans. In 1964 American social workers were serving as family and child welfare advisers in Cyprus, Indonesia, Nigeria, Pakistan, the Philippines, and Turkey.

Under the Advisory Social Welfare Services, field surveys are made to determine current country needs. A survey of social welfare training in Africa took place from October to December 1964, organized by the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA—see page 140) in collaboration with the U.N. Secretariat, the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF—see page 157), and the International Association of Schools of Social Work. The purposes of the project were: (a) to assess the formal and in-service training programs in relation to the practical needs of the six countries visited—Algeria, Congo (Léopoldville), Ethiopia, Ghana, Ivory Coast, and the United Arab Republic; (b) to determine the areas and ways in which these programs could be strengthened; and (c) to formulate recommendations on such technical assistance as would be required, on both a national and a subregional basis. The findings are being used to provide technical aid on a practical basis in the African region. Social workers from Canada, France, Haiti, and the United States assisted several African countries in establishing their new ministries of welfare and provided training programs to staff personnel of the new welfare services.

The Round-Table Conference on Social Welfare for Central America and Panama was convened in San José, Costa Rica, May 25–30, 1964, by the U.N. Secretariat in cooperation with the UNICEF. The meeting provided an opportunity for officials and other leaders in family and child welfare programs to exchange national experiences and to consider the objectives of social policy and the place of family and child welfare programs in the overall framework of planning for national development programs.

A European social welfare program which utilizes only a small amount of the Advisory Social Welfare Services, approximately \$50,000 a year, contributes substantially to new knowledge in social welfare administration. A European expert meeting on Methodology of National Social Service Surveys was organized under this program and was held in the Federal Republic of Germany in June 1964. The report resulting from this session has been utilized by U.S. experts and is considered of excellent quality.

A number of countries in different regions were using technical assistance in community development under the Advisory Social Welfare Services program. For example, for 2 years a U.S. citizen, who is a senior community development adviser to the Government of Nigeria, helped consolidate the various community activities within the Ministry of Economic Development, established pilot projects as integrated units for development, and assisted in improving training programs in the Shasha River Training Center.

Community Development

The United Nations and its Specialized Agencies gave special emphasis to relating community development programs to national development and to increasing the economic contribution of community development.

Both the United States and the United Nations have mutual interests in facilitating greater involvement of rural populations in national economic and social development programs. Inherent in this process are such vital problems in less developed countries as motivation to develop; organization; research and training; operations and financing relative to community development and other rural programs; citizens' participation; integration of community development and local government; political stability; rapid growth of population; and land reform.

Close formal and informal working relationships between the United States and the United Nations have been established with respect to community development programs in a number of the countries. For example, in Zambia the United Nations provided an urban community development adviser whose work would complement the U.S. assistance program in rural areas. In addition, the United States provided a community development specialist on the U.N. Rural Development Mission to the Caribbean. This Mission was concerned with the effects of national programs in agriculture, education, health, community development, and other fields of rural development and with the effects of population growth on rural-urban migration and resulting unemployment. The United States and the United Nations are

exploring the possibility of a clearing house for literature and information on community development.

The need to accelerate economic development has led to increased interest on the part of many governments in integrating community development into their economic development plans. The concept of using community development as an effective channel of communication between national planners responsible for development goals and the community groups who must achieve these goals is being accepted by many countries.

Since the Social Commission did not meet in 1964, there has been no further participation by the United States in U.N. activities resulting from the two resolutions on land reform and community development adopted unanimously by the Commission and the Economic and Social Council in 1963.

However, land reform remains a high priority problem in the overall program of the United Nations. During 1964 a U.S. Representative attended two sessions of the International Committee on Agricultural Development, concerned with land tenure in Latin America.

A position paper on land reform in Latin America was presented by the United States at the regional conference of the Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO—see page 184) in March 1965.

Both the United Nations and the United States, when requested, provided assistance to countries engaged in land reform programs. Such efforts may be expected to result in increased agricultural productivity, wider distribution of land ownership and income, and greater political stability in the affected countries.

Social Defense Activities

The major concern of the United States with respect to the U.N. program of social defense during 1964 related to the preparations for the Third United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders to be convened in Stockholm in August 1965. Monographs are being prepared for the United States to distribute at the Congress. These publications will highlight major developments and progress made in the correctional field in the United States, particularly in the several areas which are included on the Congress agenda, in the period since the last Congress in August 1960. It is planned to publish these as a single document in English, French, and Spanish.

At its 37th session, July–August 1964, the U.N. Economic and Social Council considered a proposal for maintaining U.N. leadership in the field of social defense. The proposal grew out of a study prepared for the U.N. Secretary-General by Torsten Eriksson, Director-

General of the Swedish National Prisons Board. It recommended the establishment of a U.N. Institute for the Prevention of Crime and Treatment of Offenders to be financed out of the regular budget of the United Nations and voluntary contributions from governments and nongovernmental sources. The United States took the position that while it does not favor the creation of new international machinery in the field of social defense, it recognizes the need for additional financial support for the program. The U.S. delegation at the Economic and Social Council meeting was therefore authorized to approve a request to the Secretary-General to initiate efforts as soon as possible to obtain voluntary contributions from member states or from private sources under funds-in-trust arrangements to be earmarked for strengthening the social defense program. The Economic and Social Council decided, however, that the proposal should be deferred until the 1965 session of the Social Commission, the organ of the United Nations responsible for overall social development policy and programs.

Housing, Building and Planning

In January 1964 the Committee on Housing, Building and Planning of the U.N. Economic and Social Council held its second meeting. Its deliberations resulted in a resolution proposing the establishment of a Center for Housing, Building and Planning within the U.N. Secretariat. The recommendation proposed that the existing staff of the Housing, Building and Planning Branch of the Bureau of Social Affairs be absorbed by the Center and serve as the nucleus of an enlarged staff. It was the consensus in the Committee that an improved organizational structure was necessary, not only to provide organizational recognition to the importance of housing programs, but also to make for more effective long-term programing.

The Committee on Housing, Building and Planning also dealt with the following subjects: industrialization of building, financing housing and community facilities, planning and implementation of pilot projects, research training and information, urban and regional planning, and rehabilitation and reconstruction following natural disasters. It helped establish an improved framework for technical assistance in the housing and urban field in order to promote a more selective program closely attuned to the needs of and circumstances in developing countries. The U.S. delegation to the Committee played an active role in the discussion of all these questions.

At its 37th session the Economic and Social Council, with the support of the United States, approved the Committee's recommendation for the establishment of a Center for Housing, Building and Plan-

ning within the U.N. Secretariat. In his address to the Council, Assistant Secretary for International Organization Affairs Harlan Cleveland stated the U.S. view that the new Center for Housing, Building and Planning "would provide the strong executive capacity" which is needed in this field.

The Center was charged with the task of coordination and central guidance of the housing, building, and planning activities of the U.N. Secretariat, the Specialized Agencies, and the regional economic commissions. Not only is it to assume this responsibility in the field of technical assistance activities, but it is also to coordinate or, where necessary, undertake or promote the essential studies of the social, economic, and technical aspects of housing, building, and planning. In addition, it is to develop and launch pilot projects for training and demonstration purposes and is to organize the cataloging and dissemination of information, so that repetition can be avoided.

From June 2-5, 1964, the 25th session of the Committee on Housing, Building and Planning of the regional Economic Commission for Europe (ECE—see page 137) met in Washington, D.C. At the close of its meeting, various members and observers participated in a 13-day tour of observation and study of U.S. urban and housing programs, activities, and techniques. Responsibility for the arrangements of the study tour for the 40-odd participants was borne by the U.S. Housing and Home Finance Agency. The costs of the tour were underwritten by a private foundation, and, in addition, the business and professional communities provided generous hospitality. The objectives of the United States were largely realized, namely, (1) to reciprocate past hospitality shown by various European nations to U.S. delegations; and (2) to show official delegations from both Eastern and Western Europe the working of the U.S. private, competitive housing industry and the complementary nature of government and private programs.

During 1964 the United States was represented at two working parties of this same ECE Committee, one on Urban Renewal and Planning and another on Building Industry. Howard Wharton, the U.S. Representative on the Working Party for Urban Renewal and Planning, was reelected chairman of the group. An official of the U.S. Government, Victor Fischer, attended, in an observer capacity, the United Nations Seminar on New Towns and Satellite Cities which was held in Moscow.

The recently established Committee on Housing and Physical Planning of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (ECA—see page 140) held its first meeting in 1964. Since the United States is not a member it was represented by observers. The Committee considered papers prepared by the ECA Secretariat on house-

building costs, the economics of grouped housing, the building materials industry, housing finance, and housing needs. In response to an invitation to speak to the Committee, the U.S. observer explained the kinds of assistance that the United States provides bilaterally in the housing and urban fields and indicated how interested governments could proceed if they desired to request assistance. Although the meetings of the Committee on Housing and Physical Planning were scheduled to last 2 weeks, bitter disagreement over the seating of the delegation from Southern Rhodesia led to premature closure of the session at the end of the first week.

In 1964, as in previous years, the United States assisted the United Nations in recruiting qualified U.S. citizens for U.N. technical assistance assignments in the housing and urban field. In addition, one U.S. Government official was provided for a similar assignment in Africa and another U.S. official was loaned to U.N. Headquarters to assist in preparation of reports and documents for the second meeting of the Economic and Social Council's Committee on Housing, Building and Planning.

Narcotic Drugs

U.N. Commission on Narcotic Drugs

The 19th session of the U.N. Commission on Narcotic Drugs, of which the United States is a member, met at Geneva from May 4 to 9, 1964. Because of the session's short duration, the agenda was limited almost exclusively to items relating to implementation of treaties on narcotic drugs.

The Commission noted that, on the whole, performance by governments of their obligations under the narcotics treaties was satisfactory, although in a number of instances it directed the U.N. Secretariat to ask governments for fuller particulars. Interest was expressed by the Commission in the Bureau of Narcotics Training School in the United States.

The Committee on Illicit Traffic did not meet in 1964. Instead, illicit traffic was discussed in plenary by the Commission on Narcotic Drugs. The Commission concentrated its review on the opium and opiates traffic in the Far East and the Middle East; the cannabis traffic, particularly in the Middle East; and traffic in cocaine.

The Commission found that in the Far East heavy traffic in opium continued, mainly supplied by illicit production in the Burma-China-Laos-Thailand border region. A new development was increased trafficking in opium from Singapore to Hong Kong. Illicit traffic in heroin from Bangkok to Hong Kong was again confirmed.

In the Middle East, illicit traffic in opium and the opiates was mainly supplied from opium production in Turkey. Large opium seizures were reported by Iran, and morphine and heroin seizures were made in several countries.

As in previous years, Canada and the United States continued to be the target of much of the traffic in heroin. The Commission observed that the use of heroin was spreading in the Far East and the Middle East. Several clandestine manufacturing centers were discovered, and the Commission again noted that these tended to be located close to the areas of production.

The Commission found that while traffic in cannabis was carried on in every region and in almost every country in the world, there appeared to be relatively little international traffic in the Far East. In the Middle East, however, there appeared to be no abatement in the traffic.

The situation with respect to cocaine had worsened in recent years, the Commission noted. However, because of lack of reporting by a number of countries concerning 1963, it was difficult to arrive at an authoritative estimate of the scale of the problem for that year.

The Commission reviewed the progress made during the previous year in the U.N. opium and cannabis research programs. In this connection the U.N. Laboratory in Geneva welcomed receipt of an interesting collection of narcotic substances from the Harvard Botanical Museum through the U.S. Commissioner of Narcotics.

The representative of the World Health Organization (WHO—see page 202) reviewed for the Commission the 13th report of the WHO Expert Committee on Addiction-Producing Drugs, which stated, among other things, that in the Committee's opinion cocaine for medical uses would be replaced in the foreseeable future by synthetically produced substances. The report further observed that hallucinogens were now entering the illicit traffic and noted that the Committee was of the opinion that immediate measures concerning their distribution and availability were necessary.

The Commission adopted by a vote of 19 (U.S.) to 0, with 1 abstention, a resolution, for action by the Economic and Social Council, thanking the WHO for its report on the medical aspects of the habitual chewing of khat leaves, and drawing the attention of governments concerned to the report for any action they might consider necessary.

The Commission adopted by a vote of 16 (U.S.), to 0, with 4 abstentions, a resolution, sponsored by Ghana, Mexico, and the United States, recommending that the Economic and Social Council invite the U.N. Secretary-General, the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO—see page 184), the WHO, and, in particular, the technical cooperation authorities of the organizations of the U.N. family, to

consider favorably a request by Thailand for a survey of the economic and social requirements of the opium-producing regions in Thailand.

One of the most important tasks of the Commission was to prepare for the entry into force of the Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs, 1961. In this connection, the Commission adopted certain changes in the Schedules of the Single Convention, with the understanding that its decision with regard to such changes would be communicated by the U.N. Secretary-General to all U.N. members; nonmember states, parties to the Convention; the WHO; the Permanent Central Opium Board; and the Drug Supervisory Body, as soon as the Single Convention entered into force. The decision would become effective with respect to each party on the date of its receipt of the Secretary-General's communication. The United Nations Secretariat was instructed by the Commission to prepare a revised draft administrative guide to the Single Convention, for consideration at its 20th session.

Seminars on Narcotics Problems

The U.N. Consultative Group on Narcotics Problems in Asia and the Far East met in Tokyo, Japan, from February 3 to 12, 1964. The meeting, in which the United States participated, was organized as a regional project under the U.N. program of technical assistance in narcotics control to study all aspects of narcotics control from an international, and especially a regional, point of view. It noted—as did the Narcotics Commission later (see page 151)—that heroin traffic was increasing in the region, and that clandestine manufacture of heroin tended to be located near the area of production. One of its main conclusions was that all aspects of the problem were closely related to the economic and social conditions prevailing in the different countries. In this connection, the standard of living needed to be raised, and any national development plans must, of necessity, include improvement of the agricultural economy. It felt that drug abuse should be studied as part of the broader question of public health, particularly mental health. In implementing its recommendations, the Group considered that the technical assistance sources of the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies might be called upon by the countries in the region for help, in particular for the training of government control officers.

The United States sent an observer delegation to the meeting of the Inter-American Consultative Group on Coca Leaf Problems, held at Lima, Peru, December 14–21, 1964. This, too, was a regional project organized under the U.N. program of technical assistance in narcotics control.

One of the several resolutions adopted by the Group recommended that the Commission on Narcotic Drugs at its next session take into consideration a request by the countries concerned (Bolivia, Colombia, and Peru) for U.N. advice and assistance in a cadastral survey of the coca leaf-producing areas.

Another resolution recommended that the countries concerned incorporate in their health textbooks instructions on the noxious effects of coca leaf chewing, and on the economic and social consequences of the habit; and of the illicit traffic and consumption of narcotic drugs. It recommended that the WHO print model textbooks for the use of students and authorize ministers of education to reprint and distribute them.

A third resolution recommended that Bolivia make an effort to apply measures similar to those undertaken by Peru to reduce the areas of coca leaf production and limit the legitimate use of coca leaf.

A fourth resolution suggested the continued stationing of an officer from the U.N. Secretariat in the region.

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)

The chief function of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) is to provide legal and political protection to refugees within the UNHCR mandate; i.e., within the scope of the statute of the Office (primarily European refugees from Communist countries). The UNHCR also conducts assistance programs toward promoting solutions to problems of needy refugees within his mandate, and uses his good offices (under authority contained in several General Assembly resolutions) in similarly assisting refugees who have not been determined to be within the UNHCR mandate.

The UNHCR Executive Committee, composed of representatives of 30 governments including the United States, reviews and gives guidance to the High Commissioner's programs and activities. During 1964 the Executive Committee met twice in regular session and once in special session.

Legal and Political Protection

With regard to securing legal and political protection for refugees within his mandate, the High Commissioner intervened as necessary with governmental authorities to protect the interests of individual refugees or categories of refugees and to promote the constructive development or the full and effective implementation of pertinent national legislation. The chief tool of the UNHCR in this respect is

the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees. During 1964 two additional countries (Gabon and Tanzania) ratified this instrument, bringing to 44 the number of countries parties to the Convention. The UNHCR Legal Assistance Program, closely related to political protection efforts and assistance programs, was maintained. Through it an estimated 8,000 refugees received specialized legal assistance concerning individual problems related to efforts to secure their reestablishment.

Under an agreement concluded in October 1960 between the UNHCR and the Federal Republic of Germany, the UNHCR virtually completed the program for payment of indemnification to refugees persecuted for reasons of nationality under Hitler's National Socialist regime. By Christmas of 1964 final payments totaling more than \$12 million had been made to 12,132 approved applicants among the 40,229 claims received since the inception of the program.

Activities on Behalf of Mandate Refugees

During 1964 newly arriving refugees who were within the UNHCR mandate were assisted within the UNHCR program for current refugee problems. Those who had been in asylum countries longer were assisted under the Major Aid Program.

THE CURRENT PROGRAM

The UNHCR Current Program was aimed at enabling the UNHCR to cope with problems of new refugees (both those within his mandate and those assisted under his good offices function) on a current basis.

In the spring the Committee initially established the overall ceiling for the 1964 UNHCR Current Program at \$2.6 million and approved projects in that amount. Toward the end of the year the Committee raised the Program ceiling to \$3,050,080 and approved further projects up to that amount, in the light of added requirements brought on by newly developing problems (chiefly in Africa). The Committee was able to authorize this program increase on the basis of contributions and pledges to the UNHCR 1964 Program which had been received from governments and other contributing sources. The United States exerted major initiative and influence to help bring about even more detailed scrutiny and management of UNHCR operations than in prior years through the Committee's careful project-by-project review of proposed measures. This procedure had been adopted by the Committee in 1963, largely at the instance of the United States, as a means of securing maximum efficiency, economy, and flexibility of UNHCR operations in meeting the rapidly changing refugee needs. As a concomitant measure, and as a result of leadership and extensive

negotiations by the U.S. delegate, Elmer Falk, with other delegations, the Committee adopted prudent measures for the maximum use of existing and accruing UNHCR financial resources in the provision of working capital for the future financing of UNHCR operations.

Of the UNHCR budget of \$3,050,080 for the 1964 program, the United States contributed \$700,000 (see page 289). This compares with the U.S. contribution of \$900,000 in 1963 toward the UNHCR program of \$6.8 million for that year (which included complete funding for a final, 3-year program to liquidate the residual refugee problem in Europe). The United States continued to emphasize during 1964 the importance of securing increasing contributions toward the UNHCR program from other governments and from private sources throughout the world, and fully supported the High Commissioner in his successful efforts in this regard. A total of 52 governments contributed to the UNHCR program in 1964, compared to 40 in 1963.

In Europe, the Current Program met its objective of reestablishing successfully a sufficient number of the newly arriving mandate refugees to prevent any increase in the number of such refugees in asylum countries. This program was extended to Yugoslavia for the first time in 1964, for assistance to refugees entering Yugoslavia from other Eastern European countries. A program for Cuban refugees in Spain was also initiated in 1964. In Latin America, the Program emphasized assistance to the handicapped among the newer refugees through the support of old age homes, special resettlement solutions, and related means. Assistance to selected Cuban refugees in Latin America was also continued during 1964.

The High Commissioner was active in 1964 in furnishing assistance through the Current Program (under his good offices function) to Chinese refugees in Hong Kong and to Tibetan refugees in Nepal. In addition projects on behalf of Chinese refugees in Macau began in 1964, and the High Commissioner provided funds received from private sources to help meet the costs of projects arranged by India on behalf of Tibetan refugees in India. In exercising his authority to use his good offices for refugees not within the UNHCR mandate, the High Commissioner, wherever possible, utilized amounts of money available from his Emergency Fund or from voluntary contributions to support or set in motion a coordinated assistance program with the participation of interested governments, international organizations, and/or voluntary agencies.

Nearly one-half of the resources of the 1964 UNHCR Current Program were applied toward meeting refugee problems which have arisen in Africa, including several which emerged during 1964. The UNHCR continued to assist the needy among the refugees from Rwanda who since 1961 had been fleeing into Tanzania, Uganda,

Burundi and the Kivu Province of the Congo and whose numbers during 1964 were increased to 170,000 by the influx of 20,000 newly arriving refugees. The implementation of projects in the asylum countries on behalf of refugees from Rwanda under the 1964 program, which totaled over \$1 million, was seriously impeded by political, military, and social strife and disorder in East Africa, compounded by the arrival of large numbers of refugees from Sudan and the Congo (Léopoldville) in some of the same asylum countries. These difficulties, however, accentuate the importance of continuing the UNHCR Program as a means of providing the resources of the international community to assist and supplement the efforts of the asylum countries in resolving this problem in a manner that will contribute to overall stability in Africa. The United States, both in the UNHCR Executive Committee and elsewhere, gave strong support to the efforts of the High Commissioner to deal constructively with this problem.

During 1964 some 15,000 refugees from Sudan entered various asylum countries contiguous to Sudan, and 30,000 refugees from Portuguese Guinea entered Senegal. Upon request of the governments of the asylum countries concerned, and with the approval of the Executive Committee, the UNHCR commenced in 1964 assistance programs for Sudanese refugees in Uganda and the Central African Republic and for refugees from Portuguese Guinea in Senegal. About \$400,000 was allocated for those purposes from UNHCR 1964 Program funds. As in all UNHCR African operations, these projects are designed to reestablish the refugees on a self-sufficient basis within the asylum countries, chiefly through agricultural projects jointly funded by these countries and the UNHCR, and to meet the emergency and interim welfare needs of the refugees.

During 1964 the UNHCR and the Organization for African Unity (OAU) established formal arrangements for mutual consultation and regular liaison on policy and program matters concerning the UNHCR role in Africa.

THE MAJOR AID PROGRAM

The Major Aid Program, approved by the Executive Committee in 1962, seeks through a final, intensified effort to resolve completely by the end of 1965 the problem of the old residual mandate refugees, chiefly in Europe. \$5.4 million of the UNHCR 1963 budget of \$6.8 million was devoted to this effort. The other \$1.4 million was allocated to the 1963 Current Complementary Program for assisting new refugees, both those under the High Commissioner's mandate and those assisted under his good offices function. The UNHCR received contributions and pledges during 1963 and early 1964 from

governments and private sources, sufficient to insure the complete funding of the Major Aid Program through its conclusion in 1965. During 1964 the UNHCR also continued to receive substantial matching contributions for approved Major Aid Program projects from the several European countries of asylum.

The UNHCR Major Aid Program during 1964 succeeded, through assistance projects for local integration or resettlement, in reestablishing an estimated 9,000 of the approximately 31,000 unassimilated residual refugees in its care. This Program, which the United States fully supported, continued to concentrate on the reestablishment of refugees who were severely handicapped by reason of mental, physical, or social disability, and who comprised a sizable portion of the caseload of that Program.

On the basis of experience in 1964, the High Commissioner expressed confidence that the Major Aid Program will be virtually completed by the end of 1965. The U.S. delegate to the UNHCR Executive Committee had taken the initiative in the adoption of plans for the Major Aid Program in the first instance, and continued to stress during 1964 that every possible effort must be made to achieve the goals of the Program on schedule. In this connection, he reiterated to the High Commissioner and the Executive Committee that European asylum countries are well able to accept full responsibility for any hardship cases which may remain or emerge after 1965.

EMERGENCY FUND

The \$500,000 UNHCR Emergency Fund established by a General Assembly resolution in 1958 has proved to be an indispensable instrument of the High Commissioner. It enables him to respond immediately to urgent situations that develop in connection with the duties conferred upon him by his mandate and by the several good offices resolutions adopted by the General Assembly. During 1964 the High Commissioner expended over \$225,000 from this Fund for assistance to refugees in emergency situations.

United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF)

The United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) continues to be an outstanding example of successful international cooperation. The United States attaches a high priority to UNICEF programs and believes that they are making an important contribution to the developing countries of the world.

For the first time in its 17 years of existence, UNICEF convened its Executive Board in a developing region. Meeting in Bangkok in January 1964, the Board gave special attention to the needs of children

in Asia. Preceding the opening of the session, groups of Board members were invited to observe UNICEF-assisted programs as guests of the Governments of India, Indonesia, Iran, Pakistan, the Philippines, and Thailand. The U.S. Representative, P. Frederick DelliQuadri, was a member of the group that visited Eastern India. The alternate U.S. Representative, Dr. Katherine Bain, visited Pakistan, and Blanche Bernstein, adviser to the delegation, went to Indonesia. These visits gave delegations to the meeting a first-hand contact with on-going UNICEF operating services in the field. This was reflected in the discussions at the Board sessions by a deeper understanding of the extensive needs of children and a greater appreciation of the importance of maximum effective use of UNICEF resources.

At the January 1964 meeting, the UNICEF Executive Board made a number of policy decisions which will influence the future pattern of UNICEF assistance. For the past several years the United States has been emphasizing the need for evaluation of programs to determine not only the efficiency of operations but their effectiveness and impact on the problems facing member countries. In 1964, as a result of a proposal by the U.S. Representative, this principle of evaluation was accepted by the Board and a plan for systematic reviewing of programs was developed.

Also, at the request of the United States, the question of the scope of the UNICEF program was on the agenda for the Bangkok meeting. The U.S. Representative made a major statement on this issue, in which he explained the sources of U.S. concern, as follows:

First, it is our conviction that in the United Nations family of organizations, each member of this family has some particular role to play and that UNICEF has its own unique function to perform. We recognize, on the one hand, that there is bound to be some overlapping of programs but wish to avoid, on the other hand, a situation in which there is such a degree of blurring of functions that it becomes difficult for governments and the public to distinguish clearly between the functions of each agency and their respective contributions to economic and social progress particularly of the developing countries.

Underlying UNICEF's assigned function to promote the health and welfare of children is the thesis that programs can be developed which focus on and are of particular benefit to children and which are distinguishable from programs directed to economic and social development in general from which children will surely benefit as much as adults and in the long run even more than adults. We think this thesis is correct. We realize, of course, that the level of living of children will be determined basically by the level of living in the community as a whole. At the same time we recognize that children in the underdeveloped countries bear a disproportionate risk, and for this reason programs directed to their special needs are essential.

The U.S. Representative added, "The Executive Director of UNICEF and its Secretariat have not been unaware of these problems over the years and they have indeed recognized that certain guidelines

and limitations on the scope of programs were essential in order to direct the use of UNICEF funds into the most effective and productive programs for children and youth."

He illustrated the problem of interpreting UNICEF's role by reference to the field of nutrition, saying:

There is much that UNICEF can appropriately do in the field of nutrition which will be of special benefit to children. These, stated very briefly, include nutrition education for mothers and children, training in nutrition of personnel who serve mothers and children, provision of food supplies for school or other feeding programs for children, assistance in the production of milk or other protective foods for children and research to develop such foods, and assistance to improve the quality and quantity of non-commercial locally produced foods for home or school consumption. We believe, however, that the general and acute problem of increasing the commercial production of food stuffs is not the concern of UNICEF.

An extensive discussion followed the U.S. statement. Although a variety of points of views were expressed, including some which were more restrictive than the U.S. position and others which would have permitted very broad flexibility, there was fairly general agreement that UNICEF had to insure that it did not spread itself too thin, and that its programs were directed to major problems and special needs of children and youth.

In the field of malaria eradication the Board adopted a policy consistent with the view expressed by the United States.

The principles governing the UNICEF's assistance for the eradication of malaria are as follows: the UNICEF will continue assisting countries which are carrying on malaria eradication programs with UNICEF assistance where the country concerned is satisfactorily carrying out its agreed-upon obligations; and the UNICEF may participate in campaigns in countries which it is not assisting only if (1) it has the resources and can do so without unbalancing UNICEF's program, (2) the country gives malaria a high priority in child health and consequently is prepared, if necessary, to forego other types of aid, and (3) the future financing of a project to its completion is reasonably assured so that the UNICEF would not be expected to assume increasing responsibility.

For the first time a fund-in-trust arrangement was approved to permit donations to the UNICEF for specific purposes. Certain safeguards—strongly supported by the United States—provided that (a) special contributions should be in addition to and not in place of regular contributions, and that (b) such special contributions should be accepted only for such projects as had received the prior approval of the Executive Board. A favorable decision was taken on a proposal that the Executive Director hold only one Board meeting per year beginning in 1965 instead of the present two sessions.

The June 1964 Executive Board session in New York was primarily devoted to the consideration of project proposals. The Board considered, however, a report of the UNICEF Round-Table Conference on "Children and Youth in Development Planning" held in Bellagio, Italy, April 1-7, 1964. Fifteen participants, including one from the United States, chosen for their special skills and knowledge discussed how best to take account of the needs of children and youth with regard to economic and social planning in developing countries. As a background document for the meeting, the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare prepared a paper on "United States Experience in Planning and Providing for the Needs of Children and Youth." To follow up on the theme of this Conference, two regional meetings, one in Asia and one in Latin America, were authorized by the Board to be held in 1965.

In 1964 UNICEF income continued to grow. Income from all sources was approximately \$32.7 million, about \$1 million over the preceding year. Contributions were made by 120 countries as contrasted with 115 in 1963. Substantial portions of its income continue to come from private sources. The amount collected through "Trick-or-Treat" campaigns (campaigns by which children in the United States and Canada collect money for the UNICEF on Halloween) in 1964 was in excess of \$2 million and the proceeds from the sale of greeting cards was \$2.3 million. The transition in financial policy, begun in 1961, of utilizing accumulated resources through expenditures in excess of income was completed in 1964. The 1964 meetings approved \$34.6 million in new commitments and actual allocations of \$30.3 million. Assistance was approved for a total of 207 projects in 79 countries and territories plus 6 interregional projects. The United States for the fifth consecutive year made a voluntary contribution to the UNICEF of \$12 million, an amount equal to 40 percent of total government contributions.

SCIENTIFIC COOPERATION

President Johnson, in an address at the dedication of the National Geographic Society Building in Washington, D.C., on January 18, 1964, stated:

If we are to live with pride in a world of decency, we must commit ourselves to removing from the earth the scars and scourge of human poverty, disease, ignorance, and intolerance.

These works are not—and can never be—the works of one nation or one people alone.

These works will be accomplished when they become the joint works and the common labors of nations and peoples everywhere.

If that is to come to pass, nations must have more than common forums in which to meet—they must have common enterprises on which they can work together for the common good.

In elaborating further on this theme, he said:

We of the United States believe today—as we have long believed—that the realms of scientific explorations offer this opportunity for common enterprises and endeavors.

Scientific exploration and research knows no national boundaries.

Human knowledge is never the captive of international blocs.

Common sense dictates that all nations lend their learning to all other nations. This is a loan in which the science of all nations is beneficiary and the good of all mankind is advanced.

The more we share with each other, the less we misunderstand each other.

The work of the United Nations in promoting the sharing of scientific knowledge, and in fostering international cooperation in scientific exploration and research, is reflected in many parts of this report. This particular section is focused on the scientific interests of the Economic and Social Council and the General Assembly and the activities of the U.N. Scientific Advisory Committee (see page 163); the U.N. Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation (UNSCEAR—see page 164); and the Advisory Committee on the Application of Science and Technology to Development (see below). Other sections of this report which contain material on scientific cooperation include Outer Space (see page 17); the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO—see page 184); the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO—see page 194); the World Health Organization (WHO—see page 202); the World Meteorological Organization (WMO—see page 214); and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA—see page 218).

Advisory Committee on the Application of Science and Technology to Development

In January 1964, 18 members were appointed to the Advisory Committee on the Application of Science and Technology to Development by the Economic and Social Council, “on the nomination of the Secretary General after consultation with governments, on the basis of their personal qualifications, knowledge or experience in this field, with due regard to equitable geographical representation.” Their mandate was a broad one: to keep under review the progress being made in applying science and technology for the benefit of the less developed countries; to review, in close cooperation with the Administrative Committee on Coordination (ACC), what the United

Nations and its related agencies were doing to help in this effort; to consider such specific questions as might be referred to the Advisory Committee; to consider the need for possible organizational changes within the U.N. system; and to recommend to the Council measures for improving the existing situation. The Committee was asked to submit a report to the Council at its summer session in 1965.

During the course of two sessions held from February 25 to March 6 and from November 2 to 13, 1964, the Advisory Committee laid a substantial foundation for the preparation of its 1965 report. Three of the principal questions with which it was concerned were: (1) the possibility of a worldwide attack on a limited number of important problems of research and application; (2) the structure of institutions required for the scientific and technological advancement of the developing countries; and (3) a proposed program of international cooperation in science and technology. Particular attention was devoted to an examination, in order to fix priorities for a worldwide attack on a limited number of important problems, of 11 major subject areas: water resources, desalination, weather forecasting, weather modification, supplies of edible protein, fisheries surveys, the control of the tsetse fly and trypanosomiasis, other vector-borne and tropical diseases, energy resources, and educational techniques.

The Advisory Committee did not arrive at conclusions on any of these matters during 1964. Arrangements were made, however, for the Advisory Committee at its third session in March 1965 to complete its report to the Economic and Social Council.

Third International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy

"I believe this Conference marks the beginning of the age of nuclear power." Dr. Glenn T. Seaborg, chairman of the U.S. delegation, made this statement to the participants just before the conclusion of the Third International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy held from August 31-September 9, 1964, at Geneva, Switzerland. Dr. Seaborg continued, "We can now foresee the end of the spectre of an energy shortage which has haunted the world since the beginning of the Industrial Revolution. As nuclear power technology progresses, I believe we can provide in the future enough energy for all of the peoples of the world—the energy that is central to the banishment of hunger, poverty and fear of the future."

Dr. Seaborg's observations were based on data provided on nuclear power development during the 10 days of the Conference. In 1955,

at the time of the first atomic energy conference in Geneva, Switzerland, the installed nuclear capacity of the world was only 5 megawatts; by 1958, at the time of the second conference in Geneva, that capacity had grown to 185 megawatts; and by 1964, when this third conference was held in Geneva, it had grown to about 5,000 megawatts. Moreover, it was forecast that by 1970 the total world nuclear capacity will be about 25,000 megawatts; by 1980, it will be between 150,000 and 250,000 megawatts. By the turn of the century, nuclear power will be providing more than half the world's electricity.

The 1964 Conference was convened under the terms of a General Assembly resolution, cosponsored by the United States, and unanimously adopted in 1962. The Conference was organized by the U.N. Secretary-General with the assistance of the United Nations Scientific Advisory Committee, in cooperation with the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA—see page 218) and in consultation with the interested Specialized Agencies. The officers of the Conference, who were designated in advance by the Secretary-General and confirmed at the opening session on August 31, were from the countries represented on the United Nations Scientific Advisory Committee, as follows: President, Vasili S. Emelyanov (U.S.S.R.); Vice Presidents, Luiz Cintra do Prado (Brazil), W. B. Lewis (Canada), Francis Perrin (France), Homi J. Bhabha (India), Sir William Penney (United Kingdom), and I. I. Rabi (United States).

The attendance at the Conference included 1,783 delegation members from 77 countries, 40 representatives of 10 Specialized Agencies and the IAEA, and 1,841 observers from intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations.

Nuclear power was the principle theme of the discussions at the 8 general sessions and 36 technical sessions of the Conference, as well as of the majority of the 747 scientific papers accepted from 39 countries, 4 Specialized Agencies, and the IAEA. Consideration was given, for example, to the use of nuclear power not only for the production of electricity but also for the desalting of water; other special applications of nuclear energy, including ship propulsion and portable "package" plants for use in remote areas or in spacecraft; experience with "first-generation" nuclear powerplants; plans for more advanced reactor systems designed to conserve the world's supply of atomic fuels; and possibilities for the direct conversion of nuclear heat to electricity.

Two of the general sessions did not consider nuclear power but were devoted to surveys of new applications for radioactive isotopes and radiation sources in industry, medicine, agriculture, and science.

A scientific exhibition formed an integral part of the Conference.

National exhibits, largely designed to illustrate the application and development of nuclear energy as a source of power, were provided by 18 countries, including the United States. The U.S. exhibit, which was one of the most comprehensive, was visited by an estimated 22,000 persons during the period of the Conference. Twelve countries provided a total of 85 documentary and technical films which were shown to a total audience of 13,541. One-half of the films were provided by the United States.

United Nations Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation (UNSCEAR)

Ionizing radiation, together with its effects upon man and his environment, has been the subject of continuing study since 1955 by the United Nations Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation (UNSCEAR). In 1958, and again in 1962, the whole field of radiation effects was surveyed in comprehensive reports submitted to the General Assembly by the Committee.

At two meetings in 1964 (Geneva, February 24–March 4, and New York, June 29–July 10), the Committee reviewed all new information on radiation and its effects that had been developed since 1962 through the investigations of national and international research groups. The Committee prepared and submitted to the General Assembly a report dealing with radioactive contamination of the environment by nuclear tests and with radiation carcinogenesis in man, since the new material available on these two subjects was deemed sufficient to provide a useful supplement to its 1962 comprehensive report.

With respect to radioactive contamination of the environment by nuclear tests, the Committee based its findings on data that had become available by June 1964 concerning nuclear explosions carried out between September 1961 and December 1962. On the basis of actual measurements of the amounts of fission products in the atmosphere, the Committee reported that the rate of radioactive fallout of long-lived fission products had been three times greater in 1962 than in the 1960–61 period, had increased again in 1963, but was expected to decrease in 1964 and later years. It should be noted that the Chinese Communists detonated a nuclear device in October 1964, several months after the completion of the Committee's work.

In considering radiation carcinogenesis in man, the Committee found that there had been no major advance in knowledge regarding the induction of malignancies since 1962. However, new information did establish a broader basis for certain risk estimates formulated in the past, and made possible a few new risk estimates. Reference was

made to the new data and estimates in discussion of the incidence of leukemia among the survivors of the explosions at Hiroshima and Nagasaki, in reports of malignancies in children irradiated *in utero*, and in surveys of (1) thyroid carcinoma resulting from therapeutic irradiation, (2) bone tumors in persons contaminated with radium, (3) liver tumors in persons who had received thorotrast for diagnostic purposes, (4) skin cancer resulting from external radiation, and (5) lung tumors in miners exposed to radioactive dusts.

Other Questions Relating to Science and Technology

In addition to the work of various scientific conferences and committees as well as the scientific activities performed by certain Specialized Agencies, the Economic and Social Council at its 37th session considered such other questions relating to science and technology as water resources development, water desalination, new sources of energy, international cooperation concerning the standardization of geographical names, and cartographic activities in Africa. The regional cartographic conference for Asia and the Far East was also held.

The growing importance of water resources development was reflected in the work of the 37th session of the Economic and Social Council held July 13–August 15, 1964. The Council approved proposals for a priority program of coordinated action in the field of water resources within the framework of the United Nations Development Decade (see page 15). These proposals were submitted in a report by the Secretary-General which called for three types of programs: preliminary country surveys of water needs and resources; similar surveys of international river basins; and large-scale, predevelopment investigations of ground water basins. The report also discussed the manner in which the proposed programs might be implemented; the shortage of trained personnel in the field of water development and ways to overcome this shortage; and a program for followup action.

The Council noted the third biennial report of the United Nations Water Resources Development Center which had reviewed its activities during 1962–63. In addition the report dealt with water projects financed by the Special Fund (see page 118). It included an account of developments of common interest in the water field and summarized the activities of the various U.N. organizations in the field of water development.

The Council considered the general question of effective arrangements for coordinating water development programs. The U.N.

Administrative Committee on Coordination (ACC) had concluded that the Water Resources Development Center, because of practical difficulties stemming from the manner in which it was established, was no longer the best machinery to deal with the coordination problems involved. The ACC had accordingly recommended that, in the future, coordination should be effected by interagency meetings on water resources development. These meetings would function as a subcommittee of the ACC, and would be supplemented by *ad hoc* consultations on important projects. The Council approved this recommendation and requested the ACC to include a section describing progress in this field in its future reports to the Council.

In the light of the new coordination arrangements, the Council endorsed the Secretary-General's proposal that the Water Resources Development Center again become an integral part of the Resources and Transport Division of the Department of Economic and Social Affairs at the U.N. Headquarters. The Center is to keep problems of water resources development under continuous review, to pay special attention to administrative and legislative problems in this field, to foster the diffusion of relevant information, to foster data collection and to assist in international river studies, to work toward the formulation of principles of international law applicable to water resources development, and to perform organizational and secretariat functions for the interagency and *ad hoc* meetings on water resources development.

The Council received at its 37th session a report on "Water Desalination in Developing Countries." This report, based on a survey of 43 countries and territories, was prepared by the U.N. Secretariat in response to an earlier resolution of the Council and was made possible by a Ford Foundation grant. It presented a wealth of information concerning the availability of water, activities being carried on to increase water supplies, and technical and economic factors relating to use of available fresh water and the desalination of sea or brackish water. The report enumerated more than 50 water-short areas in which studies were warranted to determine the economic feasibility of desalination processes.

The Council proposed that the report be widely disseminated, so that international organizations, governments, and private institutions would be stimulated to facilitate meeting the water and power needs in developing countries. During discussion of the report in the Council, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Frank Williams, called attention to the cooperation between the United States and the Soviet Union in the conduct of research into different aspects of the demineralization of brackish water, particularly by means of nuclear

energy, and gave assurances that the technical and scientific information resulting from that cooperation would be published.

In 1961 the United Nations had sponsored a Conference on New Sources of Energy. Developments since that Conference in the fields of solar energy, geothermal energy, and wind power were reviewed in a document which was submitted to the Council at its 37th session.

The Council commended a proposal by the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA—see page 140), to establish a solar energy experimental center in Niger; authorized the Secretary-General to proceed, through the use of resources available to him and in the light of the priorities of the needs of developing countries, with work to develop new sources of energy for the benefit of the developing countries; asked the Secretary-General to continue to prepare periodic reports on new sources of energy, as well as to encourage studies designed to develop new applications of wind power; and asked governments to facilitate the exchange of information and the extension of assistance in the fields of solar energy, wind power, and geothermal energy.

In response to the Council's request, it received at its 37th session a report, prepared by the U.N. Secretary-General, on the desirability of convening an international conference on international cooperation concerning the standardization of geographical names. The majority of the governments which had responded to the Secretary-General's inquiries on this subject had favored the holding of such a conference. The Council noted that plans had already been approved for two regional conferences, one in Asia in late 1964 and the other in Africa in 1966. Since it was deemed preferable that these two conferences be held first to advise on particular problems encountered in their respective parts of the world, it was decided that the conference on the standardization of geographical names should be held in 1967. The U.N. Secretary-General was asked to report to the Council at its 39th session in 1965 on the arrangements made for the holding of the conference.

In the field of cartography, the Council considered a report from the U.N. Secretary-General on the U.N. Regional Cartographic Conference for Africa which had been held at Nairobi, Kenya, from July 1–12, 1963, under the aegis of the ECA. It congratulated the African countries on the valuable steps that had been taken on a subject of special importance to them and agreed that another conference on this subject should be held before the end of 1966.

Pursuant to a resolution of the 35th session of the Council, the Fourth Regional Cartographic Conference for Asia and the Far East was held in Manila from November 21 to December 5, 1964. The Conference was attended by 14 countries from the region and 16

countries from other areas. Each country reviewed the advances in cartography which had been achieved since the last conference in 1961. Five technical committees were established to deal with the specific fields of geodesy; topography and photogrammetry; aerial photo interpretation and topical maps; aeronautical charts, the International Map of the World, and geographical names; and hydrography and oceanography.

The Conference adopted 22 resolutions designed to advance still further the progress of the past 4 years. Special emphasis was given to increasing cooperation between countries in the area and to the development of uniform standards of practice in cartographic work.

HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS

Draft Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination

In keeping with a request by the 17th General Assembly, the Human Rights Commission, at its 20th session in 1964, taking into consideration the views of the Subcommittee on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, prepared a Draft Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. The U.S. delegation, headed by Mrs. Marietta Tree, participated fully in the drafting of this document so that a well-drafted and effective Convention consistent with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights could be attained. The Commission based its work on a first draft of the Convention prepared earlier in the year by the Subcommittee on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities.

Briefly, the Draft Convention would require states, parties to the Convention, to condemn racial discrimination and undertake to pursue by all appropriate means and without delay a policy of eliminating all forms of racial discrimination and to guarantee the right of everyone, without distinction as to race, color, or ethnic origin, to equality before the law, notably in the fields of social, political, and economic rights. Policies and measures to be adopted to accomplish these ends are spelled out in some detail. The Draft Convention is thus similar in general intent to the U.S. Civil Rights Bill signed by the President July 3, 1964.

One of the most difficult and controversial articles in the Draft Convention was article IV, which condemns propaganda seeking to

justify or promote race hatred and discrimination and calls for the adoption of "immediate and positive measures designed to eradicate all incitement to such discrimination." This article was of primary interest to the United States because it raised important questions concerning freedom of speech and association. The Soviet Union and Poland submitted amendments designed to require the imposition of criminal sanctions against private individuals and organizations in any way engaged in discriminatory activities, even when those activities were limited to the expression of views alone. The United States opposed these amendments on the ground that a requirement that criminal sanctions be invoked against expressions of mere opinion would not be consistent with standards of freedom of speech. These amendments were not accepted.

One issue concerning the Draft Convention was not settled in either the Commission on Human Rights or the Economic and Social Council. This was the U.S. proposal for an additional article condemning anti-Semitism. Such an article would constitute a historic step inasmuch as no U.N. convention has thus far singled out anti-Semitism for formal condemnation. Many delegations reacted favorably to this proposal. Others, including the Soviet Union and the Ukraine, questioned it or wanted to go further and include references to additional types of discrimination. The Commission did not have time for substantive consideration of the U.S. proposal or of certain amendments to it proposed by the Soviet Union. Instead, it decided to send the proposal and the amendments to the Economic and Social Council for transmission to the General Assembly.

While the debate on the Draft Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination offered many opportunities to highlight problem situations, references to the United States uniformly emphasized progress. In January 1964 during the meeting of the Subcommittee on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, which is a body of experts elected by the Human Rights Commission, the U.S. member, Morris Abram, joined with the Mayor of Atlanta, Ga., in inviting the individual members to visit that city. Although the visit was informal and in no way an official activity of the Subcommittee, those who went to Atlanta were warmly appreciative of the hospitality extended to them and acquired a deeper understanding of the progress achieved in race equality.

Although every article of the Draft Convention gave rise to discussion and in some cases controversy, the Preamble and seven operative articles were ultimately adopted unanimously by the Commission on Human Rights and transmitted to the U.N. Economic and Social Council. Certain suggested provisions for implementation

of the Convention transmitted by the Subcommittee but not considered by the Commission were also transmitted to the Council.

When the Economic and Social Council met in July 1964, it unanimously decided to forward the Draft Convention to the General Assembly. In speaking in the Council plenary on this procedure, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Franklin H. Williams, stated that the United States recognized racial discrimination as a pernicious disease which must be eradicated as quickly as possible from all societies everywhere. He pointed out that there is scarcely any quarter of the globe free from this ill, and that to deny this was to lack candor or to be blind to the facts. He referred to the hundred-year struggle in the United States to root out this ill—this cancer—of racial and religious prejudice—which contradicts the American creed.

The Cultural, Humanitarian and Social (Third) Committee of the 19th session of the General Assembly did not meet in 1964 because of the Assembly's concentration on the U.N. constitutional and financial crisis (see page 1). Consequently there was no Assembly discussion of the Draft Convention or of the article condemning anti-Semitism proposed by the United States.

Draft Declaration and Draft Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Religious Intolerance

At the 1964 meeting of the Human Rights Commission the United States urged priority consideration for the drafting of a Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Religious Intolerance, the preparation of which was requested by the 17th General Assembly.

Several drafts for such a declaration were before the Commission, including one prepared by the U.S. Expert on the Subcommittee on the Prevention of Discrimination and the Protection of Minorities, Mr. Abram. There was disagreement regarding the drafts, however, and the Commission established a working group to consider them.

Because of Soviet bloc tactics, only six articles were completed by the working group and these were not considered by the full Commission.

However, the Commission asked the Economic and Social Council to continue work on this draft declaration. At its 37th session in July 1964, the Council accordingly instructed its Social Committee to undertake this task, but a majority of the Committee felt unable to do so. Speaking in the Economic and Social Council plenary, Ambassador Williams said:

. . . It does seem strange that the Declaration Against Religious Intolerance should have received such unsympathetic treatment in the Committee, for a reading of Article 18 of the Universal Declaration indicates that the proposed Draft

Declaration is a natural extension of the principle of freedom of religion. We feel strongly, Mr. President, that, at least, we should have made a start. The *completion* of the Draft Declaration is a different matter but I am reminded of the statement of Thomas Masaryk that "each step must be down to earth, practical, realistic, but the whole journey must be an eternal poem." According to the Report before us, the Committee failed even to take that first step.

Mr. President, my Delegation is concerned that so many who espouse the just cause of national independence, self-determination and international equality, should be so little concerned with the basic rights of the individual. The love of liberty and the will to be free are not enough in themselves to advance fundamental human rights. We must be prepared to assert ourselves in behalf of these rights no matter what the occasion might be. Therefore, we hope the General Assembly in its collective wisdom will undertake the drafting of this Declaration with the view to its completion next fall.

Periodic Reports on Human Rights

On the initiative of the United States, the 20th session of the Human Rights Commission adopted a resolution providing, *inter alia*, for the improvement of procedures for the preparation and frequency of future periodic reports from member states in the field of human rights. The resolution established the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Periodic Reports to work throughout 1964 and submit recommendations to the 21st session of the Commission in 1965. The Committee studied summaries based on replies from 65 governments for the years 1960-62, together with comments from interested nongovernmental organizations in consultative status. It also reviewed a series of reports on freedom of information. Progress was noted particularly through measures to eliminate discrimination based on race or sex and to protect the rights of defendants in criminal proceedings. Measures had also been put into effect to prohibit compulsory labor and to extend social insurance coverage to agricultural populations and other groups, such as noncitizen employees, formerly excluded from coverage.

In order to improve procedures, the Committee approved a draft resolution introduced by the U.S. Representative, A. Edward Elmendorf. This resolution (1) placed reporting on a continuing 3-year cycle in the fields of civil and political rights, economic, social and cultural rights, and freedom of information; (2) requested the Subcommission on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities to undertake the initial study of the materials received from U.N. members, Specialized Agencies, and nongovernmental organizations in consultative status; and (3) recommended a continuing committee under the Commission on Human Rights to review the reports and propose action, taking into account the observations of the Commis-

sion on the Status of Women (see page 173) and of the Subcommission. The Committee also recommended continuation of the plan for "objective" comments from nongovernmental organizations in consultative status. The Soviet Union and Poland expressed disagreement and abstained on the draft resolution in the Committee.

1968 as Human Rights Year

At its 20th session the Human Rights Commission established a Committee for the planning of the 20th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights pursuant to an 18th General Assembly resolution designating 1968 as the International Year for Human Rights. One purpose of this Committee was to consider the possibility of holding an international conference in 1968 to "(i) review the progress which has been made in the field of human rights since the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, (ii) evaluate the effectiveness of the methods and techniques used by the United Nations in the field of human rights, and (iii) formulate and prepare a programme of further measures to be taken subsequent to the celebration of Human Rights Year." The Committee was also directed to draw up a program of measures and activities for the celebrations to take place in 1968.

The United States welcomed this move and throughout the remainder of 1964 participated in the work of the Committee, which will continue into 1965.

Advisory Services in the Field of Human Rights

Three regional seminars in the field of human rights were held in 1964: (1) in Kabul, Afghanistan, on "The Role of Human Rights in Developing Countries"; (2) in Rome, Italy, on "Freedom of Information"; and (3) in Lomé, Togo, on "The Status of Women in Family Law" (see page 174). The United States was represented by an Observer in each of these seminars: Mrs. Marietta Tree in Kabul, U.S. Embassy officers in Rome, and Mrs. Gladys Tillett in Lomé.

The seminar in Kabul was attended by high officials in technical development programs from the various countries of Asia. There was general agreement that economic progress was dependent on a wide understanding of objectives and the assurance that the rights of all those affected, including workers employed on projects, would be fully recognized at all stages of development.

At the seminar on "Freedom of Information," great stress was placed on the role of government in guaranteeing freedom of information and removing restrictions on the press; the responsibility of the publisher, proprietor, and the professional journalist; and improvement

in standards of journalism. The seminar suggested a "fresh look" at the draft International Code of Ethics prepared by the United Nations in 1952, and at other means to advance the free flow of information and mutual understanding across international boundaries.

Status of Women

Although the Commission on the Status of Women did not meet in 1964, there were notable achievements in eliminating *de facto* discrimination against women, and many strides were made in improving their position.

The Secretary-General's annual report to the General Assembly on political rights showed that, as of September 1, 1964, women could vote in all elections and were eligible for election on an equal basis with men in 106 countries.

Recognizing that in this age of technology and rapid changes in the economic and social fields, new problems have arisen in the scope and character of women's activities in national life, the International Labor Organization (ILO—see page 194) placed an item on the agenda of its 48th General Conference entitled: "Women Workers in a Changing World (Employment of Women with Responsibility)."

The United States welcomed the ILO initiative as consistent with actions the U.S. Government had taken in recent years, particularly the Federal Equal Pay Act of 1963 which became effective June 11, 1964. The U.S. Representative, Mrs. Esther Peterson, Assistant Secretary of Labor, said:

Right to employment without discrimination, I'm proud to say, is now the law of the land in my country, and the right to equal remuneration for men and women became national law just last month. Thus, the purpose of Conventions 100 and 111 have been signed into law by the President of the United States and are now national policy enforceable by law.

The Conference Committee on this subject discussed, *inter alia*, part-time employment, reentry into employment, promotion of equality of opportunity and treatment of women, vocational preparation of girls and women, and the problems of women workers in the developing countries. Throughout the Committee's discussions there was a genuine search for broad areas of mutual concern and for conclusions which would have the widest applicability. It was noted that while women's participation in economic activity varied considerably from one country to another, everywhere there had been a marked increase in employment opportunities available for women and, progressively, a marked change in the character of their participation in employment, especially in the nonagricultural sector. All

agreed that labor standards concerning equality of rights and opportunities should apply to all workers but recognized also that in many cases women have special family responsibilities, that most women work from economic necessity, and that their double role as homemaker and worker merits particular social concern. In this connection, the U.S. Representative stated:

. . . I welcome the opportunity to call to your attention the Committee's conclusion that "Particular attention should be given to the progressive reduction of daily and weekly hours of work for all workers, which contributes substantially to alleviating the problems of women with family responsibilities." Recognizing completely that the hours of work in any country must be related to the level of economic development and the needs of the country, there can be no doubt that for all workers, and especially for working women with family responsibilities, the length of the work day and the work week are matters of paramount importance. This principle was stated clearly by the Chairman of the President's Commission on the Status of Women, Eleanor Roosevelt, when she said that as we solve the problems of all workers we solve the problems of women workers, but we must not forget to include them in all aspects of our thinking and planning.

The ILO Conference adopted a draft recommendation which will be further considered with a view to adoption in 1965.

In August 1964 Togo was host to a U.N. Seminar for Africa on the Status of Women in Family Law. Mrs. Gladys Tillet, the U.S. Representative to the U.N. Commission on the Status of Women, attended this seminar as U.S. Observer. In her interventions she emphasized the role of women's organizations, both civic and professional, in encouraging and promoting sound social change, pointing out that in the United States these organizations were often consulted by high government officials because of their knowledge, competence, and influence. She also cited the unprecedented number of women appointed by President Johnson to high policymaking posts as a milestone in the progress of women.

The seminar dealt with the potential of women for economic and social progress and placed special emphasis on the part women must play in meeting the aspirations of newly emerging nations and in raising standards of living for Africans. It was made clear that although the legislation of a country may guarantee political rights for its women citizens as well as its men, such legislation cannot be fully effective, nor can women make their full contribution to the well-being of the community, if they do not stand equal under all aspects of the law; e.g.: in marriage, its dissolution, annulment, and judicial separation; parental rights and duties; legal status of unmarried women; inheritance rights of women; and social factors affecting the status of women.

The seminar made use of the experience of the U.S. Women's Bureau and of similar bureaus in other countries in studying problems and planning means for improvement in the status of women.

SPECIALIZED AGENCIES AND THE INTERNATIONAL ATOMIC ENERGY AGENCY (IAEA)

United Nations Coordination Matters

The increasing importance of the coordination function of the Economic and Social Council is being recognized. As this function increases and becomes more complex, new tools and additional information are needed while the existing machinery is given added tasks. The Council, therefore, continued its Special Committee on Coordination. Although the Committee had only a brief series of meetings, in its report it was able to pinpoint some of the major issues that required the attention of the 37th session of the Council in 1964.

One issue was the work program of the United Nations in the economic, social, and human rights fields; the other, the relationships among planning institutes. As new planning institutes on both a regional and a worldwide basis are established, the necessity for the establishment of close working relationships and the coordination of their spheres of activities and schedules is of paramount importance. This is especially true since frequently the services of the same experts are requested. At its 37th session the Council stressed the importance of close interrelationship among the institutes for their own mutual benefit and requested the U.N. Secretary-General and its Administrative Committee on Coordination (ACC) to present to the Council "a commentary on those aspects of their respective work which . . . might lend themselves to concerted activity or give rise to special problems of coordination."

United Nations Training and Research Institute (UNTRI)

The U.N. Secretary-General continued his efforts to raise funds to establish the United Nations Training and Research Institute (UNTRI). No further intergovernmental action was necessary other than the resolution adopted by the Economic and Social Council at its 37th session urging governments to make pledges. France voted against this resolution while the Soviet Union abstained. The U.S. Representative, Walter Kotschnig, announced that the United States "is seeking an initial contribution to the Institute from public funds to be made available in our next financial year." By the end of 1964, \$2.8 million in pledges had been received from 37 governments and over \$500,000 from private sources. The Executive Director and the Board of Trustees of the Institute will be chosen early in 1965.

Program and Budget Coordination

The Council took two interesting steps in the field of program and budget rationalization. One step was of an administrative character directed to the ACC. It was recognized that to promote more effective coordination among the U.N. system of organizations, it would be desirable if comparative appraisals could be made between their respective budgets, particularly with a view to determining the main trends in the activities of the agencies and setting forth certain common principles. Realizing that this is a difficult task, the 37th session of the Council adopted a resolution requesting the ACC to consider, in consultation with the U.N. Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions (ACABQ), to what extent the Specialized Agencies could be requested to use a uniform layout for the preparation and presentation of their respective budgets. Five years ago such a proposal would have been rejected immediately by the Specialized Agencies. However, as their activities have increased so has their realization of the interdependence of organizations within the U.N. system. Only the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia voted against the proposal. Four African countries abstained fearing that it was intended to reduce assistance to the developing countries.

The Council accepted the conclusion of its Special Committee on Coordination that the Council must establish a procedure for screening the U.N. work program in the economic, social, and human rights fields in relation to its budgetary implications. The Council, which is, in effect, the governing body of the economic, social, and human rights activities of the United Nations, has never operated in this capacity, particularly in bringing about a confrontation of the programs and budgets. The first thing necessary for such an undertaking is the requisite tools. The 37th session, therefore, unanimously adopted a resolution by which it decided to undertake each year a careful analysis of the U.N. work program in relation to its budgetary implications. It requested the Secretary-General to present to the Council such a work program for 1966 in each major area of work, together with adequate information on its budgetary implications. Again, the Council suggested that the advice of the ACABQ should be sought.

One new tool which assisted the Council in its coordination task during the 37th session was the meeting among the members of the ACC and the officers of the Council. This meeting was arranged on the suggestion of the ACC and provided a good opportunity for an informal exchange of views. These meetings will be continued and it is hoped they will bring about a closer relationship between the ACC and the Council.

Food and Literacy Campaigns

One of the more contentious issues at the Council's 37th session involved a U.K. proposal for the creation of a World Campaign against Hunger, Disease, and Ignorance. As of December 1964 the Food and Agriculture Organization's (FAO—see page 184) Freedom-From-Hunger Campaign has been in effect for 5 years and has been extended through the end of the U.N. Decade of Development (see page 15) in 1970. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) had developed a different type of campaign—the World Campaign for Universal Literacy (see page 196). It was not clear how these existing campaigns would be melded into the proposed world campaign, or under what direction the latter would be undertaken. The United States, which had endorsed extension of the FAO Freedom-From-Hunger Campaign, was not enthusiastic about a world campaign against hunger, disease, and ignorance. This attitude was shared by other delegations, the Specialized Agencies, and particularly by the nongovernmental organizations (NGO), including the church groups which have extensive activities throughout the world to help eradicate hunger, disease, and ignorance. The United States, therefore, sought to bring about a solution which would be acceptable to all. This was found in a Council resolution remitting the problem to the U.N. Secretary-General for further consultations with governments, Specialized Agencies, and NGO's on the feasibility of and possible plans for organizing and executing a world campaign. Simultaneously, the Council in a separate resolution took note of the success so far achieved by the Freedom-From-Hunger Campaign and urged members of the United Nations, the Specialized Agencies, and the NGO's to intensify their efforts against hunger in order to promote all appropriate initiatives within the U.N. Decade of Development.

Emergency Aid

On the initiative of Chile, an item was added to the agenda of the 37th session of the Economic and Social Council on "The Question of Emergency Aid to Costa Rica." Such aid was required as a result of the eruption of the Irazu Volcano. From March 20, 1963, until the end of 1964 clouds of ash poured over the central plateau of Costa Rica altering the course of several rivers and causing floods, loss of life, and serious damage to the agriculture and cities of Costa Rica. In view of this disaster the Council unanimously adopted a resolution which invited members of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies, and the appropriate authorities of U.N. bodies

and other international organizations to give all possible assistance. It also invited members to make contributions to a voluntary emergency trust fund which the U.N. Secretary-General had set up. During the debate on this item, the U.S. Representative had described in detail the amount of bilateral assistance which the United States had given to Costa Rica and which it was continuing to give.

In connection with a draft resolution proposed by Algeria, Iraq, and Chile on the possibility of the United Nations establishing its own disaster fund, the United States pointed out that individual countries, in a position to offer assistance, could do so more rapidly on a bilateral basis. In addition it pointed out, as indeed the ACC itself had suggested, that the Red Cross and other nongovernmental organizations, particularly the church groups, were also in a position to move more rapidly in offering immediate emergency assistance. At the same time the Council recognized that further arrangements for coordination of assistance offered were necessary, as were arrangements for coordination on the spot, of all governmental and organizational assistance. In its resolution, as adopted, the Council recognized the leading role that the League of Red Cross Societies must take in this connection. The U.N. Secretary-General was asked to prepare a study of the types of assistance which the United Nations might provide, the order of magnitude of resources that the Secretary-General might require, and alternative methods of providing such resources, including the establishment of a U.N. fund to be financed through voluntary contributions.

International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD)

Two decades ago at the Bretton Woods negotiations the United States played a leading role in the establishment of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), also known as the World Bank. The World Bank has been vigorously supported by the United States as a vital and unique organ of the U.N. system. As the need arose for the expansion and refinement of lending techniques to meet the aspirations of developing countries, the United States also strongly supported and was instrumental in the establishment of the International Finance Corporation (IFC—see page 180) in 1956 and the International Development Association (IDA—see page 181) in 1960 as affiliated agencies.

The World Bank is the largest multilateral agency providing capital and technical assistance. As of December 31, 1964, the Bank's 102 members had subscribed a total of \$21,228.8 million in capital. The U.S. subscription was \$6,350 million, or 30 percent of the total. The

resources of the World Bank currently used for lending are derived primarily from borrowings in private capital markets. The Bank's outstanding funded debt at the end of 1964 was about \$2,500 million. The Bank also sells parts of its loans and in this way has added over \$1,800 million to funds available for development financing. Both of these funding operations draw heavily from financial resources outside the United States. As of December 31, 1964, the World Bank had made loan commitments totaling \$8,174 million, with about 70 percent of this amount going to developing countries. Cumulative disbursements totaled \$6,287 million.

The Bank continued in 1964 to infuse its operations with a high degree of dynamism and flexibility, which have already led to substantial achievements and hold even greater promise for the future. At the 1964 annual meeting, Douglas Dillon, Secretary of the Treasury and U.S. Governor on the Bank's Board of Governors, noted the "readiness and ability of the Bank family to seek out new and improved techniques for meeting the development problem" and commented that "it is this spirit which enables us to rely on the Bank for leadership in meeting the challenges that lie ahead."

Among those techniques, the United States has been particularly encouraged by the increased attention given to promoting agricultural development through both financial and technical assistance. Bank initiatives in the educational field are designed to help fill another pressing need. Cooperation between the Bank, IDA, the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO—see page 185), and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO—see page 194) are already proving fruitful as a result of partnership agreements concluded in 1964. The agreement with the FAO was to initiate a jointly financed cooperative program to improve the quality and increase the number of proposals for agricultural financing. The UNESCO agreement is designed to identify and prepare technical and general secondary educational projects of high priority for financial and technical assistance. The Bank also continued to assist in project preparation as the executing agency for studies financed by the U.N. Special Fund (see page 197).

The Bank's initiatives in the field of industry have been strongly supported by the United States. Credits for the import of components and spare parts for capital goods industries and the proposed augmentation of IFC resources have been encouraging indications of the Bank's desire and ability to help fulfill investment requirements for industrial development. The Bank has also reaffirmed its readiness to provide financing for local expenditure on high-priority projects where lending only funds needed for direct imports would not provide adequate support.

The growing problem of excessive debt burdens of developing countries is a subject of Bank concern, and it has already lengthened loan maturities and grace periods in appropriate cases. The Bank has also transferred a portion of its net income to the IDA thus providing additional resources for the soft loan affiliate of the World Bank group of institutions.

The Bank has a key role in the coordination of assistance for particular developing countries through its sponsorship of consortia and consultative groups. Further pledges of assistance to these continuing projects, accompanied by improvements in terms and conditions by bilateral members, were offered in 1964 through the India and Pakistan consortia. For the first 4 years of India's Third Five-Year Plan, pledges totaled \$4,445 million; pledges totaling \$1,819 million were made for the last 4 years of Pakistan's Second Five-Year Plan.

A supplemental agreement came into force in 1964 for the Indus Basin Development Fund. The new agreement provides the Fund, which is administered by the World Bank, with additional foreign exchange resources aggregating \$315 million to be applied toward the cost of construction work by Pakistan in the Indus Basin.

Consultative groups for Nigeria, Colombia, Tunisia, and the Sudan meet under the aegis of the Bank to discuss development plans and financial problems. Notable progress was made in 1964 by the Nigerian group which helped to secure a major portion of financing for the proposed Niger Dam.

In addition to increasingly vigorous technical assistance activities, the Bank enhanced its research activities in the development finance field during 1964 and made progress toward the establishment of a center for the settlement of investment disputes.

International Finance Corporation (IFC)

The International Finance Corporation (IFC) was established in 1956 as an affiliate of the World Bank to assist the industrial development of the Bank's less advanced member countries through investments in productive private enterprises.

In 1964 cumulative commitments by the IFC for the first time were more than its total subscribed capital. By the end of the year, capital subscriptions were \$98,964,000, of which \$35,168,000 was subscribed by the United States. Funds for operational activities are also derived from earnings, repayments, and sales of investments. Total net commitments amounted to \$116.2 million and gross disbursements were \$83.6 million.

There was recognition in 1964 of the need to make more resources available to private enterprise without government guarantees of

repayment such as are required by the IBRD. The Corporation's Executive Directors concluded that there is need for assistance to private borrowers that neither local development finance companies nor IFC can presently provide. The World Bank and the IFC agreed that Bank funds should be channeled through the IFC in order to satisfy potential demands for additional equity capital and loan funds.

The Executive Directors proposed that the World Bank lend to the IFC for relending in the same manner as the World Bank lends to development finance companies. This would provide a source of additional funds for the loan portions of investments made by the IFC on a mixed loan and equity basis. The funds would be available to reimburse the IFC for the loan portions of investments already made and would enable the IFC to enter into much larger transactions, permitting IFC financing of enterprises by means of fixed-interest loans not carrying equity or other special features. The proposal would require an amendment to the World Bank's Articles of Agreement to permit World Bank loans to the IFC without government guarantees and an amendment to the IFC Articles of Agreement to remove the prohibition against borrowing from the World Bank. Draft resolutions to this effect have been adopted by the World Bank and IFC Executive Directors. Congressional action is required to permit final U.S. approval of these amendments by the Board of Governors of the respective institutions.

IFC commitments to developing countries in 1964 totaled \$22 million. Disbursements were \$13 million. The Corporation continues to lead the World Bank group of institutions in considering proposals for assistance to industrial development finance companies. The IFC has also substantially increased the proportion of its investments in the form of subscriptions to capital shares rather than in loans. An amendment to its charter in 1961 made possible investments in that form.

The IFC, with the strong support of the United States, has played a major role as an investor and a recruiter of local and foreign private capital. Increased resources provided by the World Bank should enable the IFC to expand significantly its varied and valuable functions as the principal multilateral instrument concerned primarily with financing industry.

International Development Association (IDA)

The International Development Association (IDA) was established in 1960 as an affiliate of the World Bank, largely in response to a U.S. initiative. The IDA was founded to meet the situation of developing

countries whose need for, and ability to make use of, outside capital is greater than their ability to service conventional loans. The United States and other aid donors have become increasingly concerned about the need to provide credits on terms designed to mitigate problems of excessive debt burden; the IDA is a multilateral institution through which that need can be met.

A consequence of this continued concern was the agreement in 1964 by 18 industrially advanced countries of the IDA to contribute over \$750 million to replenish the Association's resources. Whereas the initial \$750 million of resources was paid over a 5-year period, the new \$750 million in contributions will be paid over a 3-year period commencing in 1965. The U.S. share was reduced from 43 percent of the original subscriptions to 41.6 percent of the supplementary contributions. A further measure to increase IDA's resources was a transfer to the Association of \$50 million from the World Bank's fiscal year 1964 net income. Additional special contributions have been made by Sweden.

In 1964 commitments by the Association were \$425 million and disbursements were \$148 million, both record levels. Cumulative commitments as of December 31, 1964, exceeded \$1 billion. Disbursements totaled \$278 million. An IDA credit to India amounting to \$90 million represented a new kind of assistance. Credit was extended, not for a new project, but to help manufacturers in selected capital goods industries make fuller use of already existing capacity, by enabling them to import components and materials on a scale heretofore not possible because of a scarcity of foreign exchange.

The IDA participated with the Bank during 1964 in the expansion of activities for the development of agriculture and education, as well as industry. Pledges to the India and Pakistan consortia have included the IDA funds along with offers of Bank lending (see page 180), thus minimizing the cost in terms of repayment and interest borne by India and Pakistan.

The IDA has been vigorously supported by the United States. Secretary of State Dean Rusk pointed out in March 1964 that the United States sought the establishment of IDA as "a way through which the other industrial countries could join with us in providing some of the long-term capital loans that form a necessary underpinning for most development programs." He noted that "IDA has more than lived up to our expectations" and "admirably complements our own foreign policy objectives."

International Monetary Fund (IMF)

As the member of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) with the largest quota (\$4,125 million, now about 27 percent of the total), the United States has held a leading position in the Fund's affairs since its beginning.

Recent U.S. drawings on the Fund stemmed from a technicality. The agreement establishing the Fund provides that it may not accept in repurchases, i.e., repayments of members' obligations, any currency which the Fund holds in excess of 75 percent of an individual member's quota.

In 1963 this quota restriction virtually had been reached. To alleviate the situation the United States, in July 1963 and again in July 1964, entered into one year stand-by agreements of \$500 million with the Fund. These agreements have made it possible to draw dollars from the Fund which can be resold to member countries wishing to make repurchases. In this way the outflow of U.S. gold to offset balance-of-payments deficits was curtailed.

As of December 31, 1964, U.S. drawings on the 1964 stand-by arrangement totaled \$275 million. The U.K. drawing of \$200 million in December 1964, as part of their total drawing of \$1 billion, had the effect of reducing the U.S. obligation to the Fund by that amount, while a number of other small drawings further decreased our liability. On December 31, 1964, our net drawings from the Fund amounted to \$261.8 million.

Fund membership grew rapidly in 1964. The addition of 18 new members (all developing countries) brought the total membership to 102 countries and total quotas to \$15,855 million—\$2,179 million of which was in gold. Total drawings from the Fund during 1964 made by 22 countries amounted to \$1,950 million. Repayments totaled \$510 million.

The Fund, with the strong support of the United States, continued to address itself to the important and difficult problem of international monetary liquidity. U.S. determination to achieve payments equilibrium, although generally welcomed by the Fund as necessary and desirable to assure continued confidence in the dollar, has given rise to a new concern: the possibility that the world's need for additional liquidity may exceed the amount of liquidity provided by the world's new gold production. Following the study of this problem by the Fund during 1964 and the fourth quinquennial review of quotas, the United States indicated its support for a further growth in the resources of the Fund through a 25-percent general quota increase and appropriate selective quota increases.

Selective quota increases, based in many cases on the Fund's Decision on Compensatory Financing of Export Fluctuations of March 1963, were put into effect during 1964, thereby increasing the Fund's resources by \$315 million. The Board of Governors of the Fund also approved a number of other requests for special quota increases during the year, which will go into effect in 1965.

Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO)

The Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) has two main functions: to serve its member governments (107, plus 2 associate members, at the end of 1964) as an agricultural information clearing-house, in part through providing international and regional forums for the discussion of mutual problems; and to give technical advice in the fields of agriculture, fisheries, forestry, nutrition, and home economics. At the end of 1964, the FAO was acting as executing agency in the technical assistance field for 169 Special Fund (see page 118) projects (of which 43 were assigned in 1964). During the year it also had 911 experts in the field under the Expanded Program of Technical Assistance (EPTA—see page 118).

Pesticides

The FAO work on pesticides began to gain momentum in the latter part of 1964. Three working parties were named which included American experts with worldwide reputations in their respective fields: (1) Working Party on Pesticide Residues; (2) Working Party on Registration, Labeling, and Marketing of Pesticides; and (3) Working Party on Resistance to Pesticides in Agricultural Pests. The United States has a great interest in the work of these groups since, unless established facts are made known to other member countries of the FAO, there could be a marked negative impact on our export markets for agricultural products because of a lack of understanding concerning pesticides used in the United States. Work on the establishment of tolerances in relation to pesticide residues is particularly important in this respect.

Integrated Approach to Agricultural Production

In its work with member countries the FAO has stressed the need for an integrated approach to take account of all the factors that are involved in increasing both plant and animal production. With U.S. support the FAO set up interdivisional working committees to provide more productive advice and assistance to member countries.

Animal Health Programs

The FAO animal health campaigns are of vital interest to the United States because they concern exotic diseases that could invade the North American continent if permitted to expand. Good progress was made during 1964 on both African horse sickness and the African strain (SAT-1) of foot-and-mouth disease. According to reports from Turkey, where the ravages of African horse sickness caused great losses in recent years, the disease has been eliminated with the assistance of the FAO. Continuing assistance in the Near East on the African strain of foot-and-mouth disease has been a basic program which, it is hoped, will lead to the eradication or control of that serious problem. The FAO also has convened and coordinated the activities of the European Commission on Control of Foot-and-Mouth Disease, which met September 28-30, 1964, in Amsterdam, the Netherlands, and in which the United States participated. Regional coordination is necessary if a disease such as foot-and-mouth is to be controlled.

FAO/IAEA Joint Division for Atomic Energy in Agriculture

For several years there was concern about possible duplication of effort between the Atomic Energy Branch attached to the Assistant Director General of the Technical Department of the FAO and the Agricultural Section of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA—see page 218). During 1964 negotiations were completed between these two agencies that resulted in the establishment of a joint FAO/IAEA division. In addition to avoiding duplication, this arrangement is intended to permit a stronger and better coordinated program in the area of peaceful uses of atomic energy in agriculture.

Forestry

FAO representatives have actively supported the programs and work of the Latin American and North American Forestry Commissions in which the United States maintains active membership. During 1964 the working groups of these Commissions continued to engage in improving control of forest fires, insects, and diseases; developing recreation facilities; expanding wildlife; and improving watershed management, flood control, timber species, and forest industries development. In the case of the North American Forestry Commission, the coordination of action programs in these specialized fields among the United States, Mexico, and Canada was particularly helpful.

During 1964 the FAO entered into a provisional agreement with the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD—

see page 179) and the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID) to provide long-term, low-interest-rate loans for agrarian and forestry development in developing countries. This cooperative approach should relieve somewhat the need for bilateral aid from the United States.

In 1964 the U.S. Forest Service conducted a special 5-week Forest Fire Control Training Course at the request of the FAO and the AID for which the FAO provided 12 participants from eight countries. Some of these participants, especially those from Australia, contributed techniques and procedures developed to meet their local conditions. U.S. foresters meeting with the group benefited from this interchange of ideas.

In 1964 the FAO published and distributed *Timber Bulletin for Europe, 1963 and 1964*, containing production, trade, and price statistics. It also published *European Timber Trends and Prospects, a New Appraisal 1950-1975*, and *Forest Products Statistics, 1963*. These publications are of value to U.S. businessmen involved in foreign trade in forest products.

Freedom-From-Hunger Campaign

The Freedom-From-Hunger Campaign is essentially a program designed to strike at the basic causes of underproductivity in the less developed areas of the world and to help these areas help themselves. The Campaign was launched in 1960, with the support of the United States, for a period of 5 years. The FAO Council in October 1964 extended the Campaign until 1970. Activities of the Campaign are carried out for the most part through national committees. During 1964 various U.S. individuals and industries made a direct contribution to the Campaign through the American Freedom-From-Hunger Foundation. They provided, among other things, a complete flour and feed grinding mill to an African village, a mobile nutrition demonstration unit for use in Latin America, a 3,000-egg incubator to a village in Guatemala, pigs to be located at four breeding stations in India, and an egg grading and inspection pilot-demonstration project in Korea. In addition the U.S. fertilizer industry provided almost \$25,000 in cash plus contributions in kind to the Campaign in 1964.

Food Standards

The second session of the *Codex Alimentarius* Commission (sponsored jointly by the FAO and the World Health Organization (WHO—see page 202)) was held in Geneva, September 28–October 7, 1964. This session was largely concerned with detailed consideration of draft standards on which governments had submitted comments, and

also with reports on work accomplished by expert committees and other specialist groups to which assignments had been made in 1963 for promulgating standards and developing drafts of various background papers.

The basic purpose of the Commission is to simplify and harmonize international food standards work by allocating priorities in the development of standards, by coordinating and supplementing the work of other bodies in this field, and by providing for finalization of draft standards at the government level and their publication in a consolidated *Codex Alimentarius*. The food standards are aimed at facilitating international trade in food and food products and at safeguarding the interest of consumers in wholesomeness of food.

At its first session in 1963 the Commission had established a number of expert committees to draft standards for such products as sugars, oils and fats, processed fruits and vegetables, and meats. The United States was given responsibility for chairing the Expert Committee on Food Hygiene and the Expert Committee on Processed Fruits and Vegetables. These Committees met during May 1964 and adopted programs of work, which are currently underway, for the development of specific standards.

Fisheries

World fishery production has more than doubled since 1950, and the FAO has played an increasingly important role in this development. In 1964, the FAO made a principal contribution to fisheries through stock assessment studies, research (on such topics as fishing catch, fishing effort, and biological statistics on whales, tunas, and other species), management conferences, expert panels, resource development, food standardization studies, and fishing boat designs. The FAO fishery activities have been principally directed toward developing countries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. It cooperates with such international organizations as the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), the WHO and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization's (UNESCO—see page 194) Office of Oceanography, and carries out technical assistance activities financed under the Expanded Program of Technical Assistance (EPTA—see page 118), and the United Nations Special Fund (see page 118).

The increasing importance of fisheries is indicated by the demand for FAO fishery publications. Fishery administrators and scientists in the United States utilize such publications as the *Yearbook of Fishery Statistics*, the quarterly *World Fisheries Abstracts*, handbooks and technical publications on fishing boats, gear design, and fish processing and handling.

During 1964 the FAO held a number of international meetings of importance to U.S. fisheries. From August 10 to September 22, 1964, the FAO Advisory Committee on Marine Resources Research (ACMRR) convened a meeting on marine fisheries biology in the Soviet Union. In the field of fishery technology, a Symposium on Increasing Fish Consumption through Improved Fish Handling and Distribution was held in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, October 16-31, 1964, in conjunction with the 11th session of the Indo-Pacific Fisheries Council. In order to relate modern business methods to fisheries, the FAO held a Seminar on Fisheries Development and Administration at Canberra, Australia, January 28-February 11, 1964, and a meeting on Business Decisions in Fishing Industries at Rome, Italy, September 21-25, 1964. A 3-week FAO Seminar for Asian and African Fishing Experts and Administrators was also held in Dakar, Senegal, in October 1964.

In the fall of 1963, at the 12th session of the FAO Conference, a resolution was passed requesting the Director General to submit proposals that would make FAO the leading intergovernmental body encouraging the rational harvesting of food from the oceans and inland waters. The Conference also requested the FAO Council, at its 43d session, to consider measures for strengthening the FAO's Fisheries Division. The 43d Council met in October 1964 and created an *ad hoc* committee, of which the United States is a member, to make recommendations to the 44th session of the Council on measures to improve the status of fisheries within the organization and in the world.

Along with an initiative to strengthen fisheries within the FAO, there has also been a movement to establish an international commission for the conservation of Atlantic tunas. The FAO Working Party for the Rational Utilization of Tuna Resources in the Atlantic Ocean (October 1963) proposed, and the FAO 43d Council session in October agreed, that a conference of plenipotentiaries be called to consider creating such an organization. It is anticipated that the FAO will convene such a conference early in 1966.

FAO Publications

Under the quota system established by the FAO, the United States receives sufficient copies of publications concerning worldwide statistics on many aspects of food production, distribution and utilization, fisheries, forestry production, and trade, and on the production and consumption of fertilizers, to meet the needs of the various governmental agencies and Land Grant Colleges and selected repository libraries throughout the United States.

The FAO publishes an agricultural production yearbook and a trade yearbook, a forestry and fisheries yearbook, and other pub-

lications summarizing world statistics, giving the food balance picture, or summarizing the current situation regarding certain commodities. FAO also publishes and distributes reports and studies on world food problems, summaries of new technical and economic findings, and other materials that are useful to the United States as well as to other member countries.

International Labor Organization (ILO)

International Labor Conference

The 48th International Labor Conference, which is the standards setting body of the ILO, met June–July 1964. Member states are represented at the Conference by tripartite delegations: two government, one worker, and one employer delegates, each of whom have separate votes. The Conference dealt, *inter alia*, with the question of South Africa's policy of racial discrimination (*apartheid*) and international labor standards concerning employment policy, social security, and hygiene in commerce and offices. The Conference also concluded a 2-year debate on the Director General's report concerning possible adaptations of ILO programs and structure to the needs of a rapidly changing world. It adopted a resolution requesting the ILO Governing Body (the organization's board of directors) to review suggestions made during the debate, and, subsequently, to take action on those within its competence, and to forward its recommendations to future sessions of the Conference.

The International Labor Conference also dealt with the ILO Budget for 1965. As compared with a net expenditure budget of \$16,388,799 for calendar year 1964, the Conference approved a net expenditure budget of \$18,684,347 for 1965. The United States contributes 25 percent of the ILO budget, which in 1965 will amount to \$4,671,087.

ILO Governing Body

The ILO Governing Body met three times during 1964. As in the case of the International Labor Conference, the Governing Body considered the question of South Africa's *apartheid* policy and its membership in the ILO. It also approved a basic reorganization of the International Labor Office (the organization's secretariat) along the lines recommended by a U.S. management consultant firm following an extensive management study in 1963.

Major features of the reorganization were the following: (1) The unwieldy divisional structure was streamlined and regrouped into nine major departments as the basic organizational units of the Office. This will provide for more flexible use of the staff, improve coordina-

tion and reduce overlapping and duplication of effort. (2) Machinery was to be installed to strengthen program planning and control through a Program Committee reporting to the Director General, and to improve budgetary and evaluation procedures. The staff arm for this program planning and coordination activity is a new, small, Research and Planning Department which is responsible for the basic research necessary for the coordination of all ILO activities, the determination of priorities, and appraisal of ILO programs. (3) The administration of all ILO field activities will be centered in a new Department for Field Services. This will provide for better coordination of field activities and will remove from the technical departments time-consuming responsibilities for administrative matters. Under this new organization it will be possible to delegate administrative responsibility to the field while maintaining policy direction and control at headquarters. (4) The Personnel Office is being strengthened and raised to departmental level under an Assistant Director General. Training programs for ILO staff are being strengthened. (5) Administrative procedures are being simplified and in many cases mechanized. (6) To supervise this new organization, two of the present Assistant Director General positions were upgraded to Deputy Director General—each responsible for a segment of the Office's operations—and the present Deputy Director General was designated Principal Deputy Director General with responsibility for generally assisting the Director General and deputizing in his absence.

The Governing Body also established: (1) the Inter-American Regional Advisory Committee and (2) the Working Party on the Program and Structure of the ILO. The latter was created to review all suggestions on revision and structure of the ILO and to submit recommendations to the Governing Body.

United States Representation

George L-P Weaver, Assistant Secretary for International Affairs, Department of Labor, continued to represent the United States on the Governing Body. Also, he was one of the two U.S. Government Delegates to the International Labor Conference in June 1964; George P. Delaney, Special Assistant to the Secretary and Coordinator of International Labor Affairs, Department of State, was the other U.S. Government Delegate. Richard Wagner, Chairman of the Executive Committee, U.S. Chamber of Commerce, was the Employer Delegate; and Rudolph Faupl, International Representative of the International Association of Machinists, was the Worker Delegate. Messrs. Faupl and Wagner also are members of the ILO Governing Body, having been elected by the worker and employer groups of the Conference,

respectively. Congressmen Adam Clayton Powell, James Roosevelt, and Albert H. Quie served as Congressional Advisers to the Delegation.

South African Issue

Following the demonstration against South Africa at the 1963 International Labor Conference, pressures for its ouster from the Organization continued to mount. Although South Africa announced its withdrawal from the ILO in March 1964, in view of the ILO Constitution which provides that a member's withdrawal shall not take effect until 2 years from the date the notification of such intent has been received by the ILO Director General, that withdrawal will not become effective before March 1966. In consequence, pressures to take action against its policy of *apartheid* and to amend the ILO Constitution so as to permit the expulsion of South Africa did not abate.

The Committee on Questions Concerning South Africa, established by the November 1963 session of the Governing Body, met in January 1964. It recommended a Declaration concerning *apartheid* which outlined in detail the provisions of South African law that provided for discrimination on grounds of race in employment and occupation, and which called upon the Government to repeal all such provisions. It brought the whole weight of the ILO's constitutional machinery into play to insure compliance with ILO standards against such practices insofar as possible, and called upon South Africa to establish a policy of equal opportunity and treatment for all in employment and occupation, irrespective of race. The Declaration invited the ILO Governing Body to request South Africa, in accordance with its obligations under article 19(5)(e) of the ILO Constitution, to report annually on the position of its law and practice in regard to ILO Conventions and Recommendations dealing with freedom of association, penal sanctions, the abolition of forced labor, and elimination of discrimination in employment and occupation.

This Declaration was adopted by acclamation at the 1964 International Labor Conference. In addition to the Declaration, the Conference adopted two amendments (though they cannot enter into force until the necessary ratifications have been received) to the ILO Constitution. The first amendment would empower the Conference to expel or suspend from membership any member which has been expelled or suspended from membership of the United Nations. The United States supported this amendment, taking the position that the United Nations as the principal political organization should set the framework within which organizations in the U.N. system act on

essentially political issues. The amendment was adopted by a vote of 238 to 0, with 2 abstentions. It will go into effect if it is ratified or accepted by two-thirds of the ILO membership, including five of the ten states of chief industrial importance.

The second amendment to the Constitution would empower the Conference to suspend from participation in the Conference any member found by the United Nations to be flagrantly and persistently pursuing by its legislation a declared policy of racial discrimination such as *apartheid*. The U.S. Government opposed this amendment on the grounds that it was not consistent with the proposition that the United Nations should set the framework within which affiliated organizations act on political issues. Though this amendment was adopted by a vote of 179 (U.S. Worker) to 27 (U.S. Government) with 41 (U.S. Employer) abstentions, since government delegates of six of the ten states of chief industrial importance voted against the adoption of this amendment, it is unlikely that it will receive the necessary ratifications to go into effect.

Operational Programs of Technical Assistance

The United States has consistently supported the growth of ILO technical assistance activities. The activities financed from all sources—the U.N. Expanded Technical Assistance Program (EPTA—see page 118), the U.N. Special Fund (see page 118), the regular ILO budget, and funds in trust—increased from about \$10.9 million in 1963 to about \$12.2 million in 1964. The number of technical assistance expert missions increased from 724 in 1963 to 784 in 1964. About half (49.2 percent) of the technical assistance activity was devoted to manpower projects. The remainder was in the fields of labor conditions and administration (18 percent), productivity and management development (16.7 percent), cooperatives and small-scale industry (12.6 percent), and social security (3.5 percent). Geographically, the largest efforts were in Africa (31.5 percent), and Asia (30.4 percent), followed by Latin America (23.2 percent), the Near and Middle East (7.8 percent), Europe (4.3 percent), and inter-regionally (2.8 percent).

Human Rights Activities

The Declaration concerning *apartheid*, and its adoption by acclamation at the Conference, was a significant development in international action to promote basic human rights.

Another important step forward, in the use of international machinery for the protection and promotion of human rights, was Japan's agreement to the referral of a complaint of violation of trade union

rights to the Fact Finding and Conciliation Commission on Freedom of Association.

This machinery, jointly established by the ILO and the United Nations in 1950, provides for the examination of complaints, filed by workers or employers organizations, that governmental actions are contravening their rights of association. Such complaints are examined by a committee of the Governing Body, under carefully drawn procedures providing that both the complainant and the government are heard. It also provides that the case may, with the consent of the government concerned, be referred to a Fact Finding and Conciliation Commission to hear evidence, make an on-the-spot investigation, attempt conciliation, and submit a report, including recommendations.

The Government of Japan is the first government to consent to the referral of a case to the Commission since the machinery was established in 1950.

At its February 1964 session the Governing Body appointed the following Panel of the Fact Finding and Conciliation Commission: Chairman—Erik Dreyer (Denmark), former Permanent Secretary to the Danish Ministry of Social Affairs and former President of the State Mediation Board; Members—David Cole (United States), former Director of the United States Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, and Sir Arthur Tyndall (New Zealand), former Judge, New Zealand Court of Arbitration.

The Panel has held two sessions in Geneva, and heard 8 representatives of the complainant organizations and 12 witnesses representing the Japanese Government. It will hold a further session in Tokyo, early in 1965.

Standards Development

The 1964 International Labor Conference adopted six new instruments on international labor standards: a Convention and a Recommendation each on (1) employment policy, (2) social security, and (3) hygiene in commerce and offices. The basic aims of the standards on employment policy were freedom of choice of employment and equal opportunity for each worker irrespective of race, color, sex, religion, political opinion, national extraction, or social origin. The social security standards dealt with compensation for industrial accidents and occupational disease. They covered the following contingencies: a morbid condition, incapacity for work resulting therefrom as defined by national legislation, and total or partial loss of earning capacity and the loss of support by prescribed categories of beneficiaries resulting from the death of the breadwinner. Subject to prescribed conditions, the following benefits should apply: medical care and allied

benefits in respect of a morbid condition, and cash benefits in respect of contingencies specified in the Convention. The standards on commercial and office hygiene covered such matters as ventilation, lighting, temperature, drinking water, washing and sanitary facilities, underground or windowless premises, obnoxious or toxic substances, noise and vibration, and first aid.

The Conference also adopted conclusions to serve as the basis for final action in 1965 on standards relating to the employment of women with family responsibilities (see page 173) and the employment of young persons in underground mines.

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)

UNESCO, in 1964, dealt with the problem of initiating two new programs: eradication of illiteracy and the application of science and technology to economic and social development.

Thirteenth General Conference

The most important UNESCO conference during the year was the 13th General Conference, held in Paris, October 20–November 20, 1964, for the purpose of reaching decisions on program activities for 1965–66 and other policy issues.

In his opening speech Ambassador William Benton, chairman of the U.S. delegation to this Conference, emphasized the direct contribution to peace made by UNESCO activities. He stated that “. . . when UNESCO helps a young nation to plan soundly how to educate its young people, UNESCO is working for peace . . . when UNESCO assists a nation to adapt technology to help raise the standard of living, UNESCO is working for peace . . . when UNESCO stimulates international co-operation in oceanography, UNESCO is working for peace. As President Johnson said recently when he issued a proclamation making 1965 International Co-operation Year in the United States, ‘peace is the assignment of the century.’ ”

POLITICAL QUESTIONS

The Chinese representation question was resolved expeditiously by the General Conference. UNESCO's Credentials Committee, by a vote of 7 to 2, recommended that the General Conference adopt a resolution deciding to take no action on any proposal to change the representation of China at the session and finding the Chinese credentials to be in order. The General Conference adopted this resolution by a vote of 50 to 35, with 18 abstentions.

Seven delegations were absent at the time of the vote, and five did not vote because of nonpayment of dues. The vote demonstrated anew widespread support of the U.S. policy of seeking to avoid debate on political issues which should properly be discussed in the U.N. General Assembly.

At the request of the Soviet Union, an item had been added to the Conference agenda entitled "UNESCO's Task to Promote Peace and Peaceful Coexistence and Cooperation between States with Different Economic and Social Systems." Although the U.S.S.R. had tried to inject the propaganda phrase "peaceful coexistence" into UNESCO language on numerous previous occasions, it made an all-out effort at this Conference.

The United States and a number of Asian, Latin American, and European countries proposed that the Conference reject the politically partisan concept of "peaceful coexistence" and adopt instead a forward-looking, positive statement on peaceful cooperation. In a speech which clearly documented the relationship between "peaceful coexistence" and the Communist subversive and ideological struggle throughout the world, the U.S. Representative pointed out that the Soviet concept was ideologically unacceptable since it involved subversion and other Communist cold-war tactics in non-Communist countries. He called upon the UNESCO to adopt a statement on peaceful cooperation which could be accepted by all member states. After inconclusive debate, a small drafting committee was established which developed a compromise accepted by the General Conference to the effect that the term "peaceful coexistence" in Russian and French would always be translated into English and Spanish as "peaceful cooperation and living peacefully together."

The General Conference agreed to discontinue the biennial reports on what UNESCO is doing to "contribute to the attainment of independence by colonial countries and peoples." This report, which grew out of a request by the 12th General Conference and consisted of an enumeration of concrete programs carried out by UNESCO for the benefit of both dependent territories and newly independent countries, had provided the U.S.S.R. with an opportunity for propagandizing in the general debate.

The Conference approved by a vote of 66 to 22 (U.S.), with 5 abstentions a resolution cosponsored by Poland and Cameroon establishing a formula for invitations to the joint International Bureau of Education (IBE)-UNESCO International Conference on Public Education (ICPE), designed effectively to exclude the possibility of an invitation to Portugal, a member of the IBE but not of the UNESCO. The United States voted against the formula on the grounds that it was constitutionally unsound, in that it discriminates against IBE members

by arbitrarily denying them the full rights of participation in one of the most significant activities of their own organization. In taking the foregoing position, the United States made it clear that its position was based upon a concern for the maintenance of the constitutional integrity of international organizations, and was unrelated to Portugal's African policies on which the views of the United States were well known.

Another political debate arose in connection with the Cuban request, supported by the UNESCO Secretariat, to expand the activities of the existing UNESCO Regional Center for the Western Hemisphere, established in Havana before Castro's assumption of power. As originally put forward, this proposal would also have provided for the conversion in 1965-66 of the existing regional office into a pilot center on educational documentation for the whole of Latin America, and the establishment of a new documentation and cultural exchange center in Havana.

At the initiative of the Latin American countries, supported by the United States and others, the Conference agreed to postpone consideration of the proposal to establish a pilot center, and the resolution concerning a new documentation center was withdrawn. It was further agreed that the UNESCO Secretariat would consult all Latin American countries prior to making any further proposals for expansion of the activities of its existing center in Havana.

In the elections to the Executive Board two seats were lost by Western Europe and the "Old Commonwealth" to Africa and Asia. The new Board now consists of seven Western European countries, three Eastern European, seven African, three Middle Eastern, three Far Eastern, six Latin American, and the United States.

BUDGET

The final budget appropriation for the biennial 1965-66 regular program was established by the General Conference at \$48,857 million. This was several hundred thousand dollars greater than the budget which the Executive Board had recommended to the Conference. Consequently, the United States found it necessary to abstain in the final vote.

Education

A particularly significant educational development during the year was the recasting of UNESCO's proposed World Campaign for Universal Literacy. The idea of a world campaign, which the United States had opposed as unworkable and likely to lead to disillusion-

ment, was replaced by an experimental world literacy program based on a limited and selective strategy of pilot projects. This new approach was first discussed during the Abidjan Literacy Conference of African States in March 1964 where it was championed by the U.S. Observer Delegation. It received unanimous support from the African Ministers of Education Conference and was further developed by UNESCO's International Committee of Experts on Literacy. The United States strongly endorsed this approach, which calls for intensive pilot projects in no more than eight member states to explore the relation of adult literacy to economic and social development and to develop the best ways and means to carry out adult literacy work. This experimental phase, to be financed through extra-budgetary resources, largely from the U.N. Special Fund (see page 118) is to be followed by a second stage of careful study and analysis of results, after which, if the evidence warrants, a third stage of intensified international effort to promote adult literacy could be undertaken.

The International Institute for Educational Planning, an autonomous institute in Paris under UNESCO auspices of which an American educator, Dr. Philip Combs is Director, completed its first full year of activity. It conducted two seminars on educational planning, one dealing with Latin America and one on research needs. It also published a bibliography on educational planning and a directory of institutes conducting training in this field.

Another significant development in the education field was an agreement reached by the UNESCO and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD—see page 179) for joint endeavors in the education field.

With regard to U.S. bilateral assistance, the United States worked steadily to build a closer relationship between such assistance in education and programs sponsored by multilateral agencies, especially UNESCO. For example, five experts from UNESCO participated in a conference on the role of books in human development, sponsored by the United States Agency for International Development (AID) and American University in Washington, D.C., which was held at Airlie House near Washington in September 1964. The conference made several recommendations looking toward closer collaboration between the UNESCO and AID in the book field. Similarly, the Director of the UNESCO Secretariat's Division of Adult Literacy participated in a conference held for AID in May at Airlie House to clarify research approaches to illiteracy problems. Again, two UNESCO staff members participated in a meeting on development priorities in adult education in Latin America held for AID in September at Mexico City.

Natural Science and Technology

In 1964 the important cooperative scientific activities being developed under UNESCO, i.e., oceanography, hydrology, and seismology, continued to expand. In addition to the important oceanographic expeditions in the Indian Ocean, which were undertaken in 1964 under the cooperatively planned program of the International Oceanographic Commission and the UNESCO, cooperative investigations were initiated in the tropical Atlantic and agreement was reached on the development of plans to study the Kuroshio Current in the Pacific.

The plans for the establishment of the International Hydrological Decade (IHD), starting in 1965, were completed at an intergovernmental meeting in April 1964 and approved by the 13th General Conference in November. A coordinating Council, made up of 21 member states (including the United States), has been appointed. Countries interested in the IHD have established national committees to insure that information and results on national hydrological work will be available to the UNESCO Coordinating Council. At the request of the U.S. Department of State, the National Academy of Sciences in 1964 established the U.S. National Committee.

In 1964 UNESCO also arranged an intergovernmental meeting of experts in seismology and earthquake engineering which was attended by representatives from 40 countries, including a large delegation from the United States. These representatives discussed seismological observations and data, definition of seismic zones, earthquakes engineering, tsunami (earthquake induced tidal waves), warning and protection, and field studies of earthquakes. The result of these discussions was a series of resolutions recommending cooperative studies, seminars, and meetings under UNESCO auspices.

A substantial amount of UNESCO's resources is being devoted to problems of scientific and technological education. The National Science Foundation, because of its responsibility within the United States in this field, has supplied the UNESCO with full information on the U.S. program and furnished advisory assistance to the UNESCO group concerned with science teaching and education.

The 1963 report on *U.S. Participation in the UN* drew attention to the greater interest which the U.S. scientific community was demonstrating in UNESCO scientific activities. In 1964 this trend continued. The new ideas and advisory assistance provided by U.S. individuals and organizations have had a very marked effect on the shaping of the 1965-66 UNESCO program in science and technology which was adopted by the 13th General Conference with enthusiastic approval.

Cultural Activities

In line with the general emphasis in the UNESCO on educational development, considerable attention in the cultural activities program was given to the development of libraries and archives. It was recognized that no educational, economic, social, or technological development can take place without bibliographic and documentary resources. With an American member on the UNESCO Advisory Committee for Bibliography, Documentation and Terminology, the United States was especially active in encouraging member states and organizations to utilize UNESCO assistance in establishing necessary services.

Emphasis in the program was also placed upon the preservation of cultural property, especially through an International Campaign for Monuments, designed to point out needs and encourage member states to set up preservation programs. At the invitation of the UNESCO the United States participated in the Campaign through its own American Landmarks Celebration, organized by the National Trust for Historic Preservation and launched by Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson. The aim of the Celebration, in the words of Mrs. Johnson, was "to awaken and renew an interest and pride in the greatness of our vast inheritance and the vital necessity of its preservation in this changing world." Forty-one states took an active part in the Celebration.

A major activity of the United States in the cultural activities program continued to be its participation in the International Campaign to Preserve the Nubian Monuments threatened with destruction as a result of the construction of the Aswan High Dam. In 1964 the United States assisted the UNESCO and the United Arab Republic in deciding on a feasible and practicable method to preserve the temples of Abu Simbel, the largest and most important monuments in the endangered area. The United States made a contribution to the project in Egyptian pounds equivalent to \$12 million. The operation, the cost of which is estimated at \$36 million, entails cutting the two temples into great blocks, and removing and reconstructing them on a site above the new water level of the Nile.

As a result of the foresight and initiative of a group of distinguished American craftsmen, the first World Congress of Craftsmen was held in New York in June 1964 to set up a World Crafts Council. The Council will assist greatly in the UNESCO program for encouraging the arts and crafts in education and the exchange of information in this area.

Much of UNESCO's activities in the humanities, arts, and letters is carried out by UNESCO-supported nongovernmental organiza-

tions. Such organizations include the International Council on Philosophy and Humanistic Studies, the International Theatre Institute, the International Council of Museums, and the International Federation of Library Associations. In most of these, American members are extremely active and are making every effort to use the organizations to further professional relations with their counterparts around the world. During the past biennium they increased their efforts to enlarge the scope of their respective organizations, and to bring the peoples of the new African nations into active participation.

Mass Communication

The UNESCO assisted member states in initiating or expanding mass media facilities and in the application of new media techniques in education. One such activity supported by the United States was the establishment of a pilot project in Senegal for the production, utilization, and assessment of various audiovisual materials and media for adult education and educational television in particular.

The UNESCO and the Stanford University Press jointly published a study of *Mass Communication and National Development* prepared by Dr. Wilbur Schramm, Director of the Institute for Communication Research at Stanford University. This publication synthesized the results of three regional meetings convened by UNESCO on expansion of information media in developing countries and examined the role of such media in promoting economic and social progress.

Exchange of Persons

Eleven grants for study in the United States were awarded under the UNESCO Graduate Fellowship Program for Africa. This project, jointly sponsored by the Department of State and UNESCO, is designed to strengthen university staffs in the newly independent states of Africa.

U.S. National Commission for UNESCO

The U.S. National Commission for UNESCO was created by Congress in 1946 to help the United States carry out its responsibilities with respect to UNESCO. Its primary functions are to advise the Government on UNESCO programs, to inform the American public as to the work of the organization, and to stimulate activities by voluntary organizations on behalf of UNESCO.

Among its activities in 1964, the Commission provided the Department of State with discussion papers prepared by distinguished authorities. These papers concerned such topics as the quest for

peace, the problem of freedom of expression in the arts, and the free flow of information. Technical committees of the Commission reviewed UNESCO's 1965-66 programs in education, natural and social sciences, and the cultural activities and sent their recommendations for consideration by the U.S. delegation to the UNESCO General Conference in Paris. An *ad hoc* committee of the Commission examined the development of UNESCO in relation to the U.N. system as a whole, focusing on the problem of staffing of international organizations and in particular on the recruitment of Americans for UNESCO service.

In cooperation with the New York State Education Department, the Commission sponsored a conference on strengthening the role of the states in the teaching of non-Western cultures. A report of the meeting entitled *Teacher and Curriculum* was published by the Commission and mailed to key educators. Intellectual cooperation by international scholastic and professional non-governmental organizations was the subject of a seminar sponsored by the Commission and the American Council of Learned Societies. The report of the seminar, published by the Commission, indicated that nongovernmental organizations have great potential for furthering U.S. objectives in the UNESCO.

As a contribution to the forthcoming International Cooperation Year (see page 115), the Commission published, with the cosponsorship of 41 national organizations, *Mind Your World* a citizen's guidebook describing spontaneous actions by individuals, groups and communities in the United States in promoting international understanding.

Other publications of the Commission during the year included the monthly *Newsletter*, second printings of the illustrated brochure *The American Interest in UNESCO* and *UNESCO in a Decisive Decade*, which gave a full account of Commission recommendations on the UNESCO program and Commission activities, particularly with respect to the U.N. Decade of Development (see page 15).

With an interest in improving the relationship between the UNESCO and American universities, the Commission sponsored a panel discussion by four outstanding educators and initiated further measures to develop interest in universities and colleges in UNESCO programs.

In fulfillment of UNESCO's mandate to promote the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (see page 172), the Commission distributed thousands of copies of Human Rights Day flyers, pamphlets, posters and fact sheets in response to requests from the public. Proclamations by the U.S. President and a number of State Governors marked observances of Human Rights Week throughout the United States.

Preparations were begun for the Commission's 10th National Conference which will be held at Kansas City, Mo., in November 1965. "Man, Knowledge and Freedom in International Development" will be the theme.

World Health Organization (WHO)

The United States continued its active support of the World Health Organization (WHO) during 1964 in its efforts to obtain the highest level of health by all people—the basic objective of the organization. These efforts, as in past years, were directed toward three purposes: to provide assistance to countries for dealing with their immediate health needs, to help them in their efforts to strengthen their local and national health services, and to serve as an effective channel of communication on technical and scientific information relating to medicine and public health.

In view of the disparity of health conditions among the developing countries and the differences in their most pressing problems, the organization's assistance must of necessity cover a wide range of subjects. Although recognizing this situation, the Surgeon General of the U.S. Public Health Service, during the World Health Assembly in March, laid stress on the importance of concentrating efforts on the most serious problems which are common to many countries, especially on those for which practical solutions were available. He observed that the reduction of these problems to the point where they could be controlled by local health authorities would contribute not only to the well-being of the citizens of these countries but also to the economic and social development of the countries concerned.

The Surgeon General expressed satisfaction with the progress made in the malaria eradication campaign, which continues to be the organization's first priority. An additional 115 million people were brought under protection during the year. The population of areas freed of endemic malaria is now over 800 million or better than 52 percent of the people for whom the statistics were available in the original malarious areas of the world. President Johnson renewed the U.S. pledge of continued support for this program in his health message to Congress in 1964.

On the other hand, the United States regretted that further advance had not been made in the campaign against smallpox and urged again that WHO make a greater effort to stimulate national programs where they are needed. The Health Assembly requested its Director General to prepare a comprehensive plan for worldwide eradication of smallpox and to report to the next sessions of the WHO Executive Board and the Assembly.

With respect to the health problems of countries which would require long-range solutions, the U.S. Surgeon General singled out the development of community water supply systems as perhaps the most important, since the existence of an adequate water supply was essential for the economic development of an area and the health of the population. He urged the organization to continue its assistance in this field to develop national and local water supply administrations, carry out the preliminary engineering and feasibility studies necessary to attract funds from lending agencies, and train personnel. Through interagency meetings on water resources development and direct consultations with other organizations, the WHO community water supply program has been coordinated with the work of other U.N. organs. Seventy-one countries received help from the WHO for the purpose of improving their water supply during the year.

Medical research is another program the benefits of which for the most part will be more fully realized in the future. The WHO initiated nearly 200 new collaborative research projects, established 20 new reference centers, and convened more than 40 scientific groups. Reports of several of these groups were published in the organization's Technical Report Series. Included among the scientific groups were those on health communications, epidemiology, and biomedical research. These groups were invited by the WHO Director General to review his proposal for a World Health Research Center in the light of discussions which had occurred at the Executive Board, the Health Assembly, and the Advisory Committee on Medical Research. One of the functions assigned to these groups was to delineate activities in their special fields which might be undertaken by such a Center during the first years of its existence. The U.S. Public Health experts generally agreed with the Advisory Committee's views that the research activities of the WHO in the fields of health communications and epidemiology should be expanded. It was their view, however, that biomedical research should be left to national institutions. Almost all of the research conducted by the organization has been related to its field activities. For example, during 1964, 22 laboratories were assisted in investigating the resistance to insecticides which has handicapped malaria eradication and other programs.

Illustrative of services to countries concerning disease problems were those directed at tuberculosis, yaws and other treponematoses, and virus diseases. The WHO sent medical officers, statisticians, public health nurses, and laboratory and X-ray technicians to help 39 countries assess the extent of their tuberculosis problem, to evaluate national control programs, and to train key personnel. The WHO treponematoses advisory team visited countries in Asia and Africa and worked in cooperation with serological reference centers in Paris

and Copenhagen, Denmark, to assess the extent and duration of yaws following mass campaigns. Twenty-seven international and regional virus reference centers, including several in the United States, have now been designated. Among the new centers designated in 1964 were the WHO Reference Center for Arthropod-borne Viruses of the Department of Epidemiology and Public Health at the Yale School of Medicine in New Haven, Conn.; the first WHO Reference Center for Human Rickettsia at the Rocky Mountain Laboratory in Hamilton, Mont.; and the first WHO Reference Center for Trachoma at the Francis I. Proctor Foundation for Research in Ophthalmology in San Francisco, Calif. The WHO International Reference Center for Respiratory Diseases, other than influenza, at the National Institutes of Health in Bethesda, Md., is participating in a study initiated in 12 countries. Samples of serum taken in both the acute and convalescent stages of illness of children admitted to hospitals with severe respiratory diseases are examined to determine the most common viral cause of such illnesses in these countries.

Another WHO effort which was concerned with a specific disease problem was the sponsorship of a symposium, at which 17 countries were represented, to consider possible steps to reduce the incidence of infectious hepatitis which had recently increased in Europe. Because of the high morbidity from hemorrhagic fever, which became an endemic and epidemic menace in the countries of the Far East, the WHO convened an interregional seminar on mosquito-borne hemorrhagic fever at Bangkok, Thailand, in October with a view to improving the diagnosis of this fever and determining the possibility of developing a vaccine.

In terms of expenditures, assistance designed to build up and strengthen national and local health services was probably of greater importance than assistance related to communicable disease programs. Assistance to develop health services consisted of a variety of activities and programs in such fields as public health administration; education and training of professional, as well as auxiliary, personnel; national health planning, national health laboratories; and community development. For example, the WHO continued its assistance to Mexico for a program in public health administration which has been progressively extended to assure the maintenance of health services in each of nine states, and to Afghanistan's Institute of Public Health for training, evaluation, and research. Thirty students graduated from the Higher Institute of Nursing which was established in Alexandria, United Arab Republic, and which has been maintained with WHO assistance to raise the standards of nursing in the United Arab Republic and other countries of the Eastern Mediterranean area.

Technical assistance was given to 24 countries in organizing and expanding laboratory services and in training laboratory personnel. The United States provided funds for WHO assistance to health planning programs in five African countries. The Pan American Health Organization, which serves as the WHO regional organization for the Americas, sponsored courses in national health planning at the Johns Hopkins School of Public Health in Baltimore, Md., and at the Latin American Institute for Economic and Social Planning in Santiago, Chile.

In accordance with the objective of having local health services take over the responsibility of categorical programs when they reach the maintenance stage, the WHO helped Togo, Kenya, Liberia, and the Malagasy Republic to organize rural health services. The yaws program in Thailand was integrated into the rural health service in 40-odd provinces.

The WHO also provided 245 professors, lecturers, and other members of teaching staffs for the training of professional and auxiliary personnel in various institutions of six countries. Fellowships were awarded to almost 2,400 individuals for study abroad and to over 650 for participation in educational meetings organized under WHO auspices. Fifty Congolese finished their medical courses at French universities and returned to the Congo, thus increasing the number of doctors trained abroad during the last 2 years to more than 100.

The WHO performs a coordinating function and serves as an instrumentality through which the health authorities of several countries can learn and consider what to do about current health problems. Seminars, conferences, and other types of intercountry projects are arranged for this purpose. These constitute a major part of WHO activities carried out in Europe through the Regional Office at Copenhagen. For example, the WHO arranged a symposium at Moscow on the toxicology of drugs, a seminar on prevention and control of cardiovascular diseases at Bucharest, and a seminar on mental illnesses at London. It organized a symposium on the application of automatic data processing of health statistics and epidemiological studies and a conference on public health administration for an exchange of views on new trends in health services and methods of dealing with new problems.

The principal developments in the services which the WHO performs for the benefit of all member states included the preparations for an international conference on revision of the International Statistical Classification of Diseases, Injuries and Causes of Death, which is due to meet in 1965, and the formulation of a standard form for reporting serious adverse drug reactions under the so-called early warning system

which was being established pursuant to a Health Assembly resolution of 1963. Notifications of the outbreak of quarantinable diseases and recommendations of nonproprietary names for pharmaceutical preparations were continued in accordance with the terms of agreements in force. The WHO assisted public health authorities of several states, including Morocco and the Philippines, to strengthen their statistical services in order to enable them to fulfill their international reporting obligations as well as to improve local records by insuring complete and accurate registration of births and deaths.

In 1964 the organization carried out activities financed from funds administered directly or indirectly at a total cost of \$58.4 million. Of this amount, \$34.7 million was from contributions assessed against members. The United States contributed \$10.8 million or 31.2 percent of the assessed budget.

U.S. nationals participated in 15 of the 18 expert committee meetings which were convened during the year, and more than 350 U.S. nationals served on one or more of the 44 expert advisory panels in the various fields of WHO activities.

Article 7 of the WHO Constitution provides that the Health Assembly may suspend the voting privileges and services of a member which fails to meet its financial obligations to the organization or "in other exceptional circumstances." In 1964 the Health Assembly invoked this penalty clause for the first time to suspend the voting privileges of the Union of South Africa because of its deliberate practice of *apartheid*.

International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO)

The United States continued to play a leading role in the work of the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) during 1964. In December 1964 Directors of Civil Aviation of ICAO member countries were invited to participate in a special U.S. program celebrating the 20th anniversary of the signing of the Convention on International Civil Aviation, which provided for the establishment of the ICAO.

At a joint meeting of the ICAO Meteorology and Operations Division and the World Meteorological Organization (WMO—see page 214) Commission for Aeronautical Meteorology, held at Paris in January and February 1964, the United States and 48 other countries made recommendations designed to reduce the details of weather reporting which a pilot in command of an airplane has previously been required to make during flight. Improvements were suggested in weather charts and related documents and in weather information supplied to pilots and aviation ground personnel. The meeting dealt with a system of

furnishing weather information at airports, particularly with regard to the reporting of wind, including gustiness near the ground and its variations in the lowest few hundred feet, and of the height of low clouds. The meeting also suggested action to improve meteorological research, training, and use of facilities, and stated principles for the orderly development of a system covering the dissemination of area forecasts. The latter system is intended to share the work of forecasting for long air routes, to assist the less advanced meteorological services, and to avoid unnecessary duplication by the pooling of forecasting services. This meeting also recommended that the ICAO study operational requirements of general aviation in order to improve meteorological procedures for private business and pleasure aircraft.

The United States and 27 other ICAO member countries participated in the fourth session of the ICAO Statistics Division at Como, Italy, in June 1964. The most important item on the agenda was consideration of the Final Report of the ICAO Panel on Origin and Destination Statistics. The Panel had been studying the problems of collecting statistics on the origin and destination of air passengers. The Division concluded that an ICAO system of O and D statistics is technically feasible, observing that the two main systems considered by the Panel (the U.S. "centralized" system and the French "airport" system) differ not only in method but also in the scope of the information they can provide and in the coverage and reliability of the data. In order that ICAO might finally reach a decision as to whether or not it should adopt a system of O and D statistics and the system to be used, the Division recommended that a questionnaire be circulated to states to determine the extent and nature of their needs for such statistics. Replies to the questionnaire are due in ICAO before March 31, 1965.

The United States introduced a new concept at the 15th session of the ICAO Legal Committee at Montreal in September 1964. Since the Committee is currently working on three different subjects involving regulation of liability—revision of the Rome Convention of 1952, which regulates the liability of an operator to people on the ground; a draft convention on aerial collisions; and the question of liability of air traffic control agencies—the United States proposed that if feasible all three subjects be combined in a new treaty. This proposal was approved for study in connection with the future work program of the ICAO Legal Committee.

The fourth ICAO African-Indian Ocean Regional Air Navigation meeting held at Rome in November and December 1964 came to a successful conclusion although certain African states objected to including in the table of aircraft operations routes between their territories and points in South Africa, Portugal, and Portuguese

territories. The meeting approved a revised technical plan for aircraft operations in Africa over the next 5 years. Detailed proposals were approved for airports, ground aids, search-and-rescue, and meteorological and communications facilities—all of which will be needed to serve the growing volume and faster speeds of air traffic in Africa. For the first time, distance-measuring equipment was recommended for the region to improve the guidance and control of air traffic, particularly the departure and arrival of large jet aircraft. Terminal area radars were recommended for Dakar and Cairo airports. The meeting stressed the importance of flight testing of radio-navigational aids and recommended that this be done by joint effort as economically as possible. The region's communications network was completely revised so that a network of some 90 radio or landline teletypewriter circuits and a few manual circuits will be linked to the worldwide network. The meeting also extensively replanned the aeronautical mobile service by which communication is maintained with aircraft in flight, and recommended facilities for oral communication at appropriate ranges with airport control towers, approach controls, and area-control or flight-information centers.

Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization (IMCO)

Two important institutional questions affecting the Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization (IMCO) were debated and settled during 1964. In both instances the United States played a major role in negotiating an acceptable solution. On the basis of a resolution adopted May 28, 1964, by the IMCO Council at its 11th session, the U.N. Economic and Social Council on July 21, 1964, accepted IMCO as a member of the U.N. Technical Assistance Board (TAB—see page 121). The U.N. Technical Assistance Committee recommended and the General Assembly approved an allocation of \$25,000 for 1965 to cover overhead expenses from the resources of the U.N. Expanded Program of Technical Assistance (EPTA—see page 118). For the time being, the U.N. Secretariat has agreed to administer technical assistance projects assigned to the IMCO by the TAB.

The second institutional issue grew out of a demand by the developing countries for the enlargement of the IMCO Council and a change in the procedure for selecting its membership. After extended debate at the third IMCO Assembly in 1963 and at Council sessions in 1964, an extraordinary session of the IMCO Assembly was convened by petition of one-third of its membership pursuant to article 14 of the IMCO Convention.

The extraordinary session of the Assembly was held in London in September 1964. At the outset of the meeting, strong positions were taken by members that wanted no changes in the present procedures and members that supported changes so radical as to endanger the continued membership of the largest providers and users of shipping services. Paul F. Geren, the U.S. Representative, had a leading role in negotiating an amendment to the IMCO Convention which was unanimously adopted by the Assembly. The amended text enlarges the Council from 16 to 18 members, provides for election of all members by the Assembly, and adds geographic representation as one of the principles to be followed in electing one of the three categories composed of 6 members each. However, the Assembly is directed, in electing the first two categories, to select member states having the largest interest in providing international shipping services and the largest interest in international seaborne trade.

While the two institutional issues were the main focus of the 1964 Council and Assembly sessions, the substantive work of the IMCO went forward in its Maritime Safety Committee, subcommittees, and working groups. Preparations were nearly completed on a Draft Convention on Facilitation of International Maritime Traffic to be considered by an international conference in March 1965. Robert V. McIntyre, U.S. Deputy Commissioner for Customs, served as the U.S. expert at meetings of an IMCO Expert Group on Facilitation of Travel and Transport established to prepare a draft convention.

A partial listing of IMCO subcommittee and expert working groups which met in 1964 gives an indication of the number of important maritime safety subjects under consideration by the organization: Sub-committee on Fire Protection; Working Group on the Carriage of Dangerous Goods by Sea; Sub-committee on Subdivision and Stability Problems; Sub-committee on the International Code of Signals; Working Group on Bulk Cargoes; Panel of Experts on Stability of Fishing Vessels; Working Group on Intact Stability of Ships; Working Group on Watertight Subdivision and Damage Stability of Passenger and Cargo Ships; and the Sub-committee on Tonnage Measurement.

In addition to its independent work, IMCO participated in a meeting of a Joint International Labor Organization (ILO)/IMCO Committee on the Training of Masters, Officers and Seamen in the Use of Aids to Navigation held at Geneva in December 1964.

The United States provided experts and representatives to all of the IMCO meetings in 1964 except that of the Joint ILO/IMCO Committee. However, the United States will participate in the consideration

of that Committee's recommendations at the IMCO Maritime Safety Committee in 1965.

As the year came to a close it was not clear whether the IMCO would have a part to play in questions arising out of the U.N. Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD—see page 127).

International Telecommunication Union (ITU)

The Administrative Council of the International Telecommunication Union (ITU), on which 25 countries (including the United States) are represented, held its 1964 session in Geneva from April 12 to May 18. The Council is responsible for taking all steps to facilitate the implementation by members and associate members of the provisions of the ITU Convention; the international radio, telegraph, and telephone regulations; the decisions of the Plenipotentiary Conference; and, where appropriate, the decisions of other conferences and meetings of the ITU. It is responsible for assuring the efficient coordination of the work of the Union.

The Council made preparations for the ITU Plenipotentiary Conference to be held in Montreux, Switzerland, beginning in September 1965, as well as for the observance of the centenary of the Union in connection with this Conference. Arrangements were confirmed by the Council for close collaboration between the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA—see page 140) and the ITU to further the development of telecommunications facilities in the less developed countries of Africa.

The Council considered the Report of the Panel of Experts, a special study group which had been appointed to study ways and means to reduce radio operation interference in the high frequency portion of the radio spectrum between 4 and 27.5 megacycles. The Council adopted a resolution inviting members of the ITU to implement the Panel's recommendations regarding radio services. In addition it referred the recommendations of the Panel to the International Frequency Registration Board and the International Consultative Committees. The Council decided to consider further at a future meeting recommendations suggested by the Panel for inclusion in the agenda of an item concerning an Administrative Radio Conference.

The Council felt that it would be of great value for all members to be kept informed of the development of space radio communications. Members were therefore requested to submit annually to the ITU Secretary General reports on progress in this field made in their countries. These reports will then be distributed to all members. They will also enable the Council to determine when to recommend the

convening of an Extraordinary Administrative Radio Conference to work out further agreements for the international regulation of the use of radio frequency bands allocated for space radio communications.

The ITU submitted its third report on telecommunication and the peaceful uses of outer space to the U.N. Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space (see page 17) and the U.N. Economic and Social Council. The report provided a further account of the results of the Extraordinary Administrative Radio Conference on space radio communications held in Geneva in 1963.

In accordance with the invitation by the Council in 1963, the International Frequency Registration Board organized seminars as appropriate to deal with the practical aspects of organization and establishment of radio services, the framing of national regulations pertaining to the operation of these services, and with means for insuring the observances of related international regulations. The Board also convened a seminar in Geneva from May 11 to 22, 1964, on Frequency Management and the Use of the Radio Frequency Spectrum.

This seminar gave particular attention to such subjects as the Radio Regulations and procedure for the selection, assignment, notification, and registration of frequencies; technical examinations to ascertain the probability of harmful interferences between stations of all radio communication services; frequency planning for the various services; organization and operation of monitoring services; siting of stations; choice of equipment; treatment of harmful interference; space communications; and special assistance to members.

There are two Consultative Committees of the ITU: the International Radio Consultative Committee (CCIR), which studies and makes recommendations on technical radio matters and operating procedures, and the International Telegraph and Telephone Consultative Committee (CCITT), which studies and makes recommendations concerning technical operating questions and tariff matters relating to telegraphy, facsimile, and telephony. These Consultative Committees are organized into a number of study groups each concerned with a specialized area of communications. The Consultative Committees meet in plenary assemblies at intervals of about 3 years to consider the results of the work of the study groups, adopt recommendations on reports on the studies undertaken, and draw up new questions requiring study.

During 1964 the study groups of the CCIR worked principally by correspondence and agreed on their schedule of meetings for 1965, in preparation for the 11th CCIR plenary assembly to be held in Oslo, Norway, in 1966. Work on technical questions was concentrated for the most part at the national level. The United States along with other members was engaged in developing responses to questions

assigned to the 14 CCIR study groups. Among the questions to which intensive study was given in 1964 were those resulting from the decisions of the ITU Space Radio Conference held in 1963, particularly those involving sharing of frequency bands between the communication satellites services and terrestrial microwave relay systems; access of communication satellites to a multiplicity of users; developments in radio astronomy; recording standards for film, video and sound broadcasting; and broadcasting by means of satellite. In preparation for its meeting in Vienna in 1965 where decisions are expected to be reached concerning standards to facilitate international exchange of programs, the CCIR study group on television met in London in February 1964 and reviewed questions concerning color television standards.

The third plenary assembly of the CCITT was held in Geneva from May 25 to June 26, 1964. A substantial increase in attendance by both representatives of commercial organizations and delegates of the member countries of the ITU points up the growing interest in and importance of the work of the CCITT.

This plenary assembly completed studies for the extension of automatic telephone and telex services throughout the world. In this connection, a standard intercontinental signalling system was adopted and it was agreed to study the question of introducing a more modern system. Operating rules for the intercontinental service were laid down. Worldwide routing and numbering plans were approved. The next plenary assembly will be held in Buenos Aires in 1968.

The first of two sessions of the Extraordinary Administrative Aeronautical Radio Conference took place from January 27 to February 20, 1964. The task of this Conference is to revise an existing plan for the worldwide allotment of high frequency communication channels which are used by aircraft flying air routes throughout the world. The first session laid down the engineering principles for the use of frequencies. It also agreed on the procedures and forms for the collection and analysis of aircraft operating statistics which will be needed for the revision of the existing plan. The second session of this Conference is scheduled to be held in 1966.

A Conference in which the United States did not participate, but which is of significance to the United States in connection with its participation in ITU matters, was the African LF/MF Broadcasting Conference which convened in Geneva on October 13, 1964. The Conference immediately voted to exclude the delegations of Portugal and South Africa. Viewing the Conference's action as *ultra vires*, 24 delegations, including those of Portugal and South Africa, withdrew from the Conference the following day. On October 15 the Conference Secretariat withdrew its services, basing this action on

the decision of the Conference to exclude members entitled to participate in its proceedings; the Secretariat observed that the Conference's decision constituted a breach of the ITU Convention. The remaining delegations, in a meeting on October 19, decided to suspend the work of the Conference *sine die*.

A meeting of the Plan Committee for Africa initially arranged for Addis Ababa in November 1964 was transferred to Geneva and scheduled to be held in January 1965. However, at the request of the African countries involved, this meeting was postponed further without fixing a definite date.

Universal Postal Union (UPU)

The purpose of the Universal Postal Union (UPU) is "the development of communications between nations, by an effective operation of the postal service and the attainment of the high aims of international collaboration in cultural, social and economic spheres."

The UPU held its 15th Congress in Vienna during May and June 1964. A number of U.S. proposals were adopted in whole or in part. One U.S. proposal, first presented in 1952 and again in 1955, is embodied in the new Constitution and Convention for the UPU, which gives a greater degree of permanency to the Convention by separating statutory and organic provisions from those that are primarily technical or regulatory.

Action taken by the United States resulted in approval by the Congress of the use of multiple languages for the documents of the UPU. These will now be furnished in any language for which a request is made and at the expense of those countries making the request.

The Vienna Congress rejected proposals to replace the Republic of China with the Chinese Communist regime. Soviet efforts to denigrate the Federal Republic of Germany were stymied, and its right to represent Germany upheld. After South Africa was illegally barred from participation in the Congress on the basis of an African initiative, action was taken to permit it to sign the various agreements concluded at the Congress and to remain a member in good standing.

At the Vienna Congress, the U.S. Representative ended his term of office as chairman of the Consultative Committee on Postal Studies (CCPS), a Committee established to conduct studies on an international basis and advise members of the Union on technical, operational, and economic problems of interest to the postal service. The report of the activities of the CCPS since 1957 was approved unan-

imously by the Congress which expressed its appreciation for the work so effectively carried out by the United States.

The United States, as one of its 26 members, will continue to participate in the work of the Management Council, established to carry out the 5-year study program of the Consultative Committee on Postal Studies.

During 1964, the United States again was eligible for membership in the Executive Council (formerly called the Executive and Liaison Committee) of the UPU and was elected unanimously. The Council, which has 27 members, meets annually to carry out its functions of assuring the efficient operation of the UPU between Congresses and supervising the work of the International Bureau, the secretariat of the Union.

The UPU offers technical assistance to postal administrations of the Union through the U.N. Expanded Program of Technical Assistance (EPTA—see page 118). The United States has cooperated fully in this effort by making its facilities available to students and officials of numerous postal administrations. It has established courses of study and familiarization for an ever-increasing number of visitors and trainees studying under grants established by AID, under the EPTA, and the UPU-assisted Program of Direct Technical Assistance among postal administrations. Technical information on postal operations was also furnished directly to a great number of postal administrations at their request.

Through its membership on the Executive Council of the UPU and the Management Council of the Consultative Committee on Postal Studies, the United States continues its policy of cooperating fully in the efforts being made to improve postal communications throughout the world.

World Meteorological Organization (WMO)

The World Meteorological Organization (WMO) facilitates worldwide cooperation in the field of meteorology and hydrometeorology through networks of observation stations, meteorological centers, international exchange systems, research, and training. The World Meteorological Congress establishes regulations relating to meteorological practice and fixes the policy, program, and budget of the organization.

Particular emphasis has been placed on the responsibilities of the WMO resulting from the 16th and 17th General Assembly resolutions in the field of outer space. The first report of the WMO on the Advancement of Atmospheric Sciences and their Application in the Light of Developments in Outer Space in 1962 outlined the elements

of the World Weather Watch envisaged as a cooperative global meteorological observing and prediction system.

The third report of the WMO on outer space in 1964 set forth the developments underway to lay the requisite groundwork for the establishment of a World Weather Watch under the aegis of the WMO. Consideration was given to the establishment of World Weather Centers, the possible utilization of regional centers, the extensive use of weather information from satellites, and the need for a much more efficient telecommunication system. Related to these developments were studies of the most efficient organization of facilities for communications, analysis, and warnings based on national systems already in existence, and the training of meteorologists to use weather information from satellites. Careful attention was given to the problem of implementation of a worldwide network of conventional reporting stations required to supplement information from weather satellites.

Referring to the potentialities of the proposed World Weather Watch, President Johnson stated at commencement exercises at the College of the Holy Cross, Worcester, Mass., on June 10, 1964:

. . . we will move ahead with plans to devise a world-wide weather system—using satellites and facilities of all industrialized countries. The space age has given us unparalleled capacity to predict the course of weather. By working together, on a global basis, we can take new strides toward coping with the historic enemies of storm and drought and flood.

Emphasizing his continuing support for international cooperation in weather matters, the President, in a letter to Secretary of Commerce Luther H. Hodges on October 23, stated:

. . . we have over the past few years witnessed a substantial increase in international cooperation in weather matters. The nations of the world are exchanging meteorological data and pooling their activities to a greater extent than ever before to provide early warnings of severe storms and other calamities of nature, to further the safety and efficiency of air and sea travel, and to promote industry, commerce, and agriculture within their own borders. The most recent significant event in international weather cooperation has been the agreement among the member nations of the World Meteorological Organization to accelerate the development of a World Weather System. When the System is brought into full operation, it will bring substantial benefits both to our own country and to the less developed nations of the world. I have pledged the cooperation of the United States in the development of the System because of its importance to us and to the world at large.

To insure that the United States will continue to make a significant contribution to international meteorological activities, the President asked Secretary Hodges to bring the interested Federal departments and agencies into closer consultation and coordination with regard to international activities in meteorology and the formulation of U.S. international meteorological policies and programs.

Secretary Hodges accordingly established a committee of representatives of the Department of State, the Department of Commerce, the Department of Defense, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, the Federal Aviation Agency, and the National Science Foundation for this purpose.

At the same time that the President released his letter of October 23 to Secretary Hodges, he announced that agreement had been reached with the Soviet Union for the reciprocal exchange of weather information through direct communications facilities established between Washington and Moscow. Although this agreement concerned the exchange of such information gathered by satellites, for a short initial period conventional data will be exchanged. The President expressed the hope that other members of the WMO may eventually participate in the exchange of data over this weather link.

The WMO Fourth Congress, which met in 1963, agreed that two World Weather Centers of the proposed World Weather Watch should be located in Moscow and Washington. A third center is expected to be located in the Southern Hemisphere. On December 31, 1964, Dr. J. Herbert Hollomon, Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Science and Technology, announced the opening of the World Weather Center in Washington. Dr. George P. Cressman, Director of the U.S. Weather Bureau's National Meteorological Service, was named the first Director of this Center.

To give adequate focus to both the operational and research aspects of the proposed World Weather Watch, the WMO Fourth Congress had established an Advisory Committee consisting of 12 highly qualified scientists and experts selected by the WMO in consultation with the International Council of Scientific Unions. The United States is represented on the Committee by Dr. Cressman, who was elected Chairman, and Dr. Walter O. Roberts, Director of the National Center for Atmospheric Research, Boulder, Colorado.

At its first session in January 1964, the Committee selected a number of high priority research projects in atmospheric sciences to which particular attention is to be given by the Committee. It called attention to studies underway on these subjects by technical commissions of the WMO such as the Commission for Aerology, the Commission for Maritime Meteorology, the Commission for Synoptic Meteorology, and the Commission for Instruments and Methods of Observation.

At its 16th session in Geneva, May 26-June 12, 1964, the WMO Executive Committee, of which Dr. Robert M. White, Chief of the U.S. Weather Bureau, is a member, stated that it considered that the planning, development, and implementation of the World Weather

Watch should be the main task of the WMO, its constituent bodies, and the WMO Secretariat during the coming years.

The Committee urged member states to cooperate fully in carrying out experiments and feasibility studies on the various components of the World Weather Watch and to provide expert advice and assistance to the WMO Secretary General in the plans for the World Weather Watch.

The Committee also stressed the important role of the Planning Unit established in the WMO Secretariat by the Fourth Congress. This Unit works closely with the WMO Advisory Committee and under the direction of the WMO Secretary General. An American, Dr. Gerald Barger, formerly Director of the U.S. National Weather Records Center, Asheville, North Carolina, is Chief of the Planning Unit.

Following the postal ballot approval by WMO members of the proposed plan for the New Development Fund in the amount of \$1,500,000 for the 4-year fiscal period 1964-67, a panel established by the Executive Committee allocated funds in three main fields: (1) the improvement of meteorological facilities in different parts of the world, (2) planning studies for the World Weather Watch, and (3) education and training.

Projects being supported from this Fund will improve the flow of information between the Northern and Southern Hemispheres. Assistance was provided to telecommunication centers in Brasilia, Singapore, and Nairobi.

Projects were also approved which will enable upper air meteorological observations to be made at certain key stations. The main gaps in the world network of weather observations are over oceanic areas where no stationary weather ships exist and where meteorological reports from merchant ships are scarce.

Three technical commissions of the WMO held sessions in 1964. They generally meet once during each 4-year fiscal period. The Commission for Aeronautical Meteorology held its third session in Paris January 21 to February 15. At the same time it held a simultaneous session with the Meteorology and Operations Division of the International Civil Aviation Organization. Newton A. Lieurance, Director of Aviation Weather Affairs in the U.S. Weather Bureau, was chairman of the U.S. delegation to the Commission for Aeronautical Meteorology.

To insure the active participation of the WMO in the International Hydrological Decade, 1965-1974, the WMO Executive Committee established a Panel of Experts for the Decade.

The Commission for Hydrometeorology held its second session in Warsaw September 29-October 16, 1964. It gave considerable atten-

tion to the participation of the WMO in the implementation of the objectives of the International Hydrological Decade, 1965-1974. Max A. Kohler of the U.S. Weather Bureau was reelected President of this Commission. William E. Hiatt, Director of Hydrology in the U.S. Weather Bureau, was chairman of the U.S. delegation.

The Commission for Maritime Meteorology at its fourth session in Geneva, Switzerland, November 23-December 8, 1964, reviewed problems relating to the provision of meteorological service to shipping and fishing and other marine interests. Of particular importance was the adoption of amended regulations regarding the issuance of warnings required for maritime navigation and the safety of life at sea. Paul H. Kutschenreuter, Deputy Director of Service Programs in the U.S. Weather Bureau, was chairman of the U.S. delegation.

A number of special working groups met in 1964 to consider particular subjects such as worldwide communications networks, codes, atmospheric radioactivity, and hydrometeorological forecasting problems. Much of the basic work and sound progress in the organization proceeds from the voluntary work of these groups, most of which is carried on by correspondence and only occasionally augmented by meetings. The United States takes a leading role on these working groups and is represented on 80 such groups or about 75 percent of the total number in the WMO.

International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA)

Speaking before the eighth general session of the IAEA General Conference, which met at Vienna, Austria, from September 14 to 18, 1964, Dr. Glenn T. Seaborg, Chairman of the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission and chairman of the U.S. delegation to the Conference, stated "the Agency has come of age in the year, as a result both of its real accomplishments and the growth in urgency of its responsibilities that derive from the prospect of the early widespread use of nuclear power plants." The primary activity of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) had concerned preparation for and participation in the Third International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy (see page 162) convened by the United Nations in Geneva, Switzerland, from August 31 to September 9, 1964. The IAEA played a major executive role in its organization, provided the scientific secretariat, assisted in the preparation of the agenda, and selected the papers for inclusion in the Conference program. Special commendation was accorded to the IAEA staff by Dr. Seaborg for its

work in "helping make this conference an outstanding scientific and technical contribution to nuclear progress."

During 1964 the IAEA also actively sought to nurture the development of nuclear power technology. It compiled data on the economics of nuclear power; fostered the exchange of data on the technical aspects of reactor development; encouraged the exploration of new possibilities for the use of nuclear power reactors, such as in the desalting of water; and promoted international cooperation in reactor research. These activities were important, and will become increasingly so as nuclear technology progresses over the years toward the fulfillment of the forecast made at the Geneva Conference on Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy that by the turn of the century nuclear power will be providing more than half the world's electricity.

As any normal nuclear power reactor produces fissionable material that can be used in the manufacture of bombs, the establishment of a generally accepted, uniform, international system of safeguards against the diversion of nuclear materials to non-peaceful uses is essential. During 1964 the IAEA made striking progress in the development of an international safeguards system which can be applied to reactors without limitations of size, and in the negotiation of agreements for the application of IAEA safeguards.

Its safeguards system, which since 1961 had been applicable only to small reactors having outputs of less than 100 thermal megawatts, was extended on February 26, 1964, to reactors of more than 100 thermal megawatts. On June 15, 1964, the IAEA and the United States signed an agreement which, in addition to providing for the continued application for a 5-year period of IAEA safeguards to three experimental and research reactors in the United States, covered the 600 thermal megawatt Yankee Power Reactor at Rowe, Mass.—the first large power facility to which the extended safeguards system was applied. Through actions taken at several meetings during the year by the Board of Governors (the IAEA executive body), the IAEA approved the transfer of the administration of safeguards to the IAEA from present arrangements under bilateral agreements of cooperation between the United States and the following countries: Argentina, Austria, China, Greece, Iran, Philippines, Portugal, Norway, Thailand, and Viet-Nam. A similar transfer to the IAEA of the administration of safeguards under the bilateral agreement of cooperation between the United States and Japan had been effected in 1963. The IAEA continued during 1964 to apply safeguards to reactors in the Congo, Finland, and Norway, where there were IAEA assistance projects, and made provision for the application of its safeguards to reactors in Mexico, Pakistan, and Yugoslavia as soon as those countries received reactors or fuels through the IAEA.

The IAEA moved forward in 1964 in its work in the field of health, safety, and waste management. The development of health and safety codes and practices was emphasized. Regulations for the safe transport of radioactive materials were reviewed and revised. Codes of practice were adopted for the safe disposal and management of radioactive wastes produced by radioisotope users. Significant progress was made toward the provision by the IAEA of emergency assistance in the event of a serious radiation accident. Dr. Seaborg, in addressing the IAEA General Conference in September 1964, noted that the growth in the number of nuclear facilities in the world, together with the increasingly rapid advance toward the day of more extensive use of nuclear power, called for increased stress on the important work being performed by the IAEA for the solution of health, safety, and waste management problems. He called, in particular, for the establishment of international waste burial grounds and the solution of associated problems, as well as for placing primary emphasis on technical assistance to developing countries on problems of waste management.

The research, training, and technical assistance programs of the IAEA were tailored to help its member states prepare to take full advantage of nuclear technology. An International Center for Theoretical Physics was established at Trieste, and commenced operation on October 1, 1964. The IAEA laboratory at Seibersdorf (near Vienna, Austria) carried on specialized work in relation to environmental radioactivity analysis, agriculture, hydrology, whole-body counting, and electronics, and continued to distribute standardized samples of radionuclides to enable other laboratories, hospitals, and clinics to calibrate their measuring instruments. The laboratory for marine radioactivity at Monaco continued to study marine ecology and marine radiobiology. Professional meetings, seminars, panels of experts, and training courses were organized to explore many facets of such subjects as the medical uses of isotopes and radiation sources, the application of isotopes in agriculture, the effects of irradiation on human beings, the use of isotopes in solving problems encountered in the development of water resources, and industrial applications of radioisotopes and large radiation sources. Fellowships were granted to 338 individuals from 56 countries for study in the various branches of nuclear science, while experts and visiting professors were sent to assist member states in developing their programs in the field of nuclear energy. Forty-nine technical assistance experts were in the field as of December 31, 1964. The IAEA also awarded 56 new research contracts and renewed 76 others with scientific institutions in member states for work in such fields as radioactive waste management and

environmental research; the use of reactors; radioisotope applications in agriculture, hydrology, and medicine; and health physics and radiation protection.

During the IAEA General Conference the U.S. Representative said the importance of the research, training, and technical assistance programs of the Agency had been "magnified by the telescoping of nuclear power progress." He stated that the United States would continue, to the extent it was able, to make available training opportunities in its institutions, including those in the nuclear-power desalting field, as well as the services of its experts and certain items of equipment. He said that for the sixth consecutive year, as a means of stimulating research and development, the United States would renew for 1965 its offer to donate up to \$50,000 worth of special nuclear material for use in IAEA projects in research and medical therapy. He announced further that, to stimulate research and training, the United States was prepared to offer two kinds of assistance in the construction and operation of subcritical assemblies: it would provide to the IAEA technical information, covering detailed design, fabrication, and operating characteristics, concerning an inexpensive subcritical assembly developed by an American firm at its own expense; and it would lease fabricated natural uranium slugs, or enriched uranium in unfabricated form, for use in subcritical assemblies.

At the IAEA General Conference, the regular or administrative budget of the organization for 1965 (financed by assessed contributions levied on member states) was fixed at \$7,938,000, an increase of \$493,500 or 6.63 percent over the 1964 figure. The operational budget for 1965 (financed from contributions and other sources) was fixed at \$2,468,000, of which amount \$2,000,000 was the target for voluntary contributions from member states. The U.S. scale of assessment for the regular or administrative budget was fixed at 31.84 percent, a slight reduction from its 1964 scale of 31.93 percent.

The Conference also elected five countries (Argentina, Chile, Netherlands, Thailand, and United Arab Republic) to membership on the Board of Governors. The newly constituted Board held its first meeting on September 19. Its total membership consisted of representatives of the following 25 countries: Afghanistan, Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Congo (Léopoldville), Finland, France, India, Japan, Morocco, Netherlands, Poland, Rumania, South Africa, Switzerland, Thailand, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Kingdom, United States, and Uruguay.

Trusteeship and Dependent Areas

During 1964 U.N. activities with respect to dependent areas centered in two organizations—the Trusteeship Council and the Special Committee With Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (referred to hereafter as the Special Committee of 24 or the Special Committee). Because of the constitutional and financial crisis in the United Nations (see page 1), there was no General Assembly consideration of dependent area questions during the year under review.

TRUSTEESHIP SYSTEM

The 31st session of the Trusteeship Council met from May 20 to June 29, 1964. Membership of the Trusteeship Council was as follows: administering members—Australia, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, and the United States; nonadministering members—China, France, Liberia, and the U.S.S.R.

The Council examined conditions in the three territories remaining under the international trusteeship system: Nauru (administered by Australia on behalf of Australia, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom), New Guinea (administered by Australia), and the Pacific Islands (administered by the United States). These three territories have a total population of over 1,600,000. The Council considered three petitions concerning the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands and decided to send a Visiting Mission composed of Representatives of France, Liberia, the United Kingdom, and the United States to the Trust Territories of New Guinea and Nauru (see page 228 and page 232 respectively).

It also considered reports by the Secretary-General on study and training facilities for inhabitants of the three territories and dissemination in these areas of information on the United Nations and the international trusteeship system.

Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands

The Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands is composed of over 2,100 islands and atolls (96 of which are inhabited), having a combined land area of 700 square miles, and is scattered over an ocean area of some 3 million square miles. The islands are located in the Western Pacific Ocean north of the Equator and are divided into three large groups: the Marianas (with the exception of Guam) in the north, the Carolines in the central and southern sectors, and the Marshalls in the east. This area has a population of about 85,000 inhabitants. Prior to World War II Japan administered the islands under a League of Nations mandate. The area was placed under the international trusteeship system as a strategic trust by agreement between the U.S. Government and the U.N. Security Council on July 18, 1947. The sole strategic trust territory, the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, has been administered by the U.S. Department of the Interior since July 1, 1951.

Trusteeship Council Consideration: May 28-June 11

At its 31st session the Trusteeship Council had the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands on its agenda from May 28 to June 11. During this period Ambassador Sidney R. Yates was the U.S. Representative; the High Commissioner of the Trust Territory, M. Wilfred Goding, was the Special Representative; and Thomas Remengesau, an Assistant District Administrator in the Palau District of the Trust Territory, served as an Adviser to the U.S. delegation.

In introducing to the Council the Report of the 1964 Visiting Mission, which had visited the Trust Territory from February 10 to March 13, the chairman of the Mission, Ambassador Frank Corner of New Zealand, said:

In a sense, the rather thorough nature of the report and the scope of the criticisms and suggestions may be taken as a compliment to the Administration. If the Trust Territory had been in a state of stagnation, there would have been little point in making them; there would have been insufficient foundation on which to build the economic and political proposals which form the most important part of the Mission's report. But the Territory is now moving and the hum of activity can be heard throughout Micronesia. The Territory is reaching the point of political breakthrough; and this makes it possible to face up to the question of the self-determination of Micronesia as a real rather than a hypothetical issue. This being so, the Mission felt that an effort at constructive analysis of Micronesia's problems might be useful to the Trusteeship Council, to the leaders of Micronesia, and perhaps, also, if this is not too presumptuous, to the Administering Authority and to the Congress of the United States which, as the last two chapters of the report make clear, has immense power for good or ill over the evolution of Micronesia in the period immediately ahead.

The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Yates, opened the Council's discussion by noting that the goals and objectives of the United States in carrying out its trusteeship obligations continued to be those he had expressed in detail at the 30th session in 1963:

The United States, as always, is carrying out its mandate in accordance with the provisions of the Charter. Any objective and sober review of United States administration will show continued pursuance of the goals of "political, economic, social, and educational advancement of the inhabitants of the Trust Territory and their progressive development toward self-government or independence." And may I say that . . . the United States is determined to write another chapter in the book recording the successful completion of [the Council's] trusteeship obligations. The people of Micronesia shall have the opportunity to exercise a free, informed and meaningful choice concerning the type of government they wish for themselves and the nature of their future political associations.

The U.S. Representative reported that President Johnson proposed to continue the accelerated development program in the trust territory by increasing appropriations for the 1965 fiscal year from \$15 million to \$17.5 million, in order to enable continued expansion of education and health facilities and to develop plans for the expansion of programs for economic and social development. He also announced that the United States and Micronesian claimants had reached agreement on a settlement of land claims on Kwajalein Island and Dalap. Reporting on progress toward establishment of a territorial legislature, Ambassador Yates stated:

Last year my delegation reported that the major political development then taking place in Micronesia was the process being followed by the Administering Authority, in close consultation with the elected representatives of the people of Micronesia, to keep a pledge to the Trusteeship Council for the establishment of a territorial legislature by 1965. The United States has continued to consult closely with the Council of Micronesia. The Council of Micronesia has now met twice to consider provisions for the territorial legislature. Each session was marked by free, open and serious debates, and the basic recommendations of the Council are now embodied in the draft of a proposed order establishing the Congress of Micronesia. Now we are fortunate to have the extensive recommendations of the Visiting Mission. Those recommendations and a draft of the proposed order are presently under study by appropriate officials of the United States Government. We expect that elections will be held in the fall of 1964 and we anticipate that 1965 will see an effective, functioning Congress of Micronesia.

High Commissioner Goding reviewed the major accomplishments of the Administering Authority's program during the previous year and replied to questions from members of the Council. Mr. Remengesau spoke briefly of progress in the economic, social, and political life of the Territory, noting particularly that:

On the political front, we have certain misgivings on the type of thinking which stresses that the political growth of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands must be pushed as speedily as possible, irrespective of other factors. There are those who overemphasize this aspect of the speed of political development of our islands.

As a Micronesian, I would like to achieve the goal of self-government as quickly as possible. Simultaneously, I believe that the political status which we acquire must be the expressed will of the people as a result of a politically informed society and one that is consistent with our maximum potential resources and capacities.

While speed of action may seem to some to be the important phase of political development at the present time, most of us feel that the present design of political growth through an evolutionary process, as expressed by the people themselves, is the most significant aspect.

The Council, recalling that in 1963 it had welcomed the measures taken by the United States "to foster the development of a distinctive Micronesian personality" as part of the task of creating a unified political entity out of the widely separated districts and peoples of the Territory, expressed its belief that "the essence of political development is the assumption by the people of Micronesia of control over their own affairs." The Council went on to urge the speedy creation of a strong Micronesian legislature and an executive controlled and, so far as possible, staffed by Micronesians. The Council endorsed the suggestions of the Visiting Mission that the United States review the proposed Executive Order for the establishment of the Congress of Micronesia to insure maximum practicable authority for the new Congress over the budgetary process of the Territory and to permit "the establishment of select committees of the Congress with power to inquire into, and report upon, all important matters of policy and administration, including budgetary and economic policies and the political and constitutional development of Micronesia."

In reviewing progress in the training and appointment of Micronesians for positions of responsibility in the public service, the Council commended the Visiting Mission's suggestions for the creation of a unified civil service and the establishment of a civil service commission in the Territory. The Council endorsed the view of the Visiting Mission that every effort should be made to expand Micronesian control over and participation in the executive government of the Trust Territory.

In the economic sphere, the Council endorsed the recommendations of the Visiting Mission urging greater and more positive efforts toward establishment of an overall long-term economic development plan for the Territory. The Council urged increased attention to the development of the fishing industry and suggested the establishment of an Office of Fisheries at the Territory's Headquarters to that end. The Council commended the United States for the advances in the field of air transport and communications during the year under review and urged continued encouragement of the establishment of frequent and regular shipping services to the remoter parts of the Territory.

In the area of social advancement, the Council noted with satisfaction the energy and skill with which the Administration's program for the improvement of public health was being carried out. It recommended that particular attention be given to encouragement of a wider understanding among the Micronesians of the need for the educational and social advancement of women, the interconnection between housing and social advancement, and to urgent development of a territory-wide broadcasting system.

The Council, in its report, commended the United States for its educational program. It stated that:

The Council notes with approval that a new educational policy has been effected by providing a universal, free public school system from elementary through high school, with advanced training in the trades and professions for those who can profit by further schooling. It considers that the Administration's decision to transform the education system will have a profound and far-reaching effect on the future development of the Territory.

Agreeing with the Visiting Mission's conclusion that "as educational standards increase, new needs arise," the Council made several recommendations for further improvement of the Territory's educational program. Among these were: reduction of the compulsory school entrance age to six; increased attention to adult education and vocational training; an increase in the number of scholarships for tertiary education; further consideration of the establishment of a junior college for the Territory; greater use of the educational system to promote a sense of unity in the Territory; and greater use of the opportunities for education and vocational training under the U.N. scholarship program.

In considering various claims of inhabitants of the Territory, the Council welcomed settlement of land claims in the Marshall Islands, Kwajalein, and Dalap. It noted the concern expressed by the Visiting Mission at the continued delay in achieving a settlement of Micronesian claims for compensation for war damage resulting from the Second World War and called on the United States to resume its representations to the Japanese Government with renewed vigor. In this regard, the Council suggested that the United States might avail itself of the help of the U.N. Secretary-General or his representative. The Council further recommended that the United States make clear to inhabitants of the Territory through the Congress of Micronesia its position that there existed no legitimate claims against the United States for losses sustained as a result of purported actions committed by the United States in violation of the laws of war. Noting that the claims of the Rongelap Islanders for financial compensation for victims of fallout from nuclear experiments remained unsettled, the

Council expressed the strong hope that legislation then before the U.S. Congress would soon be acted upon.

The Council adopted the following conclusions and recommendations with regard to the establishment of target dates and a final time limit for the attainment of self-government or independence:

The Council notes with satisfaction that the policies of the Administering Authority rest on a firm commitment to the unity and territorial integrity of Micronesia.

The Council notes also the conclusion of the Visiting Mission that no fully matured opinions on the future of the Territory have yet emerged among the people of Micronesia. It therefore welcomes the fact that the goal of the establishment of a true territory-wide legislature will shortly be achieved through the inauguration of the Congress of Micronesia and it expresses the hope that the Congress will direct its attention to all the possibilities which lie open for the future status of the Territory. Noting the statement made to the Visiting Mission by the Administering Authority that the range of options for the future would start with independence and cover all other possibilities, the Council endorses the Visiting Mission's view that a heavy responsibility rests with the Administering Authority to keep the people of Micronesia aware of the full extent of these options and to ensure that these options remain open.

The Council urges the Administering Authority to continue to implement, in the light of the Charter of the United Nations, the Trusteeship Agreement [and the Colonialism Declaration and another General Assembly resolution setting forth the possible forms of terminal political status as sovereign independence or free association or integration with an independent state] and in consultation with the Congress of Micronesia, realistic plans and programmes reflecting a proper sense of urgency for the rapid and planned advance of the Territory in all aspects of its political life.

Special Committee of 24 Consideration: October 9-23, 1964

Subcommittee II of the Special Committee (see page 235) discussed the Trust Territory from October 9 through October 23, 1964. In his statement before the Subcommittee on October 9, the U.S. Representative, Dwight Dickinson, explained the special status of the Territory as a "strategic area" so designated under the provisions of article 82 of the Charter in an agreement between the Government of the United States and the Security Council. Noting that article 83(1) provided that "All functions of the United Nations relating to strategic areas, including the approval of the terms of the trusteeship agreements and of their alteration or amendment, shall be exercised by the Security Council," he added that the Security Council had requested the Trusteeship Council to perform on its behalf the functions specified in articles 87 and 88 of the Charter relating to the political, economic, social, and educational advancement of the inhabitants of strategic areas. Annual reports by the Trusteeship Council in response to this request had accordingly been submitted to the Security

Council and not, as in the case of nonstrategic areas, to the General Assembly. These reports were available to members of the Special Committee. After a draft report on the Territory had been tabled in the Subcommittee, the U.S. Representative again reminded the group of the provisions of article 83(1) of the Charter and suggested that any proposals for action by the Subcommittee or the Special Committee with regard to the Trust Territory be cast in the form of proposals to the General Assembly for recommendations it might make to the Security Council.

The Special Committee considered the report of its Subcommittee II on November 12, adopting a series of conclusions and recommendations. In its recommendations the Special Committee reaffirmed the "inalienable right of the people of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands to self-determination and independence" in conformity with the Colonialism Declaration. It recommended that the Congress of Micronesia be provided with "all powers necessary to pave the way for the speedy implementation" of that Declaration and that the people of the Territory be enabled to express their wishes with respect to their future status "through well-established democratic processes and under United Nations supervision." The Special Committee also made recommendations concerning the administrative, economic, and educational life of the Territory, suggesting, among other things, the establishment of an overall economic development plan. Finally, the Special Committee recommended a visiting mission to the Trust Territory. A U.S. proposal to delete the recommendation for a visiting mission was rejected by a vote of 5 (U.S.) to 8, with 10 abstentions.

Following adoption of the report the U.S. Representative formally reserved the U.S. position. Discussing various elements of the report with which the United States could not agree, he pointed out that the Special Committee's recommendations included a paragraph (the recommendation for a visiting mission) which was in direct contravention of the Charter.

Trust Territory of New Guinea

The Trust Territory of New Guinea is administered by Australia and is composed of the northeastern part of the island of New Guinea, the islands of the Bismarck Archipelago, and the two northernmost islands of the Solomon group, Buka and Bougainville. A population estimated at 1,500,657 indigenous inhabitants and 15,536 nonindigenous inhabitants lives in a total land area of over 93,000 square miles. This Territory and the neighboring Australian non-self-governing territory of Papua are joined together in an administrative union to

form the Territory of Papua and New Guinea. Despite concerted efforts to bring remote areas under effective administrative control, some parts remain entirely unexplored and entry into about 3,700 square miles of particularly rugged terrain is restricted to indigenous inhabitants and authorized nonindigenous persons. The area is inhabited by some of the world's most primitive people. More than 700 languages are spoken.

Trusteeship Council Consideration: June 7-29, 1964

During its 31st session held from May 20 to June 29, 1964, the Trusteeship Council noted with approval that, in accordance with its recommendations, a House of Assembly had been established in the Territory of Papua and New Guinea. The Council considered the creation of the House of Assembly "a significant step in the political advancement of the peoples of the Territory" and expressed the hope that the Administering Authority would insure "as far as possible the exercise of full and effective powers by the House of Assembly." A system of parliamentary committees with advisers to aid members in the preparation of legislation was suggested. The Council commended the Administering Authority and described as an important milestone "the successful organization and conduct of elections to the legislature on the basis of universal adult suffrage and a common roll." At the same time, the Council, "bearing in mind the importance of ensuring fair and equal treatment of seats in the Assembly," recommended to the Administering Authority for consideration in conjunction with the Assembly the "elimination of those clauses of the electoral ordinances which provide for official and special seats in the Assembly." It called for the election of all candidates from a common roll, preferably through the machinery of political parties.

In the area of local government, the Council, noting the further extension of the system of local government councils and the introduction of financial subventions for certain local government activities, expressed the hope that "early consideration" would be given by the new House of Assembly to "legislative measures which will increase their [local government councils] powers and functions, as well as the resources available to them, so as to give the indigenous population an effective voice in local affairs." The Council also expressed the hope that the near future would see the entire population of Papua and New Guinea properly represented at both the local and central government levels.

Observing with satisfaction that measures had been taken to increase New Guinean participation in the Public Service, notably the enactment of legislation providing for integration of the Public Service, the

adoption of a policy of no longer granting permanent appointments to most expatriate officers, and the establishment of an Administrative College, the Council nevertheless repeated its previous urging that the Administering Authority "devote even greater efforts to the drawing up of a programme of higher education and special training to prepare New Guineans for key posts in the Public Service."

The Council noted with appreciation the increase in the Administering Authority's grant to the Territory and its efforts to expand and diversify the cash economy and to develop the Territory's economic infrastructure. At the same time the Council hoped that the Administering Authority would consider the possibility of further increasing grants and stressed the need for an increased tempo of economic development, especially in those areas where economic development had not begun or was just beginning. It hoped that the results of the economic survey undertaken by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD—see page 178) would provide the basis for a comprehensive development plan. Reaffirming its view that reform of the customary systems of land tenure was "among the most fundamental problems of economic development in New Guinea," the Council reiterated its earlier recommendation that the Administering Authority "should bring this question to the urgent attention of the new House of Assembly and that, in studying the problem, it should draw on the experience of other countries, particularly in Africa, which have dealt with similar problems.

In the area of social and educational advancement the Council commended the Administering Authority for progress in the field of public health and called for a continuation of the program of nutritional education. Believing that the rising requirement for education should be met as quickly as possible, the Council called for "intensive efforts" to expand education at primary and secondary levels and reiterated its previous recommendation concerning the immediate need to provide a substantially increased number of New Guinean students with training at the university level. The Council considered that the expansion of the number of persons receiving university training was "urgent not merely for its own sake, but also to sustain the tempo of political, administrative and economic development."

Special Committee of 24 Consideration: November 11-12, 1964

On November 11 and 12, 1964, the Special Committee (see page 235) considered the report of its Subcommittee II on the Trust Territory of New Guinea. In the Special Committee's general conclusions which

were applicable to several territories administered by Australia and which were considered at the same time, it noted the declared policy of the Australian Government to work for the social, educational, economic, and political advancement of the people of its territories. Observing that the Australian Government had yet to declare the implementation of the provisions of the Colonialism Declaration to be its goal, the Special Committee stated that it assumed the logical conclusion of constitutional advances in the territories would be the realization of the objectives of the Colonialism Declaration. The Committee considered that progress toward the implementation of the Declaration had been slow and that the administering power had not taken adequate steps in this regard.

In its specific conclusions on New Guinea, the Special Committee recognized "an identity of interest" of the peoples of the Trust Territory of New Guinea and the Territory of Papua in the development of a common destiny, irrespective of their separate legal status. The Committee noted the political and constitutional changes in Papua and New Guinea, particularly the establishment of the House of Assembly on the basis of universal franchise. The Special Committee invited the Australian Government to take all measures to make the House of Assembly "a fully representative body as soon as possible." While acknowledging advances toward self-government, the Special Committee expressed the view that the Australian Government had not undertaken full measures for the application of the provisions of the Colonialism Declaration. At the same time the Committee stated that it had taken into account the efforts of the Australian Government toward the economic and social development of Papua and New Guinea.

In its recommendations the Special Committee reaffirmed the right of the peoples in the Territory to self-determination and independence in conformity with the Colonialism Declaration and stated that the peoples of Papua and New Guinea should be enabled to express their wishes through "well-established democratic processes under United Nations supervision." Observing that a visiting mission would be useful in assessing the political climate and aspirations of the people, the Committee said that steps might be taken to arrange such a visit in consultation with the Administering Power. The Committee concluded its recommendations by calling for revisions in the allocation of seats in the House of Assembly and in the wage rates of indigenous inhabitants. It recommended strengthening local government and accelerating efforts in economic and educational development.

Trust Territory of Nauru

The Trust Territory of Nauru is a small isolated island situated in the Central Pacific Ocean with a population of under 5,000 persons, 2,558 of whom are Nauruans. The Territory is administered under a U.N. Trusteeship Agreement with Australia, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom, with Australia exercising administrative, legislative, and juridical powers on behalf of all three.

Approximately 3,658 of the island's 5,263 acres have rich phosphate deposits. A relatively fertile belt 150 to 300 yards wide encircles the island, but the extensive phosphate deposits of the central plateau completely inhibit any useful natural growth on most of the island. By 1963 almost 1,204 acres of phosphate had been mined, leaving a rugged terrain of coral pinnacles varying from 30 to 50 feet in height.

Largely from proceeds from the mining of phosphate, the Nauruan people have been able to achieve a relatively high standard of living and a remarkable literacy rate of over 90 percent. Since at the present rate of extraction the phosphate deposits will be exhausted in less than 40 years, the Nauruans face the problem of relocating in an area which will enable them to continue to enjoy an equally high standard of living.

Trusteeship Council Consideration: June 15-29, 1964

At its 31st session the Trusteeship Council was informed of the Australian Government's proposals for making Curtis Island (off the coast of Australia) available for the use of the Nauruan people. Australia had proposed that a Nauruan Council with wide powers of local government be formed; however, as Curtis Island was an integral part of Australia, the latter did not consider that it could transfer sovereignty over it to the Nauruans. Largely because of the sovereignty question, the Nauruan Head Chief had informed the Australian Government on September 10, 1963, that the Administering Authority's proposals for relocation were unacceptable and that the Nauruan Council would make counterproposals.

As it had done at its 30th session in 1963, the Trusteeship Council in 1964 carefully reviewed the resettlement problem. It took note of the prospective counterproposals and of the Administering Authority's acquisition, pending final decision by the Nauruan people, of certain parts of Curtis Island to insure their availability for Nauruan resettlement. Looking forward to the scheduled renewal of negotiations in July 1964, the Council urged the two parties "to continue their consultations aimed at a harmonious solution, bearing in mind the legitimate desire of the Nauruan people to preserve their national identity."

The Council noted with approval several steps which had been taken to increase the number of Nauruans holding positions of responsibility, especially the review of the organization and classification of the Public Service. At the same time, the Council recommended that the Administering Authority continue to make available all positions in the Public Service to Nauruans possessing appropriate qualifications; it urged further intensification of special training facilities in order to enable Nauruans to obtain the necessary qualifications.

As the phosphate industry dominates the economy of the Territory, the Trusteeship Council devoted considerable discussion to relations between the British Phosphate Commissioners and the Nauruan elected representatives. It noted that annual discussions between the two parties had been initiated and expressed the hope that the Phosphate Commissioners would not object to the presence in future meetings of a professional adviser for the Nauruan representatives. In addition, the Council took note that offers by the British Phosphate Commissioners for an increase in the Nauruan share of phosphate proceeds would be the subject of a future meeting of the Commissioners, the Nauruan Local Government Council, and the Administering Authority.

Finally, in the area of social and educational development, the Council noted improvements in nutritional education programs and water storage capacity and the planned reduction of the phosphate dust nuisance. The Council expressed the hope that the Administering Authority would "pay particular attention to encouraging young Nauruans to take advantage of the availability of scholarships under the United Nations programme and in Australia."

Special Committee of 24 Consideration: November 11-12, 1964

On November 11 and 12, 1964, the Special Committee of 24 (see page 234) considered the report of its Subcommittee II on the Trust Territory of Nauru. For the Committee's general conclusions applicable to several territories administered by Australia, including the Trust Territory of Nauru, see the immediately preceding section on the Trust Territory of New Guinea (see page 230).

In its specific conclusions on Nauru the Special Committee noted that the Nauruan people had expressed the desire to be "sovereign and free to govern themselves and to attain independence in January 1967" and that the Nauruans had also asked for the transfer to them of full control over the operations of the phosphate industry. The Committee stated that implementation of the Colonialism Declaration

and resettlement are two distinct questions and should be settled independently, precedence being given to the first as desired by the Nauruans themselves. The Special Committee requested that the Australian Government assist fully in the future resettlement of the Nauruans, in accordance with their wishes, and stated that the Nauruans should be given full control over their national economic resources.

SPECIAL COMMITTEE OF 24

The Special Committee on the Situation with Regard to Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (also referred to as the Special Committee of 24 or the Special Committee) was established by the General Assembly in 1961 to make suggestions and recommendations on the progress and extent of implementation of the General Assembly's 1960 Colonialism Declaration. Originally the Committee consisted of 17 members but in 1962 was enlarged to 24. It now consists of the following members: Australia, Bulgaria, Cambodia, Chile, Denmark, Ethiopia, India, Iran, Iraq, Italy, Ivory Coast, Malagasy Republic, Mali, Poland, Sierra Leone, Syria, Tanzania, Tunisia, U.S.S.R., the United Kingdom, the United States, Uruguay, Venezuela, and Yugoslavia.

In 1964 the Special Committee met in two sessions for a total of 101 plenary meetings; its Subcommittees held 140 meetings. The first session met from February 25 to July 3 and the second from September 8 to December 15.

The U.S. Representative on the Special Committee of 24 at the beginning of 1964 was Ambassador Sidney R. Yates, who was also the U.S. Representative on the Trusteeship Council. In September 1964 he was succeeded in both capacities by Ambassador Marietta P. Tree.

In his opening statement to the Special Committee on March 3, Ambassador Yates said that U.S. foreign policy was dedicated toward helping to end colonialism by enabling dependent peoples to choose for themselves, freely and by democratic processes, the type of government they wished. He said that the essence of the Committee's tasks was to help find ways and means of expediting the attainment of self-determination by the peoples still under colonial rule and that this goal would be achieved, not merely by debates, but by political recommendations that would command the respect of the peoples of the territories concerned, of the Administering Powers, and of the General Assembly. He observed that President Johnson had said in addressing the 1963 session of the General Assembly that there was need for a peaceful revolution in the world through the recommit-

ment of all member states to the basic principles of human welfare and human dignity.

Pointing out that most of the Administering Powers were working in good faith to carry out their responsibilities under the Charter, the U.S. Representative stressed that the Committee should seek the cooperation of the Administering Powers and that it was expected such cooperation would be obtained.

He also mentioned that one of the most important questions before the Committee was the largely unexplored constitutional area which lay between sovereign independence and colonial dependency, namely, the small territories which were remnants of the colonial period. He pointed out that the achievement of classical independence might not be practicable in a number of cases which fell within the Committee's competence.

Procedural Aspects

In an effort to expedite its work, the Special Committee decided on March 25 to establish three Subcommittees to discuss dependent territories which had not yet been considered by the Committee. The composition of the Subcommittees, determined by the chairman after consultation with the Committee members, was as follows:

<i>Subcommittee I</i>	<i>Subcommittee II</i>	<i>Subcommittee III</i>
Denmark	Australia	Bulgaria
Ethiopia	Cambodia	Iran
Mali	Chile	Italy
Syrian Arab Republic	India	Ivory Coast
Tanzania	Iraq	Malagasy Republic
Tunisia	Poland	Uruguay
U.S.S.R.	Sierra Leone	Venezuela
Yugoslavia	United States	

The Committee decided that an Administering Power not a member of a Subcommittee in which one of its territories was under consideration could participate in the discussion of that territory without right of vote.

The chairman announced that the United Kingdom, at its request, would not participate as a full member of any of the Subcommittees but would participate in their work when territories under its administration were discussed.

During the year, the Working Group held several meetings to discuss the question of possible additions to the list of territories for the Special Committee's future consideration but was unable to make any recommendations. On November 18, 1964, the Working Group

did recommend to the Special Committee that it "take due note" of (1) a letter from the Representative of Somalia requesting the Special Committee to include the question of French Somaliland on its agenda and (2) the Declaration of the Cairo Conference of Non-Aligned Countries. The latter document requested the Special Committee to consider Puerto Rico, Guadaloupe, and Martinique. A U.S.-proposed amendment to delete the reference to the Cairo Declaration was defeated by a vote of 7 (Australia, Chile, Denmark, Italy, U.K., U.S., Venezuela) to 16, with 1 (Uruguay) abstention.

In a separate vote on the operative paragraph in the Working Group's report which recommended that the Special Committee "take due note" of the two documents, the Committee decided to retain the paragraph by a vote of 13 to 10 (U.S.), with 1 abstention. The report as a whole was then approved by a vote of 15 to 3 (Australia, U.K., U.S.), with 6 (Chile, Denmark, Iran, Italy, Malagasy Republic, Venezuela) abstentions.

Speaking against adoption of the report, the U.S. Representative, Dwight Dickinson, pointed out that one of the documents mentioned by the report contained a reference to Puerto Rico on which the General Assembly had determined that a mutually agreed-upon political association existed between the territory and the Administering Power. He emphasized that the General Assembly had also recognized that the will of the people of that territory had been expressed freely and democratically. He questioned how the Committee could draw attention to some areas and ignore others such as those listed in a General Assembly document pertaining to Soviet colonialism.

Later, in an explanation of vote, the U.S. Representative said he could only conclude it was the purpose of some members of the Special Committee, and he hoped a minority, to bring about a step-by-step discussion of a territory on which the General Assembly had already expressed its views.

Territories Discussed in Special Committee of 24

In 1964 the Special Committee of 24 considered the following territories: Southern Rhodesia; Aden; South-West Africa; territories under Portuguese administration (Angola, Mozambique, Portuguese Guinea, Cape Verde Archipelago, São Tomé and Príncipe and their dependencies, Macau and dependencies, Timor and dependencies); Malta; Fiji; Northern Rhodesia; Nyasaland; Basutoland; Bechuanaland; Swaziland; British Guiana; The Gambia; Gibraltar; Fernando Póo; Ifni; Rio Muni; Spanish Sahara; Mauritius; Seychelles; St. Helena; Nauru; Papua and New Guinea; Cocos Islands; Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands; Guam; American Samoa; Cook Islands;

Niue; Tokelau Islands; New Hebrides; Gilbert and Ellice Islands; Pitcairn Island; Solomon Islands; Brunei; Hong Kong; Falkland Islands; Bermuda; Bahamas; Turks and Caicos Islands; Cayman Islands; Antigua; Dominica; Grenada; Monserrat; St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla; St. Lucia; St. Vincent; Barbados; British Virgin Islands; and the U.S. Virgin Islands.

Actions taken by the Special Committee of 24 on Papua, Portuguese Territories, Southern Rhodesia, South-West Africa, Trust Territories of Nauru, New Guinea, and the Pacific Islands are discussed under the following separate sections: Territories Under Portuguese Administration (see page 260), Southern Rhodesia (see page 251), Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (see page 227), Trust Territory of New Guinea (also covering Papua; see page 230), Trust Territory of Nauru (see page 233), and South-West Africa (see page 262).

Aden

In 1964 the Special Committee first considered Aden between March 25 and April 9, adopting by a vote of 19 to 3 (Australia, U.K., U.S.), with 2 (Italy, Venezuela) abstentions, a resolution sponsored by eight powers (Cambodia, India, Iraq, Mali, Syria, Tanzania, Tunisia, and Yugoslavia). The resolution expressed the Special Committee's deep concern at "the continued deterioration of the situation in Aden and the Aden Protectorates which is threatening international peace in the area"; reaffirmed the right of the people of Aden to self-determination and independence; and deplored the refusal of the United Kingdom to implement the Colonialism Declaration and a 1963 General Assembly resolution on Aden. It urged the United Kingdom to implement the 1963 resolution, lift the state of emergency in the territory, repeal all laws restricting public freedoms, release all political prisoners and detainees, allow the return of people exiled or forbidden to reside in the territory because of political activities, and cease all repressive action against the people of the territory. It also reaffirmed the Committee's view that the maintenance of the Aden military base was prejudicial to peace and security in the region and established a five-member subcommittee to keep the situation in Aden under constant review and to arrange for a visit to the territory.

In separate paragraph votes, the Committee adopted the paragraph characterizing the situation in Aden as threatening international peace and security by a vote of 18 to 5 (Australia, Denmark, Italy, U.K., U.S.), with 1 (Venezuela) abstention, and the paragraph calling for the removal of the Aden base by a vote of 13 to 5 (Australia, Den-

mark, Italy, U.K., U.S.), with 6 (Ethiopia, Iran, Ivory Coast, Malagasy Republic, Sierra Leone, Venezuela) abstentions.

On May 21 the chairman named Cambodia, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Venezuela, and Yugoslavia as members of the Subcommittee established by the resolution.

Following a number of incidents along the Aden-Yemen frontier, the Special Committee again considered Aden between May 7 and 15. On May 15 it adopted by a vote of 18 to 3 (Australia, U.K., U.S.), with 2 (Denmark, Italy) abstentions, a resolution sponsored by 11 powers (Cambodia, Ethiopia, India, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Mali, Sierra Leone, Syria, Tanzania, Tunisia, Yugoslavia) expressing the belief that British military actions and measures in the area endangered international peace and security. The resolution urged the United Kingdom to cease all military measures against the people of the territory and called the attention of the Security Council to the situation in the area.

On November 6 the Representative of Cambodia, as chairman of the Subcommittee on Aden, introduced the Subcommittee's report, which was considered by the Special Committee on November 13 and 17. In presenting the report, he stated that his group had requested a visit to Aden and talks with the United Kingdom but, since neither of these requests was met, the Subcommittee had deemed it necessary to go to Cairo, where a considerable number of petitioners were heard.

The Special Committee concluded its 1964 action on Aden on November 17, adopting by a vote of 18 to 0, with 5 (Australia, Denmark, Italy, U.K., U.S.) abstentions, a draft resolution sponsored by 13 powers (Cambodia, Ethiopia, India, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Malagasy Republic, Mali, Sierra Leone, Syria, Tanzania, Tunisia, Yugoslavia, and Venezuela). This resolution endorsed the conclusions and recommendations of the Subcommittee, regretted the refusal of the United Kingdom to cooperate with the Subcommittee, reaffirmed the 1963 General Assembly resolution on Aden, and continued the Subcommittee.

In an explanation of vote, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Marietta Tree, said that the U.S. Government understood the desire of the resolution's sponsors to facilitate and speed up the progress of the peoples of Southern Arabia toward independence. She pointed out that the United States had consistently favored steps in that direction. Nevertheless, the United States did not share the view expressed in the Special Committee that the existence of the U.K. base in Aden had impeded, or must necessarily impede, Southern Arabia's evolution toward independence. In this connection, she noted that political evolution in the territory had been most rapid precisely in the places which enjoyed economic advantages deriving from

the base. She also stated that the resolution did not give sufficient consideration to the political changes already in progress.

Malta

The Special Committee considered Malta between April 24 and 30. The British Representative stated that, as suggested by the Special Committee in 1963, his Government had held a conference of all parties represented in the Maltese Parliament to consider the question of independence and all other related matters, including the question of general elections. Following that conference the United Kingdom had set an early date for independence in conformity with the wishes of the territory's inhabitants.

On April 30 the Special Committee approved without objection a consensus noting the planned Maltese accession to independence. The consensus also contained an appeal to the United Kingdom to "take steps to see that all political parties in Malta enjoy the same freedom of expression so that the real and legitimate aspirations of the people are safeguarded." Malta became independent on September 21, 1964, and a member of the United Nations before the end of the year (see page 113).

British Guiana

During the Special Committee's first session in 1964, British Guiana was discussed on May 8 and 11 and at several meetings between June 9 and 23. On June 23 the Committee adopted by a vote of 18 to 3 (Australia, U.K., U.S.), with 3 (Denmark, Italy, Venezuela) abstentions, an 11-power (Cambodia, Ethiopia, India, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Mali, Sierra Leone, Syria, Tanzania, Tunisia, Yugoslavia) resolution which deplored that no date had been set for independence and stated that the delay was the main cause of the "tragic situation" in the territory. The resolution called upon the United Kingdom to fix without delay a date for independence, appealed to all political leaders and to all others concerned to take steps to restore peaceful conditions in the territory, and requested the United Kingdom to refrain from any action which would aggravate the present situation. It also called for the establishment of a three-member subcommittee of good offices to visit British Guiana and to take any other necessary measures for the implementation of Committee and General Assembly resolutions on the territory and requested the Secretary-General to renew his efforts to facilitate execution of the recommendations of the Committee's Subcommittee on British Guiana established in 1963.

In an explanation of vote, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Yates, said he regretted that the draft resolution lacked impartiality toward the United Kingdom. He voiced U.S. support for the appeal to the Guianese political leaders and to all concerned to restore peaceful conditions in the territory.

The Special Committee considered British Guiana again on October 20 and November 17, 1964. At the latter meeting it took note of the oral report of the Subcommittee (composed of Mali, Tunisia, and Uruguay) established pursuant to the June 23 resolution. In a brief statement following the Committee's action, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Tree, reserved the U.S. position in view of its vote on the June 23 resolution.

Gibraltar

Gibraltar was discussed by the Special Committee between September 22 and October 16, 1964. At the conclusion of the debate, the chairman expressed a Committee consensus derived from a summation of all statements made. The consensus noted that there was a "disagreement, or even a dispute," between the United Kingdom and Spain over the status and situation of Gibraltar. It invited the two Governments to begin talks in order to reach a negotiated solution, giving due account to the opinions expressed by the members of the Committee and bearing in mind the interests of the people of the territory.

Fernando Póo, Ifni, Rio Muni, and Spanish Sahara

The Special Committee considered these four Spanish territories at several meetings between September 30 and October 16, 1964. On October 16 it adopted two resolutions, one dealing with Fernando Póo and Rio Muni and the other with Ifni and Spanish Sahara. The vote on both resolutions was 20 to 0, with 3 (Australia, U.K., U.S.) abstentions. In the Fernando Póo-Rio Muni resolution, the Special Committee noted "with regret" that the Administering Power had not yet taken measures to implement the Colonialism Declaration and urged it to take immediate steps in that regard. In the Ifni-Spanish Sahara resolution, the Committee noted "with deep concern" that the Administering Power had not yet implemented the Colonialism Declaration and urged it to take immediate steps to do so "fully and unconditionally." Both resolutions requested the Secretary-General to report to the General Assembly on Spain's action to implement the Special Committee's recommendations.

In an explanation of vote, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Marietta Tree, said that the United States had abstained on both

resolutions because they took no account of the progress recently achieved in the territories in question. The United States believed that when steps were taken by an Administering Power to promote the political development of a territory, the Committee should recognize that fact. She also questioned the desirability of the request to the Secretary-General as it placed part of the Committee's task on him.

U.K. High Commission Territories (Basutoland, Bechuanaland, Swaziland)

The Special Committee of 24 considered Basutoland, Bechuanaland, and Swaziland at eight meetings held between October 6 and November 2, 1964. On October 29 a draft resolution was introduced. Among its preambular paragraphs, the resolution regretted that "the Administering Power had not yet taken effective measures to implement" the Colonialism Declaration; and "[took] into account the fact that the economic and social situation in the three Territories is critical" and "that the policy of South Africa continues to constitute a threat to the economic stability and to the territorial integrity of these Territories." Among its operative provisions, the resolution invited "the Administering Power to take immediate steps for the transfer of powers to freely elected representatives of these three Territories," declared again "that any attempt to annex or encroach upon the territorial integrity of these three Territories will constitute an act of aggression," and requested "the Secretary-General, in consultation with the Administering Power, to undertake a study as to the ways and means of ensuring the economic independence of these Territories *vis-a-vis* the Republic of South Africa and to submit a report to the Special Committee and the General Assembly."

The U.K. Representative found this draft resolution "unbalanced and unrealistic," since it failed to reflect "recent events or the basic geographic or demographic economic realities of the situation in these three Territories." Moreover, he stated, the resolution did not appear "even to reflect the statement of members of the Committee during the debate on this item." The U.S. Representative, Dwight Dickinson, agreed that "a major defect of the draft resolution on Basutoland, Bechuanaland, and Swaziland [lay] in the fact that it [failed] to recognize the significant constitutional developments which have taken place in those Territories." He also expressed concern over the paragraph which characterized as an act of aggression any attempt to annex or encroach upon the territorial integrity of these territories, noting that the Security Council "has the responsibility of determining the existence of any threats to the peace or acts of aggression."

On November 4 the resolution was put to a vote. In a separate vote, the "act of aggression" paragraph was adopted by 17 to 0, with 6 (U.S.) abstentions. The draft resolution as a whole was adopted by a vote of 18 to 0, with 5 (U.S.) abstentions.

Fiji

After considering Fiji at several meetings between October 22 and November 5, 1964, the Special Committee approved by a vote of 21 to 0, with 3 (Australia, U.K., U.S.) abstentions, a resolution expressing regret that the Administering Power still had not taken effective steps to implement a 1963 General Assembly resolution on that territory. The Committee requested the United Kingdom to implement the General Assembly's proposals, in particular the operative paragraphs inviting the Administering Power to work out a new constitution on the basis of "one man one vote"; to take immediate steps for the transfer of all power to the people of the territory; and to endeavor to achieve the political, economic, and social integration of the various communities of the islands. It also requested the Administering Power to report to the Special Committee and the General Assembly on the implementation of the Committee's resolution and asked the Secretary-General to provide economic, financial, and technical assistance commensurate with the urgent and special needs of the territory through the U.N. programs of technical cooperation and the Specialized Agencies.

During the Special Committee's discussion of the territory, the U.S. Representative, Dwight Dickinson, said his Government welcomed the news that a Fiji constitutional conference would be held in London within a year. He stressed that the conference offered an opportunity for full discussion among all the parties concerned on measures to achieve further political progress and noted the introduction of the membership system of government in Fiji as a significant step in political advancement. He expressed confidence that the various communities would work together to find a mutually beneficial solution to their problems and reminded the Committee that the United Kingdom had stated its willingness to accept whatever reasonable solution the communities might work out. In explaining the U.S. abstention, the U.S. Representative stated that the United States could not support the resolution because it did not take into account significant steps in the political advancement of the territory.

Northern Rhodesia and The Gambia

The Special Committee discussed the territories of Northern Rhodesia (later to become the independent nation of Zambia) and

The Gambia on October 22, 1964. The U.S. Representative, Marietta Tree, congratulated the two territories on their forthcoming attainment of independence and paid tribute to the role played by the United Kingdom in leading them to self-government and independence. In closing the discussion, the chairman expressed the Committee's satisfaction that Zambia and The Gambia would soon become members of the United Nations. He hoped that all problems outstanding between the United Kingdom and the territories would be settled.

Zambia became independent on October 24, 1964, and a member of the United Nations soon thereafter (see page 113). The Gambia was scheduled to attain independence on February 18, 1965.

Mauritius, Seychelles, and St. Helena

On April 20, 1964, the Special Committee heard statements on the U.K. territories of Mauritius, Seychelles, and St. Helena. Following consideration of the three territories in Subcommittee I, the full Committee reviewed and adopted the Subcommittee's report between November 2 and 9. The report recommended that the people of the territories be given the opportunity to "exercise their right of self-determination without delay under United Nations supervision and in complete freedom." It called for more rapid economic, social, and educational advancement in the territories, concrete steps for the final transfer of powers of government to the democratically elected representatives of the inhabitants, and the dissemination in the territories, utilizing all mass media, of the Colonialism Declaration and documents on the work of the Special Committee.

Brunei and Hong Kong

On November 4, 1964, the Rapporteur of Subcommittee II informed the Committee that owing to lack of time his Subcommittee had not been able to consider Brunei and Hong Kong. A few delegations made statements on the two territories, but the Committee took no formal action.

Cocos (Keeling) Islands

The Australian territories, including the Cocos Islands, were initially considered in Subcommittee II. The full Committee considered and approved the conclusions and recommendations of the Subcommittee applicable to the Cocos on November 11 and 12, 1964.

In its general conclusions and recommendations, the Special Committee noted with satisfaction that the established policy of the

Australian Government was to work for the social, educational, economic, and political advancement of the people of its territories; however, it observed, the Australian Government had yet to declare its objective to be the implementation of the Colonialism Declaration. The Special Committee assumed the logical consequence of constitutional advances in the territories would be to realize the objectives of the Declaration but considered that progress in this regard had been slow.

The Committee reaffirmed the right of the peoples of the territories to self-determination and independence and recommended that they be enabled to express their wishes in accordance with the provisions of the Colonialism Declaration "through well established democratic processes under United Nations supervision." It stated that a visiting mission would be useful in assessing the political climate and aspirations of the peoples and that steps might be taken to arrange such a visit in consultation with the Administering Power.

In specific reference to the Cocos, the Committee said the special problems of size and economic viability should not preclude the Administering Power from implementing the Colonialism Declaration. It recommended that the people of the territory should be given the opportunity to express their wishes with respect to their future status and stated that the assistance of the United Nations could be made available in this regard if required.

Cook Islands, Niue, and Tokelau Islands

The New Zealand territories of the Cook Islands, Niue, and the Tokelau Islands were considered first in Subcommittee II. On November 9, 1964, the full Committee considered and approved, with two amendments, the Subcommittee's report.

The Committee welcomed the statement of the New Zealand Representative that the Colonialism Declaration expressed the goals of New Zealand's policy toward its territories. It noted that general elections were to be held in the Cook Islands in early 1965, with the future status of the territory as the chief issue, and that the New Zealand Government had made a solemn declaration that any changes in the constitutional status of the Cook Islands would be decided freely by the people of the islands themselves.

Regarding Niue and the Tokelaus, the Committee indicated that progress toward self-government, particularly in the Tokelaus, had not always kept pace with changing times.

The Committee recommended that the people of the New Zealand territories be enabled to express their wishes in accordance with the provisions of the Colonialism Declaration "through well established

democratic processes under United Nations supervision." It called attention to the aid which could be rendered by the United Nations in such an expression. It also called for an increase in the number of indigenous people employed in the administration of the territories and recommended further and immediate steps in the field of economic development, drawing attention to the availability of U.N. assistance.

New Hebrides, Gilbert and Ellice Islands, Pitcairn Island, and the Solomon Islands

The British territories—New Hebrides, Gilbert and Ellice Islands, Pitcairn Island, and the Solomon Islands—were considered initially in Subcommittee II. On November 16, 1964, the full Committee considered and approved the Subcommittee's report with one amendment.

The Committee acknowledged the peculiar problems of these small and isolated territories. It noted the constitutional changes recently introduced but found the political institutions and executive machinery not fully representative of the people of the territories. It reaffirmed the right of the people to self-determination and independence in conformity with the Colonialism Declaration and recommended that (a) the Administering Power take urgent steps for the speedy implementation of the Declaration, (b) the people be enabled to express their wishes through well-established processes based on the principle of universal adult suffrage, and (c) the Administering Power take steps to accelerate the social and economic advancement of the territories. It also said that a visiting mission would be useful in assessing the political climate and aspirations of the peoples and that steps might be taken to arrange such a visit in consultation with the Administering Power.

Falkland Islands

The Special Committee's Subcommittee III was charged with the initial consideration of the Falklands. In its report to the full Committee, the Subcommittee noted the existence of a "dispute" between the United Kingdom and Argentina concerning sovereignty over the islands and invited the two Governments to enter into negotiations with a view to finding a peaceful solution to the problem, bearing in mind the provisions and objectives of the Charter and of the Colonialism Declaration, the interests of the population of the islands, and the opinions expressed during the course of the general debate.

On November 13, 1964, the Special Committee adopted the Subcommittee's report, after approving by a vote of 19 to 1 (U.K.), with

2 (Australia, U.S.) abstentions, a Syrian-sponsored amendment to the effect that the word "Malvinas", which is the name used by Argentina for this area, should appear in brackets after the words "Falkland Islands" in all documents of the Committee.

Bermuda, Bahamas, Turks and Caicos Islands, and Cayman Islands

On November 13, 1964, the Special Committee considered and approved the report of Subcommittee III on the British territories of Bermuda, Bahamas, Turks and Caicos Islands, and Cayman Islands. The Committee reaffirmed the applicability of the Colonialism Declaration to the territories and noted that the statements of the Administering Power did not mention any concrete measures the Government had taken or intended to take to implement it. The Committee invited the United Kingdom to take measures without delay to enable the people of these islands to express their views on their political future and urged it to accelerate the process of self-determination in the Turks, Caicos, and Cayman Islands by setting up representative bodies there. It also suggested the possibility of a visiting mission.

Antigua, Barbados, British Virgin Islands, Dominica, Grenada, St. Kitts, Nevis, Anguillas, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent

Initial consideration of the British territories of Antigua, Barbados, British Virgin Islands, Dominica, Grenada, St. Kitts, Nevis, Anguillas, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent took place in Subcommittee III. On November 13 and 16, 1964, the Special Committee approved the Subcommittee's report. In the general conclusions, which were also applicable to the U.S. Virgin Islands, the Committee emphasized that the Colonialism Declaration applied to all dependent territories irrespective of size, population, and other factors, and that it was for the peoples of the territories to express themselves freely with regard to the status they wished to adopt in order to achieve the Declaration's objectives. Nevertheless, the Committee acknowledged the peculiar problems posed by size, population, economy, and other factors. And it pointed out the possible desirability of the different types of constitutional arrangements set forth in a 1960 General Assembly resolution which mentioned possible terminal status other than sovereign independence. The Committee also stated that the United Nations must be satisfied that the exercise of self-determination was undertaken in complete freedom. It maintained that information available to the Subcommittee and the Committee on the territories under discussion

was insufficient. The vote on the general conclusions was 13 to 0, with 7 (U.S.) abstentions. A Polish amendment to delete reference to the 1960 resolution was defeated by a vote of 7 in favor to 9 (U.S.), with 5 abstentions.

The report also contained detailed observations and recommendations regarding the individual British territories and stated that the best way to obtain direct information on the views of the people of the islands was to send a visiting mission.

U.S. Virgin Islands

The U.S. Virgin Islands were initially considered in Subcommittee III. In his opening statement to the Subcommittee, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Yates, pointed to the considerable degree of self-government already enjoyed by the Virgin Islanders and the U.S. commitment to encourage responsible self-rule throughout the world, particularly in territories under its jurisdiction. In regard to recent political developments, he described the Virgin Islands Constitutional Convention scheduled to begin on December 7, 1964, which would give the islanders the opportunity further to express their wishes concerning their political future. He also discussed the substantial economic and social progress of the islands and noted that the annual per capita income in 1963 was \$1,370, the highest in the area and on a par with that of a number of developed countries.

Subcommittee III's report on the Virgin Islands was introduced into the full Committee on November 13. At that time the Bulgarian Representative proposed a number of amendments to the Subcommittee's report. The U.S. Representative, Dwight Dickinson, observed that on every occasion when the Committee had begun consideration of a report on an American territory, it had immediately been faced with a number of amendments from a single source, "members of the Soviet bloc." He then submitted a series of amendments "to give the report the tenor it would have had if there had been no compromise" between the views of the majority of Subcommittee III and the views of one member of the Subcommittee, Bulgaria.

On November 16 the Representative of Sierra Leone introduced another set of amendments to the Subcommittee III report. After further discussion, the Representatives of Bulgaria and the United States withdrew their amendments, and all the Sierra Leone amendments were adopted. The Committee's report on the Virgin Islands was then approved by a vote of 14 to 5 (U.S.), with 3 abstentions. In its report the Committee stated that "the people of the Territory should be called upon to choose in complete freedom the form of

their political future" and exercise "their right to self-determination and full independence." The Committee invited the United States to transmit to the General Assembly information concerning the Virgin Islands Constitutional Convention and recommended that a visiting mission be sent to the territory in consultation with the Administering Power.

In an explanation of vote, the U.S. Representative said his delegation could not oppose some of the principles included in the amendments proposed by the Representative of Sierra Leone. Nevertheless, his delegation had voted against the amended report for the reasons he had stated in meetings of Subcommittee III and because the adopted amendments, which were prepared and considered in a single afternoon, greatly impaired the Subcommittee's text, which was the result of a month's work.

See the immediately preceding section on British Caribbean territories for general conclusions of the Committee which were also applicable to the U.S. Virgin Islands (see page 246.).

Guam

Subcommittee II was assigned the initial consideration of Guam. In his opening statement to the Subcommittee, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Yates, explained that the people of Guam, who were U.S. citizens, already enjoyed a significant degree of self-government. He described the Guamanian Government and pointed out that, in accordance with the wishes of the population, the United States saw the next step on the road to full self-government as the direct election of the governor by the people of the island, a proposal to that effect having been submitted to the U.S. Congress. He made clear that the Guamanians had an unrestricted right of petition to make known their wishes in regard to further steps in the exercise of self-government.

Ambassador Yates also discussed economic, educational, and social progress in Guam and outlined the \$83 million development program drawn up following the destructive typhoons of 1962 and 1963. He stated that the standard of living in Guam was one of the highest in dependent territories and higher than that of many independent states. School attendance was compulsory, and in 1962-63 15,000 persons were in Guamanian primary and secondary schools and 1,300 students were enrolled in the College of Guam.

The full Committee considered the Subcommittee's report on November 9, 10, and 11, 1964. After voting to accept three amendments, the Committee on November 11 approved the Subcommittee report.

The final report noted that the people of Guam were enjoying an appreciable degree of self-government but asserted that progress toward full self-government and independence was not adequate. It stated that large powers of control in the executive and legislative spheres were in the hands of the Administering Power, thus restricting the exercise of self-government by the people. It mentioned a proposal to the U.S. Congress for an elected governor for Guam but said there was no timetable of effective measures for the speedy implementation of the Colonialism Declaration. The Committee was aware of the dependence of the Guamanian economy on the military and other activities of the United States but noted with satisfaction the recently formulated development plans.

In the recommendations section of the report, the Committee reaffirmed the "inalienable right of the people of Guam to self-government and independence in conformity with" the Colonialism Declaration; requested the United States to take urgent and adequate measures for the application of the Declaration, with the assistance of the United Nations if required; and asked the United States to provide further educational and training facilities for the people of the territory and to implement its plans for diversification of the economy. The Committee stated that a Subcommittee visit to the territory would be useful and that steps might be taken to arrange such a visit in consultation with the Administering Power.

During the debate on the report, the U.S. Representative, Mr. Dickinson, brought to the Committee's attention a 1962 resolution of the Guam legislature which declared, *inter alia*, that the people of Guam wished a continued association with the United States. He reserved his Government's position on the report.

American Samoa

American Samoa was assigned to Subcommittee II for initial consideration. In his opening statement, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Yates, explained the constitutional status of the territory and pointed out that the United States had tried to preserve the Samoan culture while promoting the territory's progressive development toward self-government and assisting the Samoan people to achieve the greatest possible degree of self-support.

The U.S. Representative reminded the Subcommittee that in 1962 the Samoan legislature had unanimously passed a resolution regarding the applicability of the Colonialism Declaration to the territory. It stated that the Samoan people did not regard themselves as subjected to alien domination or exploitation, that they valued their U.S. nationality, that they did not want the relationship of the territory

to the United States to be weakened, and that, if there was any doubt on the matter, the legislature would be glad to arrange for a plebiscite to which the United Nations could send an observer.

The U.S. Representative also reviewed economic, educational, and social progress in Samoa and the considerable U.S. efforts to that end.

On November 10, 1964, the Special Committee considered and adopted, with several amendments, the Subcommittee report on American Samoa.

The final report stated that, while constitutional progress had been recorded in the territory, American Samoa was still far from the goal of self-government and independence as set forth in the Colonialism Declaration. Executive powers were still exercised by officials of the Administering Authority, and the Governor and the Secretary of the Interior of the United States had final authority with regard to legislative matters. The Committee found evidence that the United States had not taken all the necessary measures for the implementation of the Declaration. It noted the recent establishment of a constitutional committee charged with proposing revisions to the present constitution and the "important assistance and aid" the United States was giving "at the present time" toward the development of the territory.

In the recommendations section of the report, the Committee reaffirmed the "inalienable right of the people of American Samoa to self-government and independence in conformity with the [Colonialism] Declaration" It requested the Administering Authority to "undertake immediate steps for the implementation of the provisions" of the Declaration and recommended that the people of the territory "be given the earliest possible opportunity to express fully their wishes with regard to their future status and the assistance of the United Nations could be made available in this regard, if required." The report stated that a visiting mission would be useful for obtaining first hand information and that steps might therefore be taken to arrange a visit in consultation with the Administering Power.

The U.S. Representative, Dwight Dickinson, said the report did not reflect accurately either the situation in the territory or the aspirations of its peoples. He also said the United States could not support the paragraph calling for a visiting mission to the territory.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA

Special Committee of 24 Consideration: March 6-24, 1964

On March 12, 1964, during the general debate on Southern Rhodesia in the Special Committee on the Situation with Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (also referred to as the Special Committee of 24 or the Special Committee), the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Sidney R. Yates, recalled his statement during the Committee's 1963 debate. He had expressed the hope that the people of Southern Rhodesia would be granted the opportunity for self-determination, that the territory's constitution would be amended to provide for realistic liberalization of the franchise looking to universal adult suffrage and the ultimate establishment of a government based on the consent of the governed, that steps would be taken to break down existing patterns of racial discrimination, and that the grant of self-determination would lead to the establishment of peaceful and advantageous relations between Southern Rhodesia and its neighbors. At that time the United States had regretfully stated that no improvement had occurred; one year later the situation remained unchanged. Nevertheless, the United States considered that the goals it had outlined in 1963 were still attainable.

Three political developments bearing on the situation deserved consideration. First, there was the orderly dismantling of the Federation and the impending independence of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia. Second, in assessing the United Kingdom's intention to work toward a solution acceptable to all the people of Southern Rhodesia, it should be recalled that the U.K. Prime Minister had stated at the last session of the General Assembly that his Government was dedicated to the principle of majority rule. While not ends in themselves that statement and a similar statement made by the Prime Minister in Parliament could be regarded as important steps along the road to a peaceful settlement in Southern Rhodesia. Third, the situation in Southern Rhodesia, in sharp contrast to the two hopeful developments, had "continued to deteriorate." The United States "deplored" the recent increase in civil disturbances and the economic difficulties which "failure to face reality" had brought; the United States "deplored" the Southern Rhodesian Government's action in detaining numerous Africans without trial under security measures about which the African populace had never been consulted.

Regarding threats by the Southern Rhodesian Government to

achieve independence under other than agreed conditions, the U.S. Representative stated:

It is . . . difficult for my Government to understand why the Southern Rhodesian Government insists upon playing the futile game of seeking independence under minority rule when it should be striving with honest determination to lead all its people to the enjoyment of fundamental human rights as well as to the impressive economic and social advantage which this richly endowed country affords. In this connection, I should like to mention the provocative statements of certain political leaders in Southern Rhodesia who have called for a unilateral declaration of independence from the United Kingdom. My delegation wishes to make it crystal clear that we believe such a unilateral act would make violence inevitable in Southern Rhodesia.

. . . I am sure that the Southern Rhodesian Government is aware of the widely held view that independence under conditions which do not have the approval of a majority of the people of Southern Rhodesia would obtain little international endorsement throughout the world community. I believe that subsequent statements and subsequent expressions on this subject by members of the world community, including members of the Commonwealth, should dissipate any lingering doubts about the international reaction to any such unilateral declaration which any of the people of Southern Rhodesia may have.

In the view of the United States, the situation required two immediate steps. First, the Government of Southern Rhodesia should be fully informed of the consequences of a unilateral declaration of independence, an act which would be not only constitutionally illegal but would also have "grave significance for the people of Southern Rhodesia, as well as presenting an incalculable danger for the tranquility and peace of Southern Africa." Second, in view of objections to a constitutional conference and given the necessity of establishing some form of communication between the parties concerned, an "exploratory conference" to discuss grievances and present suggestions for constitutional change should be held.

The U.S. Representative urged the United Kingdom, "regardless of what its authority may be," to bring all the parties together in an informal discussion. The situation in Southern Rhodesia was difficult and complex; because of the constitutional relationship the U.K. Government had to approach the problem with circumspection. Nevertheless, the U.S. Representative concluded, "the United Kingdom is not without experience in colonial matters and my Delegation has confidence in its ability to move towards a solution which would be acceptable to everybody concerned."

At the conclusion of its general debate on March 23, the Special Committee had before it a draft resolution on Southern Rhodesia which it adopted by a vote of 18 to 0, with 5 (Australia, Denmark, Italy, U.S., Venezuela) abstentions.

Though the United Kingdom participated in the discussions in the

Committee of 24 in 1964, it did not participate in the voting on Southern Rhodesia.

In addition to calling the Security Council's attention to what was described as a "serious threat to international peace and security," the resolution deplored the "continued refusal" of the United Kingdom to implement resolutions of the General Assembly and the Committee of 24 on Southern Rhodesia. The Special Committee urged the United Kingdom to implement immediately the resolution on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples; invited the United Kingdom to "hold without delay a constitutional conference in which representatives of all political parties of the Territory will take part with a view to making constitutional arrangements for independence on the basis of universal adult suffrage, including the fixing of the earliest date for independence"; urged the United Kingdom to "warn emphatically the minority settler government against the consequences of a unilateral declaration of independence and to take appropriate measures to prevent the implementation of such a declaration"; called upon the United Kingdom to "declare categorically" that Southern Rhodesia would not be given independence except on the basis of majority rule and universal adult suffrage; called upon all members to "take without delay" whatever measures they deemed appropriate to get the United Kingdom to implement General Assembly resolutions on Southern Rhodesia; and requested all states to refrain from supplying arms and ammunition to Southern Rhodesia.

In an explanation of its vote, the U.S. Representative stated that the United States shared the objective of insuring the realization of the legitimate aspirations of the peoples of Southern Rhodesia. The situation in the territory had indeed deteriorated but it could not be described as a "serious threat to international peace and security" as those terms were used in the Charter. Further, the use of the word "deplores" with respect to U.K. action was inappropriate and did not take into account the realities of the U.K. position that Southern Rhodesia is a self-governing territory. Nor was the call for a formal constitutional conference practical in view of the opposition of certain of the parties concerned. In the opinion of the United States an informal conference would establish vital communication between the parties and "might be the means of producing motion and circumventing what appears to be at least a temporary obstacle."

Political Prisoners

On the following day, the Special Committee considered a draft resolution noting the Committee's grave concern about the fate of

persons condemned to death under the amended Law and Order (Maintenance) Act and the fate of many political prisoners detained without trial in Southern Rhodesia. The operative paragraphs of the resolution requested the United Kingdom to use all its "powers and prerogatives to save the lives of those persons condemned to death under the amended Law and Order (Maintenance) Act and to ensure the release of all political prisoners" and asked the Secretary-General to bring the Committee's resolution to the attention of the United Kingdom and to report to the Special Committee on its implementation. The Committee approved the resolution by a vote of 21 to 0, with 2 (Australia, U.S.) abstentions.

In explaining the U.S. vote, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Yates, stated that despite its abstention the United States was deeply concerned about the fate of the prisoners and about the legislation under which they were condemned. The United States, he said, "strongly opposes the detention of political prisoners without trial anywhere in the world; and had the draft resolution . . . been directed solely to that point, or had the point been separable, the United States would have voted accordingly." Concluding, the U.S. Representative said the United States regarded as "unduly harsh" the imposition of the death penalty as a matter of automatic judgment. "We are prepared," he said, "to join in an appeal for clemency should the conviction be upheld under the due processes of the law. We are prepared to do so because . . . we believe that the mandatory death sentence in the particular circumstances of the case which was the subject of the draft resolution is unquestionably harsh."

On April 27, 1964, after the arrest of Joshua Nkomo and other African nationalist leaders, the Special Committee considered a draft resolution expressing deep concern over the "serious deterioration" of the situation in Southern Rhodesia following the then recent arrests and restrictions of political leaders. Stating that the Committee was "convinced of the specific responsibilities" of the United Kingdom, the resolution (a) deprecated what it called the "continued refusal" of the United Kingdom to implement U.N. resolutions on Southern Rhodesia; (b) requested the United Kingdom to take the necessary steps to secure the immediate release of Mr. Nkomo and other political prisoners; (c) again called upon the United Kingdom to hold immediately a constitutional conference to make arrangements for independence; and (d) asked that the text of the resolution be communicated to the United Kingdom and that the Secretary-General report back to the Special Committee by May 4, 1964. By a vote of 19 to 0, with 3 (Australia, Italy, U.S.) abstentions, the Committee adopted the resolution.

Explaining the U.S. abstention on grounds similar to those cited in earlier cases, the U.S. Representative made clear that the United States was in full agreement with the objectives of the resolution. He recalled an earlier U.S. statement warning against "the cycle of oppression and violence" that would follow a breakdown of communication between the parties, and stated that the arrests of the nationalist leaders were increasing tensions in a situation where tensions desperately needed to be relaxed.

Subcommittee Visit to London

In March a suggestion was made in the Special Committee that a subcommittee visit London. On March 18, 1964, the U.K. Representative stated that his Government would be willing to receive such a subcommittee in London. When in April reference was again made to the possibility of a subcommittee visit to London, the U.K. Representative reiterated his Government's willingness to receive a subcommittee on the same basis as it had received a similar subcommittee in 1963.

On May 18, 1964, the Special Committee adopted without vote a resolution taking note of the United Kingdom's willingness to enter into an exchange of views and recording the Committee's decision to send to London a subcommittee composed of five members, appointed by the chairman, to discuss with the U.K. Government the implementation of General Assembly and Special Committee of 24 resolutions concerning Southern Rhodesia. On May 22, 1964, the Committee adopted another resolution, by a vote of 18 (U.S.) to 0, with 4 (Australia, Denmark, Italy, Tunisia) abstentions. Venezuela was absent and the United Kingdom did not participate in the voting. The resolution authorized the Subcommittee "to visit such places in Africa as it may consider necessary" in connection with its mandate.

The Subcommittee named by the chairman of the Special Committee consisted of the Representatives of Ethiopia, Mali, Sierra Leone, and Yugoslavia. A fifth member, the Representative of Syria, was unable to take part in the work of the Subcommittee because of ill health. Accompanied by the U.N. Under Secretary for Trusteeship and Non-Self-Governing Territories, the Subcommittee visited London from May 30 to June 5, 1964. It met with various U.K. officials, including the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, and for the Colonies, the Minister of State for Commonwealth Relations, and certain Foreign Office officials.

In its report of June 17 to the Special Committee of 24, the Subcommittee stated that "it was made clear to the Subcommittee that

though in the view of the United Kingdom Government this situation did not constitute a serious threat to international peace and security, it appreciated that conditions of tension prevailed in the Territory." The Subcommittee also noted the belief of the U.K. Government "that in order to prevent a deterioration in the situation, a compromise solution was not only desirable, but was not impossible." The United Kingdom did not elaborate upon the nature of the compromise it envisaged; however, the Subcommittee gained the impression "that the United Kingdom had in mind an enlargement of the franchise, but to an extent which would fall significantly short of universal adult suffrage." The Subcommittee had no objection to a compromise solution "fully agreed upon between all the parties concerned on the basis of full democratic freedom, the principle of majority rule and equality of political rights; however, the continued denial to the Africans of their legitimate and inalienable rights precludes the attainment of any compromise solution" In the view of the Subcommittee the United Kingdom was "preoccupied with the interests of the minority European elements and with its own economic relations with Southern Rhodesia, to the exclusion of the interests of the African population, for which it bears responsibility."

The Subcommittee considered that "the plea put forward that the United Kingdom has not the complete competence to ensure the establishment of the legitimate rights of the people is . . . untenable, and serves only to perpetuate the injustice and inequality meted out to the African majority forty years ago." It described the U.K. statement to the effect that, since it had no power to insure the implementation of the Subcommittee's suggestions, it would "merely transmit" them to the Southern Rhodesian Government as a "flagrant denial of its responsibilities to protect the interests of the majority of the Territory's inhabitants and a deplorable refusal to discharge its obligations under the Charter and under the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly on this question."

The Subcommittee's report concluded by suggesting that the Security Council consider the question of Southern Rhodesia "as a matter of great urgency." The Council might consider recommendations on (1) the release of Joshua Nkomo and all other political prisoners; (2) the repeal of all repressive and discriminatory legislation, in particular the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act and the Land Apportionment Act; (3) the removal of all restrictions on African political activity and the establishment of full democratic freedom and equality of political rights; and (4) the holding of a constitutional conference in which representatives of all political parties would take part with a view to making constitutional arrange-

ments for independence on the basis of universal adult suffrage, including the fixing of the earliest possible date for independence.

On June 26, 1964, the Special Committee adopted a resolution approving the Subcommittee report; deploring what it called the "negative attitude" which prevented the Subcommittee from attaining its objectives and the "persistent refusal" of the Administering Authority to cooperate; and drawing the immediate attention of the Security Council to the Subcommittee report. The resolution was adopted by a vote of 20 to 0, with 3 (Australia, Italy, U.S.) abstentions.

On July 3 the Special Committee adopted its report to the General Assembly on Southern Rhodesia and on July 28 transmitted it to the President of the Security Council.

Special Committee of 24 Consideration: October 26-28, 1964

On October 26, 1964, after the Southern Rhodesian Government completed its controversial polling of Chiefs and Headmen on the question of independence, and in the face of an impending unilateral declaration on independence by that Government, the Special Committee again considered the situation in Southern Rhodesia. On October 27 the Representative of the United Kingdom read to the Committee a statement issued by his Government in London. It expressed the United Kingdom's deep concern at the course of events in Southern Rhodesia and made public a statement the United Kingdom had given the Southern Rhodesian Government in order to avoid "any misunderstanding that . . . the inevitable consequences of a unilateral declaration of independence would be very serious indeed." The statement to the Southern Rhodesian Government reaffirmed the intent of the United Kingdom to grant independence under conditions "acceptable to the people of the country as a whole," and warned of the consequences of a unilateral declaration of independence. It concluded:

In short, an illegal declaration of independence in Southern Rhodesia would bring to an end relationships between her and Britain, would cut her off from the rest of the Commonwealth, from most foreign Governments and from international organizations, would inflict disastrous economic damage upon her and would leave her isolated and virtually friendless in a largely hostile continent.

At the end of the ensuing debate, the chairman of the Special Committee submitted a consensus which he announced would have the force of a Committee decision. In the consensus, the Committee noted "with great interest" the statement by the U.K. Representative and, after drawing the attention of the Security Council to the

situation, stated that "any decision the Government of Southern Rhodesia might take on the basis of the spurious consultation with the tribal chiefs or of consultations organized solely with the present electorate of Southern Rhodesia would be illegal, since the people of Southern Rhodesia have rejected the Territory's present Constitution." The Committee concluded by inviting its Subcommittee on Southern Rhodesia to keep the situation under review, to establish renewed contacts with the U.K. Government, if the latter so desired, and to report to the Special Committee as soon as possible.

On October 28, 1964, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Marietta P. Tree, read a statement issued earlier that day by the U.S. Department of State. It said that the United States had followed the course of events in Southern Rhodesia with "mounting concern" and recalled that on frequent occasions the United States had expressed the hope that a solution would be found to the Southern Rhodesian problem acceptable to the majority of the people. The United States continued to hope that Southern Rhodesia would "gain independence as a united nation with a government based upon the consent of the governed." With regard to the statement presented by the U.K. Government to the Government of Southern Rhodesia, the U.S. statement continued:

We have been encouraged by the forthright position taken by the British Government in insisting that it would not sanction independence for Rhodesia until satisfied that the people had been allowed the full exercise of self-determination. Prime Minister Wilson's message . . . makes clear some of the serious consequences which could befall all Rhodesians should their government continue to follow its present course.

The U.S. statement concluded by expressing the hope that the Southern Rhodesian Government would "continue to discuss with the United Kingdom Government ways to achieve a satisfactory solution."

Further Special Committee of 24 Consideration: November 17, 1964

On November 17, 1964, following a meeting between the Subcommittee and the U.K. Representative, the chairman of the Subcommittee submitted an oral report. He said that the U.K. Representative had informed the Subcommittee that it was not yet possible to assess the full impact of the earlier U.K. warning on the Southern Rhodesian Government and on public opinion. The United Kingdom had invited the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia to London for talks but had received no firm reply. The U.K. Representative stated that, on behalf of his Government, he would be prepared to explore

with the Special Committee, at the appropriate time, new forms and areas of cooperation in its work.

In its conclusions the Subcommittee took note of the U.K. Representative's remarks and expressed the view that, while the warning the United Kingdom had addressed to the Government of Southern Rhodesia might be adequate to deter it from a unilateral declaration of independence for the present, stronger measures should be urgently considered. The wishes of the African majority and the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Special Committee should be fully taken into account in any solution. The Subcommittee noted the U.K. rejection of the Southern Rhodesian Government's methods of testing African opinion on independence and expressed its awareness of consultations then in progress between the U.K. Government and the Government of Southern Rhodesia. Stating that its deep concern over the gravity of the situation had not diminished since its report of June 17, 1964, the Subcommittee stressed the urgent necessity of achieving the political and legislative measures set forth in that report. Finally, the Subcommittee suggested that the Special Committee might wish to authorize it to continue to keep the situation under review and to maintain contact with the U.K. Representative.

On November 19, 1964, the Special Committee took note of the oral report of the Subcommittee on Southern Rhodesia.

TERRITORIES UNDER PORTUGUESE ADMINISTRATION

Secretary-General's Report

In accordance with a request contained in the Security Council resolution of December 11, 1963, concerning territories under Portuguese administration, the Secretary-General reported to the Council in 1964. The report of May 29, 1964, alluded to past U.N. resolutions and drew attention to the Portuguese-African talks (held in late 1963), which had been devoted mainly to the clarification of the Portuguese Government's concept of "self-determination." The report noted the Portuguese Foreign Minister's reference during these talks to the new electoral law in the Portuguese territories and to the elections held under it in the latter part of March 1964. The Secretary-General had, however, received no information from Portugal concerning any steps it had taken to implement the resolutions of the Security Council. The report stated that, although the Secretary-General was in consultation with the Government of Portugal and the representatives of

the African states on the possibility of continuing the talks between them, he was not as yet in a position to report any positive developments. The Security Council did not discuss the Secretary-General's report.

Special Committee of 24 Consideration: June 9–July 3, 1964

The Special Committee on the Situation with Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (usually referred to as the Committee of 24 or the Special Committee) opened its discussion of the territories under Portuguese administration with the testimony of a petitioner on June 9. In the debate which followed, many Committee members echoed the substance of Ethiopia's statement pointing to Portugal's refusal to cooperate with the United Nations and Portugal's "repressive policies . . . to suppress the national movements in these Territories," which had "driven thousands of Africans into exile." The U.S.S.R., in an attack on the role of foreign investment in the Portuguese territories, made a broad and prolonged assault on "foreign monopolies," "NATO countries," and "economic assistance to Portugal."

The Representative of Sierra Leone then introduced a draft resolution cosponsored by 11 Afro-Asian members of the Committee of 24 and Yugoslavia. It recalled previous resolutions adopted in the United Nations since 1960, noted "the situation in the Territories under Portuguese administration in the context of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council," and noted "with concern the activities of foreign economic and other interests in the territories under Portuguese administration which are detrimental to the political aspirations of the indigenous people."

In its operative section, the draft resolution:

1. Deplored "that Portugal has not taken any effective steps to implement the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council";

2. Condemned "strongly the Government of Portugal for its continued refusal to implement the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples contained in resolution 1514 (XV), contrary to its obligations under the Charter of the United Nations";

3. Reaffirmed "that for a peaceful solution of the problem of the Territories under Portuguese administration, which, as the Security Council has determined is seriously disturbing peace and security in Africa, it is necessary that Portugal implement the measures laid down in the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security

Council, and in particular, those contained in Security Council resolution of 31 July 1963 . . .”;

4. Drew “the immediate attention of the Security Council to the deteriorating situation in the Territories under Portuguese administration with the view to its taking appropriate measures to secure compliance by Portugal with the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council”;

5. Requested “the Secretary-General to transmit this resolution and the records of the debates on this question to the Security Council”;

6. Further requested “the Secretary-General to invite the High Commissioner for Refugees and the specialized agencies concerned to consider the possibility of extending medical and other assistance to the increasing numbers of refugees from Territories under Portuguese administration”;

7. Requested “Sub-Committee I of the Special Committee, with the assistance of the Secretary-General, to study the activities of foreign economic and other interests, which are impeding the implementation of the Declaration on the granting of independence in the Territories under Portuguese administration”; and

8. Decided “to maintain this item on its agenda.”

Following the introduction of the draft resolution, the Danish Representative stated that he found “the language of the draft resolution somewhat strong,” especially in paragraph 2 of the operative section, and did “not believe that such strong language is a useful means of furthering the cause we have in mind.” Rejecting the critical remarks on NATO made by some delegations, the Danish Representative noted that “NATO is an organization, the only purpose of which is to preserve peace and freedom.” Australia’s Representative said he believed “that self-determination, as a policy, should be applied to the Portuguese territories in Africa.” The Australian Representative noted, however, that the Portuguese-African talks on the nature of self-determination, “the crux of this issue,” were “by no means on the point of conclusion and should be started again” as part of “continuing efforts to find a solution.” The Representative of Bulgaria hoped that the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD—see page 178) would “make efforts to stop” practices inconsistent with U.N. resolutions, citing the recent IBRD grant of two large loans to the Portuguese Government.

On July 3 the draft resolution was brought to a vote. Upon the request of the Representative of the United Kingdom separate votes were taken on certain specific paragraphs. Operative paragraph 2 was adopted by 16 votes to 3 (U.S., U.K., Australia), with 4 (Denmark,

Chile, Uruguay, Venezuela) abstentions. Paragraph 4 was adopted 19 to 2 (U.K., U.S.), with 2 (Australia, Denmark) abstentions. Paragraph 7 was adopted by a vote of 18 to 2 (U.K., U.S.), with 3 (Australia, Denmark, Venezuela) abstentions. Italy was absent when the separate votes by paragraph were taken. The resolution as a whole was adopted by a vote of 20 to 0, with 4 (Australia, Italy, U.K., U.S.) abstentions.

In an explanation of the vote, Dwight Dickinson, the U.S. Representative, questioned the advisability of a Security Council meeting. What the present situation called for, he said, "is not a Security Council action, but rather a resumption of the Portuguese-African talks." The U.S. Representative also questioned "the implications in operative paragraph 7 and the [similar] preambular paragraph that foreign economic activities in the Portuguese territories are prejudicial to the political interests of the people concerned. In fact, the assumption that foreign investment impedes political progress is contrary to the experience of most Member States of the United Nations." He recalled once more the United States' "strong support for the principle of self-determination and for the valuable and tireless efforts of the Secretary-General to bring together the Portuguese and African leaders so that they might set out once more upon the path of reason which still remains open." In similar vein the U.K. Representative said that the United Kingdom agreed "with the general objectives of the Special Committee on this question, but . . . not . . . with its methods, nor with the kind of language used in the resolution." He took particular exception to operative paragraph 7 as a "loaded directive."

On November 13, 1964, Subcommittee I, reporting to the Special Committee of 24 pursuant to paragraph 7 of the resolution (see page 261), stated that the U.N. Secretariat had informed it of steps it had taken to collect material on the subject and to organize the necessary research and that "subject to any decisions that the Special Committee might take, it would consider this question as soon as the necessary working papers for the study were prepared."

SOUTH-WEST AFRICA

Special Committee of 24 Consideration: April 15–July 2, 1964

The Special Committee of 24 (see page 234) considered the question of the Mandated Territory of South-West Africa at 10 meetings.

between April 15 and July 2, 1964, and heard four petitioners. South Africa, in a letter dated April 17, declined to participate in the Committee's proceedings, noting that, apart from its attitude on the jurisdiction of the Committee of 24, it believed it incumbent on the parties to the proceedings before the International Court of Justice (see page 274) and on the United Nations to comply with the *sub judice* principle, i.e., not to take any action on a matter under consideration by the Court.

As in previous years, petitioners and members of the Committee strongly criticized South Africa's administration of the Territory. Specifically, they objected to the recommendations of the Odendaal Report—a study prepared by a special South African commission and tabled in the South African Parliament in January 1964, proposing to the South African Government comprehensive economic and administrative changes in South-West Africa. They charged that these recommendations, if carried out, would prejudice matters being considered by the International Court of Justice. Several African and Asian members claimed that “annexation” and “partition” were implicit in the Odendaal recommendations. Delegations opposed specifically the plans to create 11 non-white “homelands,” many members agreeing with Denmark that “the homeland idea brought forward in that report is based upon . . . deplorable apartheid views and . . . does not give the African people a share either of the area of the country or of its economic resources.”

On May 20, 1964, Sierra Leone introduced a draft resolution, co-sponsored by 15 members, which, *inter alia*, condemned the Government of the Republic of South Africa “for its persistent refusal to cooperate with the United Nations” and called upon South Africa “to desist from implementing the recommendations” of the Odendaal Report. The resolution considered that “any attempt to annex a part or the whole of the Territory” would constitute “an act contrary to international law and a clear violation of the Mandate and the Charter of the United Nations which will endanger international peace and security.” The resolution also drew the attention of the Security Council “to the critical situation in South-West Africa the continuation of which constitutes a serious threat to international peace and security and a clear violation of the Charter of the United Nations.”

Speaking to this draft, several delegations, including that of the United States, objected to characterization of a future and hypothetical situation in South-West Africa as endangering international peace and security. The United States, joined by Australia and the United Kingdom, favored wording that would describe the con-

tinuation of the present situation in South-West Africa as "seriously disturbing international peace and security" rather than as "a serious threat to international peace and security" (the latter language implying the applicability of coercive measures against South Africa). The United States, supported by the United Kingdom, also regretted that the draft resolution "does not take any note of the South African Government's stated policy that it will, until the case before the International Court of Justice has been concluded, refrain from action which may be regarded as even theoretically detrimental or prejudicial to the alleged rights of the applicant States." Consonant with this policy the United States understood that South Africa had deferred decision on a number of recommendations in the Odendaal Report. At the same time the United States maintained that while it could not support the language of the draft resolution, it was opposed to the extension of *apartheid* into the Territory and to any moves which might be taken without reference to the freely expressed will of all the people of the Territory.

The Committee adopted the draft resolution on May 21 by a vote of 21 to 0, with 3 (Australia, U.K., U.S.) abstentions. In a separate paragraph vote, the paragraph that called continuation of the situation in South-West Africa "a serious threat to international peace and security and a clear violation of the Charter of the United Nations" was adopted by a vote of 19 to 3 (U.S.), with 2 abstentions.

In a resolution on petitions relating to South-West Africa, adopted on November 13, 1964, the Committee noted it had taken these petitions into account and drew the attention of the petitioners concerned to the Committee's reports on the Territory.

Mining Study

One of the provisions of the General Assembly's resolution of November 13, 1963, on South-West Africa directed the Committee of 24 "to consider . . . the implications of the activities of the mining industry and of the other international companies having interests in South-West Africa, in order to assess their economic and political influence and their mode of operation." The Committee on March 25, 1964, accordingly requested its Subcommittee I (see page 235) to take up the subject. In response to the Subcommittee's request, the U.N. Secretariat prepared a factual background working paper on the South-West African mining industry and other international businesses in the Territory.

The Subcommittee considered the question between April 13 and October 14, when it adopted a report consisting of most of the Secre-

tariat's background material and a set of conclusions and recommendations drafted by the Subcommittee. These recommendations strongly condemned South Africa for granting concessions to international companies in South-West Africa and strongly condemned the activities and operating methods of these companies, which, the Subcommittee claimed, constituted obstacles to the Territory's progress toward independence and its political, economic, and social progress. The recommendations called particularly upon the United Kingdom and the United States—and upon South Africa—to put an end to the activities of the international companies, "which are detrimental to the interests of the population of South-West Africa." Among other provisions, the draft recommendations requested the application of more decisive economic and political sanctions against the Republic of South Africa, called upon South Africa to put an end to *apartheid* in South-West Africa, and appealed especially to the United States and the United Kingdom to cease to give any support to the Government of South Africa.

The Special Committee of 24 considered the Subcommittee's report and its recommendations at eight meetings between October 30 and November 10. In these debates the United States objected strongly to the recommendations, which, it considered, constituted "a largely unconstructive and unfounded series of condemnations" and "politically inspired invective." The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Marietta Tree, observed that the Subcommittee had not only exceeded the terms of reference established by the General Assembly in requesting the study but also had ignored the facts in the Secretariat's background study. The United States was also unable to understand the request that it cease to give any support to South Africa, in view of the U.S. record concerning the issue of *apartheid*. Such allegations jeopardized the serious purposes of the Special Committee of 24. The United States remained willing to support constructive action for political progress in South Africa, but considered it improper to send such an inaccurate and contentious report to the General Assembly.

On November 10 the Special Committee of 24 adopted the report of its Subcommittee as a whole by a vote of 16 to 4 (Australia, Italy, U.K., U.S.), with 4 (Chile, Denmark, Uruguay, Venezuela) abstentions. In a separate vote the recommendations of the report were adopted by 16 to 6 (Australia, Denmark, Italy, U.K., U.S., Venezuela), with 2 (Chile, Uruguay) abstentions.

SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAMS

Non-Self-Governing Territories

Regularly since 1954 the General Assembly has invited member states to extend offers of study and training facilities to the inhabitants of non-self-governing territories. The General Assembly unanimously reaffirmed its previous action on the subject in a resolution adopted on December 16, 1963, and urged members to continue their scholarship programs.

In September 1964 the United States informed the Secretary-General that 115 new grants had been made under educational and cultural programs of the U.S. Government for the 1963-64 academic year. As an indication of the many additional scholarships made available by nongovernmental organizations, the U.S. report noted that in 1963-64 5,742 students from non-self-governing territories were in institutions of higher learning in the United States.

South-West Africa

In 1961 the General Assembly created a special educational and training program for the inhabitants of South-West Africa. A further General Assembly resolution, unanimously adopted on November 13, 1963, invited member states, *inter alia*, to consider providing in their scholarship offers opportunities for secondary education and vocational and technical training. In a note dated October 9, 1964, the United States informed the U.N. Secretary-General that it had made available to South-West Africans 10 scholarships for the 1963-64 academic year. All 10 of these scholarships had been filled; eight students were already studying in the United States and the remaining two were expected to arrive shortly. Seven of these grantees were studying at the high school level on renewable scholarships intended to see them through their first university degree. The United States also advised the Secretary-General of its plans to offer an additional 10 full scholarships to South-West Africans in 1964-65.

Portuguese Territories

The General Assembly established a special training program in 1962 for the indigenous inhabitants of the territories under Portuguese administration. A General Assembly resolution of December 16, 1963, extended the program and asked the U.N. Secretary-General to continue his efforts to make available the benefits of such programs

to indigenous inhabitants of the territories under Portuguese administration as well as to those temporarily residing outside those territories.

In its general report on scholarships awarded to inhabitants of non-self-governing territories, the United States notified the Secretary-General that the U.S. Government had awarded a total of 18 new grants to Angolan and Mozambican students in 1963-64.

Trust Territories

Under the special U.N. scholarship program for students from trust territories which was established by the General Assembly in 1952, the U.N. Secretary-General submits an annual report to the Trusteeship Council containing appropriate details of the program. In his report of May 15, 1964, the Secretary-General recorded offers by member states of study and training facilities. No applications for such facilities under this program had been received from any trust territory in the previous year, it was noted, and accordingly information on the program was being sent for distribution to Nauru, New Guinea, and the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

The United States had indicated in previous reports it was favorably disposed to the provision by member states of scholarships and training facilities. Moreover, the United States disseminated information on the U.N. program to the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. At the same time it noted that inhabitants of that Territory tend to gravitate toward the United States because of the adequacy of U.S. facilities, and because they prefer instruction in English.

Legal and Constitutional Developments

Legal and constitutional questions are relevant to a significant part of the work of the United Nations. These questions are discussed in other parts of this report in connection with the underlying issues to which they relate. However, because of their essentially legal character, part IV deals separately with the activities of the International Court of Justice, the International Law Commission, and subsidiary organs constituted at the instance of the U.N. General Assembly's Legal (Sixth) Committee.

INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE

During 1964 no further states accepted the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice. However, Turkey renewed for another 5 years, and without change, its declaration accepting the Court's compulsory jurisdiction.

The International Court of Justice delivered one judgment on Preliminary Objections—the Case Concerning the Barcelona Traction, Light and Power Co., Ltd. At the end of the year, two cases—the South-West Africa Case and the Case Concerning the Barcelona Traction, Light and Power Co., Ltd.—remained on the Court's docket.

Case Concerning the Barcelona Traction, Light and Power Co., Ltd. (Belgium v. Spain)

Belgium, on September 15, 1958, instituted proceedings against Spain in the International Court of Justice on behalf of Belgian nationals who were shareholders in the Barcelona Traction, Light and Power Co., Ltd. The Belgian Government alleged that the conduct of Spanish authorities, by virtue of which the Company was

declared bankrupt and its property liquidated, was contrary to international law, that Spain was responsible for the damage which had resulted, and that Spain was obligated to restore the property rights and interests of the Company as they existed prior to its adjudication in bankruptcy or to pay Belgium compensation. In May 1960 Spain filed objections to the jurisdiction of the Court. However, before the Belgian observations on the objections were submitted, representatives of the private Belgian and Spanish interests decided to enter into negotiations for a settlement. Belgium informed the Court on March 23, 1961, that, in accordance with its right under article 69 of the Rules of the Court, it was not going on with the proceeding. Subsequently, Spain informed the Court that it had no objection to the discontinuance. On April 10, 1961, the Court made an order under the terms of article 69, paragraph 2, and removed the case from its list.

In due course discussions took place between representatives of private interests in the Company, but no agreement was reached. Thereafter, on June 19, 1962, Belgium instituted new proceedings against Spain before the Court. Within the time limit for filing its counter-memorial, Spain raised certain Preliminary Objections to the jurisdiction of the Court. The proceedings on the merits were thereupon suspended by Order of March 16, 1963, a time limit being fixed by the Court for the filing by Belgium of its Observations and Submissions in reply to the Preliminary Objections. Belgium filed its Observations and Submissions within the required time, and hearings were scheduled on the Preliminary Objections.

The Court handed down its judgment on the Preliminary Objections on July 24, 1964, rejecting Spain's first and second Preliminary Objections and joining the third and fourth Preliminary Objections to the merits. By subsequent Order dated July 28, 1964, the Court fixed July 1, 1965, as the time limit for filing of the Spanish counter-memorial.

The Court judgment of July 24, 1964, dealt with Spain's four Preliminary Objections to the competence of the Court or the admissibility of the claim. These objections were in brief: (1) that the discontinuance of the previous proceedings relative to the same events in Spain disentitled Belgium from bringing the present proceedings; (2) that, even if this were not the case, the Court was not competent because the necessary jurisdictional basis requiring Spain to submit to the jurisdiction of the Court did not exist; (3) that even if the Court were competent, the claim was inadmissible because Belgium lacked any standing in law to make a claim on behalf of Belgian interests in a Canadian company, assuming that the Belgian character of such interests were established; and (4) that even if Belgium had the

necessary standing in law, the claim remained inadmissible because local remedies with regard to the alleged damage had not been exhausted.

In its consideration of the first Preliminary Objection, the Court noted that in this case it was called upon for the first time to consider the effect of a discontinuance followed by new proceedings. The Court accepted the contention that notice of discontinuance was a procedural, "neutral," act, the effect of which was inconclusive and to be sought in the circumstances in the absence of an express renunciation of any further right of action. It stated that, contrary to the presumption urged upon it by Spain, it would be obligated to conclude, if any presumption governed, that a discontinuance was no bar to further action unless the contrary was clearly established. The Court stated that since the discontinuance in the present case left it open whether renunciation of all future right of action was involved, the burden of establishing that it meant more than appeared on its face was on Spain. The Court noted that the discussions on which Spain relied to meet this burden took place almost entirely between representatives of the private interests concerned. It found no reason to depart from the general rule that it could take account only of the acts and attitudes of governments or their authorized agents and found no evidence of any intergovernmental undertaking as alleged by Spain.

Spain's second contention was that Belgium had misled it concerning the import of the discontinuance, otherwise Spain would not have agreed to it. The latter had suffered prejudice thereby, and for these reasons Belgium was not in a position to deny that it had renounced all further rights of action by the discontinuance. The Court was not convinced that the allegedly misleading conduct was that of Belgium nor was it satisfied that the alleged representations had been established. It failed to understand what Spain stood to lose by agreeing to negotiations on the basis of a simple discontinuance, and did not find that Spain had suffered any prejudice.

Spain's final contention in support of the first Preliminary Objection was that the present proceedings were contrary to the Hispano-Belgian Treaty of 1927, the jurisdictional clauses of which were relied on to confer competence on the Court. Spain maintained that the Treaty could not have intended that the same processes should be resorted to twice in relation to the same claim. It contended that the first set of proceedings had "exhausted" the treaty process with regard to this particular complaint. The Court stated that the treaty processes were not entirely exhausted with regard to any complaint until the case had been either prosecuted to judgment or discontinued in circumstances involving its final disposition, neither of which was true of this case.

The Court rejected the first Preliminary Objection by 12 votes to 4.

Article 17 of the Hispano-Belgian Treaty of 1927 provides that: "either party may, on the expiry of one month's notice, bring the question direct before the Permanent Court of International Justice by means of an application." Article 37 of the Statute of the International Court of Justice provides: "Whenever a treaty or convention in force provides for reference of a matter . . . to the Permanent Court of International Justice, the matter shall, as between the parties to the present Statute, be referred to the International Court of Justice." Belgium contended that since the 1927 Treaty was "a Treaty . . . in force" and both parties in the dispute were parties to the Statute of the International Court of Justice, the Court must be deemed to have replaced the Permanent Court in the relations between the parties, and accordingly that it had the right to bring the case unilaterally before the Court. Spain argued that, while the 1927 Treaty might still be in force, the jurisdictional application contained in article 17 of the Treaty had necessarily lapsed on the dissolution of the Permanent Court in 1946, no prior substitution having been effected by article 37 of the Statute because Spain had not become a party to the Statute of the Court until it became a member of the United Nations in 1955.

The Court stated that the drafters of article 37 had two main purposes: the dissolution of the Permanent Court to make way for a single new entity and the preservation of as many jurisdictional clauses in existing treaties as possible from becoming inoperative through the dissolution of that Court. They intended to create a special procedure which would automatically transform references to the Permanent Court into references to the present Court. The Court stated that article 37 did not in fact operate to effect any "transfer" of jurisdiction from the Permanent Court to the International Court of Justice, as Spain had argued, but that a new Court was created with a separate and independent jurisdiction as between the parties to the Statute of that new Court. Rather than listing all treaties containing jurisdictional clauses, such as the 1927 Treaty, the same result was achieved by resort to their common factor—the provision they contained for reference of questions to the Permanent Court.

The Court stated that the relation of the phrase "in force" in article 37 to treaties was not conclusive in itself but that the intention to preserve a conventional jurisdictional field from extinction must be taken into consideration. This extinction could not be admitted to follow from the very disappearance of the Permanent Court, such a conclusion running counter to the whole intention and purpose of article 37. The Court held that the date upon which Spain became a party to the Statute of the Court was irrelevant. It observed that the

notion of rights and obligations that are in abeyance, but not extinguished, was perfectly familiar.

The Court stated that the Spanish Government, in diplomatic correspondence before the original proceedings, had explicitly recognized the competence of the Court for the purposes of article 17(4) of the 1927 Treaty, without questioning the substitution of the present Court for the Permanent Court. Assuming, the Court stated, that Spain's attitude at that time was based upon the assumption that article 37 of the Statute conferred jurisdiction upon the Court, then the present finding of the Court would operate to restore the basis on which Spain itself appeared originally to have recognized that jurisdiction.

The intention of the parties to the Hispano-Belgian Treaty of 1927 to create an obligation to resort to compulsory jurisdiction was, in the eyes of the Court, further supported by other provisions of that Treaty, and any assertion that this obligation was dependent upon the existence of a particular forum in such a way that the obligation would be extinguished by the disappearance of that forum would involve a confusion of the ends with the means—the ends being obligatory judicial settlement, the means an indicated forum but not necessarily the only possible one.

The Court concluded that "International Court of Justice" must now be read for "Permanent Court of International Justice" in articles 2 and 17 of the Treaty of 1927, the same being true of other articles mentioning the Permanent Court by name.

Spain had argued, as a subsidiary aspect of its second Preliminary Objection, that what came into existence in 1955 upon Spain's admission to the United Nations was a revised obligation between the parties to the 1927 Treaty, and that just as the original obligation applied only to disputes arising after the Treaty date, so the new obligation could apply only to disputes arising after Spain's admission to the United Nations. The Court found that the Treaty of 1927 had never ceased to be in force and had been operative throughout, the Treaty, at most, being amended in 1955 by the inclusion in it of a revised jurisdictional clause. In any event the Court did not consider it necessary to rely on this conclusion; the grounds for the rejection of the second Preliminary Objection in its principal aspect having necessarily entailed its rejection in its subsidiary aspect as well. The basic obligation to submit to compulsory adjudication was never extinguished by the disappearance of the Permanent Court but was merely rendered generally inoperative by the lack of a forum through which it could be implemented. Spain's admission to the United Nations in 1955 resulted in the revival of the operation of the obligation because the means of implementing it had once more become available;

there was, however, neither any new creation, nor revision, of the basic obligation.

For these reasons the Court rejected the second Preliminary Objection in both its principal and subsidiary aspects by 10 to 6.

The third and fourth Preliminary Objections involved the question whether Belgium's claim was admissible. The Court noted that Belgium had submitted alternative pleas to the effect that these objections, unless rejected by the Court, should be joined to the merits. Article 62, paragraph 5, of the Rules of the Court provided in part: "After hearing the parties the Court shall give its decision on the objection or shall join the objection to the merits." Since this paragraph was identical to a provision of the Rules of the Permanent Court, the International Court of Justice took note of the reasons given by the Permanent Court for deciding in various cases to join Preliminary Objections to the merits. The International Court of Justice stated that on the basis of the decisions by its predecessor, it might decide that the objections did not in fact have a preliminary character and could not be entertained as such, or that the objection was so related to the merits, or to questions of fact or law touching the merits, that it could not be considered separately without going into the merits or without prejudging the merits before they had been fully argued.

Turning to Spain's third Preliminary Objection, the Court noted that Spain denied Belgium's standing in law, alleging that the acts complained of, said to have engaged the international responsibility of Spain, took place not in relation to any Belgian natural or juristic person but to the Company, a jurisdictional entity registered in Canada, the Belgian interest concerned being in the nature of shareholding interests in that Company. Spain contended that, with regard to injury caused by a state to a foreign company, international law did not recognize any diplomatic protection of shareholders exercised by a state other than the national state of the company. Belgium, on the other hand, contested Spain's view of international law, asserting its right to intervene on behalf of the Belgian nationals who were shareholders in the Company. The Court believed that the question was not simply a question of the admissibility of the claim but of substantive legal rights pertaining to the merits. It stated that the question whether international law confers the right upon a government to protect the interest of shareholders was the essence of the matter and that a finding by the Court that Belgium had no standing in law would be tantamount to a finding that these rights did not exist and that Spain's contention was, for that reason, not well founded.

The Court concluded that the third Objection involved a number

of closely interwoven strands of mixed law, fact, and status, to such a degree it could not pronounce upon it at this stage in full confidence that it was in possession of all the elements that might have a bearing on its decision.

With regard to Spain's fourth Preliminary Objection—that Belgium had failed to exhaust local remedies—the Court stated that this Preliminary Objection was “inextricably interwoven with the issues of denial of justice which constitute the major part of the merits.”

The Court decided to join the third and fourth Preliminary Objections to the merits by a vote of 9 to 7, and 10 to 6, respectively.

South-West Africa Cases (Ethiopia *v.* South Africa; Liberia *v.* South Africa)

On November 4, 1960, Ethiopia and Liberia instituted independent proceedings, subsequently joined by the Court, against the then Union of South Africa. These proceedings concerned the question of South Africa's administration of the mandated territory of South-West Africa and alleged noncompliance with its international legal obligations under the 1920 Mandate for South-West Africa, the Covenant of the League of Nations, and the U.N. Charter. In its Judgment of December 21, 1962, the Court rejected South Africa's preliminary objections to its jurisdiction and determined that it had jurisdiction to adjudicate on the merits.

By an Order of January 20, 1964, the Court, having received the counter-memorial of South Africa within the time limit as extended by the Court's Order of September 18, 1963, fixed June 20, 1964, as the time limit for the filing by Ethiopia and Liberia of their Reply, and November 20, 1964, as the time limit for the filing by South Africa of the Rejoinder. By an Order of October 20, 1964, the Court, in response to South Africa's request, extended to December 23, 1964, the time limit for the filing of South Africa's Rejoinder. South Africa filed its Rejoinder December 23, 1964.

INTERNATIONAL LAW COMMISSION

The International Law Commission, whose function is the progressive development and codification of international law, is composed of 25 experts (including Herbert W. Briggs of the United States) who serve in their individual capacities.

The Commission held its 16th session in Geneva from May 11 to July 24, 1964. It devoted the major part of that session to the

consideration of the law of treaties, in particular the report submitted by the Special Rapporteur, Sir Humphrey Waldock (United Kingdom), on the application, effects, and interpretation of treaties. The Commission adopted provisional draft articles on these topics, which constitute the final part of the Commission's draft on the law of treaties. At its 1965 session to be held in Geneva from May to July 1965, the Commission intends to commence reexamination of all the draft articles in the light of observations thereon which have been received from governments.

The Commission also considered the report submitted by the Special Rapporteur, Milan Bartoš (Yugoslavia), on the topic of special missions, which the Commission, at its 15th session, had decided should be based on the provisions of the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations, taking into account the fact that, by virtue of their functions and their nature, such missions are an institution distinct from permanent missions. The Commission had decided that the report should also cover itinerant envoys, but not the privileges and immunities of delegates to conferences and congresses. After consideration of the report the Commission adopted 16 articles to be supplemented, if necessary, during the Commission's 17th session.

The Commission's chairman, Roberto Ago (Italy), was authorized to represent the Commission at the 19th session of the General Assembly and to attend the next session of the Asian-African Legal Consultative Committee to be held in Baghdad in February 1965.

SPECIAL COMMITTEES

Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Cooperation Among States in Accordance With the Charter of the United Nations

The Special Committee on Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Cooperation Among States, which was established in 1963 by the 18th General Assembly, convened in Mexico City on August 27, 1964. The 27-member Committee was appointed by the President of the General Assembly and was composed of the following: Afghanistan (later replaced by Burma), Argentina, Australia, Cameroon, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, France, Ghana, Guatemala, India, Italy, Japan, Lebanon, Malagasy Republic, Mexico, the Netherlands, Nigeria, Poland, Rumania, Sweden,

United Arab Republic, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, United States, Venezuela, and Yugoslavia.

In accordance with two resolutions passed by the 18th General Assembly, the Committee was directed to draw up a draft report containing, for the purpose of progressive development and codification and to secure effective application, its conclusions and recommendations concerning the following four principles: (a) 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; (b) 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; (c) the duty not to intervene in matters within the domestic jurisdiction of any state, in accordance with the Charter; and (d) the principle of the sovereign equality of states. In this connection the Committee was to take into account the practice of the United Nations and of states in applying the principles of the Charter, as well as comments, views, and suggestions previously submitted by member states. Later the Assembly directed the Special Committee to "include in its deliberations" a study of "methods of fact-finding in international relations."

After the election of officers, the first issue the Special Committee considered was a procedural one: whether a drafting committee should immediately be established. The Soviet Union and certain other states favored doing so, in accordance with their view that the Special Committee should proceed directly to the drafting of declarations interpreting the four Charter principles. The United States, France, and others felt that it would be premature to establish a drafting committee before debates in the Special Committee had made it clear that there would be something which needed drafting. As a result, the decision to establish a drafting committee was postponed, but such a committee was established 10 days later.

The terms of reference of this drafting committee—whose role at Mexico City was central—were important. The drafting committee was instructed to prepare a draft document on each principle of international law under consideration, "formulating the points of consensus" on that principle. This provision was a reflection of the widely held view that no declaration purporting to interpret the principles of the U.N. Charter would be of much value unless it was generally agreed to by the membership of the Organization. The drafting committee was also to prepare "a list itemizing the various proposals and views on which there is no consensus but for which there is support."

In the substantive debate in the Special Committee on each principle, as well as in debate on the establishment and terms of reference

of the drafting committee, there were differences of view on what the task of the Special Committee was. The United States took the position that the four principles of international law under consideration were, as the 17th General Assembly had indicated in the first resolution adopted on this topic, principles of the United Nations Charter, whose interpretation and scope were governed by the Charter. The Special Committee could not properly put itself on record as suggesting that these principles had legal consequences not fully supportable from the language of the Charter itself. To do so, the United States argued, would tend to undermine the integrity and usefulness of the Charter as a legal instrument, by implying that virtually anything deemed to be politically desirable could be said to follow from its provisions. Consequently, any documents with respect to the four principles which might be produced by the Special Committee must adhere to the language of the Charter and to interpretations and conclusions clearly and reasonably inferable from it.

All Communist and certain other delegations rejected the view that the Special Committee was to treat the four principles exclusively as principles of the Charter, insisting instead that they were principles "of international law"—which includes but is not limited to the U.N. Charter. Consequently, the principles should be broadly interpreted. In any event, these delegations argued, the principles as they would be formulated by the Special Committee and later by the Assembly should *come* to be regarded as international law, so that the Committee need not limit itself to stating what was presently the law. Even if the Committee should regard the principles as strictly principles of the Charter, moreover, a number of delegations of varying political outlooks were at odds with the United States over the standards of reasonableness which should be applied to an inference from the language of the Charter. They contended that what is or is not reasonably inferable from the Charter need not be limited by the ordinary meaning of its language, but might be affected by changes which had taken place in the international community since the Charter was drafted, or by political sentiments (such as those favoring decolonization) which has since become widespread and dominant.

Of the four principles of international law which it considered, the Special Committee succeeded in formulating a document which could command unanimous agreement only on the principle of the sovereign equality of states. (Article 2(1) of the Charter states: "The Organization is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its Members.")

Among those introducing written proposals concerning this principle were Czechoslovakia, Ghana, India, Mexico, the United Kingdom, and Yugoslavia. The United States supported the U.K. draft,

which incorporated an authoritative interpretation of the concept of sovereign equality which is found in the records of the San Francisco Conference where the Charter was drafted. The text which the drafting committee and later the Special Committee eventually adopted was based upon the U.K. draft, and read as follows:

"1. All States enjoy sovereign equality. As subjects of international law they have equal rights and duties.

"2. In particular, sovereign equality includes the following elements:

- (a) States are juridically equal.
- (b) Each State enjoys the rights inherent in full sovereignty.
- (c) Each State has the duty to respect the personality of other States.
- (d) The territorial integrity and political independence of the State are inviolable.
- (e) Each State has the right freely to choose and develop its political, social, economic and cultural systems.
- (f) Each State has the duty to comply fully and in good faith with its international obligations, and to live in peace with other States."

The foregoing text was the result of the necessary sifting of the various proposals in order to meet the requirement of unanimous agreement or "consensus" in the drafting committee. The more important proposed provisions eliminated by this requirement included those which would have implied from the principle of sovereign equality (1) the right of a state to dispose freely of its natural wealth and resources; (2) the right of each state to participate in the solution of international problems affecting its legitimate interests, and thus to join international organizations or become party to multilateral treaties affecting those interests; (3) that "territories which, in contravention of the principles of self-determination, are still under colonial domination cannot be considered as integral parts of the territory of the colonial Power"; (4) the duty of each state to conduct its relations with other states in conformity with the "principle that the sovereignty of each state is subject to the supremacy of international law."

Of the remaining three principles, the prohibition of the threat or use of force received the most extended consideration. It had been stated by the General Assembly in almost the exact language of article 2(4) of the Charter, which provides

All Members 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.

Sponsors of written proposals or amendments to proposals on this principle included Czechoslovakia, Ghana, India, Italy, the United Kingdom, and Yugoslavia. During the course of the drafting committee's deliberations, a number of proposed provisions were eliminated. Among those eliminated were provisions to the effect that (a) the use of force in self-defense against colonial domination constitutes an exception to the general prohibition of the threat or use of force; (b) the general prohibition of the threat or use of force entails a legal duty to agree to general and complete disarmament; (c) the general prohibition of the threat or use of force encompasses the threat or use of economic or other forms of "pressure" between states; (d) the general prohibition of the threat or use of force entails a legal duty not to disseminate war propaganda.

Eventually a text was produced by the drafting committee to which all delegations gave provisional approval, expressly subject to approval from their governments. That portion of the text which formulated the "points of consensus" was as follows:

"1. Every State has the duty to refrain in its 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. In accordance with the foregoing fundamental principle, and without limiting its generality:

- (a) Wars of aggression constitute international crimes against peace.
- (b) Every State has the duty to refrain from organizing or encouraging the organization of irregular or volunteer forces or armed bands within its territory or any other territory for incursions into the territory of another State.
- (c) Every State has the duty to refrain from instigating, assisting or organizing civil strife or committing terrorist acts in another State, or from conniving at or acquiescing in organized activities directed towards such ends, when such acts involve a threat or use of force.
- (d) Every State has the duty to refrain from the threat or use of force to violate the existing boundaries of another State, or as a means of solving its international disputes, including territorial disputes and problems concerning frontiers between States.

"3. Nothing in the foregoing paragraphs affects the provisions of the Charter concerning the lawful use of force."

Upon further consideration, the United States concluded, and informed the Committee, that it could not support this text, because of

the inclusion of the statement that, "Every State has the duty to refrain from the threat or use of force to violate the existing boundaries of another State," but that it could support the text if the term "change" should be substituted for "violate." All other delegations on the Special Committee, however, indicated their willingness to approve the drafting committee's text (in some cases subject to reconsideration by their government at the General Assembly). The United States was unsuccessful in its efforts to gain unanimous support for its proposed change. Consequently the Special Committee adopted instead, on the day before adjournment, another drafting committee text, stating that the drafting committee had been "unable to reach any consensus on the scope or content of this principle." Following this action the United States was criticized by Communist and certain other delegations, who claimed that the United States had single-handedly and deliberately wrecked the efforts of the Special Committee to reach agreement, a charge which the United States rebutted.

The 17th General Assembly had formulated the principle of peaceful settlement of disputes by following article 2(3) of the Charter:

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.

In the course of consideration of a number of proposals on this principle, it became apparent that it would be difficult to reach agreement on a text. Shortly before the end of the conference, a document drafted by the Australian and Swedish delegations, in consultation with the Committee Secretariat, was tabled in the drafting committee in an effort to achieve a consensus. It read as follows:

"The General Assembly,

Reaffirming the principle contained in Article 2(3) that all members shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means and in such a manner that international peace and security and justice are not endangered,

Recognizing that this principle is the important corollary of the principle prohibiting the use and threat of force,

Recognizing that a more effective application of the principle contained in Article 2(3) of the Charter may be secured through its development and codification,

Noting the several peaceful means by which the Charter enjoins members to settle their disputes,

Recognizing that in a great majority of cases negotiations are the most appropriate first means of peaceful settlement of disputes but that in some cases other means may be more desirable,

“Resolves that:

“1. Every State has a duty to settle its disputes with other states solely by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered.

“2. Every State has a duty, accordingly, to seek early, appropriate and just settlement of their international disputes by such peaceful means as may previously have been agreed upon between them or such other peaceful means as may be most appropriate according to the circumstances and the nature of the disputes; in particular, states have a duty first of all to seek a solution by negotiation, inquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements, or other peaceful means of their own choice.

“3. The powers and functions which are vested by the provisions of the Charter in the Security Council and the General Assembly respectively in relation to the pacific settlement of international disputes are in no way prejudiced by the duties of states to seek a pacific settlement.

“4. Intensified efforts should be devoted to the progressive development and codification of international law in order to strengthen the legal basis of the judicial settlement of international disputes.

“5. States should, as far as possible, include in any bilateral and multilateral agreement to which they may become parties, provisions regarding means of peaceful settlement of disputes.

“6. States should give renewed consideration to the desirability of adhering to existing multilateral conventions, whether general or regional, providing means or facilities for the peaceful settlement of disputes, such as the revised general act for the pacific settlement of disputes, the optional clause of the Statute of the International Court of Justice and the American Treaty for the Pacific Settlement of Disputes.”

This document attracted wide support. The United States indicated its agreement except for the term “solely” in paragraph 1. Communist bloc members, however, refused to accept this draft mainly because of its failure, in paragraph 2, to place the method of negotiation in a paramount position among the various modes of settlement listed in article 33 of the U.N. Charter. Other members were unwilling to accept any of a variety of drafts which rephrased article 33 in a way to give a prominence not found in the Charter to “direct negotiations” as a means of peaceful settlement. Accordingly, the Special Committee adopted a text stating that the drafting committee was “unable to reach any consensus on the scope or content” of the principle of peaceful settlement.

With regard to the principle concerning "the duty not to intervene in matters within the domestic jurisdiction of any State, in accordance with the Charter," the United States tabled its only substantive written proposal at the conference. This concerned nonintervention, and took the form of an amendment to a U.K. proposal. The British proposal consisted in a "statement of principles" followed by several paragraphs of "commentary." The U.S. amendment would have added a new paragraph under the statement of principles, designed to spell out the restriction on intervention by the *United Nations* which is contained in article 2(7) of the Charter, as follows:

The United Nations is not authorized to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any State, and nothing in the Charter requires any Member to submit such matters to settlement under the Charter; but this principle is subject to the authority granted the Security Council under Chapter VII of the Charter concerning action with respect to threats to the peace, breaches of the peace, and acts of aggression.

The U.S. amendment would also have added or substituted three essentially new paragraphs of commentary, designed to make clear that the only Charter restriction on intervention by *states* is in article 2(4) prohibiting the threat or use of force in the specified manner, that the only express Charter reference to intervention of any sort is in article 2(7), and that some efforts among states to influence the actions and policies of other states are inevitable and desirable. The last of these three paragraphs was as follows:

It would be impossible to give an exhaustive definition of what constitutes "intervention" or "domestic jurisdiction". In considering the scope of "intervention" it should be recognized that, in an interdependent world, it is inevitable and desirable that States will be concerned with and will seek to influence the actions and policies of other States, and that the objective of international law is not to prevent such activity but rather to ensure that it is compatible with the sovereign equality of States and self-determination of their peoples.

In the debate on the principle of nonintervention, the United States argued that, since the Special Committee was limited to those principles of international law which were found in the Charter, and since the Charter prohibited state action only in article 2(4), and since, finally, article 2(4) encompassed only the use or threat of *force* strictly speaking, the Charter could not be said to prohibit intervention by a state through the use of *pressure* against another, as some proposals would have had the Special Committee declare.

The U.S. position was a sharp contrast to that of other delegations, who argued on various grounds either that a prohibition on intervention by states beyond that involving the use or threat of force strictly so-called could be implied from the Charter; or that, in any event, the Special Committee should formulate such a prohibition in a text to be submitted to the Assembly.

As a result, the Special Committee eventually adopted a drafting committee text stating that no unanimous agreement on this principle could be achieved.

Because of the extended debates which had been held on the four principles of international law, the Committee found time for only cursory consideration of the question of methods of international factfinding. No proposals were introduced either on the desirability of new formal arrangements for international factfinding or the nature of any such arrangements. The United States, in its statement on this item, expressed reservations about the need for new international factfinding machinery, but thought it possible that further study might show the desirability of some changes in existing procedures.

The Special Committee adopted a procedural resolution, recommending that "the General Assembly take note of that part of its report which concerns this item, bring to the attention of Member States the report of the Secretary-General and the relevant documents, and invite Member States to submit their comments in writing at an early date."

Technical Assistance To Promote the Teaching, Study, Dissemination, and Wider Appreciation of International Law

During its 18th session in 1963 the General Assembly adopted a resolution on "Technical assistance to promote the teaching, study, dissemination and wider appreciation of international law." The resolution was divided into three parts: Part A established a Special Committee—composed of Afghanistan, Belgium, Ecuador, Ghana, Hungary, and Ireland—for the purpose of drawing up a practical plan and proposals on this subject, and requested the Special Committee to report to the General Assembly at its 19th session; Part B requested the Technical Assistance Committee to consider the matter of technical assistance in international law in relation to the Expanded Program of Technical Assistance (EPTA—see page 118) and to make recommendations, including suggestions on provision of funds, for a program of technical assistance in international law; Part C requested UNESCO periodically to collect information on training in international law and invited member states and interested institutions or individuals to offer fellowships and make voluntary contributions to the U.N. program of technical assistance in international law.

In pursuance of the request contained in Part A of the resolution, the Special Committee, under the chairmanship of E. K. Dadzie of Ghana, held seven meetings between November 25, 1964, and December 3, 1964. The Special Committee did not complete its report

to the General Assembly during 1964 and will continue its meetings in January 1965.

Pursuant to Part B of the resolution, the Technical Assistance Committee submitted a report dated July 8, 1964, to the 37th Economic and Social Council. The report suggested that technical assistance under the EPTA could be given in specific fields of international law if the requests for assistance were related to economic, social, or administrative development of the country requesting the assistance.

In response to a request from the Secretary-General inviting comments of member states, the United States in December of 1964 submitted a detailed report (which supplemented a 1963 report on private programs in this sphere) on U.S. governmental and private activities in the field of technical assistance for international law training. This report indicated the extensive scope of existing U.S. efforts of this character.

The United States has previously suggested that a U.N. program in this field should concentrate on helping to meet two principal needs of developing member states: the need for trained personnel of professional competence in international law to advise foreign ministries and to cope with problems of international law and international transactions generally, and the need for improved U.N. documentation facilities. The United States had also emphasized that a U.N. program should not duplicate or compete with programs presently being carried out by governments or by private organizations and institutions.

Budgetary, Financial and Administrative Matters

UNITED NATIONS BUDGET

Before recessing on December 30, 1964, the 19th General Assembly authorized the Secretary-General, pending final decisions to be taken at the resumed session in 1965, to enter into commitments and to make payments during 1965, subject to statutory requirements, at levels not to exceed the corresponding commitments and payments for 1964. Appropriations authorized for 1964 by the 18th General Assembly in 1963 amounted to \$101,327,600 for the U.N. regular budget and \$17,750,000 for the U.N. Emergency Force (UNEF—see page 287).

The Assembly also continued arrangements and authorizations approved for 1964 with respect to unforeseen and extraordinary expenses and the Working Capital Fund.

The Secretary-General's initial budget submission for 1965 amounted to \$104.7 million, with the General Assembly's U.N. Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions (ACABQ) recommending expenditures of \$103.0 million and an assessment level of \$94.1 million. Taking into account subsequent budget revisions and 1964 supplemental needs, the budget total recommended to the Assembly was \$110.5 million, with an assessment level in prospect of about \$102 million.

SPECIALIZED AGENCIES BUDGETS

The 1965 assessment budgets for all the Specialized Agencies will total about \$112.7 million, an increase of \$13.5 million over 1964. The major increases as shown in the tabulation below are to be found in the budgets of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO— see page 194), the World Health

Organization (WHO—see page 202), the International Labor Organization (ILO—see page 189), the International Telecommunication Union (ITU—see page 210), and the World Meteorological Organization (WMO—see page 214).

<i>Specialized Agencies</i>	<i>1964</i>	<i>1965</i>
Food and Agriculture Organization	\$17,765,000	\$17,765,000
International Civil Aviation Organization	4,705,397	4,880,298
International Labor Organization	16,388,799	18,684,347
Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization	612,120	821,700
International Telecommunication Union	3,625,953	4,278,663
United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization	19,000,000	23,988,000
Universal Postal Union	1,153,303	1,074,923
World Health Organization	34,682,140	39,396,370
World Meteorological Organization	1,265,099	1,766,245
Total	99,197,811	112,655,546

The major factors accounting for the \$5.0 million increase in the budget of the UNESCO are programs in the field of natural sciences following the recommendations of the 1963 U.N. Conference on the Application of Science and Technology for the Benefit of Less Developed Areas; additional costs for education, social sciences, culture and communications programs; the cost of construction and maintenance of headquarters buildings; and increased salaries and allowances and other expenses due to increases in prices.

Of the \$4.7 million increase in the budget of the WHO, approximately \$600,000 is attributable to normal salary increases and about \$500,000 to the impending move into the new headquarters building. The major increase in the WHO budget is for the projects, fellowships, and seminars in health education, the selection and training of nurses and medical teachers, grant assistance to teaching institutions, and the provision of auxiliary health personnel for the promotion of health in remote areas.

Of the \$2.3 million increase in the budget of the ILO, about half is for costs relating to the purchase of a headquarters site and to increase the authorized level of the Working Capital Fund to an amount commensurate with the increased budget level. Other major elements of the increase are normal salary increments, an increase of 39 positions, program expansion (particularly rural development, and labor and social assistance projects) and higher common services including rental of additional premises, expanding and reconditioning the library facilities, and expansion of the public information program.

The \$700,000 increase in the budget of the ITU is primarily due

to the costs of the Plenipotentiary Conference in September–November 1965.

The \$500,000 increase in the budget of the WMO is mainly attributable to the adoption of a special operational program (with a 3-year budget of \$1,500,000) to provide assistance to member governments around the world in carrying out the World Weather Watch. Under this program information is transmitted from satellites to selected centers around the world, where it is studied and from which general analyses and forecasts are communicated to member governments.

ASSESSMENTS (United Nations and Specialized Agencies)

The U.S.-percentage share of the assessment budgets of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies is listed below:

	<i>1964</i> <i>Percent</i>	<i>1965</i> <i>Percent</i>
United Nations	32.02	¹ 31.91
Food and Agriculture Organization	32.02	32.02
International Civil Aviation Organization	31.80	31.80
International Labor Organization	25.00	25.00
Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization	14.26	13.78
International Telecommunication Union	10.01	9.99
United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization	30.56	30.00
Universal Postal Union	4.30	4.30
World Health Organization	31.29	31.29
World Meteorological Organization	24.01	23.99

¹ Based on scale recommended by the U.N. Committee on Contributions.

UNITED NATIONS PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS

United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF)

The U.N. appropriation for the expense of United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF—see page 72) in 1964 was \$17,750,000. Financing of the UNEF costs in 1964, as voted by the U.N. General Assembly, was based on a three-step formula, whereby (1) a segment of the amount authorized was assessed against all U.N. members on the regular assessment scale; (2) another portion was met by assessments

on economically developed countries at 100 percent of their regular assessment percentage and on less developed countries at 42.5 percent of their regular percentage; and (3) the remaining amount was met by voluntary contributions from 18 countries, including the United States. The United States contributed a total of \$6,536,761, of which \$5,664,856 was assessed and \$871,915 was a voluntary contribution.

United Nations Operation in the Congo (UNOC)

The United Nations Operation in the Congo (UNOC—see page 34) was phased out in mid-1964. During the period January–June 1964 Congo operation costs were based on the same three-step formula as that for the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF—see page 287). The costs authorized totaled \$15 million plus \$3.2 million provided by the Congolese Government. The United States contributed a total of \$5,491,313, of which \$4,787,202 was assessed and \$704,111 was a voluntary contribution.

United Nations Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP)

The Security Council met in late February and early March 1964 to consider the threat to the peace in the Eastern Mediterranean created by the intercommunal fighting in Cyprus (see page 48). On March 4 it unanimously adopted a resolution which authorized the Secretary-General to accept voluntary financial contributions for the support of a United Nations Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP). This Force was subsequently established on March 27, 1964.

Subsequent Security Council resolutions adopted in June, September, and December 1964 extended the mandate of the U.N. peacekeeping force.

For the period March 27–December 26, 1964, the Secretary-General estimated costs to be borne by the United Nations for the support of UNFICYP at \$15.8 million. Against this requirement 33 governments, by the end of 1964, had pledged voluntary financial contributions totaling \$16.0 million. Additionally Canada, Ireland, the United Kingdom, and several of those countries contributing civil police units agreed to defray most of the costs of their respective troop and police contingents while Canada, Italy, the United Kingdom, and the United States provided transport to and from Cyprus of all UNFICYP troops and police at no cost to the United Nations. These contingents and transport costs were not included in the \$15.8 million estimate covered by voluntary financial contributions.

During 1964 the United States pledged voluntary cash contributions totaling \$6.6 million and also provided air transport for the movement of UNFICYP troops and equipment at an estimated cost of \$996,000.

VOLUNTARY PROGRAMS

A number of major U.N. programs are financed by voluntary contributions from member states rather than by regular assessments on all the members. Among these are the Expanded Program of Technical Assistance (EPTA—see page 118) and the Special Fund (see page 118); the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA—see page 72); the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF—see page 157); the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR—see page 153); and United Nations Assistance for the Congo (see page 35). In 1964 total government contributions and pledges to the EPTA and the Special Fund were \$148 million—\$56.5 million for the EPTA and \$91.5 million for the Special Fund. The United States contributed on a matching basis 40 percent of the total governmental contributions to these programs. In 1964 the U.S. contribution amounted to \$59 million, including \$22.5 million for the EPTA and \$36.5 million for the Special Fund.

During 1964 government contributions to the UNICEF totaled \$29.5 million, of which about \$12 million (40 percent) came from the United States. Estimated governmental contributions to the UNRWA amounted to about \$34.3 million of its \$36.9 million budget in 1964. (The budget shortfall in most years is largely covered by nongovernmental contributions.) Governmental contributions included \$24.7 million (70 percent of the total) pledged by the United States in the form of cash and surplus agricultural commodities. The 1964 contribution from the United States to the UNHCR was \$700,000, the U.S. pledge having been limited to 33½ percent of total governmental contributions. Aside from governmental contributions, private donations augmented considerably the income of these three voluntary programs.

The United Nations, in cooperation with the Specialized Agencies, has been conducting a nation-building program of technical assistance in the Congo. Until the end of 1962, the program was financed entirely by voluntary contributions to the United Nations Fund for the Congo. In 1963 and 1964 some of the costs were financed by the EPTA, the regular programs of the United Nations and some of the Specialized

Agencies, and the Special Fund. A major part of this program still remains outside the scope of customary U.N. sources of financing. A number of projects are being supported by a project agreement with the United States, and others are financed from voluntary contributions to the Congo Fund. Moreover, the Congolese Government itself has furnished a considerable part of the financial requirements, in both foreign exchange and local currency costs. In 1964 the technical and operational assistance sponsored by the United Nations in the Congo amounted to \$14.2 million and was financed by: (1) \$2.8 million under various U.N. programs of technical cooperation; (2) \$4.1 million by funds-in-trust provided by the Government of the Congo; (3) a \$5 million U.S. contribution, of which \$4 million is designated for certain essential projects; and (4) \$2.3 million obtained by voluntary contributions from other interested governments, including \$.5 million earmarked for certain essential projects.

From the time the Congo gained its independence in July 1960 until June 1964, U.S. economic aid to the Congo, both bilateral and through the United Nations, has amounted to \$229.7 million. The bulk of U.S. aid has been provided in the form of commodity imports financed from the Agency for International Development appropriations and surplus foods supplied under the Public Law 480 Food for Peace Program. During fiscal year 1964, U.S. assistance to the Congo consisted of \$1.17 million in development grants, \$20 million in commodity imports financing, \$21.8 million of surplus foods, and \$5 million contributed for U.N. technical assistance in the Congo.

appendixes

The United Nations

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

The General Assembly is the only principal organ of the United Nations on which all 115 members are represented. These are listed below:

Afghanistan	Guatemala	Norway
Albania	Guinea	Pakistan
Algeria	Haiti	Panama
Argentina	Honduras	Paraguay
Australia	Hungary	Peru
Austria	Iceland	Philippines
Belgium	India	Poland
Bolivia	Indonesia	Portugal
Brazil	Iran	Rumania
Bulgaria	Iraq	Rwanda
Burma	Ireland	Saudi Arabia
Burundi	Israel	Senegal
Byelorussian S.S.R.	Italy	Sierra Leone
Cambodia	Ivory Coast	Somali Republic
Cameroon	Jamaica	South Africa
Canada	Japan	Spain
Central African Republic	Jordan	Sudan
Ceylon	Kenya	Sweden
Chad	Kuwait	Syrian Arab Republic
Chile	Laos	Tanzania
China	Lebanon	Thailand
Colombia	Liberia	Togo
Congo (Brazzaville)	Libya	Trinidad and Tobago
Congo (Léopoldville)	Luxembourg	Tunisia
Costa Rica	Malagasy Republic	Turkey
Cuba	Malawi	Uganda
Cyprus	Malaysia	Ukrainian S.S.R.
Czechoslovakia	Mali	U.S.S.R.
Dahomey	Malta	United Arab Republic
Denmark	Mauritania	United Kingdom
Dominican Republic	Mexico	United States
Ecuador	Mongolia	Upper Volta
El Salvador	Morocco	Uruguay
Ethiopia	Nepal	Venezuela
Finland	Netherlands	Yemen
France	New Zealand	Yugoslavia
Gabon	Nicaragua	Zambia
Ghana	Niger	
Greece	Nigeria	

The 19th regular session of the U.N. General Assembly convened on December 1, 1964, and recessed on December 30, 1964, until January 18, 1965. Alex Quaison-Sackey (Ghana) was chosen as President of the 19th Assembly. No other officers of the Assembly were named.

THE SECURITY COUNCIL

The Security Council consists of 11 members of the United Nations, five of which—China, France, the U.S.S.R., the United Kingdom, and the United States—have permanent status. The remaining six are elected for 2-year terms by the General Assembly, taking into account article 23 of the U.N. Charter to the effect that “due regard” shall be paid to the contribution of members to the maintenance of international peace and security and to the other purposes of the United Nations and to equitable geographic distribution. The nonpermanent members are not eligible for immediate reelection.

The membership is as follows:

Permanent members	Nonpermanent members		
	Term expired Dec. 31, 1964	Term expires Dec. 31, 1965	Term expires Dec. 31, 1966
China France U.S.S.R. United Kingdom United States	Brazil Morocco Norway	Bolivia Malaysia ¹ Ivory Coast	Uruguay Jordan ² Netherlands

¹ Malaysia serves pursuant to an 18th General Assembly understanding that it would succeed Czechoslovakia for the remainder of the term (1965) to which the latter had been elected in 1963.

² Jordan serves on the understanding that it will occupy the seat in question for the first year (1965) and that Mali will occupy the seat for the second year (1966) unless the Charter amendment enlarging the Security Council becomes effective in the course of 1965 in which case both Jordan and Mali will serve full terms.

THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL (ECOSOC)

The Economic and Social Council is composed of 1 representative each from 18 member states, 6 countries being elected each year by the General Assembly to serve for a period of 3 years. The Council is composed of representatives of the following countries:

Term expired Dec. 31, 1964	Term expires Dec. 31, 1965	Term expires Dec. 31, 1966	Term expires Dec. 31, 1967
Australia	Argentina	Algeria	Canada
Colombia	Austria	Chile	Gabon
India	Czechoslovakia	Ecuador	Pakistan
Senegal	Japan	France	Peru
United States	U.S.S.R.	Iraq	Rumania
Yugoslavia	United Kingdom	Luxembourg	United States

There was one session of the Council in 1964.¹ The 37th session was convened at the European headquarters of the United Nations in Geneva on July 13 and recessed on August 15, 1964. The Council elected Sir Ronald Walker (Australia) President and Ambassador Akira Matsui (Japan) and Ambassador Abdelkader Chanderli (Algeria) First and Second Vice Presidents, respectively, for 1964.

On a recommendation of the General Assembly, pending ratification of the amendments of the Charter enlarging the ECOSOC, the Council decided to enlarge by nine members its sessional committees (i.e., the economic, social, and coordination committees, which meet simultaneously with the Council). The following countries were elected for 1964: Cameroon, Ghana, Indonesia, Iran, Italy, Malaysian Republic, Mexico, United Arab Republic, and Tanzania.

¹ Although the Council usually holds a resumed session in December, due to the General Assembly situation, this resumed part will not be held until March 1965.

THE TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL

The Trusteeship Council consists of all U.N. members administering trust territories, the permanent members of the Security Council not administering trust territories, and as many other elected U.N. members not administering trust territories as are required to insure that the total number of members of the Council is equally divided between nations that administer trust territories and those that do not. The elected members serve for a term of 3 years.

At the beginning of 1964 the Council comprised 8 members.

Members Administering Trust Territories

Australia	United Kingdom	United States
New Zealand		

Permanent Members of Security Council Not Administering Trust Territories

China	France	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
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Members Elected by the General Assembly

Liberia (through 1965)

THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE (ICJ)

*Seat of the Court: The Hague**President: Sir Percy Spender**Registrar: M. J. Garnier-Coignet (France)*

Members	Country	Term expires
A. H. Badawi	U.A.R.	1967
Sir Gerald Fitzmaurice	United Kingdom	1973
Isaac Forster	Senegal	1973
André Gros	France	1973
P. C. Jessup	United States	1970
Sir M. Zafrulla Khan	Pakistan	1973
V. K. Wellington Koo	China	1967
V. M. Koretsky	U.S.S.R.	1970
G. Morelli	Italy	1970
L. Padilla Nervo	Mexico	1973
J. L. Bustamante y Rivero	Peru	1970
Sir Percy Spender	Australia	1967
J. Spiropoulos	Greece	1967
K. Tanaka	Japan	1970
B. Winiarski	Poland	1967

THE SECRETARIAT OF THE UNITED NATIONS

The Secretariat under article 7 of the Charter is a principal organ of the United Nations. The Secretary-General, U Thant of Burma, is the chief administrative officer of the Organization. The Secretary-General and his staff provide services for the other principal organs. There were, as of December 31, 1964, about 6,000 employees on the staff of the Secretariat. The functions of the Secretary-General and the Secretariat are described in general terms in chapter XV of the Charter.

The Secretariat serves as executive agent for the other U.N. organs such as ECOSOC, and the Trusteeship Council. In connection with Security Council affairs, for example, the Secretary-General played a key role in the Middle Eastern complex of problems, both as the coordinator of U.N. agencies and as negotiator among the parties involved. The Secretariat provides services and expert staffs for the field missions, such as those in Korea and India-Pakistan and for the Trusteeship Council's missions to trust territories. The Secretariat also prepares studies and background material to facilitate the work of the several organs and their subsidiary bodies.

Another important task of the Secretariat is that of servicing meetings of the U.N. Councils and their subsidiary bodies. This includes making physical arrangements, translating, interpreting, preparing minutes and documentation, publishing official records, and advising chairmen on precedents and parliamentary procedures.

A third responsibility of the Secretariat is the development of arrangements with the Specialized Agencies for the coordination of programs and administrative and financial practices. Finally, the Secretariat is responsible for supplying information to the world on the purposes and daily activities of the United Nations.

Organization

As of December 31, 1964, the top U.N. Secretariat officials were as follows:

Secretary-General. U Thant (Burma)

Under Secretaries:

General Assembly Affairs and Chef de

Cabinet C. V. Narasimhan (India) ¹

Special Political Affairs Ralph J. Bunche (U.S.) ¹

Special Political Affairs Dragoslav Protitch (Yugoslavia) ²

Political and Security Council Affairs Vladimir P. Suslov (U.S.S.R.) ¹

Economic and Social Affairs Philippe de Seynes (France) ¹

Trusteeship and Non-Self-Governing

Territories Godfrey K. J. Amachree (Nigeria) ¹

Legal Counsel Constantine A. Stavropoulos (Greece)

Controller Bruce Turner (New Zealand)

Director of Personnel Sir Alexander MacFarquhar (U.K.)

Director of General Services David B. Vaughan (U.S.)

Office of Conference Services Jiri Nosek (Czechoslovakia) ¹

Office of Public Information Hernane Tavares de Sa (Brazil) ¹

Secretary General of U.N. Conference on

Trade and Development Raul Prebisch (Argentina)

Commissioner for Technical Assistance Victor Hoo (China)

Director, European Office at Geneva Pier Pasquale Spinelli (Italy) ³

Commissioner for Industrial Development Ibrahim Abdel-Rahman (U.A.R.)

Executive Secretary, Economic Commission for Europe (ECE). Vladimir Velebit (Yugoslavia)

Executive Secretary, Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE) U Nyun (Burma)

Executive Secretary, Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA) José A. Mayobre (Venezuela)

Executive Secretary, Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) Robert K. A. Gardiner (Ghana)

Registrar, International Court of Justice M. J. Garnier-Coignet (France)

The following officials of Special U.N. Voluntary Programs have special status and receive the salary and allowances of Under Secretaries:

Managing Director, Special Fund Paul G. Hoffman (U.S.)

Associate Managing Director, Special Fund Roberto Heurtematte (Panama)

Executive Chairman, Technical Assistance Board David Owen (U.K.)

High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) Felix Schnyder (Switzerland)

Director, Children's Fund (UNICEF) Maurice Pate (U.S.)

Director, Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) Laurence H. Michelmore (U.S.)

¹ Principal advisers to the Secretary-General.

² To be succeeded by José Rolz-Bennett (Guatemala) effective Jan. 1, 1965,

³ Also serves as Special Representative of the Secretary-General in Amman, Jordan.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Standing Committees of the General Assembly

There are two standing committees of the General Assembly. Each consists of experts appointed in their individual capacities for a 3-year term.

The Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions examines the budgets of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies and advises the Administrative and Budgetary Committee on the General Assembly. As of December 31, 1964, the 12 members were Mohamed Abdel Maged Ahmed (Sudan), Jan P. Bannier (Netherlands), Albert F. Bender, Jr. (U.S.), Raouf Boudjakdji (Algeria), André Ganem (France), James Gibson (U.K.), Alfonso Grez (Chile), Raul A. Quijano (Argentina), E. Olu Sanu (Nigeria), Dragos Serbanescu (Rumania), Agha Shahi (Pakistan), and V. F. Ulanchev (U.S.S.R.).

The Committee on Contributions consists of 10 members who advise the General Assembly concerning the apportionment of expenses of the United Nations among members. The members as of December 31, 1964, were Raymond T. Bowman (U.S.), B. N. Chakravarty (India), T. W. Cutts (Australia), Jorge Pablo Fernandini (Peru), James Gibson (U.K.), F. Nouredin Kia (Iran), D. Silveira da Mota (Brazil), Stanislaw Raczkowski (Poland), V. G. Solodovnikov (U.S.S.R.), and Maurice Viaud (France).

Subsidiary and Ad Hoc Bodies of the General Assembly

UNITED NATIONS SCIENTIFIC ADVISORY COMMITTEE (UNSC)

The General Assembly at its 9th session (1954) established an Advisory Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy to assist the Secretary-General in preparing for the first international conference on this subject held in Geneva in 1955. By direction of the 10th General Assembly the Committee performed the same function with respect to the second such conference held in Geneva in 1958. At its 13th session (1958), the General Assembly decided that the Committee, under its present name *United Nations Scientific Advisory Committee*, should continue in existence "To advise and assist the Secretary-General on all matters relating to the peaceful uses of atomic energy with which the United Nations might be concerned."

The Committee has seven members—Brazil, Canada, France, India, the U.S.S.R., the United Kingdom, and the United States.

UNITED NATIONS SCIENTIFIC COMMITTEE ON THE EFFECTS OF ATOMIC RADIATION (UNSCEAR)

At its 10th session (1955) the General Assembly established the U.N. Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation (UNSCEAR) to study and report on ionizing radiation and its effects upon man and his environment. The Committee has 15 members—Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Czechoslovakia, France, India, Japan, Mexico, Sweden, the U.S.S.R., the United Arab Republic, the United Kingdom, and the United States.

COMMITTEE ON THE PEACEFUL USES OF OUTER SPACE

The General Assembly at its 14th session in 1959 established the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space to carry forward the work of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space created the year before. The Committee consisted of 24 member states. In 1961 the 16th General Assembly expanded the membership to 28 states. The Committee considers scientific and technical as well as legal matters pertaining to international space cooperation and presents reports with recommendations to the General Assembly. In 1962 the Committee established a Scientific and Technical Subcommittee and a Legal Subcommittee. In 1964 the Legal Subcommittee met in Geneva from March 9 through 26, and again in New York from October 5 through 23; the Scientific and Technical Subcommittee met in Geneva from May 22 through June 5. The full Committee met in New York from October 26 through November 6.

The membership of the Committee is as follows:

Albania	France	Poland
Argentina	Hungary	Rumania
Australia	India	Sierra Leone
Austria	Iran	Sweden
Belgium	Italy	U.S.S.R.
Brazil	Japan	United Arab Republic
Bulgaria	Lebanon	United Kingdom
Canada	Mexico	United States
Chad	Mongolia	
Czechoslovakia	Morocco	

THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE SITUATION WITH REGARD TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES (SPECIAL COMMITTEE OF 24)

The General Assembly at its 16th session (1961) established a Special Committee of 17 members to "examine the application of the Declaration (on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples), to make suggestions and recommendations on the progress and extent of the implementation of the Declaration, and to report to the General Assembly at its seventeenth session." The 17th General Assembly (1962) enlarged the Committee by 7 new members and invited it "to continue to seek the most suitable ways and means for the speedy and total application of the Declaration to all territories which have not yet attained independence. . . ." The 18th and 19th General Assemblies, 1963 and 1964, respectively, also continued the Special Committee. The 19th General Assembly did so by noting under the consensus procedure the General Assembly President's statement that those bodies having continuing responsibilities, such as the Special Committee of 24, should continue their work.

The membership of the Committee is as follows:

Australia	Iraq ¹	Tanzania
Bulgaria ¹	Italy	Tunisia
Cambodia	Ivory Coast ¹	U.S.S.R.
Chile ¹	Malagasy Republic	United Kingdom
Denmark ¹	Mali	United States
Ethiopia	Poland	Uruguay
India	Sierra Leone ¹	Venezuela
Iran ¹	Syria	Yugoslavia

TRADE AND DEVELOPMENT BOARD OF THE UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE ON TRADE AND DEVELOPMENT

The establishment of the Trade and Development Board as a continuing organ of the Conference, held in Geneva in 1964, was proposed in Annex A.V.I of the Final Act of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development and was approved under the consensus procedure by the 19th General Assembly on December 30, 1964. The Trade and Development Board consists of 55 members

¹ Members appointed in 1963. Others listed were also members of the Committee of 17 in 1962.

to be elected at each regular session of the Conference. Current members of the Board are:

Afghanistan	France	New Zealand
Argentina	Germany, Federal	Nigeria
Australia	Republic of	Norway
Austria	Ghana	Pakistan
Belgium	Guinea	Philippines
Bolivia	Honduras	Poland
Brazil	Hungary	Rumania
Bulgaria	India	Spain
Cameroon	Indonesia	Sweden
Canada	Iran	Switzerland
Ceylon	Iraq	Tanzania
Chile	Italy	Turkey
Congo (Léopoldville)	Japan	U.S.S.R.
Czechoslovakia	Lebanon	United Arab Republic
Dahomey	Malagasy Republic	United Kingdom
Denmark	Mali	United States
Ecuador	Mexico	Uruguay
El Salvador	Morocco	Yugoslavia
Ethiopia	Netherlands	

UNITED NATIONS HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES (UNHCR)

High Commissioner for Refugees: Felix Schnyder, Switzerland

1964 Chairman: Miss A. F. W. Lunsingh Meijer, Netherlands

General Assembly Resolution 1166 (XII) authorized, and Economic and Social Council Resolution 672 (XXV) established, an Executive Committee of the Program of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. Economic and Social Council Resolution 965 B (XXXVI) reconfirmed the existing 25 members of the Committee and recommended that the General Assembly enlarge the Committee by 5 additional members. General Assembly Resolution 1958 (XVIII) endorsed this recommendation. The Executive Committee held its 11th and 12th sessions at Geneva from May 18 to 25, 1964, and from October 22 to October 30, 1964, in Rome, Italy. A second special session was held at Geneva from January 28 to 29, 1964.

The following countries are members of the Executive Committee:

Algeria	Germany, Federal	Nigeria
Australia	Republic of	Norway
Austria	Greece	Sweden
Belgium	Holy See	Switzerland
Brazil	Iran	Tanzania
Canada	Israel	Tunisia
China	Italy	Turkey
Colombia	Lebanon	United Kingdom
Denmark	Malagasy Republic	United States
France	Netherlands	Venezuela
		Yugoslavia

THE U.N. STAFF PENSION COMMITTEE

This Committee represents the United Nations on the Joint Staff Pension Board and administers, in respect of U.N. employees, the powers delegated by the Board relating to admission of participants and granting of benefits. As of December 31, 1964, it was composed of three members elected by the General Assembly, three members appointed by the Secretary-General, and three elected by the participants. The members elected by the General Assembly are Rigoberto Torres Astorga (Chile), Albert F. Bender, Jr. (U.S.), and James Gibson (U.K.). The alternates elected by the General Assembly are Brendan T. Nolan (Ireland), Nathan Quao (Ghana), and Shilendra K. Singh (India). Members appointed by the Secretary-General are Bruce Turner (New Zealand), David Vaughan (U.S.), and Sir Alexander MacFarquhar (U.K.).

THE INVESTMENTS COMMITTEE

This Committee advises the Secretary-General concerning the investment of the assets of the Pension Fund and other funds as appropriate. As of December 31, 1964, it was composed of Eugene Black (U.S.), R. McAllister Lloyd (U.S.), George A. Murphy (U.S.), Roger de Candolle (Switzerland), B. K. Nehru (India), and Jacques Rueff (France).

THE BOARD OF AUDITORS

This Board audits the accounts of the United Nations, the International Court of Justice, and such of the Specialized Agencies as may request its services. As of December 31, 1964, it was composed of three members, as follows: Auditor-General of Colombia, Auditor-General of Netherlands, and Auditor-General of Pakistan.

THE U. N. ADMINISTRATIVE TRIBUNAL

This body, composed of seven members, hears and passes judgment upon applications alleging nonobservance of contracts of employment or terms of appointment of staff members of the Secretariat of the United Nations. As of December 31, 1964, the seven members, only three of whom sit in a particular case, were James W. Barco (U.S.), Mme. Paul Bastid (France), Lord Cook (U.K.), Héctor Gros Espiell (Uruguay), Louis Ignacio-Pinto (Dahomey), Bror Arvid Sture Petré (Sweden), and R. Venkataraman (India).

INTERNATIONAL LAW COMMISSION

Chairman: Roberto Ago

Roberto Ago	Italy
Gilberto Amado	Brazil
Milan Bartoš	Yugoslavia
Herbert W. Briggs	United States
Marcel Cadieux	Canada
Erik Castrén	Finland
Abdullah El-Erian	United Arab Republic
Taslim O. Elias	Nigeria
Eduardo Jiménez de Aréchaga	Uruguay
Victor Kanga	Cameroon
Manfred Lachs	Poland
Liu Chieh	China
Antonia De Luna	Spain
Radhabinod Pal	India
Angel M. Paredes	Ecuador
Obed Pessou	Dahomey
Paul Reuter	France
Shabtai Rosenne	Israel
José Maria Ruda	Argentina
Abdul Hakim Tabibi	Afghanistan
Senjin Tsuruoka	Japan
Grigory I. Tunkin	U.S.S.R.
Alfred Verdross	Austria
Sir Humphrey Waldock	United Kingdom
Mustafa Kamil Yasseen	Iraq

The International Law Commission held its 16th session at Geneva from May 11 to July 24, 1964.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL

Standing Committees of the Economic and Social Council

TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE COMMITTEE (TAC)

The Economic and Social Council, when it established the U.N. Expanded Program of Technical Assistance (EPTA) August 15, 1949, established a standing Technical Assistance Committee (TAC) composed of members of the Council. At the 23d session of the Council the membership was increased to 24 by the addition of 6 members to be elected from among the states members of the United Nations or members of the Specialized Agencies. At the resumed part of the 32d session of the Council the membership increased to 30. The function of the TAC is to review regularly the EPTA program and to approve the overall program for the following year, to authorize the allocation of funds to the participating organizations, and to make for the Council critical examinations of activities undertaken and results achieved under the expanded program.

1964 Chairman: *Friedrich A. Kolb, Austria*

Membership in 1964

(See ECOSOC membership)

Elected members	Expiration date
Brazil	December 31, 1964
Denmark	December 31, 1964
Germany, Federal Republic of	December 31, 1964
Nigeria	December 31, 1964
Poland	December 31, 1964
United Arab Republic	December 31, 1964
Afghanistan	December 31, 1965
Canada ¹	December 31, 1965
China	December 31, 1965
Italy	December 31, 1965
Jordan	December 31, 1965
Sweden	December 31, 1965

The following countries were elected by the Economic and Social Council to be members for the period January 1, 1965, through December 31, 1966:

Brazil	Nigeria	Switzerland
Denmark	Poland	United Arab Republic

The Committee met before the 37th session of ECOSOC, June 22 to July 3, 1964, at Vienna, Austria, and November 23-27, 1964, at New York.

¹ Canada was elected to ECOSOC. New Zealand was thereafter elected to fill out Canada's unexpired elected term.

COMMITTEE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT (CID)

The Economic and Social Council at its 29th session established a standing committee, Committee for Industrial Development. The Committee advises ECOSOC in matters related to the acceleration by less industrialized countries of their industrial development. The Committee is composed of all members of ECOSOC together with an additional 12 members elected from among states members of the United Nations or members of the Specialized Agencies.

The membership of the Committee is as follows:

1964 Chairman: Hortencio J. Brillantes, Philippines
(See ECOSOC membership)

Elected members	Expiration date
Malagasy Republic	December 31, 1964*
Mexico	December 31, 1964
Tunisia	December 31, 1964
United Arab Republic	December 31, 1964
Brazil	December 31, 1965
Cameroon	December 31, 1965
Central African Republic	December 31, 1965
Sweden	December 31, 1965
Germany	December 31, 1966
Pakistan ¹	December 31, 1966
Philippines	December 31, 1966
Poland	December 31, 1966

The following countries were elected by the Economic and Social Council to be members for the period January 1, 1965, through December 31, 1967:

Greece	Mexico	Morocco
Kuwait		

The Committee held its fourth meeting March 2-19, 1964, at New York.

COMMITTEE ON HOUSING, BUILDING, AND PLANNING

The Economic and Social Council at its 34th session established a Committee on Housing, Building, and Planning. The Committee is to make recommendations on such matters dealing with housing and related community facilities, and physical planning, as: financing of home construction and ownership, provision of land for homes and community facilities at reasonable costs, designs suitable for low-cost housing in different climates and cultures, improved building ma-

¹ Pakistan was elected to ECOSOC. Turkey was thereafter elected to fill out Pakistan's unexpired elected term.

materials and their better use, and ways of promoting acceptance and adoption of efficient organizational and building techniques.

The membership of the Committee is as follows:

1964 Chairman: Shafik Hammad El Sadr, United Arab Republic

Elected members	Expiration date
Argentina	December 31, 1964
France	December 31, 1964
Greece	December 31, 1964
Italy	December 31, 1964
Rumania	December 31, 1964
Tanzania	December 31, 1964
United Arab Republic	December 31, 1964
Colombia	December 31, 1965
Iran	December 31, 1965
Israel	December 31, 1965
Japan	December 31, 1965
Malagasy Republic	December 31, 1965
Nigeria	December 31, 1965
United States	December 31, 1965
Canada	December 31, 1966
Chile	December 31, 1966
Denmark	December 31, 1966
Indonesia	December 31, 1966
U.S.S.R	December 31, 1966
United Kingdom	December 31, 1966
United States	December 31, 1966

In addition, the following countries were elected by the Economic and Social Council to nominate representatives to serve for the period January 1, 1965, through December 31, 1967:

France	Lebanon	United Arab Republic
Ghana	Rumania	Uruguay
Italy		

The Committee held its second session at New York from January 22 to February 4, 1964.

ECOSOC ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON THE APPLICATION OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY TO DEVELOPMENT

1964 Chairman: Eni Njoku, Nigeria

By Resolution 980A (XXXVI) of August 1, 1963, ECOSOC provided for the creation of an Advisory Committee, to be composed of individuals appointed by it on the nomination of the U.N. Secretary-General, to review and recommend measures for the practical application of science and technology for the benefit of the less developed areas of the world. The Committee, as formally constituted by ECOSOC

during its resumed 36th session which convened December 1963, consists of the following 18 members:

Svend Aage Andersen	Denmark
Pierre Victor Auger	France
Mamadou Aw	Mali
Nicolae Cernescu	Rumania
Carlos Chagas	Brazil
Josef Charvat	Czechoslovakia
Abba Eban	Israel
Francisco Garcia Olano	Argentina
German Mikhailovich Gvishiani	U.S.S.R.
Salah El-Din Hedayat	United Arab Republic
Kankuro Kaneshige	Japan
Eni Njoku	Nigeria
Oliverio Phillips-Michelsen	Colombia
Abdus Salam	Pakistan
Maneklal Sankalchand Thacker	India
Sir Ronald Walker	Australia
Carroll L. Wilson	United States
Sir Norman Wright	United Kingdom

The Committee held its first and second sessions at New York from February 25 to March 6, 1964, and from November 2 to 13, 1964.

UNITED NATIONS/FAO INTERGOVERNMENTAL COMMITTEE

1964 Chairman: Abdelhadi Sbihi, Morocco

By a resolution of the 11th session of the FAO Conference and U.N. General Assembly Resolution 1714 (XVI) in 1962, there was established a World Food Program to facilitate the best possible use of food surpluses for the economic development of the less developed countries and to make recommendations on procedures and arrangements for the multilateral utilization of surplus food. There was also established by these two resolutions a United Nations/FAO Intergovernmental Committee of 20 states members of the United Nations and members of the FAO to provide guidance on policy, administration, and operations of a joint administrative unit. Ten members were to be elected by the U.N. Economic and Social Council and 10 by the FAO Council. At the request of the FAO Council, the 12th session of the FAO Conference, November 1963, and General Assembly Resolution 1914 (XVIII), December 1963, enlarged the Committee to 24 members, 2 to be elected by the FAO and 2 to be elected by the United Nations.

The following countries were elected by the United Nations and the FAO:

Countries elected by FAO

Argentina
 Brazil
 Canada
 France
 Germany, Federal Republic of
 Ghana
 India
 Indonesia
 Netherlands
 Philippines
 United Arab Republic
 United States

Countries elected by ECOSOC

Australia
 Colombia
 Denmark
 Jamaica
 Morocco
 New Zealand
 Nigeria
 Pakistan
 Thailand
 United Kingdom
 Uruguay
 Yugoslavia

The Intergovernmental Committee held its 5th session July 6-10, 1964, in Geneva, and its 6th session December 7-11, 1964, in Rome.

Functional Commissions of the Economic and Social Council

COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS

1964 Chairman: Enrique Ponce y Carbo, Ecuador

	Expiration date
El Salvador	December 31, 1964
France	December 31, 1964
India	December 31, 1964
Lebanon	December 31, 1964
Philippines	December 31, 1964
Turkey	December 31, 1964
U.S.S.R	December 31, 1964
Canada	December 31, 1965
Chile	December 31, 1965
Denmark	December 31, 1965
Ecuador	December 31, 1965
Liberia	December 31, 1965
Ukrainian S.S.R	December 31, 1965
United States.	December 31, 1965
Austria	December 31, 1966
Costa Rica	December 31, 1966
Dahomey	December 31, 1966
Italy	December 31, 1966
Netherlands	December 31, 1966
Poland	December 31, 1966
United Kingdom	December 31, 1966

In addition, the following countries were elected by the Economic and Social Council to nominate representatives (subject to confirmation by the Council) to serve for the period January 1, 1965, through December 31, 1967:

France	Israel	Philippines
India	Jamaica	U.S.S.R.
Iraq		

The Commission held its 20th session at New York from February 13 to March 13, 1964.

COMMISSION ON INTERNATIONAL COMMODITY TRADE (CICT)

1963 Chairman: Octavia A. Dias Carneiro, Brazil

	Expiration date
Australia	December 31, 1964
Belgium	December 31, 1964
Ecuador	December 31, 1964
France	December 31, 1964
Malagasy Republic	December 31, 1964
Mali	December 31, 1964
Peru	December 31, 1964
Brazil	December 31, 1965
Greece	December 31, 1965
Rumania	December 31, 1965
Thailand	December 31, 1965
U.S.S.R	December 31, 1965
United Kingdom	December 31, 1965
Uruguay	December 31, 1965
India	December 31, 1966
Ivory Coast	December 31, 1966
Japan	December 31, 1966
New Zealand	December 31, 1966
Pakistan	December 31, 1966
United States	December 31, 1966
Yugoslavia	December 31, 1966

The Commission did not meet in 1964.

COMMISSION ON NARCOTIC DRUGS

1964 Chairman: J. F. Mabileau, France (reelected)

Expiration date

Brazil	December 31, 1964
Canada	December 31, 1964
France	December 31, 1964
Peru	December 31, 1964
Switzerland	December 31, 1964
United States	December 31, 1964
Yugoslavia	December 31, 1964
Germany, Federal Republic of	December 31, 1965
Hungary	December 31, 1965
Iran	December 31, 1965
Korea, Republic of	December 31, 1965
Mexico	December 31, 1965
Morocco	December 31, 1965
United Arab Republic	December 31, 1965
China	December 31, 1966
Ghana	December 31, 1966
India	December 31, 1966
Japan	December 31, 1966
Turkey	December 31, 1966
U.S.S.R	December 31, 1966
United Kingdom	December 31, 1966

In addition, the following countries were elected by the Economic and Social Council to be members for the period January 1, 1965, through December 31, 1967:

Argentina	Peru	United States
Canada	Switzerland	Yugoslavia
France		

The Commission held its 19th session at Geneva from May 4 to 9, 1964.

POPULATION COMMISSION

1963 Chairman: Hasan Husein, United Arab Republic

	Expiration date
Belgium	December 31, 1964
Ceylon	December 31, 1964
Greece	December 31, 1964
Mexico	December 31, 1964
United Arab Republic	December 31, 1964
Uruguay	December 31, 1964
El Salvador	December 31, 1965
Japan	December 31, 1965
Syria	December 31, 1965
U.S.S.R	December 31, 1965
United Kingdom	December 31, 1965
United States	December 31, 1965
China	December 31, 1967
France	December 31, 1967
Ghana	December 31, 1967
Sweden	December 31, 1967
Tunisia	December 31, 1967
Ukrainian S.S.R	December 31, 1967

In addition, the following countries were elected by the Economic and Social Council to nominate representatives (subject to confirmation by the Council) to serve for the period January 1, 1965, through December 31, 1968:¹

Australia	India	Panama
Austria	Netherlands	Yugoslavia

The Commission held its 12th session at New York from February 4 to 15, 1963. It did not meet in 1964.

¹ Countries elected to Commissions which meet biennially serve 4-year terms.

SOCIAL COMMISSION

1963 Chairman: Mrs. Vida Tomšič, Yugoslavia

	Expiration date
Albania	December 31, 1964
Canada	December 31, 1964
China	December 31, 1964
Ecuador	December 31, 1964
Israel	December 31, 1964
Sudan	December 31, 1964
Tunisia	December 31, 1964
Austria	December 31, 1965
France	December 31, 1965
Gabon	December 31, 1965
Iraq	December 31, 1965
Malaysia	December 31, 1965
U.S.S.R	December 31, 1965
United States	December 31, 1965
Argentina	December 31, 1966
Byelorussian S.S.R	December 31, 1966
Czechoslovakia	December 31, 1966
Denmark	December 31, 1966
Indonesia	December 31, 1966
United Kingdom	December 31, 1966
Uruguay	December 31, 1966

In addition the following countries were elected by the Economic and Social Council to nominate representatives (subject to confirmation by the Council) to serve for the period January 1, 1965, through December 31, 1967:

Bulgaria	Mali	Uganda
Cuba	Tunisia	United Arab Republic
Honduras		

The Commission held its 15th session at New York from April 24 to May 10, 1963. It did not meet in 1964.

STATISTICAL COMMISSION

1962 Chairman: M. D. McCarthy, Ireland

	Expiration date
Cuba	December 31, 1964
France	December 31, 1964
Norway	December 31, 1964
Rumania	December 31, 1964
United Kingdom	December 31, 1964
Uruguay	December 31, 1964
Canada	December 31, 1965
China	December 31, 1965
Ireland	December 31, 1965
Japan	December 31, 1965
U.S.S.R	December 31, 1965
United States	December 31, 1965
Australia	December 31, 1967
Brazil	December 31, 1967
India	December 31, 1967
Indonesia	December 31, 1967
Ukrainian S.S.R	December 31, 1967
United Arab Republic	December 31, 1967

In addition, the following countries were elected by the Economic and Social Council to nominate representatives (subject to confirmation by the Council) to serve for the period January 1, 1965, through December 31, 1968:¹

France	Norway	United Kingdom
Hungary	Panama	Uruguay

The Commission did not meet in 1963 or 1964.

¹ Countries elected to Commissions which meet biennially serve 4-year terms.

COMMISSION ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN

1963 Chairman: Miss María Lavalle Urbina, Mexico

	Expiration date
Ghana	December 31, 1964
Indonesia	December 31, 1964
Netherlands	December 31, 1964
Spain	December 31, 1964
U.S.S.R	December 31, 1964
United Kingdom	December 31, 1964
United States	December 31, 1964
Colombia	December 31, 1965
Finland	December 31, 1965
France	December 31, 1965
Mexico	December 31, 1965
Peru	December 31, 1965
Poland	December 31, 1965
Sierra Leone	December 31, 1965
Dominican Republic	December 31, 1966
Guinea	December 31, 1966
Hungary	December 31, 1966
Iran	December 31, 1966
Nepal	December 31, 1966
Philippines	December 31, 1966
United Arab Republic	December 31, 1966

In addition, the following countries were elected by the Economic and Social Council to nominate representatives (subject to confirmation by the Council) for the period January 1, 1965, through December 31, 1967:

Austria	Indonesia	United Kingdom
China	U.S.S.R.	United States
Ghana		

The Commission held its 17th session at New York from March 11 to 29, 1963. It did not meet in 1964.

Regional Commissions of the Economic and Social Council

ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR AFRICA (ECA)

*Headquarters: Addis Ababa, Ethiopia**1964 Chairman: A. Momulu Massaquoi, Liberia*

Algeria	Ivory Coast	Sierra Leone
Burundi	Kenya	Somali Republic
Cameroon	Liberia	South Africa ¹
Central African Republic	Libya	Sudan
Chad	Malagasy Republic	Tanzania
Congo (Brazzaville)	Mali	Togo
Congo (Léopoldville)	Mauritania	Tunisia
Dahomey	Morocco	Uganda
Ethiopia	Niger	United Arab Republic
Gabon	Nigeria	Upper Volta
Ghana	Rwanda	
Guinea	Senegal	

Associate Members

Angola	France	Southern Rhodesia
Basutoland	Gambia	South-West Africa
Bechuanaland	Mauritius	Spain
Equatorial Guinea	Mozambique	Swaziland
(Fernando-Póo and Rio Muni)	Northern Rhodesia ²	United Kingdom
	Nyasaland ³	

The Commission held its 6th session at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, from February 19 to March 3, 1964.

ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR ASIA AND THE FAR EAST (ECAFE)

*Headquarters: Bangkok, Thailand**1964 Chairman: A. Alikhani, Iran*

Afghanistan	Iran	Pakistan
Australia	Japan	Philippines
Burma	Korea, Republic of	Thailand
Cambodia	Laos	U.S.S.R.
Ceylon	Malaysia	United Kingdom
China	Mongolia	United States
France	Nepal	Viet-Nam, Republic of
India	Netherlands	Western Samoa
Indonesia	New Zealand	

¹ The Economic and Social Council decided by Resolution 974D (XXXVI) of July 30, 1963, that the Republic of South Africa should not take part in the work of the Commission until the Council, on the recommendation of the Commission, should find that conditions for constructive cooperation had been restored by a change in South Africa's racial policy.

² Became independent State of Zambia on Oct. 24, 1964, and admitted as a member of the United Nations Dec. 1964.

³ Became independent State of Malawi on July 6, 1964, and admitted as a member of the United Nations Dec. 1964.

Associate Members

Brunei

Hong Kong

The Commission held its 20th session at Tehran, Iran, from March 2 to 17, 1964.

ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR EUROPE (ECE)

*Headquarters: Geneva, Switzerland**1964 Chairman: Ange Vlachos, Greece (reelected)*

Albania	Germany, Federal	Poland
Austria	Republic of	Portugal
Belgium	Greece	Rumania
Bulgaria	Hungary	Spain
Byelorussian S.S.R.	Iceland	Sweden
Cyprus	Ireland	Turkey
Czechoslovakia	Italy	Ukrainian S.S.R.
Denmark	Luxembourg	U.S.S.R.
Finland	Netherlands	United Kingdom
France	Norway	United States
		Yugoslavia

Switzerland participates in a consultative capacity.

The Commission held its 19th session at Geneva from April 15 to 30, 1964.

ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR LATIN AMERICA (ECLA)

*Headquarters: Santiago, Chile**1964: Chairman: Pedro Daza, Chile*

Argentina	Ecuador	Nicaragua
Bolivia	El Salvador	Panama
Brazil	France	Paraguay
Canada	Guatemala	Peru
Chile	Haiti	Trinidad and Tobago
Colombia	Honduras	United Kingdom
Costa Rica	Jamaica	United States
Cuba	Mexico	Uruguay
Dominican Republic	Netherlands	Venezuela

Associate Members

British Guiana

British Honduras or
Belize

The Federal Republic of Germany and Switzerland participate in a consultative capacity in the work of the Commission by virtue of ECOSOC Resolutions 632(XXII) and 861(XXXII), respectively.

The Committee of the Whole of ECLA held its 10th session at Santiago, Chile, from February 12 to 14, 1964.

U.N. Special Bodies and Programs

UNITED NATIONS CHILDREN'S FUND (UNICEF)

*Executive Board**1964 Chairman: Mrs. Zena Harman, Israel*

	Expiration date
Bulgaria	January 31, 1965 ¹
Canada	January 31, 1965
Chile	January 31, 1965
Germany, Federal Republic of	January 31, 1965
India	January 31, 1965
Israel	January 31, 1965
Italy	January 31, 1965
Nigeria	January 31, 1965
Pakistan	January 31, 1965
Uruguay	January 31, 1965
Dominican Republic	January 31, 1966
Mexico	January 31, 1966
Philippines	January 31, 1966
Senegal	January 31, 1966
Spain	January 31, 1966
Sudan	January 31, 1966
Sweden	January 31, 1966
Switzerland	January 31, 1966
Turkey	January 31, 1966
United Kingdom	January 31, 1966
Afghanistan	January 31, 1967
Brazil	January 31, 1967
China	January 31, 1967
France	January 31, 1967
Poland	January 31, 1967
Thailand	January 31, 1967
Tunisia	January 31, 1967
U.S.S.R	January 31, 1967
United Arab Republic	January 31, 1967
United States	January 31, 1967

The following countries were elected by the Economic and Social Council for the period February 1, 1965, through January 31, 1968:

Belgium	Germany, Federal	Morocco
Canada	Republic of	Pakistan
Chile	India	Yugoslavia
Ecuador	Israel	

The Executive Board of the UNICEF met at Bangkok, Thailand, January 13-24, 1964, and at New York April 24, 1964, and June 23-24, 1964.

¹ The Economic and Social Council agreed to a UNICEF Executive Board request that the terms of membership begin Feb. 1 and end Jan. 31.

GOVERNING COUNCIL OF THE SPECIAL FUND

1964 Chairman: Daniel Cosío Villegas, Mexico

	Expiration date
Brazil	December 31, 1964 ¹
Denmark	December 31, 1964
France	December 31, 1964
India	December 31, 1964
Indonesia	December 31, 1964
Mexico	December 31, 1964
United Kingdom	December 31, 1964
United States	December 31, 1964
Canada	December 31, 1965
Japan	December 31, 1965
Philippines	December 31, 1965
Poland	December 31, 1965
Sweden	December 31, 1965
Tunisia	December 31, 1965
U.S.S.R	December 31, 1965
Uruguay	December 31, 1965
Argentina	December 31, 1966
Germany, Federal Republic of	December 31, 1966
Ghana	December 31, 1966
Italy	December 31, 1966
Nepal	December 31, 1966
Netherlands	December 31, 1966
Norway	December 31, 1966
Senegal	December 31, 1966

The Governing Council held its 11th session at New York, January 13-20, 1964, and its 12th session at The Hague, Netherlands, June 15-22, 1964.

¹ Term of office which would normally have expired on Dec. 31, 1964, was prolonged by the ECOSOC until the latter's 38th session which will be held in Mar. 1965.

The Specialized Agencies

FOOD AND AGRICULTURE ORGANIZATION (FAO)

Headquarters: Rome, Italy

Director General: B. R. Sen, India

Afghanistan	Guatemala	Norway
Algeria	Guinea	Pakistan
Argentina	Haiti	Panama
Australia	Honduras	Paraguay
Austria	Iceland	Peru
Belgium	India	Philippines
Bolivia	Indonesia	Poland
Brazil	Iran	Portugal
Burma	Iraq	Rumania
Burundi	Ireland	Rwanda
Cambodia	Israel	Saudi Arabia
Cameroon	Italy	Senegal
Canada	Ivory Coast	Sierra Leone
Central African Republic	Jamaica	Somali Republic
Ceylon	Japan	Spain
Chad	Jordan	Sudan
Chile	Kenya	Sweden
Colombia	Korea, Republic of	Switzerland
Congo (Brazzaville)	Kuwait	Syrian Arab Republic
Congo (Léopoldville)	Laos	Tanzania
Costa Rica	Lebanon	Thailand
Cuba	Liberia	Togo
Cyprus	Libya	Trinidad and Tobago
Dahomey	Luxembourg	Tunisia
Denmark	Malagasy Republic	Turkey
Dominican Republic	Malaysia	Uganda
Ecuador	Mali	United Arab Republic
El Salvador	Malta ¹	United Kingdom
Ethiopia	Mauritania	United States
Finland	Mexico	Upper Volta
France	Morocco	Uruguay
Gabon	Nepal	Venezuela
Germany, Federal Republic of	Netherlands	Viet-Nam, Republic of
Ghana	New Zealand	Yemen
Greece	Nicaragua	Yugoslavia
	Niger	
	Nigeria	

Associate Members

British Guiana	Mauritius
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As of December 31, 1964, FAO had 107 members and 2 associate members.

¹ Malta became independent on Sept. 21, 1964, and became a full member of FAO on Oct. 5, 1964.

INTERNATIONAL BANK FOR RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT (IBRD)¹

Headquarters: Washington, D.C.

President: George D. Woods, United States

Vice President: Geoffrey M. Wilson, United Kingdom

Vice President: J. Burke Knapp, United States

Afghanistan	Guatemala	Nigeria
Algeria	Guinea	Norway
Argentina	Haiti	Pakistan
Australia	Honduras	Panama
Austria	Iceland	Paraguay
Belgium	India	Peru
Bolivia	Indonesia	Philippines
Brazil	Iran	Portugal
Burma	Iraq	Rwanda
Burundi	Ireland	Saudi Arabia
Cameroon	Israel	Senegal
Canada	Italy	Sierra Leone
Central African Republic	Ivory Coast	Somali Republic
Ceylon	Jamaica	South Africa
Chad	Japan	Spain
Chile	Jordan	Sudan
China	Kenya	Sweden
Colombia	Korea, Republic of	Syrian Arab Republic
Congo (Brazzaville)	Kuwait	Tanzania
Congo (Léopoldville)	Laos	Thailand
Costa Rica	Lebanon	Togo
Cyprus	Liberia	Trinidad and Tobago
Dahomey	Libya	Tunisia
Denmark	Luxembourg	Turkey
Dominican Republic	Malagasy Republic	Uganda
Ecuador	Malaysia	United Arab Republic
El Salvador	Mali	United Kingdom
Ethiopia	Mauritania	United States
Finland	Mexico	Upper Volta
France	Morocco	Uruguay
Gabon	Nepal	Venezuela
Germany, Federal Republic of	Netherlands	Viet-Nam, Republic of
Ghana	New Zealand	Yugoslavia
Greece	Nicaragua	
	Niger	

As of December 31, 1964, the IBRD had 102 members. Cuba has withdrawn from the Bank and from the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

¹ A state is required to belong to the IMF before it may join the IBRD.

INTERNATIONAL CIVIL AVIATION ORGANIZATION (ICAO)

Headquarters: Montreal, Canada

Secretary General: Ronald Macalister Macdonnell, Canada

Afghanistan	Greece	Nigeria
Algeria	Guatemala	Norway
Argentina	Guinea	Pakistan
Australia	Haiti	Panama
Austria	Honduras	Paraguay
Belgium	Iceland	Peru
Bolivia	India	Philippines
Brazil	Indonesia	Poland
Burma	Iran	Portugal
Cambodia	Iraq	Rwanda
Cameroon	Ireland	Saudi Arabia
Canada	Israel	Senegal
Central African Republic	Italy	Sierra Leone
Ceylon	Ivory Coast	Somali Republic
Chad	Jamaica	South Africa
Chile	Japan	Spain
China	Jordan	Sudan
Colombia	Kenya	Sweden
Congo (Brazzaville)	Korea, Republic of	Switzerland
Congo (Léopoldville)	Kuwait	Syrian Arab Republic
Costa Rica	Laos	Tanzania
Cuba	Lebanon	Thailand
Cyprus	Liberia	Trinidad and Tobago
Czechoslovakia	Libya	Tunisia
Dahomey	Luxembourg	Turkey
Denmark	Malagasy Republic	United Arab Republic
Dominican Republic	Malaysia	United Kingdom
Ecuador	Malawi	United States
El Salvador	Mali	Upper Volta
Ethiopia	Mauritania	Uruguay
Finland	Mexico	Venezuela
France	Morocco	Viet-Nam, Republic of
Gabon	Nepal	Yemen
Germany, Federal Republic of	Netherlands	Yugoslavia
Ghana	New Zealand	Zambia
	Nicaragua	
	Niger	

As of December 31, 1964, ICAO had 107 members.

INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATION (IDA)

Headquarters: Washington, D.C.

President: George D. Woods,¹ United States

Afghanistan	Ghana	Nigeria
Algeria	Greece	Norway
Argentina	Guatemala	Pakistan
Australia	Haiti	Panama
Austria	Honduras	Paraguay
Belgium	Iceland	Peru
Bolivia	India	Philippines
Brazil	Iran	Rwanda
Burundi	Iraq	Saudi Arabia
Burma	Ireland	Senegal
Cameroon	Israel	Sierra Leone
Canada	Italy	Somali Republic
Central African Republic	Ivory Coast	South Africa
Ceylon	Japan	Spain
Chad	Jordan	Sudan
Chile	Kenya	Sweden
China	Korea, Republic of	Syrian Arab Republic
Colombia	Kuwait	Tanzania
Congo (Brazzaville)	Laos	Thailand
Congo (Léopoldville)	Lebanon	Togo
Costa Rica	Liberia	Tunisia
Cyprus	Libya	Turkey
Dahomey	Luxembourg	Uganda
Denmark	Malagasy Republic	United Arab Republic
Dominican Republic	Malaysia	United Kingdom
Ecuador	Mali	United States
El Salvador	Mauritania	Upper Volta
Ethiopia	Mexico	Viet-Nam, Republic of
Finland	Morocco	Yugoslavia
France	Nepal	
Gabon	Netherlands	
Germany, Federal	Nicaragua	
Republic of	Niger	

As of December 31, 1964, IDA had 94 members.

¹ In accordance with the IDA articles George D. Woods, as President of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), is *ex officio* President of IDA. Officers and staff of the Bank have been appointed to serve concurrently as officers and staff of IDA without additional compensation.

INTERNATIONAL FINANCE CORPORATION (IFC)

Headquarters: Washington, D.C.

President: George D. Woods,¹ United States

Afghanistan	Honduras	Norway
Argentina	Iceland	Pakistan
Australia	India	Panama
Austria	Iran	Paraguay
Belgium	Iraq	Peru
Bolivia	Ireland	Philippines
Brazil	Israel	Saudi Arabia
Burma	Italy	Senegal
Canada	Ivory Coast	Sierra Leone
Ceylon	Jamaica	Somali Republic
Chile	Japan	South Africa
Colombia	Jordan	Spain
Costa Rica	Kenya	Sudan
Cyprus	Korea, Republic of	Sweden
Denmark	Kuwait	Syrian Arab Republic
Dominican Republic	Lebanon	Tanzania
Ecuador	Liberia	Thailand
El Salvador	Libya	Togo
Ethiopia	Luxembourg	Tunisia
Finland	Malagasy Republic	Turkey
France	Malaysia	Uganda
Germany, Federal	Mexico	United Arab Republic
Republic of	Morocco	United Kingdom
Ghana	Netherlands	United States
Greece	New Zealand	Venezuela
Guatemala	Nicaragua	
Haiti	Nigeria	

As of December 31, 1964, IFC had 78 members.

¹ In accordance with the IFC articles George D. Woods, as President of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) is *ex officio* President of IFC. Officers and staff of the Bank have been appointed to serve concurrently as officers and staff of IFC without additional compensation.

INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION (ILO)

Headquarters: Geneva, Switzerland

Director General: David A. Morse, United States

Afghanistan	Ghana	Nigeria
Albania	Greece	Norway
Algeria	Guatemala	Pakistan
Argentina	Guinea	Panama
Australia	Haiti	Paraguay
Austria	Honduras	Peru
Belgium	Hungary	Philippines
Bolivia	Iceland	Poland
Brazil	India	Portugal
Bulgaria	Indonesia	Rumania
Burma	Iran	Rwanda
Burundi	Iraq	Senegal
Byelorussian S.S.R.	Ireland	Sierra Leone
Cameroon	Israel	Somali Republic
Canada	Italy	South Africa
Central African Republic	Ivory Coast	Spain
Ceylon	Jamaica	Sudan
Chad	Japan	Sweden
Chile	Jordan	Switzerland
China	Kenya	Syrian Arab Republic
Colombia	Kuwait	Tanzania
Congo (Brazzaville)	Laos	Thailand
Congo (Léopoldville)	Lebanon	Togo
Costa Rica	Liberia	Trinidad and Tobago
Cuba	Libya	Tunisia
Cyprus	Luxembourg	Turkey
Czechoslovakia	Malagasy Republic	Uganda
Dahomey	Malaysia	Ukrainian S.S.R.
Denmark	Mali	U.S.S.R.
Dominican Republic	Malta	United Arab Republic
Ecuador	Mauritania	United Kingdom
El Salvador	Mexico	United States
Ethiopia	Morocco	Upper Volta
Finland	Netherlands	Uruguay
France	New Zealand	Venezuela
Gabon	Nicaragua	Viet-Nam, Republic of
Germany, Federal	Niger	Yugoslavia
Republic of		Zambia

As of December 31, 1964, ILO had 112 members.

INTERGOVERNMENTAL MARITIME CONSULTATIVE ORGANIZATION (IMCO)

Headquarters: London, England

Secretary General: Jean Roullier, France

Algeria	Greece	New Zealand
Argentina	Haiti	Nigeria
Australia	Honduras	Norway
Belgium	Iceland	Pakistan
Brazil	India	Panama
Bulgaria	Indonesia	Philippines
Burma	Iran	Poland
Cambodia	Ireland	Senegal
Cameroon	Israel	Spain
Canada	Italy	Sweden
China	Ivory Coast	Switzerland
Czechoslovakia	Japan	Syrian Arab Republic
Denmark	Korea, Republic of	Tunisia
Dominican Republic	Kuwait	Turkey
Ecuador	Liberia	U.S.S.R.
Finland	Malagasy Republic	United Arab Republic
France	Mauritania	United Kingdom
Germany, Federal	Mexico	United States
Republic of	Morocco	Yugoslavia
Ghana	Netherlands	

As of December 31, 1964, IMCO had 58 members.

INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND (IMF)

Headquarters: Washington, D.C.

Managing Director and Chairman of the Board of Executive Directors:

Pierre-Paul Schweitzer, France

Afghanistan	Guatemala	Nigeria
Algeria	Guinea	Norway
Argentina	Haiti	Pakistan
Australia	Honduras	Panama
Austria	Iceland	Paraguay
Belgium	India	Peru
Bolivia	Indonesia	Philippines
Brazil	Iran	Portugal
Burma	Iraq	Rwanda
Burundi	Ireland	Saudi Arabia
Cameroon	Israel	Senegal
Canada	Italy	Sierra Leone
Central African Republic	Ivory Coast	Somali Republic
Ceylon	Japan	South Africa
Chad	Jamaica	Spain
Chile	Jordan	Sudan
China	Kenya	Sweden
Colombia	Korea, Republic of	Syrian Arab Republic
Congo (Brazzaville)	Kuwait	Tanzania
Congo (Léopoldville)	Laos	Thailand
Costa Rica	Lebanon	Togo
Cyprus	Liberia	Trinidad and Tobago
Dahomey	Libya	Tunisia
Denmark	Luxembourg	Turkey
Dominican Republic	Malagasy Republic	Uganda
Ecuador	Malaysia	United Arab Republic
El Salvador	Mali	United Kingdom
Ethiopia	Mauritania	United States
Finland	Mexico	Upper Volta
France	Morocco	Uruguay
Gabon	Nepal	Venezuela
Germany, Federal	Netherlands	Viet-Nam, Republic of
Republic of	New Zealand	Yugoslavia
Ghana	Nicaragua	
Greece	Niger	

As of December 31, 1964, the IMF had 102 members.

INTERNATIONAL TELECOMMUNICATION UNION (ITU)

*Headquarters: Geneva, Switzerland**Secretary General: Gerald C. Gross, United States*

Afghanistan	Guatemala	Peru
Albania	Guinea	Philippines
Algeria	Haiti	Poland
Argentina	Holy See	Portugal
Australia	Honduras	Portuguese Overseas
Austria	Hungary	Provinces
Belgium	Iceland	Rumania
Bolivia	India	Rwanda
Brazil	Indonesia	Saudi Arabia
Bulgaria	Iran	Senegal
Burma	Iraq	Sierra Leone
Burundi	Ireland	Somali Republic
Byelorussian S.S.R.	Israel	South Africa
Cambodia	Italy	and Territory of South-
Cameroon	Ivory Coast	West Africa
Canada	Jamaica	Southern Rhodesia
Central African Republic	Japan	Spain
Ceylon	Jordan	Spanish Provinces in
Chad	Kenya	Africa
Chile	Korea, Republic of	Sudan
China	Kuwait	Sweden
Colombia	Laos	Switzerland
Congo (Brazzaville)	Lebanon	Syrian Arab Republic
Congo (Léopoldville)	Liberia	Tanzania
Costa Rica	Libya	Thailand
Cuba	Liechtenstein	Togo
Cyprus	Luxembourg	Tunisia
Czechoslovakia	Malagasy Republic	Turkey
Dahomey	Malaysia	Uganda
Denmark	Mali	Ukrainian S.S.R.
Dominican Republic	Mauritania	U.S.S.R.
Ecuador	Mexico	United Arab Republic
El Salvador	Monaco	United Kingdom
Ethiopia	Mongolia	Overseas Territories for
Finland	Morocco	which the United King-
France	Nepal	dom is responsible
Overseas States of the	Netherlands	United States
French Community and	New Zealand	Territories of United
French Overseas Terri-	Nicaragua	States
ories	Niger	Upper Volta
Gabon	Nigeria	Uruguay
Germany, Federal	Norway	Venezuela
Republic of	Pakistan	Viet-Nam, Republic of
Ghana	Panama	Yemen
Greece	Paraguay	Yugoslavia

Associate Members

Malawi	Zambia
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As of December 31, 1964, ITU had 124 members and 2 associate members.

UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATION (UNESCO)

Headquarters: Paris, France

Director General: René Maheu, France

Afghanistan	Greece	Nigeria
Albania	Guatemala	Norway
Algeria	Guinea	Pakistan
Argentina	Haiti	Panama
Australia	Honduras	Paraguay
Austria	Hungary	Peru
Belgium	Iceland	Philippines
Bolivia	India	Poland
Brazil	Indonesia	Rumania
Bulgaria	Iran	Rwanda
Burma	Iraq	Saudi Arabia
Burundi	Ireland	Senegal
Byelorussian S.S.R.	Israel	Sierra Leone
Cambodia	Italy	Somali Republic
Cameroon	Ivory Coast	Spain
Canada	Jamaica	Sudan
Central African Republic	Japan	Sweden
Ceylon	Jordan	Switzerland
Chad	Kenya	Syrian Arab Republic
Chile	Korea, Republic of	Tanzania
China	Kuwait	Thailand
Colombia	Laos	Togo
Congo (Brazzaville)	Lebanon	Trinidad and Tobago
Congo (Léopoldville)	Liberia	Tunisia
Costa Rica	Libya	Turkey
Cuba	Luxembourg	Uganda
Cyprus	Malagasy Republic	Ukrainian S.S.R.
Czechoslovakia	Malawi	U.S.S.R.
Dahomey	Malaysia	United Arab Republic
Denmark	Mali	United Kingdom
Dominican Republic	Mauritania	United States
Ecuador	Mexico	Upper Volta
El Salvador	Monaco	Uruguay
Ethiopia	Mongolia	Verezuela
Finland	Morocco	Viet-Nam, Republic of
France	Nepal	Yemen
Gabon	Netherlands	Yugoslavia
Germany, Federal	New Zealand	Zambia
Republic of	Nicaragua	
Ghana	Niger	

Associate Members

Mauritius	Qatar	British Eastern Caribbean Group
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As of December 31, 1964, UNESCO had 117 members and 3 associate members.

UNIVERSAL POSTAL UNION (UPU)

*Headquarters: Bern, Switzerland**Secretary General: Edouard Weber, Switzerland*

Afghanistan	Honduras	Portuguese Provinces of West Africa
Albania	Hungary	Portuguese Provinces of East Africa, Asia, and Oceania
Algeria	Iceland	Rumania
Argentina	India	Rwanda
Australia	Indonesia	San Marino
Austria	Iran	Saudi Arabia
Belgium	Iraq	Senegal
Bolivia	Ireland	Sierra Leone
Brazil	Israel	Somali Republic
Bulgaria	Italy	South Africa
Burma	Ivory Coast	Spain
Burundi	Jamaica	Spanish Territories of Africa
Byelorussian S.S.R.	Japan	Sudan
Cambodia	Jordan	Sweden
Cameroon	Kenya	Switzerland
Canada	Korea, Republic of	Syrian Arab Republic
Central African Republic	Kuwait	Tanzania
Ceylon	Laos	Thailand
Chad	Lebanon	Togo
Chile	Liberia	Trinidad and Tobago
China	Libya	Tunisia
Colombia	Liechtenstein	Turkey
Congo (Brazzaville)	Luxembourg	Ukrainian S.S.R.
Congo (Léopoldville)	Malagasy Republic	U.S.S.R.
Costa Rica	Malaysia	United Arab Republic
Cuba	Mali	United Kingdom
Cyprus	Mexico	United Kingdom Colonies, Protectorates, and Overseas Territories and Territories under Trusteeship
Czechoslovakia	Monaco	United States
Dahomey	Mongolia	United States Overseas Territories, including the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands
Denmark	Morocco	Upper Volta
Dominican Republic	Nepal	Uruguay
Ecuador	Netherlands	Venezuela
El Salvador	Netherlands Antilles and Surinam	Viet-Nam, Republic of
Ethiopia	New Zealand	Yemen
Finland	Nicaragua	Yugoslavia
France	Niger	
French Overseas Territories	Nigeria	
Gabon	Norway	
Germany, Federal Republic of	Pakistan	
Ghana	Panama	
Greece	Paraguay	
Guatemala	Peru	
Guinea	Philippines	
Haiti	Poland	
Holy See	Portugal	

As of December 31, 1964, UPU had 125 members.

WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION (WHO)

*Headquarters: Geneva, Switzerland**Director General: Marcolino G. Candau, Brazil*

Afghanistan	Greece	Norway
Albania	Guatemala	Pakistan
Algeria	Guinea	Panama
Argentina	Haiti	Paraguay
Australia	Honduras	Peru
Austria	Hungary	Philippines
Belgium	Iceland	Poland
Bolivia	India	Portugal
Brazil	Indonesia	Rumania
Bulgaria	Iran	Rwanda
Burma	Iraq	Samoa, Western
Burundi	Ireland	Saudi Arabia
Byelorussian S.S.R. ¹	Israel	Senegal
Cambodia	Italy	Sierra Leone
Cameroon	Ivory Coast	Somali Republic
Canada	Jamaica	South Africa
Central African Republic	Japan	Spain
Ceylon	Jordan	Sudan
Chad	Kenya	Sweden
Chile	Korea, Republic of	Switzerland
China	Kuwait	Syrian Arab Republic
Colombia	Laos	Tanzania
Congo (Brazzaville)	Lebanon	Thailand
Congo (Léopoldville)	Liberia	Togo
Costa Rica	Libya	Trinidad and Tobago
Cuba	Luxembourg	Tunisia
Cyprus	Malagasy Republic	Turkey
Czechoslovakia	Malaysia	Uganda
Dahomey	Mali	Ukrainian S.S.R. ¹
Denmark	Mauritania	U.S.S.R.
Dominican Republic	Mexico	United Arab Republic
Ecuador	Monaco	United Kingdom
El Salvador	Mongolia	United States
Ethiopia	Morocco	Upper Volta
Finland	Nepal	Uruguay
France	Netherlands	Venezuela
Gabon	New Zealand	Viet-Nam, Republic of
Germany, Federal	Nicaragua	Yemen
Republic of	Niger	Yugoslavia
Ghana	Nigeria	
	<i>Associate Members</i>	
Mauritius	Qatar	Southern Rhodesia

As of December 31, 1964, WHO had 118 full members and 3 associate members.

¹ Inactive members.

WORLD METEOROLOGICAL ORGANIZATION (WMO)

*Headquarters: Geneva, Switzerland**Secretary General: D. A. Davies, United Kingdom*

Afghanistan	Ghana	Pakistan
Albania	Greece	Paraguay
Algeria	Guatemala	Peru
Argentina	Guinea	Philippines
Australia	Haiti	Poland
Austria	Honduras	Portugal
Belgium	Hong Kong	Portuguese East Africa
Bolivia	Hungary	Portuguese West Africa
Brazil	Iceland	Rhodesia and Nyasaland.
British Caribbean	India	Federation of
Territories and British	Indonesia	Rumania
Guiana	Iran	Rwanda
Bulgaria	Iraq	Saudi Arabia
Burma	Ireland	Senegal
Burundi	Israel	Sierra Leone
Byelorussian S.S.R.	Italy	Somali Republic
Cambodia	Ivory Coast	South Africa
Cameroon	Jamaica	Southern Rhodesia
Canada	Japan	Spain
Central African Republic	Jordan	Spanish Territories of
Ceylon	Kenya	Guinea .
Chad	Korea, Republic of	Sudan
Chile	Kuwait	Surinam
China	Laos	Sweden
Colombia	Lebanon	Switzerland
Congo (Brazzaville)	Libya	Syrian Arab Republic
Congo (Léopoldville)	Luxembourg	Tanzania
Costa Rica	Malagasy Republic	Thailand
Cuba	Malaysia	Togo
Cyprus	Mali	Trinidad and Tobago
Czechoslovakia	Mauritania	Tunisia
Dahomey	Mauritius	Turkey
Denmark	Mexico	Uganda
Dominican Republic	Mongolia	Ukrainian S.S.R.
Ecuador	Morocco	U.S.S.R.
El Salvador	Netherlands	United Arab Republic
Ethiopia	Netherlands Antilles	United Kingdom
Finland	New Caledonia	United States
France	New Zealand	Upper Volta
French Polynesia	Nicaragua	Uruguay
French Somaliland	Niger	Venezuela
Gabon	Nigeria	Viet-Nam, Republic of
Germany, Federal	Norway	Yugoslavia
Republic of		

As of December 31, 1964, WMO had 125 members.

Other International Organizations

INTERNATIONAL ATOMIC ENERGY AGENCY (IAEA)

Headquarters: Vienna, Austria

Director General: A. Sigvard Eklund, Sweden

Afghanistan	Germany, Federal	Nigeria
Albania	Republic of	Norway
Algeria	Ghana	Pakistan
Argentina	Greece	Paraguay
Australia	Guatemala	Peru
Austria	Haiti	Philippines
Belgium	Holy See	Poland
Bolivia	Honduras	Portugal
Brazil	Hungary	Rumania
Bulgaria	Iceland	Saudi Arabia
Burma	India	Senegal
Byelorussian S.S.R.	Indonesia	South Africa
Cambodia	Iran	Spain
Cameroon	Iraq	Sudan
Canada	Israel	Sweden
Ceylon	Italy	Switzerland
Chile	Ivory Coast	Syrian Arab Republic
China	Japan	Thailand
Colombia	Korea, Republic of	Tunisia
Congo (Léopoldville)	Kuwait	Turkey
Cuba	Lebanon	Ukrainian S.S.R.
Czechoslovakia	Liberia	U.S.S.R.
Denmark	Libya	United Arab Republic
Dominican Republic	Luxembourg	United Kingdom
Ecuador	Mali	United States
El Salvador	Mexico	Uruguay
Ethiopia	Monaco	Venezuela
Finland	Morocco	Viet-Nam, Republic of
France	Netherlands	Yugoslavia
Gabon	New Zealand	
	Nicaragua	

As of December 31, 1964, IAEA had 89 members.

United States Representation

UNITED STATES MISSIONS

U.S. Mission at U.N. Headquarters in New York (USUN)

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, in U.N. bodies at U.N. Headquarters. It also serves as the channel of communication between the U.S. Government and the U.N. organs, agencies, and commissions at the Headquarters and the delegations of other nations to the United Nations located in New York. It is a base of operations for the U.S. delegation to the General Assembly and to other U.N. organs and agencies 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 factors:

1. The requirements of the U.N. Charter and the resolutions of the organs of the United Nations.
2. The provisions of the United Nations Participation Act (Public Law 264, 79th Cong.) as amended by Public Law 341 of the 81st Congress.
3. Executive Order 10108.
4. Location of the Headquarters of the United Nations 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 in consequence of its leadership role in the United Nations, is represented on all organs and virtually all commissions and committees of the United Nations.

The chief of the mission is the U.S. Representative to the United Nations. He is assisted by two deputies of ambassadorial rank.

Other principal officers of the mission are the U.S. Representatives on the Economic and Social Council and the Trusteeship Council, and the Counselor of Mission.

The main source of policy guidance and strategical direction for the conduct of U.S. participation in the United Nations is the Department of State. The mission has a staff consisting of a number 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 U.N. organs and bodies; (2) consultation, negotiation, and liaison with other delegations and the U.N. 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) the discharge of the responsibilities of the United States as "host government," in particular those arising from the Headquarters Agreement between the United States and the United Nations (Public Law 357, 80th Cong.) and the International Organizations Immunities Act (Public Law 391, 79th Cong.), which deal *inter alia* with relations of the United Nations, its officials, and delegation members with Federal, State, and local authorities; and (6) administering of all public affairs activities concerning U.S. participation in the United Nations at New York. The administrative section assists the U.S. Representative by (1) planning for and administering conference operations; (2) the provision of necessary research, reference, reporting, communications, and general services; and (3) the administration, personnel management, fiscal, protocol, and security functions of the U.S. mission.

U.S. Mission at U.N. 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 direction 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 for observing and reporting on activities in the political and economic field of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies located in Geneva. These include the U.N. Economic Commission for Europe (ECE), the International Labor Organization (ILO), the World Health Organization (WHO), the International Telecommunication Union (ITU), and the World Meteorological Organization (WMO). In addition,

the mission is responsible for relations with and reporting on the activities of other international organizations located in Geneva and for necessary liaison with the missions of other countries accredited to international organizations located in Geneva.

The chief of the mission reports directly to the Secretary of State and the Department of State. Instructions to the mission are sent by the Department of State. The mission works in close coordination with the U.S. Embassies, the U.S. Mission to the European Communities (USEC), and the U.S. Mission to Regional Organizations (USRO).

Other U.S. Missions

In addition to the U.S. missions at the U.N. Headquarters, New York, and the European Office of the United Nations at Geneva, the United States during 1964 maintained several special missions in order to participate effectively in the work of certain U.N. bodies located elsewhere.

A special U.S. mission, the Office of the U.S. Representative to the Council of the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO), was maintained in Montreal, Canada, and a U.S. mission to the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) was maintained at Vienna, Austria, the Agency's headquarters.

UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVES TO THE UNITED NATIONS

United States Representative and Chief of United States Mission to the United Nations:

Adlai E. Stevenson

Deputy United States Representatives:

Francis T. P. Plimpton

Charles W. Yost

The General Assembly

NINETEENTH REGULAR SESSION, NEW YORK, N.Y., DECEMBER 1, 1964—
RECESSED DECEMBER 30, 1964

Representatives:

Dean Rusk ¹
Adlai E. Stevenson
Frank Carlson
William C. Foster
Francis T. P. Plimpton

Alternate Representatives:

Charles W. Yost
Franklin H. Williams
Gladys Avery Tillett
Richard N. Gardner
Charles P. Noyes

SPECIAL COMMITTEES AND COMMISSIONS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

United Nations Scientific Advisory Committee (UNSAC)

Representative:

I. I. Rabi

United Nations Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation (UNSCEAR)

Representative:

Dr. Richard Hall Chamberlain

Alternate Representative:

Austin M. Brues

Special Committee on the Situation with Regard to Implementation of the Declaration of the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries

Representative:

Sidney R. Yates (resigned September 1964)
Marietta P. Tree

Alternate Representatives:

Dwight Dickinson
Christopher Thoron

Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space

Representative:

Francis T. P. Plimpton

Technical Adviser to the U.S. Representative:

Dr. Hugh L. Dryden

¹ The Secretary served as Chairman of the Delegation, *ex officio*, during his presence at the session. At other times Ambassador Stevenson served as Senior Representative.

Deputy Representative:

Richard N. Gardner

Alternate Representatives:

Legal: Leonard C. Meeker

Technical: Dr. Hugh L. Dryden

Special Committee on the Question of Defining Aggression

(Did not meet in 1964)

Interim Committee of the General Assembly

(Has not met since 1961)

Collective Measures Committee

This Committee, which has not met since 1954, reports to both the General Assembly and the Security Council.

United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine

Representative:

Francis T. P. Plimpton

United Nations Peace Observation Commission

(Did not meet in 1964)

United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) Advisory Commission (Beirut, Lebanon)

Representative:

Armin H. Meyer

Alternate Representative:

Theodore Wahl

Working Group to Examine Administrative and Budgetary Procedures of the United Nations

Representative:

Francis T. P. Plimpton

Alternate Representatives:

Albert F. Bender, Jr.

Seymour M. Finger

Committee on United Nations Capital Development Fund

Representative:

Clarence Blau

Special Committee on Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation Among States

Representative:

Stephen M. Schwebel

Disarmament Commission

The Commission, which did not meet in 1964, reports to both the General Assembly and the Security Council.

The Security Council

Representative:

Adlai E. Stevenson

Deputy Representative:

Charles W. Yost

Francis T. P. Plimpton

Military Staff Committee

Representatives:

Navy: Vice Adm. Harold T. Deutermann, USN

Army: Lt. Gen. Robert W. Porter, Jr., USA

Air Force: Lt. Gen. Edward H. Underhill, USAF (retired July 31, 1964)

Lt. Gen. William H. Blanchard, USAF

Deputy Representatives:

Navy: Capt. Fred W. Pump, USN

Army: Col. Clarence F. Nelson, USA

Air Force: Col. Arthur B. Swan, USAF

Secretariat:

Capt. Fred W. Pump, USN

Disarmament Commission

(See under General Assembly)

Collective Measures Committee

(See under General Assembly)

The Trusteeship Council

Representative:

Sidney R. Yates (resigned September 1964)

Marietta P. Tree

The Economic and Social Council

Representative:

Jonathan B. Bingham (resigned March 1964)

Franklin H. Williams

Deputy Representative:

Walter Kotschnig

FUNCTIONAL COMMISSIONS

Commodity Trade: W. Michael Blumenthal

Human Rights: Marietta P. Tree

Narcotic Drugs: Harry J. Anslinger

Population: Dr. Ansley J. Coale

Social: Jane Warner Dick

Statistical: Raymond T. Bowman

Status of Women: Gladys Avery Tillett

REGIONAL COMMISSIONS

Africa, Economic Commission for:

6th session (Addis Ababa, Feb. 19–Mar. 2, 1964)

U.S. Observer: J. Wayne Fredericks

Asia and the Far East, Economic Commission for:

20th session (Tehran, Iran, Mar. 2–17, 1964)

U.S. Representative: Kenneth T. Young

Europe, Economic Commission for:

19th session (Geneva, Apr. 13–30, 1964)

U.S. Representative: Walter M. Kotschnig

Alternate U.S. Representative: George Tesoro

Latin America, Economic Commission for:

10th session of the Committee of the Whole (Santiago, Feb. 12–14, 1964)

U.S. Representative: Charles Woolsey Cole

Alternate U.S. Representative: Thomas Favell

UNITED NATIONS CHILDREN'S FUND

U.S. Representative, Executive Board:

P. Frederick DelliQuadri

Alternate U.S. Representative, Executive Board:

Katherine Bain

UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVES
TO THE SPECIALIZED AGENCIES*Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations*

U.S. Member 43d session FAO Council (Rome, Oct. 5–16, 1964):

Dorothy H. Jacobson

Alternate U.S. Representatives FAO Council:

Ralph W. Phillips

Robert Rossow, Jr.

Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization

U.S. Representative to the Council of IMCO:

Charles D. Nolan (11th session, London, May 26-29, 1964)

Charles Lyons (12th session, London, July 3, 1964)

Paul F. Geren (13th session, Sept. 17-18, 1964)

International Bank for Reconstruction and Development

U.S. Governor, Board of Governors:

C. Douglas Dillon

Alternate U.S. Governor:

George W. Ball

U.S. Executive Director:

John C. Bullitt

Alternate U.S. Executive Director:

Erle Cocke, Jr. (until July 1964)

International Civil Aviation Organization

U.S. Representative on the Council of ICAO:

Nelson B. David

Alternate U.S. Representative on the Council of ICAO:

John T. Brennan

International Development Association

U.S. Governor, Board of Governors:

C. Douglas Dillon

Alternate U.S. Governor:

George W. Ball

U.S. Executive Director:

John C. Bullitt

Alternate U.S. Executive Director:

Erle Cocke, Jr. (until July 1964)

International Finance Corporation

U.S. Governor, Board of Governors:

C. Douglas Dillon

Alternate U.S. Governor:

George W. Ball

U.S. Executive Director:

John C. Bullitt

Alternate U.S. Executive Director:

Erle Cocke, Jr. (until July 1964)

International Labor Organization

Representative of the Government of the United States to the Governing Body
of the ILO:

George L-P Weaver

International Monetary Fund

U.S. Governor, Board of Governors:

C. Douglas Dillon

Alternate U.S. Governor:

George W. Ball

U.S. Executive Director:

William B. Dale

Alternate U.S. Executive Director:

John S. Hooker

International Telecommunication Union

U.S. Representative, Administrative Council:

Carl W. Loeber

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

U.S. Member Executive Board:

William Benton

Universal Postal Union

15th Congress (Vienna, May 29–July 9, 1964)

Chairman, U.S. Delegation: William J. Hartigan

World Health Organization

U.S. Representative, Executive Board:

Dr. James Watt

World Meteorological Organization

U.S. Permanent Representative:

Robert M. White

UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVES TO OTHER INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

International Atomic Energy Agency

U.S. Representative:

Henry DeWolf Smyth

Deputy U.S. Representative:

Frank K. Hefner

Publications and Documentation

United Nations publications include (1) the *Official Records* of the United Nations comprising the proceedings of the General Assembly, Security Council, Economic and Social Council, Trusteeship Council, Disarmament Commission, and the early U.N. Atomic Energy Commission; important reports and documents submitted to these bodies, and resolutions passed by them; (2) special studies prepared by the U.N. Secretariat describing the work of the Organization or providing data of concern to the United Nations; for example, reports on world economy, human rights, or trust territories; (3) periodicals covering most phases of U.N. work; (4) the *Treaty Series* listing all registered international treaties and signatories thereto.

United Nations publications and audiovisual materials may be purchased from the Sales Section, United Nations, New York, N.Y. Selected material may be obtained from the subagents for the sale of U.N. publications listed in the following pages. The annual sales catalog, entitled *United Nations Publications*, is available through most subagents.

Distinct from U.N. publications is material put out by each of the Specialized Agencies. A list of agents for the sale of publications of the Specialized Agencies follows this explanatory note. Current U.N. publications and documents are described in the monthly *Index to United Nations Documents*.

The mimeographed documents of the various organs of the United Nations may be purchased at annual rates from the Sales Section, United Nations, New York, N.Y.

Reference collections of U.N. publications and documents and the publications of selected Specialized Agencies may be found at the Depository Libraries listed on the following pages. Material is also available at many other school and public libraries and in the libraries of private foundations and government agencies concerned with international affairs.

An excellent point of departure for research projects on U.N. activities is the *Yearbook of the United Nations*, an annual publication which summarizes the work of the Organization and its related agencies in all major fields and provides a guide to fuller documen-

tation. The U.N. publication entitled *Everyman's United Nations* (Seventh Edition, October 1964) is a concise handbook of the functions and activities of the United Nations and its related agencies during the period 1945 to the end of 1963.

Material on U.S. policy toward issues before the United Nations may be found in the *Department of State Bulletin*, a weekly publication available in many school and public libraries, which prints the texts of major U.S. statements before the United Nations, selected documents, and interpretive articles on U.N. affairs. Foreign policy highlights are published biweekly in a State Department periodical entitled *Foreign Policy Briefs*.

The Department now covers U.S. participation in the International Atomic Energy Agency (previously dealt with in this publication) in an annual report. The two latest reports are *U.S. Participation in the International Atomic Energy Agency: Report* by the President to Congress for the year 1963 and for the year 1964 (Department of State publications 7784 and 7946, respectively).

Another very useful document which is submitted to the House of Representatives by the Secretary of State and released as a House document is *U.S. Contributions to International Organizations*. (The two latest reports in this series are the 12th report, 88th Congress, 2d session, House Document No. 313 and the 13th report, 89th Congress, 1st session, House Document, No. 229.)

From time to time the Department also issues publications and pamphlets dealing with international organization matters of interest to the United States. A list of publications is available upon request to the Office of Media Services, Bureau of Public Affairs, Department of State, Washington, D.C., 20520.

The *Department of State Bulletin* (52 issues: domestic \$10, foreign \$15, single copy 30¢), *Foreign Policy Briefs* (26 issues: domestic \$1.25, foreign \$2.25), and all other State Department publications carrying a price line may be purchased from the U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 20402. Remittances payable to the Superintendent of Documents should accompany orders.

SALE OF PUBLICATIONS AND VISUAL MATERIALS OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE SPECIALIZED AGENCIES

Publications and visual materials of the United Nations, the International Court of Justice, the Food and Agriculture Organization, and the World Health Organization may be purchased from the Sales Section, United Nations, New York, N.Y.

Publications of other Specialized Agencies may be purchased from:

- | | |
|----------|---|
| (IBRD) | Publications Office
International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
1818 H Street NW.
Washington, D.C. |
| (ICAO) | Secretary General
International Civil Aviation Organization
International Aviation Building
1080 University Street
Montreal, Canada |
| (IDA) | Publications Office
International Development Association
1818 H Street NW.
Washington, D.C. |
| (IFC) | Publications Office
International Finance Office
1818 H Street NW.
Washington, D.C. |
| (ILO) | International Labor Office
917-15th Street NW.
Washington, D.C. |
| (IMCO) | Inter-Governmental Maritime Consultative Organization
Chancery House, Chancery Lane
London, W.C. 2, England |
| (IMF) | Publications Office
International Monetary Fund
1850 H Street NW.
Washington, D.C. |
| (ITU) | The General Secretariat
International Telecommunication Union
Palais Wilson
Geneva, Switzerland |
| (UNESCO) | UNESCO Publications Centre
152 W. 42d Street
New York, N.Y. |
| (UPU) | The International Bureau
Universal Postal Union
Schosshaldenstrasse 46
Bern 15, Switzerland |

(WMO) World Meteorological Organization
Champagne Rigot
1, Avenue de la Paix
Geneva, Switzerland

SUBAGENTS IN THE UNITED STATES FOR SALE OF UNITED NATIONS PUBLICATIONS AND VISUAL MATERIALS

California

U. N. Association of Los Angeles
5110 Wilshire Blvd.
Los Angeles

World Affairs Council of Northern
California
421 Powell St.
San Francisco

Los Angeles World Affairs Council
Mobil Oil Bldg.
612 S. Flower St.
Los Angeles

Connecticut

World Affairs Center
20 E. State St.
Westport

Illinois

American Association for the United
Nations
59 E. Madison
Chicago

Chicago Council on Foreign Relations
Pamphlet Center, 116 S. Michigan
Ave.
Chicago

Maryland

UN Association of Maryland
1 W. Mt. Vernon Pl.
Baltimore

Massachusetts

World Affairs Council
10 Arlington St.
Boston

UN Information Center
World Affairs Council
105 Newberry St.
Boston

Minnesota

Minnesota UN Association
1124 Metropolitan Bldg.
Minneapolis

Missouri

St. Louis World Affairs Council
418 Olive St.
St. Louis

New Hampshire

New Hampshire Council on World
Affairs
Commons Bldg
Durham

New York

World Affairs Center
Book, Pamphlet and Documents
Department
47th St. and U.N. Plaza
New York

U.S. Committee for one UN
375 Park Ave.
New York

American Association for the United
Nations
345 E. 46th St.
New York

Ohio

Cincinnati Council on World Affairs
Suite 1028
Dixie Terminal Bldg.
Cincinnati

Council on World Affairs
922 Society for Savings Bldg.
Cleveland

World Affairs Council of Toledo
331 Security Bldg.
Toledo

Pennsylvania

World Affairs Council of Philadelphia
The John Wanamaker Store
13th and Market Sts.
Philadelphia

UN Association of Pittsburgh
131 N. Bellefield Ave.
Pittsburgh

Texas

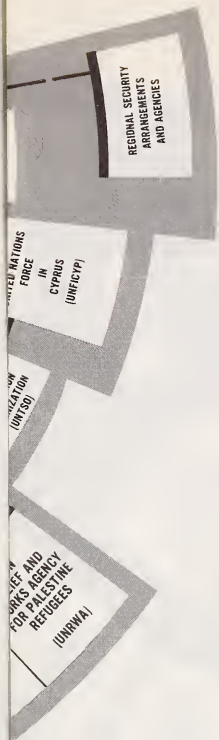
Dallas Council on World Affairs
2419 Maple Ave.
Dallas

DEPOSITORY LIBRARIES IN THE UNITED STATES DESIGNATED BY THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE SPECIALIZED AGENCIES

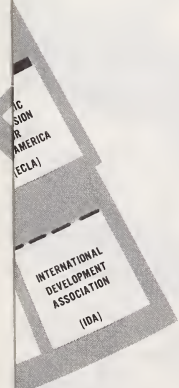
	UN	ICJ	FAO	ICAO	UNESCO	WHO
<i>California</i>						
University of California General Library Berkeley	x				x	
Los Angeles Public Library Los Angeles	x					
University of California at Los Angeles Los Angeles	x		x		x	
Stanford University Stanford	x					
<i>Colorado</i>						
Denver Public Library Denver	x					
<i>Connecticut</i>						
Yale University New Haven	x		x			
<i>District of Columbia</i>						
Brookings Institution	x					
Pan American Union					x	
Library of Congress	x	x	x	x	x	x
<i>Hawaii</i>						
University of Hawaii Honolulu	x					
<i>Illinois</i>						
Library of International Relations Chicago	x	x	x			
University of Chicago Chicago	x				x	
Northwestern University Evanston	x			x		
Public Library Rockford			x			
University of Illinois Urbana	x					
<i>Louisiana</i>						
Louisiana State University Baton Rouge	x	x	x		x	
<i>Maryland</i>						
Johns Hopkins University Baltimore	x		x			
<i>Massachusetts</i>						
World Peace Foundation Boston	x	x				
Harvard University Cambridge	x		x	x	x	
<i>Michigan</i>						
University of Michigan Ann Arbor	x		x			

DEPOSITORY LIBRARIES IN THE UNITED STATES DESIGNATED BY THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE SPECIALIZED AGENCIES—Continued

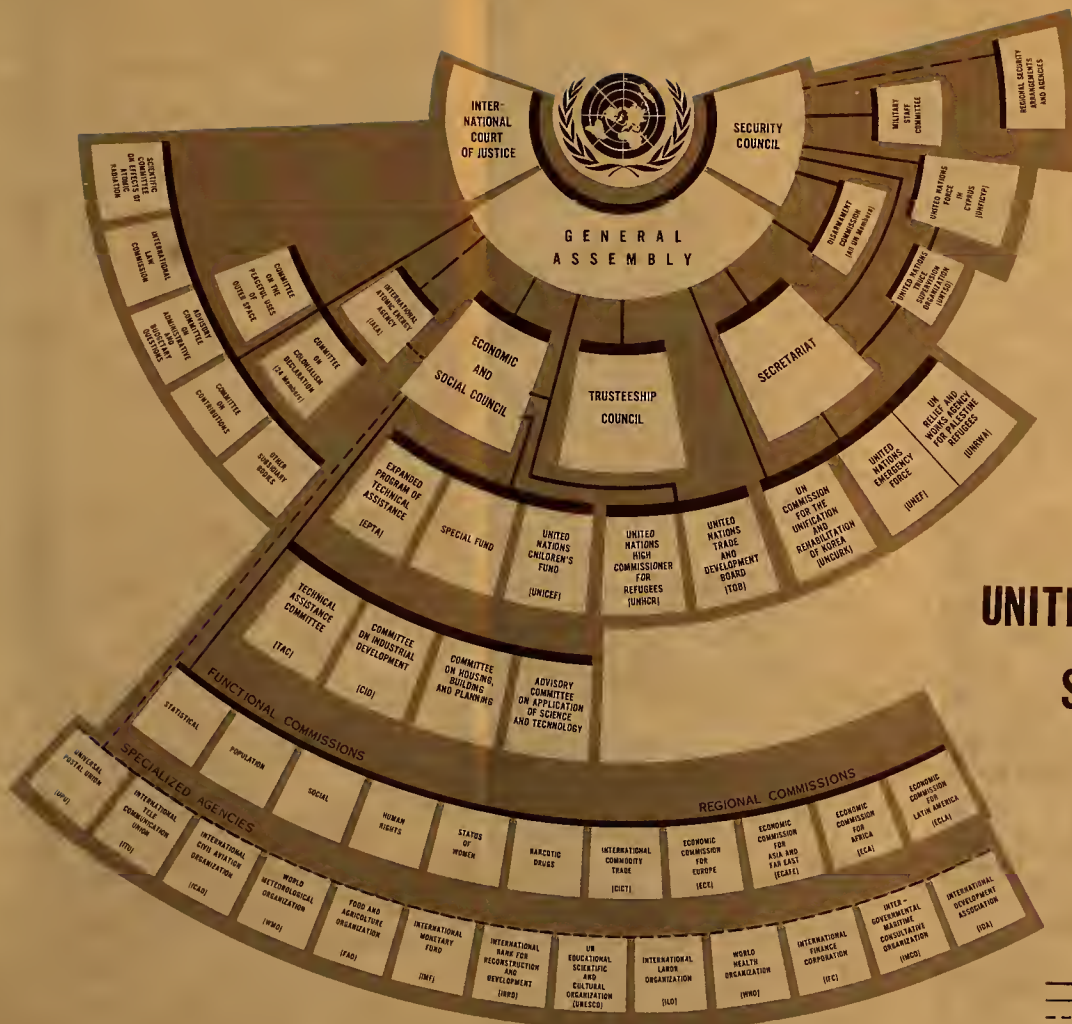
	UN	ICJ	FAO	ICAO	UNESCO	WHO
<i>Minnesota</i>						
University of Minnesota Minneapolis	x		x			
<i>Missouri</i>						
St. Louis Public Library St. Louis	x				x	
<i>New Jersey</i>						
Princeton University Princeton	x		x			
<i>New York</i>						
Cornell University Ithaca	x					
Columbia University Law Library New York	x					
Council on Foreign Relations, Inc. New York	x	x				
Institute of Aeronautical Sciences New York				x		
New York Public Library New York	x	x	x	x	x	
New York University New York	x		x			
<i>North Carolina</i>						
Duke University Durham	x					
University of North Carolina Chapel Hill	x				x	
<i>Ohio</i>						
Cleveland Public Library Cleveland	x				x	
<i>Pennsylvania</i>						
University of Pennsylvania Philadelphia	x					
<i>Rhode Island</i>						
Brown University Providence	x					
<i>Tennessee</i>						
Joint University Libraries Nashville	x		x			
<i>Texas</i>						
University of Texas Austin	x		x		x	
<i>Washington</i>						
University of Washington Seattle	x					



THE UNITED NATIONS SYSTEM



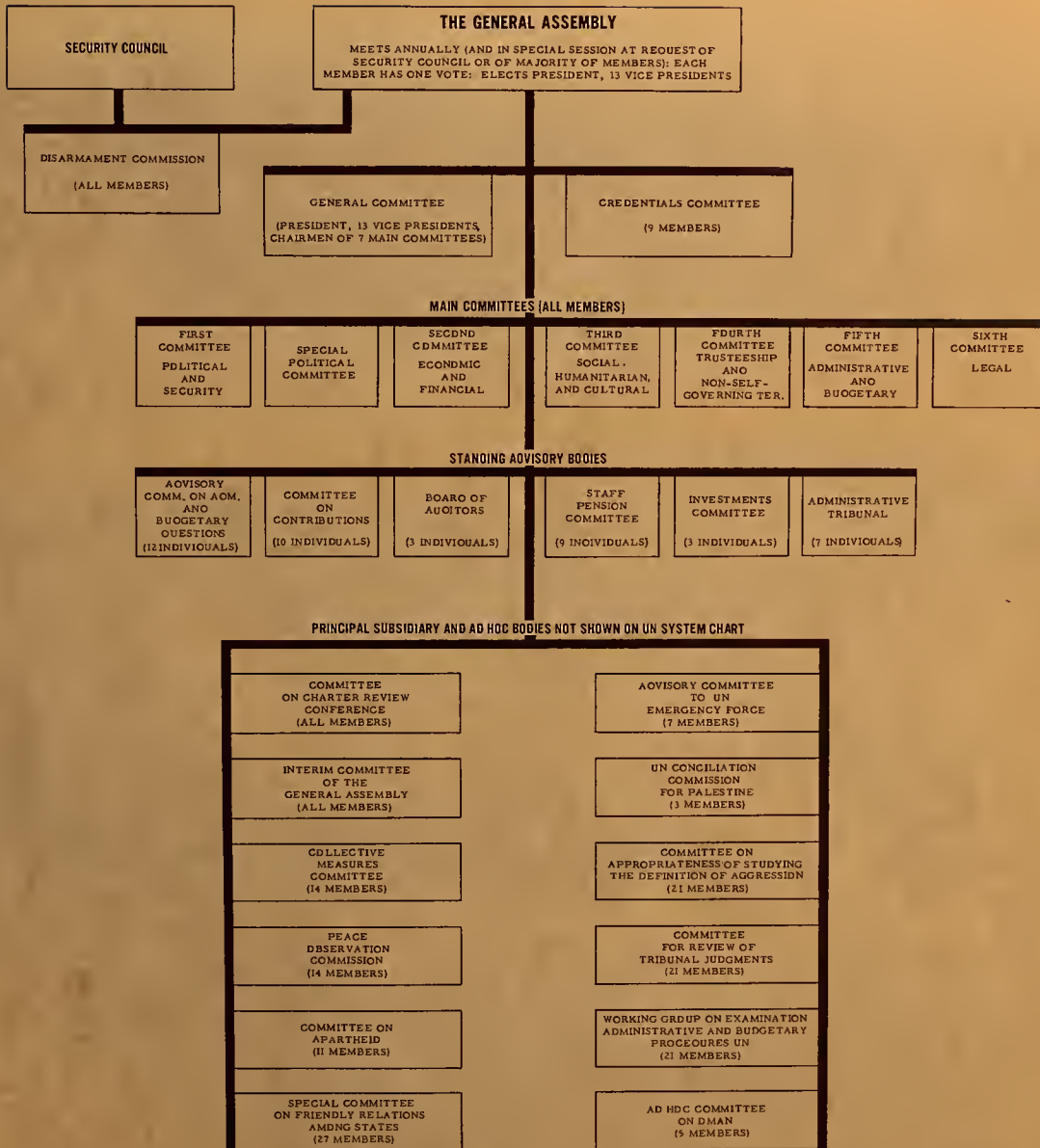
————— DIRECT RELATIONSHIP
 - - - - - INDIRECT RELATIONSHIP
 - - - - - RELATED BY AGREEMENT



THE UNITED NATIONS SYSTEM

774-196 U - 66 1F ACE P. 3547 NO. 1

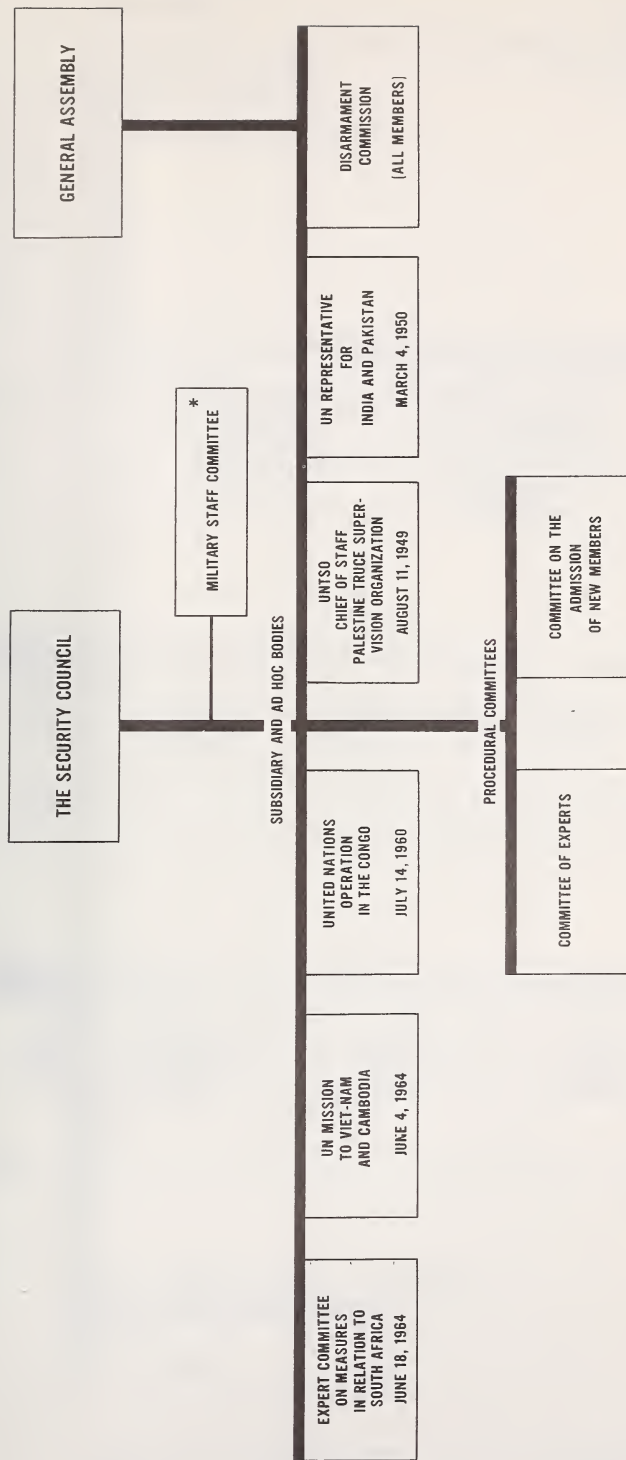
SECURITY COUNCIL	THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY
	MEETS ANNUALLY (AND IN SPECIAL SESSION AT REQUEST OF MAJORITY OF MEMBERS) IN THE MONTH OF AGGRESSION (14 MEMBERS)
PEACE OBSERVATION COMMISSION (14 MEMBERS)	COMMITTEE FOR REVIEW OF TRIBUNAL JUDGMENTS (21 MEMBERS)
COMMITTEE ON APARTHEID (11 MEMBERS)	WORKING GROUP ON EXAMINATION ADMINISTRATIVE AND BUDGETARY PROCEDURES UN (21 MEMBERS)
SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON FRIENDLY RELATIONS AMONG STATES (27 MEMBERS)	AD HOC COMMITTEE ON OMAN (5 MEMBERS)





Department of Health and Human Services
 Division of Health Care Services





* COMPOSED OF CHIEFS OF STAFF OF THE PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

1964-1965
 UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
 STATISTICS CENTER
 1000 UNIVERSITY AVENUE
 BERKELEY, CALIF. 94720

1964-1965
 UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
 STATISTICS CENTER
 1000 UNIVERSITY AVENUE
 BERKELEY, CALIF. 94720

FUNCT

STATIST
 [18 MEM]

1964-1965
 UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
 STATISTICS CENTER
 1000 UNIVERSITY AVENUE
 BERKELEY, CALIF. 94720

1964-1965
 UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
 STATISTICS CENTER
 1000 UNIVERSITY AVENUE
 BERKELEY, CALIF. 94720

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1964-1965
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 STATISTICS CENTER
 1000 UNIVERSITY AVENUE
 BERKELEY, CALIF. 94720

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 1000 UNIVERSITY AVENUE
 BERKELEY, CALIF. 94720

1964-1965
 UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
 STATISTICS CENTER
 1000 UNIVERSITY AVENUE
 BERKELEY, CALIF. 94720

ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE
ON COORDINATION
(REPRESENTATIVES OF SPECIALIZED
AGENCIES, IAEA, AND UN)

THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL

18 MEMBERS ELECTED FOR 3 YEARS BY GENERAL ASSEMBLY
(DECISIONS MADE BY SIMPLE MAJORITY OF THOSE PRESENT
AND VOTING)

TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE BOARD
(REPRESENTATIVES OF SPECIALIZED
AGENCIES, IAEA, AND UN)

UNITED NATIONS
CHILDREN'S FUND

EXECUTIVE BOARD
(30 MEMBERS)

TECHNICAL
ASSISTANCE
COMMITTEE

(ECOSOC MEMBERS PLUS
12 ELECTED MEMBERS)

COMMITTEE
on INDUSTRIAL
DEVELOPMENT

(ECOSOC MEMBERS PLUS
12 ELECTED MEMBERS)

COMMITTEE on HOUSING,
BUILDING & PLANNING

(REPORT SUBMITTED TO
ECOSOC THROUGH THE
SOCIAL COMMISSION -
21 MEMBERS)

ECONOMIC, SOCIAL
AND COORDINATION
COMMITTEES

(ECOSOC MEMBERS PLUS
9 ELECTED MEMBERS)

GOVERNING COUNCIL
of
SPECIAL FUND

(24 MEMBERS)

ADVISORY COMMITTEE
on APPLICATION of
SCIENCE and
TECHNOLOGY
to DEVELOPMENT

(18 MEMBERS)

COMMITTEE
on ARRANGEMENTS
for CONSULTATION
with NONGOVERNMENTAL
ORGANIZATIONS

(7 MEMBERS)

NONGOVERNMENTAL
ORGANIZATIONS

FUNCTIONAL COMMISSIONS:

STATISTICAL (18 MEMBERS)	POPULATION (18 MEMBERS)	SOCIAL (21 MEMBERS)	HUMAN RIGHTS (21 MEMBERS)	STATUS of WOMEN (21 MEMBERS)	NARCOTIC DRUGS (21 MEMBERS)	INTERNATIONAL COMMODITY TRADE (21 MEMBERS)
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REGIONAL COMMISSIONS:

ECONOMIC COMMISSION for AFRICA (ECA)	ECONOMIC COMMISSION for ASIA and FAR EAST (ECAFE)	ECONOMIC COMMISSION for EUROPE (ECE)	ECONOMIC COMMISSION for LATIN AMERICA (ECLA)
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SPECIALIZED AGENCIES:

<u>UPU</u> UNIVERSAL POSTAL UNION	<u>ITU</u> INTERNATIONAL TELECOMMUNICATION UNION	<u>ICAO</u> INTERNATIONAL CIVIL AVIATION ORGANIZATION	<u>WMO</u> WORLD METEOROLOGICAL ORGANIZATION	<u>FAO</u> FOOD and AGRICULTURE ORGANIZATION	<u>IMF</u> INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND	<u>IBRD</u> INTERNATIONAL BANK for RECONSTRUCTION and DEVELOPMENT	<u>UNESCO</u> UN EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC and CULTURAL ORGANIZATION	<u>ILO</u> INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION	<u>WHO</u> WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION	<u>IFC</u> INTERNATIONAL FINANCE CORPORATION	<u>IMCO</u> INTERGOVERNMENTAL MARITIME CONSULTATIVE ORGANIZATION	<u>IDA</u> INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATION
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OTHER INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS:

IAEA
INTERNATIONAL ATOMIC ENERGY AGENCY

DECEMBER 31, 1984

— DIRECTLY DEPENDENT ON ECOSOC

--- RELATED BY AGREEMENT

--- CONSULTATIVE STATUS



CONTACT NAME: [illegible] ADDRESS: [illegible] CITY: [illegible] STATE: [illegible] ZIP: [illegible]	ORGANIZATION NAME: [illegible] ADDRESS: [illegible] CITY: [illegible] STATE: [illegible] ZIP: [illegible]	CONTACT PHONE NUMBER: [illegible] EXTENSION: [illegible]
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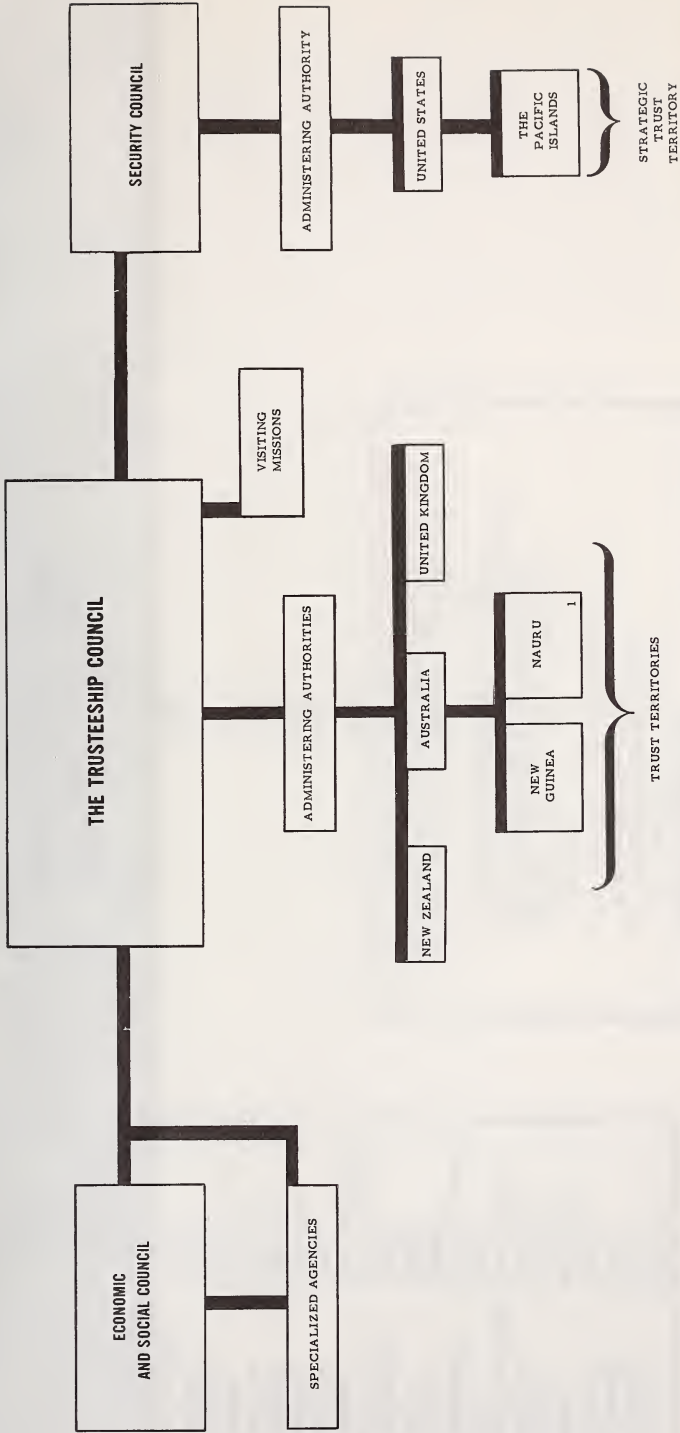
PERSONNEL LIST

NAME	TITLE	DEPARTMENT	PHONE
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

PROJECTS LIST

PROJECT NAME	PI	DEPARTMENT	PHONE
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible text]



1. Administered by Australia on behalf of Australia, New Zealand, and United Kingdom as joint administering authorities.



THE UNITED NATIONS SECRETARIAT

Expanded Program of

Addis Ababa
 Algiers
 Asunción
 Athens
 Baghdad
 Bangkok
 Beirut
 Belgrade
 Bogotá
 Buenos Aires
 Bujumbura
 Cairo
 Colombo
 Copenhagen
 Dakar
 Dar-es-Salaam
 Djakarta
 Geneva
 Kabul
 Karachi
 Katmandu
 Khartoum
 La Paz
 Lima
 Lomé
 London
 Mexico City
 Monrovia
 Moscow
 New Delhi
 Paris
 Port Moresby
 Port-of-Spain
 Prague
 Rabat
 Rangoon
 Rio de Janeiro
 Rome
 San Salvador
 Santiago
 Sydney
 Tananarive
 Tehran
 Tokyo
 Tunis
 Washington

Staffs of Special Missions Established by the United Nations General Assembly or Security Council

Conciliation Commission for Palestine
 Truce Supervision Organization for Palestine
 Representative for India and Pakistan
 Military Observer Group for India and Pakistan
 Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea
 Special Representative of the Secretary-General in Amman
 Others as established

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